

Program Information:

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Thank so much. Thank you, Kepler for welcoming me to the Tattered Cover which is one of my all time favorite book stores in any venue you know, any incarnation. I love this new space. I think all book stores should have a theatre and a proscenium and stage, and you know just fabulosity on every level. And actually I have great fond memories of Tattered Cover from my very first book, when I was a baby author and it was worth saying the dinner was like this magical Alice in Wonderland kind of place, where I just thought wow, I just want to live my whole life surrounded by people who love the books and people who care about readers and readings. So, thank you Tattered Cover Tattered Cover Community; can you all hear me? All right.

So tonight, I am just going to under pacers so if you don't mind I am just going to pace. I I am just going to speak from my heart about the reasons that I wrote "The End of America" and I am just going to kind of walk you through the argument. And I just wanted to kind of give you a heads up. I think I am going to have to have like a warning sort of label like on cigarettes. So, you know, really rich chocolate or something that they it's going to be very, very difficult journey and then we will come out into some I can hope that your get some of your heads up. So everybody people to come closer if they want to; so I can just see everybody more directly.

I have an older friend who is the daughter of Holocaust survivors. And she and I would talk about current affairs and she kept saying, "They did this in Germany they did this in Germany". I know, and I thought this was sort of crazy talk, extreme hyperbolic, but she was so insistent. And she finally sat me down and said, read and she literally like gave me stack of histories of Germany not Germany in the later years but in the early years when when it was still parliamentary democracy, a modern state. And the hair on my head literally stood up because indeed she wasn't wrong. There were so many echoes from 1930, 1931, 1932 when it was a modern state you know, that would have looked quite familiar to us with you know, pop stars and fashion and Bell House architecture and Page Six type gossip columnists, you know people going about their business, parliament meeting, judiciary, newspapers, debate, dissent, and you know you see this kind of systemic strategic assault on democracy even before the National Socialists came to power. And we forget in America that the National Socialists came to power legally, right, in a working democracy.

So this blew me way and I stated reading other histories of times and places where democracies were closed down or where would be despites pushed back against a pro democracy movement. So, I read about Italy in the 20's, I mentioned Germany in the 30's, Stalin's Russia, East-Germany in the 50's, Czechoslovakia in the 60's and China in the crack-down against the pro-democracy movement in the 80's. And what totally blew my mind as I was reading was that this this clear blue-print started to emerge. And it was so obvious that whether the would be despites were on the left or on the right, it

didn't matter. They all did the same 10 things. It was like a blue-print. It was like you know, instructions, how you close down democracy. And as you can imagine, my you know anxiety shot through the roof when I realized that each of these 10 steps was underway in the United States right now.

So, tonight I will be talking to you about what these warning signs are, what these 10 steps are in this blue-print. And I will be talking about how we can push back. And I am going to stop apologizing for how kind of serious the news I have for you tonight is because people keep telling me, "We can handle it." You know, Americans are very they are really re-assuring to me, they are like you know, "We know something is going on; just tell us what you have seen and we can handle it. It's better to know." And I think that's right that it is better to know.

The other person for whom I wrote this book was younger is younger and he is a wonderful young man named Chris Lee who is 28. He is an activist and he was marrying a wonderful young woman Jennifer whom I had mentored. And he his mom had fled Vietnam with little four month old Chris in her arms, his name was Wu at the time, to become a boat person, she risked her life and her baby's life, because she knew that it was worth it for the chance of raising her child in liberty. So she really understood freedom the way our founders understood freedom. And so thinking about what this young couple would need as I I saw the storm clouds gathering you know, I realized that I could kind of you know, get them something, great beryl, but that they really needed a gift that would let them fight this fight that we had ahead of us, in an informed way. And so I really wrote this book as a kind of premiere guide fresher to remind us, because we don't spend a lot of time thinking about Mid 20th Century dictatorship, right, I don't, right you know, until I had to a guide to how societies close down. And also a premiere refresher about what democracy means, what freedom means, what the founders intended us to do with liberty, because again I had a good education but I had to go back and look at the writings of the founders, the framers, of the Constitution the Bill of Rights and really try to understand them kind of for the first time, because the constitution is kind of hard to understand if you are not a lawyer, no really, it's very 18th Century you know, and its like what you did its like but I mean I had to sit a lawyer for intensity okay, Due Process, walk me through it, what exactly is Due Process, right, because we don't I mean it's like this whole discussion about the constitution freedom has been kind of taken over by constitutional scholars and politicians and activists and ordinary people like us are no longer expected to really understand it. What is the Second Amendment? How does that keep us free? What is the Fourth Amendment?

And what became clear to me from my reading of the framers' letters to Americans like us was that they totally foresaw what's happening in America right now. Totally; and that's why they set our system up the way they did. We walk around in this kind of bubble of smug certainty that I call it a democracy myth you know, this notion that oh it can't happen here, democracy will always protect us, we don't have to raise a finger to do anything to protect democracy, right, you know that pendulum will always swing. The founders would have been appalled at these attitudes because they drafted these documents in a really a lot of anxiety, real fear because they knew that an American despot could arise in America to oppress Americans, they knew it. And that's why they set our system up with checks and balances. Who knew that checks and balances were

this sexy, passionate, amazing thing? You don't learn that in middle school civics class, right, no right. You are asleep in middle school civics class, so was I. And they totally knew that its human nature to abuse power if power is unchecked, whether you are American or non American, they knew it. It didn't matter what party you know, they knew that that is what happens if you arrogate too much power. And so that why they made sure that we wouldn't have a situation we are having today. They would be appalled. So I am just going to walk you through four of these 10 steps and kind of give you a highlight of what the rest of them are, and then I am going to talk to you about what we can do to rise up and push back and save our country. Okay, is it you are okay so far? I know it's big, but you know we can handle it.

So the first thing a would be despot always does is to invoke a terrifying internal and external threat and very often this threat is real. For instance Stalin really freaked Russian citizens out in the 30's by telling them a made up tale about Sleeper Cells, you know that's the term who has read that term in the last six years? Yes. Had you heard it in the 90's? Right, Sleepers Cells, same bad guys, but Clinton wasn't talking about Sleeper Cells, right. So the creepy thing, readers of *The End of America* will find is that its not just actual tactics from the past that we are seeing replayed now, it's actual sound bytes and narratives, and imageries, scenes it's like some one went through the history books and said okay, that worked, let's try that that worked, let's try that. So Sleeper Cells Stalin's Sleeper Cells were supposed to be a capitalist terrorist, meaning us, right, seriously and these capitalists agents of terror were allegedly infiltrating Soviet society and pretending to be good Soviet citizens for years, does this sound familiar? Right and till the day when signaled, they would all rise up and create mayhem among nice communist communities and this freaked Soviet citizens out so badly that they yielded to Stalin's crackdown of 1937-1938.

So that was a hyped threat an imaginary threat. Now Pinochet told Chilean citizens about a real threat, armed insurgents there were real armed insurgents, but then he used fake documents and this is something you see a lot with a crackdown on democracy and do you all remember the fake documents that the White House held up the yellow cake forgeries, saying there is yellow cake uranium, that Niger is selling to Iraq. So very common to use fake documents; and he held up the document he called Plan Z and he televised it, and Plan Z again was supposed to be this plot where these armed insurgents were going to rise up at a signal and assassinate all these leaders and blow up all this infrastructure. And this is totally freaked Chileans out so much that they did not fight for their democracy when he started to roll in the tanks. So there is always this invocation of a terrifying internal and external threat.

The second thing, it would be despot always does is to establish secret prison systems where torture takes place, outside the rule of law, and very often they will also create a military tribunal system that strips prisoners of Due Process. Now Mussolini was the great innovator and he sort of took a leaf from Lenin these guys all studied each other, and he developed this prison system outside the rule of law and Hitler studied Stalin and so often, and he elaborated it Stalin studied Hitler and he created his own. And the thing about this secret prison systems is that they metastasize, you know they start out modest and always grow and grow and grow and grow.

Now what is so disturbing what we should pay attention to, is that in the process of

what I call a fascist shift and I used that term very conservatively, lower case "C", I use it technically there are a lot of definitions for fascism and I use a dictionary definition which means when the state starts to use terror against an individual to roll back democracy. So in every fascist shift what will happen especially if they are operating in a democracy like Italy and Germany, is that they start out torturing or abusing people that main stream society doesn't identify with, marginal people, brown people on an island with scary Muslim names whatever, right? You know they start with the anarchists in Germany, the communists, the gypsies, the homosexuals, the Jews. And what I want to tell you is that you know they didn't in Germany, they didn't start out with death camps. They started out with the really funky and formal like torture cellars, and at that time the National Socialists weren't even a majority party, and torture was still illegal, technically. But the SA would round up people that good Germans didn't identify with, and torment them in these cellars and everyone knew about it. It was considered funny, there were cartoons about it in the press, which makes me think about things like that Show 24, you know this kind of popularization of oh yeah we torture people, okay we torture people, right.

So what always happens, I mean you know there is the moral reason for being upset, they we're torturing brown people on an island in Guantanamo but even if you know a lot of good decent Americans, like my brother, he is a really good guy, and when I first start talking to him about this, he was like that's not my issue, you know there are a lot of other issues that's not my issue, that these alleged terrorist are being abused. But apart from the moral issue why should we care that the state has legalized torture, because you cannot name a society in which the state started to abuse people of the margins that didn't sooner or later and usually within a reasonable time span, start to direct the abuse against people of the heart of civil society. And it's always the same cast of characters, its journalists, editors, opposition leaders, out spoken clergy, labor leaders.

So the trouble is that when Germans started to arrest people at the heart of civil society it was still a democracy, but when that happens people get too scared to speak and at that point democracy really can't be protected any more. So this is like a \$50,000 reward I should be offering, you know can you name a society that creates a secret prison system where torture takes place, that doesn't sooner or later direct abuse at it's own people, because I have been asking this question nationally for a month and no one has come up with an example, because I don't think there is one, just human nature, to expand this and expand this. And the reason we should kind of go way stock, you know about the fact that the state now legalizes torture and don't believe White House sound byte, we don't torture we don't torture it's a lie, they torture systematically is that the White House has said the President has said and this is mind blowing, but it's true, that he has the power to say to any of us, innocent American citizens who have never done any thing, you, what's your name, Caroline you are a brave woman, Caroline are an enemy combatant, you Naomi Wolf, you are an enemy combatant, you camera guy enemy combatant, right, and it doesn't matter that you are innocent. You can be taken and I can be tomorrow, to a 10 by 12 foot cell and kept there for three years in solitary confinement, when they make it hard for me to see my lawyer, hard for me to see my family no charges filed. They can't torture me yet, but three years in solitary confinement psychiatrists know that solitary confinement drives sane people insane.

So the state now has that power and why am I writing this book with this urgency, because we are one arrest away from really - of rapidly closing society because if tomorrow, I would read in the New York Times that someone I identified with has been named an enemy combatant in this in a navy break. It's at that point that I am going to stop talking like this because that's when I will just be too scared. That's how society is closed down very rapidly when that starts to take place.

The third thing that would be despots always do - are you guys okay so far? Okay alright, I feel like I should like the passing out sedatives or something you know, the third thing would be despots always do is create a paramilitary force that is not answerable to the citizens. Any words come to mind? That's exactly right "Blackwater" so many of you know that Blackwater just got in normal trouble for massacring 17 Iraqi civilians in a cross roads, it was like the massacre in Times Square but what many people don't know and - and most of you know that they are operating really outside the rule of law in Iraq that Paul Bremer wrote order 17 that basically exonerated them from any accountability under the law - now Hitler made sure to pass the law early on just like Bush did that retroactively protected his tortures and murders from prosecution for war crimes and this was so clever that every would be desperate putting pressure on a democracy tries to pass the same law and as I said Bush passed the same law.

Because if you are going to close down an open society, you need murders and tortures and you need them to be not accountable to the law, so most of us don't know that Blackwater is already operating on the streets of America. They - Homeland security invited them to be some of the first boots on the ground in New Orleans in the wake of hurricane Katrina and Germany's state holder reported that they did fire at civilians or that contractors fired at civilians in Katrina in New Orleans. What many of us don't know is the Blackwater's business model, they just got a \$15 billion contract, they are getting billions and billions of our tax dollars - billions and it's - most of it is unaccountable because under the state secrets act, congress doesn't get to see the accounting. Just this vacuuming of our tax dollars right?

Blackwater's business model costs for expansion in the United States domestically in the event of natural disaster or quite a quite a public emergency, so a new law that defense authorization act of 2007 gives the President the power on his whole on to declare a public emergency, he has the power now to see you know what Denver, you are having a public emergency and when I thought we are fine, we were fine, we were having a latte, we were fine you know but if he say it's a public emergency he has the power to send in Blackwater to Denver to patrol the streets, fully armed. He has the power to federalize the national guard to take national guard from Florida or from Alabama and ship them to Denver and all over Colorado to exert to enact Marshall law simply curfew in Colorado over the objections of the governors of Alabama and of Colorado and then tell congress about it after the fact. I am sorry you look so horrified, we will get to what we can do about it, we will she is like she is like this - and this is like, why do we have the second amendment? The second amendment says, you can't have a standing army and the militia has to be answerable to the people, I become much more supportive of like - you know well I don't want to say I am supportive of people with guns, but I get - I understand why people are like you know I could have defend my home, I get it. I am not there but I I get it because the founders experienced what it was like to have

mercenaries or an army of thugs not accountable to the people in the colonies. King George's men were harassing the colonists, they were breaking into their homes with blanket warrants that means just because they wanted to go in through their stuff, you know remerging through stuff, taking stuff, molesting women, right - scaring people. So they knew how easily citizens could be intimidated when you have got a standing army. That's not answerable to the people in fact that's why they created so much of what we have due process like why is it so important to the founders that if they take you away, you can talk to your lawyer and your lawyer can represent you and say you know my client is innocent, you know let's see the evidence you have got against her, she is innocent. In a in a police state where your innocence doesn't protect you, the founders were so determined that we have that protection because their parents or they themselves had fled countries where like in England Tom Paine was tried for sedition and he could have been hanged if he had been in England for writing the "Rights Of Man". You know and Quakers fled Europe and came to Philadelphia because the state was torturing people for their religious beliefs, so the founders wanted their to be - I get chills when I talk about this, they wanted there to be a place on earth where that would never happen again so that's why we have the second amendment and the fourth amendment, the fourth amendment says "they can't break into your home and take your stuff without a specific warrant" meaning they have a reason to believe they persuaded a magistrate that you probably need to be searched, there is a cause to break into your home and that means that when we are in our homes in America, we are safe, the boots at the door they can't break in, they can't go through our stuff.

Now Brandon Mayfield was a yuppie in Oregon, a lawyer and the state broke into through homes, went to his kid's stuff, his personal stuffs, stole his computer right and oops you know he settled for two he suited for \$2 million and got a settlement, you probably didn't hear about that but this is a violation of what the founders tried to give us, the safety and security of being in our homes, being in violet with the fourth amendment so now with Blackwater, there is a paramilitary force that's not answerable to the people, that can be deployed tomorrow.

And the fourth thing that would be dictators always do is that they create a surveillance aperatus that is aimed at ordinary citizens. Now those of you who read the Washington Post know that the surveillance of us has got into the point where if you get on a plane, they know what you are reading on that flight, they know who is sitting next to you, they know where are you going when you get off the flight and they have got the phone number of the person you are going to visit. Surveillance is so intense and and it's a very effective tactic I mean again Mussolini developed it, Hitler reproduced it, Stalin you know had all kinds of surveillance going on, secret police a core of every closing society. And let me just tell you about my own story, I started getting really interested in this when every time I got in a plane I would get taken aside for an extra search, I have got a quadruples high security mark on my boarding pass every time I got on a plane, short Jewish girl from New York what terrorist profile to I fit you know this army of short Jewish girls you know we can have it and you know globally with our credit cards, I mean what is this? But they - they would take me aside and finally I - you know kept trying to ask them what - why me and some nice TSA agent said "you are on the list" and I like, "the list? I am on the list? What list is this?" and she was sort of hustled away like her

supervisor, so I researched it and sure enough there is a list and that people who are also on the list are people like Richard Murphy, Emeritus of Princeton, foremost constitutional scholar who had just given a speech critical of Bush's assault on the constitution, they ran-sacked his luggage and told him he would be lucky if he got his luggage when he got on the other end of his flight, two nice little ladies in San Francisco, peace activists who run a newsletter called War Times critical of the war, they are on the list ACLU staffers are on the list, senior members of Green Peace are on the list, I just heard that someone from Code Pink, the anti war group was turned back trying to get into Canada because she is on the list - oh John Lewis democrat on the list, Ted Kennedy a thorn in the side of Bush administration, on the list and on and on.

So this is just annoying in a strong democracy, it's kind of like remember the 80's like oh I got a - you know I got a file, you know and just trying to mark this it's kind of like oh the government is watching me there must be - you know I must be making a difference but in a weakening democracy, it starts getting really scary because every day I am - if I look a little hollow eye it's because I am scared to open my e-mail because now that this book is out every day I got e-mails from people saying I am a senior military guy and I was critical of the Iraq war and yesterday they took me and my 15 year old son off the plane and they harassed us and they intimidated us and my whole family is now on the list or I am just a query calf, I was a senior person at the justice department, I said to my colleagues, "don't torture John Walker Lynd, when you interrogate him and make sure he has a lawyer present" and they cleared out my e-mails, they directed a criminal investigation against me and now I am on the list and the list is getting more and more intimidating.

We - most of us don't know their interrogation cells in US airports now and this young women who teaches in US college was interrogated, not allowed to go home to or Oakland, to her students, to her home and she was told that if she moved, they would consider an assault on her interrogator and I am getting reports of people all over the country saying when they are standing in security lines, TSA agents come out and say freeze and every one has to stand in place frozen for up to half an hour and I again I want to say freezing in place is a national socialist act if they do that with prisoners. So there is clearly this ratcheting up of intimidation and the scrutiny. When I went to copy edit this book, I went to Vermont on a plane, my computer was in my suit case, when I unzipped my suit case in my hotel room on my computer was a letter from the Department of Homeland Security. They had been in my suit case, so again a classic fascist tactic or a tactic of a closing to society is to make border crossing difficult and caught with fear and intimidation. And again surveillance, only ten percent of citizens in east Germany in the 50's had Stasi files but every one thought he or she had a Stasi file and that was that belief was enough, to intimidate East German citizens. So those are just sort of the the key first four. You know if you can't bare it, I will just skip sorry right okay well that's fair I mean it's a lot, do you want to take a vote? We are still democracy right? I will I will do a selected I have got a selected three and then I will take questions all right.

One of the steps is to target key individuals and you can think of half a dozen people the jag military lawyers who try to dually represent the detainees and not sell them out and they saw their careers derailed , Bill Mayer, made a comment and he was fired, Dan Rather is suing Viacom for 70 million dollars because they caved to White House pressure to fire him when he did the report on Bush's national guard service.

Here in Colorado, you have got several examples of that, the guy - I think it was the guy at the university of Colorado who set a little eye comments - yes stupid comment, but you know what it used to be a democracy, you allowed to says stupid things that's what the founders were trying with the first commandment, but both he and this kid who just got in trouble for saying - but Bush excuse me - and what happens is, there is this pattern across the country of state legislate tours putting pressure on rectors of state universities to put pressure on academics and students. A tactic that Goebbels perfected in 1933. But there is this targeting of key individuals across the board, another step is to restrict the press. You remember when Bill Keller the executive editor of the New York Times published the swift banking story showing that the white house was spying on financial records and there was this drum beat of talking points from the white house treason treason treason and also they said prosecute him under the espionage act and Melanie Morgan whom I actually debated this psycho right wing commentator in San Francisco, she said Naomi you will look great in a burka, you know which is one of those mysterious comments. But I think she is talking about Islamo fascism which will get to you, but they - she said trying for treason and the penalty for treason is execution and there was this drum beat and now and again in a democracy that's just ridiculous you just think - you know you are insane, but in a closing society, it gets to be not so funny because and this is why reading the historical records will just give me chose again and again. In 1936 37 the publisher Izvestia, which was the New York Times brasher was accused of treason by Stalin - was tried for treason in the Third Moscow Show Trial and was executed and you know again when you know look at these examples that I offer you know in the book, so many little tiny things - not just the big things but things like they are burning Dixie Chick CDs where have you heard that before in a spontaneous - and CDs don't really burn you know they make toxins that was like not really burnable whole if of course Goebbels organize spontaneous gatherings of students in 1933 to burn books and I know famously said they start with burning books than by burning people. You know they unload the coffins of the war dead in America at night, where did we hear that before? When I read William Shear I saw that national socialists unloaded the coffins of the war dead from trains at night, they pioneered embedding journalists in this Iraq war, well Goebbels again pioneered embedding Leni Riefenstahl, William Shearer with the German army in that conflict. You know Himan - Homeland you know we didn't use to have homeland security yet, domestic security or domestic affairs, homeland security where we heard that term before? [0:34:20] ____ was the term that the national socialists introduced in that 1931 and so there are all these extraordinarily detailed historical fingerprints like you know when the weapon of mass destruction, I think didn't came out, I remember the white house said okay well we got to go a war against Iraq because they are abusing their ethnic minorities and their staging ground for terrorists. So again the hair on the back of my head stood up when I was reading Allan Bullock's biography of Hitler and he argued that they had to invade Czechoslovakia, a country that also they wanted war with because they were - they were abusing their ethnic minorities and they were providing staging ground for terrorists. So again and again and again these guys in Florida, in Chinos right, remember the scene of their counting their vote in Florida, and they are these you know republican staffers identically dressed in white shirts

and chinos menacing the people counting the vote and freaking them out you know when they were intimidated and so they kind of said okay no more hanging chats okay okay you know stop yelling me - you have never seen a scene like this in America, you know young men menacing people like that.

You saw it in Italy where Mussolini pioneered the use of black shirts and sent them strategically you know still a democracy to intimidate voters and people counting the vote, identically dressed young men and Hitler thought this was such a great idea. He sent his identically dressed in men in brown shirts to intimidate people counting the vote. Austria had a plebiscite, they voted 99 percent yeah and excess please Germany because the brown shirts standing outside, where they were counting the vote were intimidating them, well they were counting the vote.

So we are seeing scenes we have never seen before in America, but we have we have seen them elsewhere. I will skip ahead to the end. The second last step is to recast criticisms, it's espionage and dissented treason and again you see that more and more that someone speaks up - Hillary Clinton criticizes the war and it's traitor traitor traitor and this is the page right out of telling the criminalization of speech, the expansion of the definition of terrorists, sebeter, - Norman Podhoretz has his new book out calling people like me: domestic insurgence you know it's expansion of insurgency, terrorist and again the blueprint is predictive, I can tell you what is a head by knowing what's in the blueprint now and and it's not that I am that smart, it's the blueprint is that predictive. I new for instance when they setup the military tribunal system, that the first prisoners to be tried under it would be white and English speaking and in fact David Hicks was a white English speaking guy.

By the same token you could tell when they passed a law last November criminalizing Animal Rights Activists as terrorists that the expansion of the definition terrorist which soon include people that looked like you and me, main stream, middle class white Americans. I say you and me ironically. And that's these are classic shifts - classic tactics in a fascist shift.

The last thing that happens in a fascist shift in pressure to close down an open society is the sub version of the rule of law. The 2007 Defense Authorization Act made it possible for the president unilaterally to declare Marshall Law easier, to declare Marshall Law and at the end of the book I have got a serious of what ifs that could easily play out under occurring circumstances leading up to the election in a closing society, the months leading up to a national election are very unstable and a number things are likely to happen according to the blueprints, that it's it's best to know about, so we can be proactive. So having completely traumatized you, you know welcome to my world of - oh shit you know it's like no. I do want to turn things around now and talk about how we can actually rise up and save the country. Well there is still time because believe it or not you know the window is closing but it is not closed, there is there - we don't have a lot of time but we - this is a moment when if we all wakeup together, we can push back and save our country and restore the rule of Law.

What we need right now, right now we have no time to waste is that democracy movement in America led by Americans to push back these hideous laws and restore the constitution. Now, I have co-founded and organization you can look at called the American Freedom Campaign, the details are on the last page. This is the kind of thing

we need, it's not the only thing we need. This is a grass roots effort, we have got about five million Americans in the affiliated member organization and we have got a pledge that we put to all the presidential candidates and all of them have finally signed it, we finally got Hillary and Obama last week.

They were the last hold outs, but it's a pledge to restore the constitution and the rule of law and roll back these horrible laws and you may have noticed that Hilary's position on torture has evolved since we have been harassing her about this. She used to condone it now she has come out strongly against it. So there is this 10 point set of laws that if you guys help us by harassing and confronting congress to pass them, we can stabilize democracy enough to do what we need to save the country and confront these abusers. But we need to take it many steps more than that. What we need to do is really understand what the founders asked of us. We are so used to thinking or first of all feeling disaffected from democracy, it's all one party, they are all about and sold, I hear this all the time, it's a very dangerous attitude right now and it's actually not right.

Democracy activists around the world wish they had the opportunity to engage in democracy that we still have if we rise up and push back and what we are also so used to like handing over the power to this professional class. You know we will worry about it like my - my tax guys does my taxes, the landscaper clears the leaves you know the politicians and the constitutional lawyers will worry about liberty. Bad! Bad! The founders intended for us - you and me to do democracy, to protect democracy and defend it when it was threatened. So the the biggest change is an inward one first, the psychological willingness to leave here dedicated, to our leading the fight, our standing up as citizen activists to reclaim democracy and liberty.

And owning that responsibility, that leadership decision, educating our neighbors, educating our friends and confronting these abusers and finally I never thought I would say this but I really want to end and take your questions and comments and ideas. I really want to end by saying "We are in a war and if we don't stand up in our millions and fight back, you know democracies don't close down like this, they close down like this in what Malcolm Gladwell would call a series of tipping points" and so the first time that the state legalized torture that was one of these vertical lines and when that kind was tasered in Florida, that was one of those vertical lines, you are going to see more and more Americans being hurt when they speak up in the next 18 months according to the blueprint and when the first journalists are arrested under the espionage act, that will be one of those vertical lines and at each point each of us as I said has our limit and what happens is that reaches a point where democracy can no longer heal democracy unless we stand up and push back and right now is that moment.

I mean it's really hanging by a thread. The good news is again looking at history the millions of people rise up together and say no you will not do this on our watch and confront these abusers and insist on restoring the rule of law, there is not a force on earth that can withstand that power and it's crumbled - you know it crumble to the wall, it drew that disputes in the Philippines, there is no force on earth that can withstand millions of us rising up together and say no and again I never thought I would say this but history also shows that it's not enough to impeach criminals, that you have to lock them up and so I think we have to have a disciplined and serious discussion about prosecution for treason. So on that note I want to invite to you lead this democracy movement right now, harass,

confront your congress people, marching in streets, screaming yell, do everything that takes to restore this nation's liberty and this could be, if we do that an amazing wakeup moment and an amazing moment for us to reclaim what it means to be patriots and and to restore what it means to be a light to the rest of the world, to become again what the founders had intended for us to be which was this great beckon of justice and fairness and liberty in the world. Thank you very much.