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- Highlight Loc. 124-31 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 11:53 PM

Anger and a sense of betrayal: these are what Ernest Logan Bell and tens of millions of other disenfranchised workers express. These emotions spring from the failure of the liberal class over the past three decades to protect the minimal interests of the working and middle class as corporations dismantled the democratic state, decimated the manufacturing sector, looted the U.S. Treasury, waged imperial wars that can neither be afforded nor won, and gutted the basic laws that protected the interests of ordinary citizens. Yet the liberal class continues to speak in the prim and obsolete language of policies and issues. It refuses to defy the corporate assault. A virulent right wing, for this reason, captures and expresses the legitimate rage articulated by the disenfranchised. And the liberal class has become obsolete even as it clings to its positions of privilege within liberal institutions.

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- Highlight Loc. 134-38 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 11:54 PM

Classical liberalism has, the philosopher John Gray writes, four principle features, or perspectives, which give it a recognizable identity: it is individualist, in that it asserts the moral primacy of the person against any collectivity; egalitarian, in that it confers on all human beings the same basic moral status; universalist, affirming the moral unity of the species; and meliorist, in that it asserts the openended improvability, by use of critical reason, of human life.³

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- Highlight Loc. 143-46 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 11:56 PM

The liberal era, which flourished in the later part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, was characterized by the growth of mass movements and social reforms that addressed working conditions in factories, the organizing of labor unions, women's rights, universal education, housing for the poor, public health campaigns, and socialism. This liberal era effectively ended with World War I.

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- Highlight Loc. 150-51 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 11:57 PM

The New Deal reforms, however, were systematically dismantled in the years after World War II, often with the assistance of the liberal class.

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- Highlight Loc. 184-87 | Added on Friday, October 28, 2011, 11:31 PM

the assault by the corporate state on the democratic state has claimed the liberal class as one of its victims. Corporate power forgot that the liberal class, when it functions, gives legitimacy to the power elite. And reducing the liberal class to courtiers or mandarins, who have nothing to offer but empty rhetoric, shuts off this safety valve and forces discontent to find other outlets that often end in violence.

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- Highlight Loc. 196-201 | Added on Friday, October 28, 2011, 11:33 PM

The media, the church, the university, the Democratic Party, the arts, and labor unions—the pillars of the liberal class—have been bought off with corporate money and promises of scraps tossed to them by the narrow circles of power. Journalists, who prize access to the powerful more than they prize truth, report lies and propaganda to propel us into a war in Iraq. Many of these same journalists assured us it was prudent to entrust our life savings to a financial system run by speculators and thieves. Those life savings were gutted. The media, catering to corporate advertisers and sponsors, at the same time renders invisible whole sections of the population whose misery, poverty, and grievances should be the principle focus of journalism.

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- Highlight Loc. 222-23 | Added on Friday, October 28, 2011, 11:38 PM

Commercial artists peddle the mythical narrative, one propagated by corporations, self-help gurus, Oprah and the Christian Right, that if we dig deep enough within ourselves, focus on happiness, find our inner strength, or believe in miracles, we can have everything we desire.

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- Highlight Loc. 236-40 | Added on Friday, October 28, 2011, 11:42 PM

as corporate power pollutes and poisons the ecosystem and propels us into a world where there will be only masters and serfs, the liberal class, which serves no purpose in the new configuration, is being abandoned and discarded. The death of the liberal class means there is no check to a corporate apparatus designed to enrich a tiny elite and plunder the nation. An ineffectual liberal class means there is no hope, however remote, of a correction or a reversal. It ensures that the frustration and anger among the working and middle classes will find expression outside the confines of democratic institutions and the civilities of a liberal democracy.

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- Highlight Loc. 249-53 | Added on Saturday, October 29, 2011, 10:58 PM

The fate of the liberal class is tragic. It has been annihilated by the corporate state it supported, while it willingly silenced radical thinkers and iconoclasts who could have rescued it. By refusing to question the utopian promises of unfettered capitalism and globalization, and by condemning those who did, the liberal class severed itself from the roots of creative and bold thought, from the only forces that could have prevented it from being subsumed completely by the power elite. It was at once betrayed and betrayed itself.

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- Highlight Loc. 313-16 | Added on Sunday, October 30, 2011, 10:15 PM

the complicity of the liberal class, cemented by the corporate salaries the members of that class earn, has sapped intellectual and moral independence. It is one of the great ironies of corporate control that the corporate state needs the abilities of intellectuals to maintain power, yet outside of this role it refuses to permit intellectuals to think or function independently.

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- Highlight Loc. 326-29 | Added on Sunday, October 30, 2011, 10:19 PM

Hope will come with the return of the language of class conflict and rebellion, language that has been purged from the lexicon of the liberal class. This does not mean we have to agree with Karl Marx, who advocated violence and whose worship of the state as a utopian mechanism led to another form of working class enslavement, but we have to learn again to speak in the vocabulary Marx employed. We have to grasp, as Marx and Adam Smith did, that corporations are not concerned with the common good.

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- Highlight Loc. 332-33 | Added on Sunday, October 30, 2011, 10:19 PM

And, as Marx knew, unfettered capitalism is a revolutionary force that consumes greater and greater numbers of human lives until it finally consumes itself.

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- Highlight Loc. 371-72 | Added on Sunday, October 30, 2011, 10:26 PM

The collapse of liberalism, whether in imperial Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Weimar Germany, the former Yugoslavia, or the United States, was intimately tied to the rise of a culture of permanent war.

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- Highlight Loc. 395-400 | Added on Friday, November 04, 2011, 10:24 PM

The institutional church, when it does speak, mutters pious non-statements. It seeks to protect its vision of itself as a moral voice and yet avoids genuine confrontations with the power elite. It speaks in a language filled with moral platitudes. We can hear such language in a letter written March 25, 2003, by Archbishop Edwin F. O'Brien, head of the Archdiocese for the Military Services, telling his priests that Catholic soldiers could morally fight in the second Iraq war: "Given the complexity of factors involved, many of which understandably remain confidential, it is altogether appropriate for members of our armed forces to presume the integrity of our leadership and its judgments, and therefore to carry out their military duties in good conscience."

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- Highlight Loc. 436-38 | Added on Friday, November 04, 2011, 10:33 PM

Inverted totalitarianism, Wolin writes, represents "the political coming of age of corporate power and the political demobilization of the citizenry." Inverted totalitarianism differs from classical forms of totalitarianism, which revolve around a demagogue or charismatic leader. It finds its expression in the anonymity of the corporate state.

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- Highlight Loc. 458-59 | Added on Friday, November 04, 2011, 10:39 PM

The oil and gas industry, the coal industry, defense contractors, and telecommunications companies have thwarted the drive for sustainable energy and orchestrated the steady erosion of regulatory control and civil liberties.

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- Highlight Loc. 470-72 | Added on Friday, November 04, 2011, 10:43 PM

What is absent is the political, the commitment to finding where the common good lies amidst the welter of well-financed, highly organized, single-minded interests rabidly seeking governmental favors and overwhelming the practices of representative government and public administration by a sea of cash.

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- Highlight Loc. 477-79 | Added on Friday, November 04, 2011, 10:44 PM

And the draconian internal control employed by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, the military, and the police, coupled with the censorship, witting or unwitting, practiced by the corporate media, does for inverted totalitarianism what thugs and bonfires of prohibited books did in previous totalitarian regimes.

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- Highlight Loc. 537-40 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 09:41 PM

"Why is it that a handful of thugs and plunderers can commit unthinkable atrocities (and in the case of the GM executives, for scores of years) and when it's time for their gravy train to crash under the weight of their gluttony and overwhelming stupidity, the force of the full federal government has no difficulty coming to their aid within days if not hours?" Stack wrote:

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- Highlight Loc. 563-75 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 09:47 PM

In the southern province of Guangdong, China's export-oriented industry is booming. The province in 2000 accounted for forty-two percent of all China's exports, 90 percent of which came from eight cities in the Pearl River Delta. The area attracts many of China's eighty to one hundred million migrant workers. But here Lee found "satanic mills" that run "at such a nerve-racking pace that workers' physical limits and bodily strength are put to the test on a daily basis."⁶ Workers can put in fourteen- to sixteen-hour days with no rest day during the month until payday. In these factories it is "normal" to work four hundred hours or more a month, especially for those in the garment industry. Working conditions are in open defiance of official labor laws, which mandate a forty-hour work week and a maximum of thirty-six hours of overtime per month as well as a day off each week. But labor laws are rarely enforced in China. Most workers, Lee found, endure unpaid wages, illegal deductions, and substandard wage rates. They are often physically abused at work and do not receive compensation if they are injured on the job. Every year a dozen or more workers die from overwork in the city of Shenzhen alone. In Lee's words, the working conditions "go beyond the Marxist notions of exploitation and alienation."⁷ A survey published in 2003 by the official China News Agency, cited in Lee's book, found that three in four migrant workers have trouble collecting their pay. Each year scores of workers threaten to commit suicide, Lee writes, by jumping off high-rises or setting themselves on fire over unpaid wages. "If getting paid for one's labor is a fundamental feature of capitalist employment relations, strictly speaking many Chinese workers are not yet laborers," Lee writes.

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- Highlight Loc. 576-85 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 09:49 PM

Workers in China, according to Lee, feel deeply betrayed by a state that espoused Maoist collectivism rather than liberal democratic principles. But the sense of betrayal, and the expressions of rage and bitterness, by workers in China and the United States are very similar. Workers in China have been used and discarded, in much the same way as workers in other global industrial centers, from Michigan to India to Vietnam to South Korea. There are, Lee estimates, some thirty million "excess workers" in China who are effectively but not officially unemployed. ⁹ Lee found that many of the workers "broke down in tears in the course of our conversation, while others could barely contain their indignation and anger." She noted that "a sense of being victimized by injustice was widely shared in the local communities."¹⁰ Lee sees a looming crisis in China that will mirror the crisis in the United States and in other parts of the world where corporations have been permitted to ruthlessly exploit workers and move to new locations once wages begin to rise or workers become organized. The fury Joe Stack expressed against corporate abuse of the working class is a fury that, Lee warns, is reverberating around the globe in a multiplicity of tongues.

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- Highlight Loc. 586-94 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 09:50 PM

India, along with China and other emergent economies, has experienced the same desperation. An estimated 182,936 Indian farmers committed suicide between 1997 and 2007. Nearly two-thirds of these suicides occurred in five of India's twenty-eight states. Those who took their lives, the Indian journalist Palagummi Sainath has written, were primarily farmers who fell deeply in debt.¹¹ Debt in Indian peasant households doubled in the first decade of India's neoliberal "economic reforms," from twenty-six percent of farm households to 48.6 percent, Sainath found. The farmers who killed themselves largely grew cash crops for export, such as cotton, coffee, sugarcane, groundnut, pepper, and vanilla. The switch from subsistence farming to cash crops, pushed on farmers by corporations, eventually led to higher cultivation costs, higher loans, and unsustainable debts, leaving farmers at the mercy of global commodity markets. Seed prices, controlled by corporate seed companies such as Monsanto, skyrocketed. And farmers, finally, could not cope. Many simply walked away from their land.

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- Highlight Loc. 618-25 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 09:55 PM

Chomsky is one of the few intellectuals who challenges the structure and inequity of corporate capitalism and our state of permanent war. Perhaps America's greatest intellectual, Chomsky is deeply reviled by the liberal class. His massive body of work, which includes nearly one hundred books, has

for decades deflated and exposed the lies of the power elite, the myths they perpetrate, and the complicity of the liberal class. Chomsky has done this despite being largely blacklisted by the commercial media and turned into a pariah by the academy. He combines moral autonomy with rigorous scholarship, a remarkable grasp of detail, and a searing intellect. He curtly dismisses our two-party system as a mirage orchestrated by the corporate state, excoriates the liberal class for being toadies, and describes the drivel of the commercial media as a form of "brainwashing." And as our nation's most prescient critic of unregulated capitalism, globalization, and the poison of empire, he enters his eighty-first year warning us that we have little time left to save our anemic democracy and our ecosystem.

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- Highlight Loc. 671-74 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 10:04 PM

There are two sets of principles. They are the principles of power and privilege and the principles of truth and justice. If you pursue truth and justice, it will always mean a diminution of power and privilege. If you pursue power and privilege it will always be at the expense of truth and justice. Benda says that the credo of any true intellectual has to be, as Christ said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

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- Highlight Loc. 731-33 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 10:13 PM

War and violence, as instruments of virtue, are a contradiction in terms. But you can't fully grasp this unless you have been in combat, and combat is something the liberal class has been able to hand off to the working class since World War II.

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- Highlight Loc. 781-86 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 10:22 PM

The privatization of government functions has at once empowered corporate dominance and weakened the traditional role of government. There are eighteen military and civilian intelligence agencies, and seventy percent of their combined budgets is outsourced to corporations, who use the experience and expertise gained on these projects to provide similar services to other corporations, as well as foreign governments. The Pentagon has privatized sixty-nine percent of its workforce. Scahill pointed out the overwhelming privatization of the Afghanistan war effort. As of this writing, there are 104,000 Department of Defense contractors and sixty-eight thousand troops, almost 1.5 corporate employees for every member of the military. The State Department in Afghanistan has hired an additional fourteen thousand private contractors.

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- Highlight Loc. 800-802 | Added on Tuesday, November 08, 2011, 10:24 PM

If you put people in a situation like that where there are plenty of civilians, that kind of thing was going to happen and did happen and will continue to happen as long as our nation does not challenge these things. Now that this video has become public, it is our responsibility as a people and a country to recognize that this is what war looks like on a day-to-day basis.

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- Highlight Loc. 962-63 | Added on Friday, November 11, 2011, 12:10 AM

Peace and profit are ultimately contradictory forces at work in Afghanistan."

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- Highlight Loc. 965-66 | Added on Friday, November 11, 2011, 12:11 AM

It is estimated that only ten percent of the money poured into Afghanistan is used to ameliorate the suffering of Afghan civilians.

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- Highlight Loc. 999-1000 | Added on Friday, November 11, 2011, 12:16 AM

And once these weapons are employed, all talk of human rights is a farce.

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- Highlight on Page 62 | Loc. 1145-46 | Added on Saturday, November 12, 2011, 05:35 PM

War propaganda not only bolstered support for the war—including among progressives and intellectuals—but also discredited dissidents and reformers as traitors.

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- Highlight on Page 62 | Loc. 1147-50 | Added on Saturday, November 12, 2011, 05:35 PM

The rise of mass propaganda signalled the primacy of Freud, who had discovered that the manipulation of powerful myths and images, playing to subconscious fears and desires, could lead men and women to embrace their own subjugation and even self-destruction. What Freud and the great investigators of mass psychology realized was that the emotions were not subordinate to reason. If anything, it was the reverse.

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- Highlight on Page 63 | Loc. 1158-59 | Added on Saturday, November 12, 2011, 07:49 PM

But in twentieth-century mass propaganda, this warning was cast aside. The idea was to sway, and to use any means to do it. The moral aspect of public persuasion was pushed aside in pursuit of the targeted arousal of mass emotions.

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- Highlight on Page 65 | Loc. 1198-99 | Added on Saturday, November 12, 2011, 07:56 PM

The Espionage Act and the Sedition Act became the coarse legal tools used by the Wilson administration to silence isolated progressives and the dwindling populist forces that questioned the war.

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- Highlight on Page 70 | Loc. 1287-89 | Added on Wednesday, November 23, 2011, 09:32 PM

The committee would, by the time the war ended, see the president lionized by Secretary of State Robert Lansing as “the greatest propagandist the modern world has ever known.”¹⁰ No other president in American history did more to damage the independence and freedom of the press, or set back the cause of social reform, than Wilson.

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- Highlight on Page 77 | Loc. 1417-19 | Added on Monday, November 28, 2011, 06:46 PM

What we had to have was no mere surface unity, but a passionate belief in the justice of America’s cause that should weld the people of the United States into one white-hot mass instinct with fraternity, devotion, courage, and deathless determination.

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- Highlight on Page 85 | Loc. 1560-63 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 09:57 PM

The Reverend Josiah Strong’s declamation “that Christ came not only to save individual souls, but society” turned churches into temperance societies, labor halls, and soup kitchens. Salvation could be achieved through human agencies. The Social Gospel secularized traditional Christian eschatology and fused it with the utopian visions of material progress embraced by the wider liberal class.

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- Highlight on Page 142 | Loc. 2596-2602 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:05 PM

By the time the touted benefits of globalization—the belief that workers around the world would become wealthier, that the market would lift the developing world out of poverty, that tearing down trade barriers would benefit citizens from both the developed and developing worlds, that peace and prosperity would inevitably result from interconnected global economies—were exposed as a sham, it was too late. The liberal class had driven critics of this utopian fiction from their midst. The liberal class was complicit in the rise of a new global oligarchy and the crushing poverty visited in globalization’s wake on the poor and the working class. It abetted the decline of the middle class—the very basis of democracy. It has permitted, in the name of progress, the dismantling of the manufacturing sector, leaving huge pockets of postindustrial despair and poverty behind.

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- Highlight on Page 144 | Loc. 2631-33 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:14 PM

In *The Treason of Intellectuals*, Julien Benda argued that it is only when intellectuals are not in pursuit of practical aims or material advantages that they can serve as a conscience and a corrective.

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- Highlight on Page 144 | Loc. 2642-46 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:16 PM

And the closer scholars came to the centers of power, the greater the temptation was to “slight the research and to slant the advocacy for reasons either of personal career or of political or bureaucratic opportunity.” This meant that the scholar “may still be highly useful as an intelligent and skilled decisionmaker—but not as a scholar.” Hoffman argued that “the greatest hope for the science would lie in blowing up the bridge that leads across the moat into the citadel of power.”³

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- Highlight on Page 149 | Loc. 2726-28 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:29 PM

But Goldstone, like Moore and Schanberg, dared to place his conscience above his career. And the rage of the liberal class directed toward Goldstone was the rage of those who, because of him, had their complicity with power and acts of injustice exposed.

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- Highlight on Page 152 | Loc. 2794-97 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:42 PM

The liberal class is expected to mask the brutality of imperial war and corporate malfeasance by deploring the most egregious excesses while studiously refusing to question the legitimacy of the power elite’s actions and structures. When dissidents step outside these boundaries, they become pariahs. Specific actions can be criticized, but motives, intentions, and the moral probity of the power elite cannot be questioned.

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- Highlight on Page 153 | Loc. 2798-2800 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:43 PM

The liberal class has ossified. It has become part of the system it once tried to reform. It continues to speak in the language of technical jargon and tepid political reform, even though the corporate state has long since gutted the mechanisms for actual reform.

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- Highlight on Page 153 | Loc. 2802-4 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:44 PM

It ignored the structural critique that might pull us back from the horrific effects of climate change and a global depression. Our power elite and their liberal apologists lack the ideas and the vocabulary to make sense of our new and terrifying reality.

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- Highlight on Page 153 | Loc. 2805-8 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:45 PM

The longer the power elite and the liberal class speak in words that no longer correspond to reality, the more an embittered and betrayed populace loses faith in traditional systems of government and power. The inability of liberals and the power elite to address our reality leaves the disenfranchised open to manipulation by the demagogues. The moral nihilism Dostoyevsky feared with the collapse of the liberal class inevitably leads to social chaos.

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- Highlight on Page 153 | Loc. 2809-12 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:46 PM

Alan Greenspan, the former head of the Federal Reserve Board, once treated with reverential deference by the power elite and the liberal class, announced in 2008, "I made a mistake in presuming that the self-interest of organizations, specifically banks and others, were such that they were best capable of protecting their own shareholders and their equity in their firms."⁸

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- Highlight on Page 153 | Loc. 2812-15 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:47 PM

Greenspan exposed the folly of the liberal experts and economists, who had promoted a baseless belief in the power of free markets to self-regulate and solve the world's problems. In holding up what amounts to a strenuously defended utopianism, these leaders ignored three thousand years of economic and human history to serve a corporate ideology. All the promises of the free market have turned out to be lies.

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- Highlight on Page 154 | Loc. 2829-32 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:51 PM

The failure by the liberal class to articulate an alternative in a time of financial and environmental collapse clears the way for military values of hypermasculinity, blind obedience, and violence. A confused culture disdains the empathy and compassion espoused by traditional liberalism. This cruelty runs like an electric current through reality television and trash-talk programs, where

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- Highlight on Page 155 | Loc. 2833-34 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:51 PM

Friendship, trust, solidarity, honesty, and compassion are banished for the unadulterated world of competition.

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- Highlight on Page 155 | Loc. 2842-44 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:56 PM

Klaus Theweleit argues that a militarized culture attacks all that is culturally defined as the feminine, including love, gentleness, compassion, and acceptance of difference. It sees any sexual ambiguity as a threat to male "hardness" and the clearly defined roles required by the militarized state.

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- Highlight on Page 156 | Loc. 2856-59 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 10:58 PM

Capitalism, as Marx understood, when it emasculates government and escapes its regulatory bonds, is a revolutionary force. And this revolutionary force is plunging us into a state of neofeudalism, endless war, and more draconian forms of internal repression. The liberal class lacks the fortitude and the ideas to protect the decaying system.

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- Highlight on Page 156 | Loc. 2864-70 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:00 PM

The best opportunities for radical social change exist among the poor, the homeless, the working class, and the destitute. As the numbers of disenfranchised dramatically increase, our only hope is to connect ourselves with the daily injustices visited upon the weak and the outcast. Out of this contact we can resurrect, from the ground up, a social ethic, a new movement. We must hand out bowls of soup. Coax the homeless into a shower. Make sure those who are mentally ill, cruelly abandoned on city sidewalks, take their medication. We must go back into America's segregated schools and prisons. We must protest, learn to live simply and begin, in an age of material and imperial decline, to speak with a new humility. It is in the

tangible, mundane, and difficult work of forming groups and communities to care for others that we will kindle the outrage and the moral vision to fight back, that we will articulate an alternative.

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- Highlight on Page 157 | Loc. 2871 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:03 PM

Dorothy Day, who died in 1980, founded the Catholic Worker movement with Peter Maurin in the midst of the Great Depression.

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- Highlight on Page 158 | Loc. 2891-93 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:05 PM

"Our society is more brutal than it was," Martha Hennessy, Day's granddaughter, told me over tea at the Catholic worker house in New York. "The heartlessness was introduced by Reagan. Clinton put it into place. The ruthlessness is backed up by technology. Americans have retreated into collective narcissism. They are disconnected from themselves and others.

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- Highlight on Page 158 | Loc. 2896-2900 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:08 PM

As our society begins to feel the disastrous ripple effects from the looting of our financial system, the unraveling of our empire, the effects of climate change and the accelerated impoverishment of the working and middle classes, hope will come only through direct contact with the destitute, and this hope will be neither impartial nor objective. The ethic born out of this contact will be grounded in the real and the possible. This ethic, because it forces us to witness suffering and pain, will be uncompromising in its commitment to the sanctity of life.

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- Highlight on Page 159 | Loc. 2904-8 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:09 PM

What we would like to do is change the world—make it a little simpler for people to feed, clothe, and shelter themselves as God intended them to do. And to a certain extent, by fighting for better conditions, by crying out unceasingly for the rights of the workers, of the poor, of the destitute—the rights of the worthy and the unworthy poor, in other words—we can to a certain extent change the world; we can work for the oasis, the little cell of joy and peace in a harried world.¹¹

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- Highlight on Page 159 | Loc. 2909-10 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:11 PM

Father Daniel Berrigan broke into a draft board in Catonsville, Maryland, on May 17, 1968, with eight other activists, including his brother, Father Philip Berrigan.

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- Highlight on Page 161 | Loc. 2944-45 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:16 PM

Merton. "He said, 'You are not going to survive America unless you are faithful to your discipline and tradition.'

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- Highlight on Page 161 | Loc. 2950-52 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:19 PM

He was critical of the Catholic Church, saying that Pope John Paul II, who marginalized and silenced radical nuns and priests like the Berrigans, "introduced Soviet methods into the Catholic Church," including "anonymous delations, removals, scrutiny, and secrecy, and the placing of company men into positions of great power."

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- Highlight on Page 161 | Loc. 2959-62 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:20 PM

While all empires rise and fall, Berrigan said, it is the religious and moral values, and the nonhistorical values, of compassion, simplicity, love, and justice that endure and alone demand fealty. The current decline of American power is part of the cycle of human civilizations, although, he said ruefully, "the tragedy across the globe is that we are pulling down so many others. We are not falling gracefully. Many, many people are paying with their lives for this."

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- Highlight on Page 162 | Loc. 2965-66 | Added on Monday, December 26, 2011, 11:21 PM

Berrigan is sustained, he said, by the Eucharist, his faith, and his religious community. No resistance movement can survive without a vigorous, disciplined spiritual core:

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- Highlight Loc. 3624-26 | Added on Tuesday, October 25, 2011, 10:54 PM

Violence must be avoided, although finally not at the expense of our own survival. Nonviolent acts of disobedience and the breaking of laws to disrupt the corporate assault on human life and the ecosystem will keep us whole. Once we use violence against violence, we enter a moral void.

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- Highlight Loc. 3651-57 | Added on Tuesday, October 25, 2011, 11:04 PM

The belief that we can make things happen through positive thoughts, by visualizing, by wanting them, by tapping into our inner strength, or by understanding that we are truly exceptional, is peddled to us by all aspects of the culture, from Oprah to the Christian Right. It is magical thinking. We can always make more money, meet new quotas, consume more products, and advance our careers. This magical thinking, this idea that human and personal progress is somehow inevitable, leads to political passivity. It permits societies to transfer their emotional allegiance to the absurd—whether embodied in professional sports or in celebrity culture—and ignore real problems. It exacerbates despair. It keeps us in a state of mass self-delusion. Once we are drawn into this form of magical thinking, the purpose, structure and goals of the corporate state are not questioned.

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- Highlight Loc. 3701-3 | Added on Tuesday, October 25, 2011, 11:11 PM

It is too late to prevent profound climate change. But why allow our ruling elite, driven by the lust for profits, to accelerate the death spiral? Why continue to obey the laws and dictates of our executioners?

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- Highlight Loc. 3724-25 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:43 AM

Copenhagen was perhaps the last chance to save ourselves. Barack Obama and the other leaders of the industrialized nations blew it. Radical climate change is certain.

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- Highlight Loc. 3719-23 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:44 AM

In his book Requiem for a Species: Why We Resist the Truth About Climate Change, Clive Hamilton warns that even "if carbon dioxide concentrations reach 550 ppm, after which emissions fell to zero, the global temperatures would continue to rise for at least another century. Moreover, once we reach 550 ppm a number of tipping points will have been crossed, and all efforts humans then make to cut their greenhouse gas emissions may be overwhelmed by 'natural' sources of greenhouse gases. In that case, rather than stabilizing at 550 ppm, 550 will be just another level we pass through one year on a trajectory to who knows where—1000 ppm perhaps."

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- Highlight Loc. 3730-32 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:44 AM

We have fallen prey to the illusion that we can modify and control our environment, that human ingenuity ensures the inevitability of human progress, and that our secular god of science will save us. The "intoxicating belief that we can conquer all has come up against a greater force, the Earth itself," Hamilton writes.

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- Highlight Loc. 3742-44 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:47 AM

As climate change advances, we will face a choice between obeying the rules put in place by corporations, and rebellion. Those who work human beings to death in overcrowded factories in China and turn the Gulf of Mexico into a dead zone are the enemy. They serve systems of death. They cannot be reformed or trusted.

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- Highlight Loc. 3744-47 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:48 AM

The climate crisis is a political crisis. We will either defy the corporate elite, which will mean civil disobedience, a rejection of traditional politics for a new radicalism, and the systematic breaking of laws, or see ourselves consumed. Time is not on our side. The longer we wait, the more assured our destruction becomes. The future, if we remain passive, will be wrested from us.

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- Highlight Loc. 3747-54 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:49 AM

If we build small, self-contained structures, ones that do as little harm as possible to the environment, we can perhaps weather the collapse. This task will be accomplished through the creation of communities with access to sustainable agriculture, able to sever themselves as much as possible from commercial culture and largely self-sufficient. These communities will have to build walls against the electronic propaganda and fear that will be pumped out over the airwaves. Canada will probably be a more hospitable place to do this than the United States, especially given America's undercurrent of violence. But in any country, those who survive will need isolated areas of farmland distant from urban areas, which will see food deserts in the inner cities, as well as savage violence, spread outward across the urban landscape as produce and goods become prohibitively expensive and state repression becomes harsher and harsher.

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- Highlight Loc. 3754-62 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:51 AM

Acts of resistance are moral acts. They take place because people of conscience understand the moral, rather than the practical, imperative of rebellion. They should be carried out not because they are effective, but because they are right. Those who begin these acts are always few. They are dismissed by those in the liberal class, who hide their cowardice behind their cynicism. Resistance, however marginal, affirms the sanctity of individual life in a world awash in death. It is the supreme act of faith, the highest form of spirituality. Those who have carried out great acts of resistance in the past sacrificed their security and comfort, often spent time in jail, and in some cases were killed. They understood that to live in the fullest sense of the word, to exist as free and independent human beings, even under the darkest night of state repression, means to defy injustice. Any act of resistance is its own justification. It cannot be measured by its utilitarian effect. And the acts of resistance that sustain us morally are those that disrupt systems of power but do not violate the sanctity of human life—even, finally, the lives of those who enslave us.

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- Highlight Loc. 3772-74 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:55 AM

No act of resistance is useless, whether it is refusing to pay taxes, fighting for a Tobin tax, working to shift the neoclassical economics paradigm, revoking a corporate charter, holding global Internet votes, or using Twitter to catalyze a chain reaction of refusal against the neoliberal order. We must resist and trust that resistance is worthwhile.

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- Highlight Loc. 3775-76 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 06:56 AM

Those who resist, who continue to practice moral autonomy, will become members of the underclass.

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- Highlight Loc. 3803-4 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 07:02 AM

Those who resist will be able to do so only as long as they wall off the new forms of communication and remain wedded to the complexity of print. But this will also result in rebels becoming foreigners in their own land.

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- Highlight Loc. 3817-18 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 05:48 PM

Social scientists have a name for this retreat into ideologically pure and intolerant ghettos: cyberbalkanization.

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- Highlight Loc. 3841-42 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 05:53 PM

The Internet has begun the final and perhaps the deadliest assault on the arts and intellectual inquiry.

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- Highlight Loc. 3856-57 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 10:57 PM

"Funding a civilization through advertising is like trying to get nutrition by connecting a tube from one's anus to one's mouth."

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- Highlight Loc. 3892-94 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:03 PM

Technology evolves, but human nature remains constant. The twentieth century was the bloodiest in human history because human beings married the newly minted tools of efficient state bureaucracies, mass propaganda, and industrial slaughter with dark impulses that have existed since the dawn of the human species.

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- Highlight Loc. 3918-21 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:12 PM

The media, the arts, scholarship, and political and social movements must become conduits for unvarnished moral outrage and passion. We must defy systems, and even laws, that permit corporations to strangle our culture and the natural world. But, at the same time, all who speak in a moral voice, one tied to facts rather than illusions, will become freaks. It will be difficult to live with a conscience in an age of nihilism.

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- Highlight Loc. 3926-31 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:13 PM

"A living man can be enslaved and reduced to the historic condition of an object," Camus wrote. "But if he dies in refusing to be enslaved, he reaffirms the existence of another kind of human nature which refuses to be classified as an object."¹³ The rebel, for Camus, stands with the oppressed—the unemployed workers thrust into impoverishment and misery by the corporate state, the Palestinians in Gaza, the civilians in Iraq and Afghanistan, the disappeared who are held in our global black sites, the poor in our inner cities and depressed rural communities, immigrants, and those locked away in our prison system.

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- Highlight Loc. 3935-39 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:18 PM

The rebel, however, is beholden to a moral commitment that makes it impossible to compromise. The rebel refuses to be bought off with foundation grants, invitations to the White House, television appearances, book contracts, academic appointments, or empty rhetoric. The rebel is not concerned with self-promotion or public opinion. The rebel knows that, as Augustine wrote, hope has two beautiful daughters, anger and courage—anger at the way things are and the courage to change them. The rebel knows that virtue is not rewarded. The act of rebellion justifies itself.

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- Highlight Loc. 3939-46 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:20 PM

"You do not become a 'dissident' just because you decide one day to take up this most unusual career," Václav Havel said when he battled the communist regime in Czechoslovakia: You are thrown into it by your personal sense of responsibility, combined with a complex set of external circumstances. You are cast out of the existing structures and placed in a position of conflict with them. It begins as an attempt to do your work well, and ends with being branded an enemy of society. . . . The dissident does not operate in the realm of genuine power at all. He is not seeking power. He has no desire for office and does not gather votes. He does not attempt to charm the public. He offers nothing and promises nothing. He can offer, if anything, only his own skin—and he offers it solely because he has no other way of affirming the truth he stands for. His actions simply articulate his dignity as a citizen, regardless of the cost.¹⁴

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- Highlight Loc. 3949-51 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:21 PM

But we are not slaves. We have a choice. We can refuse to be either a victim or an executioner. We have the moral capacity to say no, to refuse to cooperate. Any boycott or demonstration, any occupation or sit-in, any strike, any act of obstruction or sabotage, any refusal to pay taxes, any fast, any popular movement, and any act of civil disobedience ignites the soul of the rebel and exposes the dead hand of authority.

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- Highlight Loc. 3954-58 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:22 PM

"There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop," Mario Savio said in 1964 during the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. "And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all."

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- Highlight Loc. 3964-68 | Added on Wednesday, October 26, 2011, 11:28 PM

Rebellion is not the same as revolution. Revolution works towards the establishment of a new power structure. Rebellion is about perpetual revolt and permanent alienation from power. And it is only in a state of rebellion that we can hold fast to moral imperatives that prevent a descent into tyranny. Empathy must be our primary attribute. Those who retreat into cynicism and despair, like Dostoyevsky's Underground Man, die spiritually and morally. If we are to be extinguished, let it be on our own terms.

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- Highlight Loc. 3970-71 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 08:10 AM

The cri de coeur for reason, logic, and truth, for a fact-based society, for political and social structures designed to protect the common good, will be the flag carried by forlorn and militant remnants of our dying civilization.

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- Highlight Loc. 3973-75 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 08:11 AM

Tyranny in an age of chaos is often greeted with palpable relief. There often is no public outcry. The rebel must, for this reason, also expect to become the enemy, even of those he or she is attempting to protect.

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- Highlight Loc. 3975-81 | Added on Thursday, October 27, 2011, 08:14 AM

The indifference to the plight of others and the cult of the self is what the corporate state seeks to instill in us. That state appeals to pleasure, as well as fear, to crush compassion. We will have to continue to fight the mechanisms of that dominant culture, if for no other reason than to preserve, through small, even tiny acts, our common humanity. We will have to resist the temptation to fold in on ourselves and to ignore the injustice visited on others, especially those we do not know. As distinct and moral beings, we will endure only through these small, sometimes imperceptible acts of defiance. This defiance, this capacity to say no, is what mass culture and mass propaganda seeks to eradicate. As long as we are willing to defy these forces, we have a chance, if not for ourselves, then at least for those who follow. As long as we defy these forces, we remain alive. And, for now, this is the only victory.

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