#### The space race is deeply entangled with the development of carcerality, funded through wealth extracted from black communities through policing and exploitative labor. The use of space as a symbol of progress obfuscated racial divisions and cohered an ideological understanding of white upward mobility and black immobility.

Loyd 15. Jenna M. 2015. "Whitey on the Moon: Space, Race, and the Crisis of Black Mobility." In Montegary, Liz and Melissa White, eds. Mobile Desires: The Politics and Erotics of Mobility Justice. Palgrave Pivot, 41-52.

But Watts is a country which lies, psychologically, uncounted miles further than most whites seem at present willing to travel. (Pynchon, 1966) From the days of chattel slavery until today, the concept of travel has been inseparably linked in the minds of our people with the concept of freedom. (Robeson, 1988, original emphasis) In the 1960 presidential election, candidate John F. Kennedy invoked moon exploration to displace the salience of religious division by focusing on unifying issues, including the spread of Communism that was ‘fester[ing] only 90 miles from the coast of Florida’ and crises in family farms, hunger, and unaffordable medical care that ‘know no religious barrier.’ The real problem was ‘an America with too many slums, with too few schools, and too late to the moon and outer space.’ This listing of ‘real issues which should decide this campaign’ suggested urgent, yet equally solvable, concerns. The space race ratified a national challenge, suggesting that returning the gaze from this ‘new frontier’ to domestic problems was the next step for technoscientific progress. When Dr Martin Luther King spoke of the moon in 1967, he was a world away from Kennedy’s Cold War hopefulness (Jordan, 2003). He delivered his final speech, ‘Where Do We Go From Here?: Chaos or Community?’, to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on the ten-year anniversary of the organization’s formation following the Montgomery bus boycott. Despite the gains of the civil rights move- ment, King concluded, ‘the Negro still lives in the basement of the Great Society.’ He went on to question the consonance between scientific and social progress that had seemed so central to Kennedy’s understanding of the nation: Today our exploration of space is engaging not only our enthusiasm but our patriotism.... No such fervor or exhilaration attends the war on poverty.... Without denying the value of scientific endeavor, there is a striking absurdity in committing billions to reach the moon where no people live, while only a fraction of that amount is appropriated to service the densely populated slums. If these strange views persist, in a few years we can be assured that when we set a man on the moon, with an adequate telescope he will be able to see the slums on earth with their intensified congestion, decay and turbulence. King concluded his remarks by asking: ‘On what scale of values is this a program of progress?’ (King, as cited in Gilroy, 1991 [1987], pp. 345–346). Spectacular Cold War images of space travel drew on and renovated a constellation of meanings associated with mobility that inform US national identity, including celebratory narratives of continental exploration, limitless possibility, and freedom. Kennedy did not see any conflict between mastering space travel and meeting domestic needs – each a concrete signification of American capitalist providence in the Cold War period. King’s speech marks both of these registers. His imagined telescopic view of the earth traverses an expansive scale of human possi- bility, but under Pax Americana, King finds that ‘common humanity’ is an ideological vision papering over the reality of grave economic and racial divisions. Even before a man (much less The Man) was on the moon, liberal and radical social critics alike were deploying a rhetorical device I call lunar criticism – ‘If we can put a man on the moon, we can do X, Y, or Z’ – to question US national priorities and narratives of progress. Liberal iterations of lunar criticism suggested that the gap between promise and practice could be bridged as part of fulfilling the national creed. Radical social critics argued that what appeared to be an incidental gap was in fact a racialized conflict. Reaching the moon began to look less like a virtuous American project than a white American project that furthered Black economic exploitation and abandonment. The space race as a spectacle of freedom and (white) upward mobility must be held in tension with the deepening ‘urban crisis’ (Beauregard, 2003). As both a powerful discourse and material geography, the urban crisis was constituted through Cold War investments in suburban housing, freeways, and defense industry construction, relative disinvestment in central cities, and through militarized, counter-insurgency responses to the urban unrest of the 1960s (Loyd, 2014). Yet, the interrelations between these spaces have been obscured through enduring spectacular productions of capitalist suburban hyper-mobility and ‘ghetto’ immobilization and backwardness (Siddiqi, 2010). As novelist Thomas Pynchon dissected, ‘Watts’ was another country to white Americans, represent- ing a psychological distance that white Americans were disinclined to travel. This chapter situates radical iterations of lunar criticism within the context of urban crisis and on the cusp of what Jodi Melamed, following Howard Winant, calls the post-World War II ‘racial break’ after which ‘state-recognized US antiracisms replaced white supremacy as the chief ideological mode for making the inequalities that global capitalism generated appear necessary, natural, or fair’ (Melamed, 2011, p. xvi). By contrast, race-radical antiracisms ‘have made visible the continued racialized historical development of capitalism and have persistently foregrounded antiracist visions incompatible with liberal political solutions to destructively uneven global social-material relations’ (p. xvii). In the spectacular treatment of urban uprisings, the space called the ‘ghetto’ ideologically and tactically cohered the problems of urban crisis, which were actually metropolitan (urban-suburban) in form and imperial in process. To develop this argument, I analyze the work of Gil Scott-Heron whose poetry, songs, and writing exemplify the race-radical tradition. His poem ‘Whitey on the Moon’ delivers a radical antiracist critique of the US space program that ties otherworldly investments to ongoing histories of Black forced im/mobility and immiseration. To that end, this essay responds to the call within the new mobilities scholar- ship to examine the ‘role of past mobilities in the present constitution of modern notions of security, identity and citizenship’ (Cresswell, 2012, p. 646). I begin by situating mobilities within post-war militarized spectacle and racial politics. I then move to an analysis of how race-radical lunar criticism grappled with the dialectics of urban crisis, which included the simultaneous deployment of rhetorics of mobility and new means of social control and state power. I conclude by exploring how Scott-Heron’s race-radical vision offers insights into contemporary mobilizations for mobility justice. Cold War spectacles of (upward) mobility What sort of national spectacle was the moon when King spoke? Spectacle tends to be understood as an ideological mask or distortion of reality, but Shiloh Krupar usefully conceptualizes spectacle as ‘a tactical ontology – meaning a truth-telling, world-making strategy’ (2013, p. 10). Indeed, in Blank Spots on the Map (2009), Trevor Paglen shows how NASA was the visible institutional face of an expansive and largely secret Cold War military geography. Krupar and Paglen show how US militarization has developed through institutional apparatuses and personnel that create a world of plausible appearances. Visuality and material landscapes are interconnected such that hypervisibility (that is, the space race) is a technological apparatus simultaneously creating unseen spaces of waste and sacrifice. Thus, spectacle is a tool of reification and division that works by disconnecting spaces and categories – delineating human from nature, valued from abjected – that are actually produced together. Caren Kaplan’s work on the visual logic of modern war-making connects such spectacles to the mobility of states and imperial citizens. Air power is an iteration of the cosmic view, a ‘unifying gaze of an omniscient viewer of the globe from a distance’ (Kaplan, 2006, p. 401). Kaplan ties this viewpoint – which claims universality, neutrality, and freedom ‘from bounded embeddedness on earth’ – to Euro-American colonization (Kaplan, 2006, p. 402; also see Cosgrove, 1994). Modern military ‘air power is seamlessly linked to the cosmic view through its requirements for a unified, universal map of the globe that places the home nation at the center on the ground and proposes an extension of this home to the space above it, limitlessly’ (Kaplan, 2006, p. 402). The upshot, according to Kaplan, is that the mobility of air power simultaneously produces an imagination of fixed sovereign territories. Indeed, for Kaplan, modern war is paradoxical in that it ‘requires the movements of large armies and instigates the mass displacement of refugees, yet it also polices borders and limits freedom of movement’ (p. 396). I take these theories of spectacle to suggest that the Cold War space race produced a modern, white, upwardly mobile subject that obscured the simultaneous co-production of an immobilized, unfree population confined to a knowable, tactical domestic space. That is, the militarization of the ‘cosmic view’ facilitates not only abstract targets of foreign war, but also targets of domestic state and state-sanctioned violence and confinement. The militarized logic of the ‘home front’ both coercively compels a patriotic citizen subject and obscures the racial, gender, class, and other social divides within the nation that belie the state’s claim to national unity (Lutz 2002; Young 2003; Loyd 2011). As the United States faced vulnerability to charges of racism during the Cold War, a cultural project of racial liberalism enabling mobility of the US empire would simultaneously entail efforts to confine Black mobility and dissident thought. For example, Rachel Buff (2008) shows how the US government deployed the terror of deportation as a means of disrupting political organizing. In the immediate post-World War II era, both W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson were barred from foreign travel for their views on peace, nuclear abolition, and decolonization (Kinchy, 2009; Robeson, 1988). The experience, no doubt, contributed to the observation that the Robeson epigraph makes on the race-radical desire for free mobility. Race-radical lunar criticism The United States would not make its lunar touch down until 1969 (after Kennedy’s and King’s assassinations), but King found a moon landing a more plausible future than a Second Reconstruction. And it was more plausible. By the time of his speech, long, hot summers of urban uprisings punctured the image of freedom and opportunity that the United States projected around the world. Moreover, the War on Poverty, while less than three years old, was virtually dead letter. The 1966 midterm elections ushered in legislators who claimed a mandate to terminate the War on Poverty and urban social investments. The ‘great rat debate’ of 1967 captured the level of political polarization as Congress quibbled over a miserly sum of ‘no more than $16.5 million to combat rodent infestations in ghetto neighborhoods.’ A year later, the Los Angeles Times observed, ‘[r]ats are still coexisting with the poor as comfortably as ever’ (Abramson, 1968). It is within this context that Gil Scott-Heron’s ‘Whitey on the Moon’ makes landing in 1970 on his first album, Small Talk at 125th and Lennox. The poem’s narrative arc is wryly humorous and brief, delivered in less than two minutes, with a simple drum accompaniment common in street poetry. Scott-Heron tells the story of sister Nell, who has been attacked by a rat even as Neil Armstrong lands on the moon: A rat done bit my sister Nell with Whitey on the moon. Her face and arms began to swell and Whitey’s on the moon. I can’t pay no doctor bills, but Whitey’s on the moon. Ten years from now I’ll be payin’ still while Whitey’s on the moon. Debts for Nell’s medical treatment, which would not have been incurred were there basic tenant rights and public health investments, will extend into the foreseeable future as costs for rent, food, and taxes will continue to rise to pay for the voyage. The final line of the song offers a sardonic resolution to the outlandish situation. When the next doctor bills arrive, he will forward them ‘air mail special to Whitey on the moon.’ Marvin Gaye’s 1971 song ‘Inner City Blues (Make Me Wanna Holler)’ likewise links high taxes and inflation to an imperial project that results in the devastation of Black lives: ‘Markets, moon shots, spend it on the have-nots/Money, we make it, ‘fore we see it, you take it.’ Scott-Heron and Gaye flip racist narratives of the welfare queen as responsible for poverty, naming instead state neglect and the theft of Black wealth. Their songs reclaim the value being appropriated to a desirable national project that denies it rests on Black expropriation and death. In this reading, the moon counters temporalities and spatialities of racial liberalism that rendered white supremacy as historical and anachronistic by insisting that American white supremacy is part of the modern geopolitical order. Visual artist Faith Ringgold also depicted this reality in her 1969 paint- ing of an American flag entitled ‘Flag for the Moon: Die Nigger.’ The word ‘die’ reads across the block of stars in the flag’s upper left corner. The stripes of the flag are formed by elongated black letters aligned from the bottom to the top edge of the flag, spelling out the word ‘nigger’ between the customary 13 red stripes. The painting’s message is three-fold: the use of black paint in place of white draws attention to the negative space between the lines to illustrate the tense interrelation between the invis- ibility of white supremacy and Black people to the history of the United States. Ringgold indicts the act of placing the flag on the moon as sending a spectacular message underscoring the abandonment of Black needs. Yet, the painting’s reference to H. Rap Brown’s Die, Nigger, Die! suggests the immediate tension between structural racism and the possibility for liberatory Black politics and identity (Patton, 1998, p. 198). ‘Whitey on the Moon’ is often cited as an expression of afrofuturism, which Mark Dery defines as a genre of Black social thought concern- ing ‘culture, technology, and things to come’ (Dery, as cited in Nelson, 2002, p. 9). For Kodwo Eshun, afrofuturism provides a ‘resource for speculation’ that traces the ‘potentiality of space and distance within the high-pressure zone of perpetual racial hostility’ (Eshun, 2003, p. 299). He explains that afrofuturism ‘uses extraterrestriality as a hyper- bolic trope to explore the historical terms, the everyday implications of forcibly imposed dislocation, and the constitution of Black Atlantic subjectivities: from slave to negro to coloured...to black to African to African American’ (pp. 298–299). In an afrofuturist reading, radical lunar criticism uses the vast physi- cal distance of the earth to the moon to imagine alternative futures to the gaping racial divides in earthly living conditions and well-being. As Stevphen Shukaitis suggests, ‘the imaginal machine based around space imagery is made possible by its literal impossibility. In the sense that this possibility cannot be contained or limited, it becomes an assemblage for the grounding of a political reality that is not contained but opens up to other possible futures that are not foreclosed through their pre-given definition’ (2009, p.107). Given the coloniality of the cosmic view and the simultaneous construction of Black ‘placelessness and constraint’ (McKittrick, 2011, p. 948), I suggest that Scott-Heron’s lunar criticism is not so much concerned with the otherworldly as a space for imagining the earthly impossible, but for assembling earthly sites of decolonization and liberation. Scott-Heron’s race-radical critique explores what Katherine McKittrick calls ‘spaces of encounter that hold in them useful anticolonial practices and narratives’ (2011, p. 950). He offers a theory of militarized spectacle in which juxtaposition, or division, falls way to connection, to shared production. He shows how a landscape of rat-infested housing produces the man on the moon – through taxes and a vanishing horizon of medical debt – and names the spectacle obscuring this process ‘Whitey.’ In contrast to liberal iterations of lunar criticism, which suggested that solving poverty was possible within the terms of American capitalism, Scott-Heron linked American capitalism to the production of poverty, militarism, environmental devastation, and human abandonment. These themes found in ‘Whitey on the Moon’ are consistent across his work, and include persistent criticism of spectacular popular culture and consumerism, war and state violence (‘No Knock,’ ‘King Alfred’s Plan,’ ‘Did You Hear What They Said?,’ ‘H20 Gate Blues,’ ‘B Movie’), concern for children’s well being (‘Speed Kills,’ ‘Who Will Save the Children?’), the threat of nuclear destruction and climate change (‘We Almost Lost Detroit,’ ‘South Carolina (Barnwell),’ ‘Spacesong’), drugs and habituation to other people’s suffering (‘Billy Green Is Dead,’ ‘Angel Dust,’ ‘Home is Where the Hatred Is’), and structural unemployment (‘Who Will Pay Reparations on My Soul?’). Scott-Heron’s poems link histories of forced mobility to the development of blues consciousness and revolution, exemplifying what Clyde Woods (2000) calls a ‘blues epistemology.’ Indeed, Scott-Heron described himself as a ‘bluesologist’ (Ward, 2011), pursuing the science of the blues, offering a diagnostic that the ‘I ain’t got no money blues, I ain’t got no job blues, I ain’t got no woman blues’ are the same things (Mugge, 1982). For Woods, the blues ‘has been used repeatedly by multiple genera- tions of working-class African Americans to organize communities of consciousness....It was used to confront the daily efforts of plantation powers to erase African American leadership and the memory of social progress. ... The blues and its extensions are actively engaged in providing intellectually brutal confrontations with the “truths” of working-class African American life. It draws on African American musical practices, folklore, and spirituality to re-organize and give a new voice to working- class communities facing severe fragmentation’ (2005, p. 1008). The economic and racial forces of displacement and fragmentation were not distant from Scott-Heron. He was born in Chicago and spent much of his childhood living with his grandmother in the small town of Jackson, Tennessee. He saw the African American section of Jackson demolished to build the new highway between Memphis and Nashville before moving at the age of 13 with his mother to New York City (Scott- Heron, 2012). They first lived with his uncle in the Bronx and later in the Robert Fulton Houses in Chelsea. From there, he rode the subway for over an hour to Fieldston, a private high school in the Bronx. After his first year of college at Lincoln University in Oxford, Pennsylvania, which he chose to attend because Black writers and leaders such as Langston Hughes, Kwame Nkrumah, and Thurgood Marshall studied there, he took a leave of absence to complete his first novel, The Vulture. The book was published in 1970, the same year as his first album (and book of poetry), Small Talk at 125th and Lennox, which also debuted the well-known poem ‘The Revolution Will Not Be Televised.’ Scott-Heron’s blues offered an anticolonial vision of race-radical revo- lutionary consciousness, evident on the album From South Africa to South Carolina (1975), which ties together nuclear colonialism in South Carolina with apartheid in South Africa. Claudrena Harold (2011) observes that, ‘Scott-Heron’s descriptions of “down home” routinely moved beyond the geographical borders of the former Confederacy and into the transna- tional terrain commonly referred to as the Global South.’ ‘Delta Man,’ for example, traces the development of revolutionary consciousness along the sites of the plantation and Great Migration, from the Mississippi Delta during slavery, to Nebraska following the Civil War, and then to the inner city. The bridge between each of these places – ‘revolution outta be where I’m comin’ from’ – shuttles possibility between sites of forced mobility. The history lessons found in ‘Spacesong’ and ‘Who’ll Pay Reparations on My Soul?’, moreover, speak of white settler dispossession of Native inhabitants. Such an expansive internationalist, decolonial desire tempers the feeling of despair otherwise dominant in ‘Winter in America.’ The song was written in 1975 at a moment when the possibility of the Black freedom and peace movements had been betrayed, leaving ‘nobody fight- ing ‘cause nobody knows what to save.’ Within an internationalist blues epistemology, however, the hopeful suggestion is that spring can still be found in movements outside of the United States (Peddie, 2011, 122). Mobilizing urban crisis The militarization of the urban crisis was accompanied by an ideological project to enclose the racialized ‘Black ghetto’ as a place separate from modern white suburbia, reifying it as a space of dangerousness that may be subject legitimately to exceptional rules and abandoned. The great rat debate contributed to this ideological crystallization. Southern Democrats and Republican opponents of the bill used innuendo (‘rats of the two-legged variety’ and ‘rats of the four-legged variety’) to tie the bill to race and rioting in Newark (Strickland, 1969, p. 342). Another congressman mockingly referred to it as the ‘civil “rats” bill’ (McLaughlin, 2011, p. 542). ‘Whitey on the Moon,’ by turn, revealed the truth that state abandonment is not just an afterthought, but a productive absence directly abetted by state violence. In drawing together the exploration of the moon with the extraction of value from and suppression of Black freedom movements, race-radical lunar criticism rejected the bifurcated militarized spectacle of limitless space and anachronistic ghetto confinement. Indeed, Scott-Heron offers a documentary trace of the new ‘great confinement’ that was then in the making (de Giorgi, 2006). In ‘No Knock,’ Scott-Heron invites listeners to take an incredulous interpretation of new legislation that enabled the police to enter a dwelling without notice: Long rap about “No Knock” being legislated for the people you’ve always hated in this hell hole that you/we call home. “No Knock,” the Man will say to keep this man from beating his wife. “No Knock,” the Man will say to protect people from themselves. His poem ‘King Alfred’s Plan’ discusses a Nixon plan for preventive detention that would create a caged future in the absence of Black political unity. ‘Locked in cages, pens, hemmed in shoulder to shoulder arms outstretched for just a crust of bread...Let us unite out of love and not hate / Let us unite on our own and not because of barbed wire death.’ As race-radical lunar criticism illustrates, the material and ideological struggle over urban crisis constituted a space for grappling with intersecting structures of white racial rule and empire, namely whether and how they could be democratically reconstructed. This offers a cultural trace of the shift from military Keynesianism to post-Keynesian militarism that Ruth Wilson Gilmore (1998) names as the conjuncture for the sharp expansion of the carceral state. In contrast to the ‘symbiotic’ progression from ‘ghetto’ to prison confinement offered by Wacquant (2001), race-radical lunar criticism illustrates both the tremendous contests over shifting forms of unfreedom and their situatedness within a broader crisis of imperialism that anticolonial and ‘domestic’ freedom struggles provoked. The uneven geography that the warfare-welfare state produced was the grounds of struggle over the costs and harms of militarization. Investments in defense were widespread but concentrated in New South and New West sites in the so-called Sunbelt, what Markusen and colleagues (1991) dubbed the Gunbelt. This unevenness was not only regional, but also shaped patterns of development at the metropolitan scale (Loyd, 2014). This social and spatial struggle was deeply racialized and gendered. For this reason, it is misleading to interpret the space race as a form of militarization that uniformly trumps basic needs, as liberal versions of spending priorities suggest. Conflicts over who would pay for the costs of empire and militarization were mediated through strug- gles over racism that took a spectacular form, splitting inner city from suburb in ways that obscured the intersections among race, class, and gender. The Black welfare mother was enlisted as the spectacular figure of national disorder, even though most welfare recipients were white and most Great Society spending supported middle class suburban homes. Scott-Heron’s retort to this scapegoating restored the racial economic context within which Black families and communities struggled for freedom. Cross-class welfare rights and peace movements questioned military Keynesianism, meaning that they increasingly rejected the wages of empire and believed that a democratic reconstruction of US society was possible only by ending its wars. Conclusion: race-radical lunar criticism for the prison home front As a sublime symbol of progress, exploration, and national purpose, the moon represented a material symbol of upward mobility and possibility for the nation. The Cold War space race as spectacle cohered an ideological understanding of upward mobility and progress. This spectacle, moreover, was not simply a mode of visuality, but also built material spaces of the economically buoyant Sunbelt-Gunbelt and fostered confinement of Black central city spaces and dislocation of residents from industries being developed elsewhere. Urban crisis, then, was fundamentally a crisis over Black ‘upward’ mobility in terms of movement through space (that is, the Great Migration and moving beyond confines of racial ghettos) and claims to political power and presence in public spaces. Race-radical lunar criticism defied the Cold War spectacle that would split the world in two, the nation into Black and white, American or failed American, by illustrating the relationships between the ghetto and suburb, the ghetto and empire. Critical interpretations of the relationship between racialized poverty and wealth, as offered through Black lunar criticism, did not disappear, but were submerged within a discourse that naturalized Black confinement in ghetto and prison spaces while obscuring the consolidation of political and economic forces responsible for a new, multiscalar regime of mobility and immobility. The political and cultural contest over this lived and ideological space of urban crisis underscores the uncertain future of the prison resolution. With mass incarceration in question from the left and right, race-radical lunar criticism offers some guidance for understanding how the present crisis may be resolved in favor of mobility justice. Scott-Heron’s song ‘Alien (Hold Onto Your Dreams)’ criticizes divide and conquer tactics, and ties the trajectories of transnational Latino/a migrants to African American histories of forced mobility. Moreover, Scott-Heron’s dialectical blues understanding of the politics of space suggests that dismantling the United States’ unprecedented carceral state will hinge not so much on comparing rates of spending on confinement versus welfare but on analyzing their interconnection and on developing political unity and (even) love. The peaceful promise of outer space – displacing the Man from the moon – remains tied to liberatory, decolonial projects on earth.

#### The appropriation of space by private entities isn’t value neutral but is facilitated by the cosmic elite and unequal IR.

Stockwell 20 [Samuel Stockwell (Research Project Manager, the Annenberg Institute at Brown University). “Legal ‘Black Holes’ in Outer Space: The Regulation of Private Space Companies”. E-International Relations. Jul 20 2020. Accessed 12/7/21. <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/07/20/legal-black-holes-in-outer-space-the-regulation-of-private-space-companies/> //Xu]

The US government’s support for private space companies is also likely to lead to the reinforcement of Earth-bound wealth inequalities in space. Many NewSpace actors frame their long-term ambitions in space with strong anthropogenic undertones, by offering the salvation of the human race from impending extinction through off-world colonial developments (Kearnes & Dooren: 2017: 182). Yet, this type of discourse disguises the highly exclusive nature of these missions. Whilst they seem to suggest that there is a stake for ordinary citizens in the vast space frontier, the reality is that these self-described space pioneers are a member of a narrow ‘cosmic elite’ – “founders of Amazon.com, Microsoft, Pay Pal… and a smattering of games designers and hotel magnates” (Parker, 2009: 91). Indeed, private space enterprises have themselves suggested that they have no obligation to share mineral resources extracted in space with the global community (Klinger, 2017: 208). This is reflected in the speeches of individuals such as Nathan Ingraham, a senior editor at the tech site EngadAsteroid mining, who claimed that asteroid mining was “how [America is] going to move into space and develop the next Vegas Strip” (Shaer, 2016: 50). Such comments highlight a form of what Beery (2016) defines as ‘scalar politics’. In similar ways to the ‘scaling’ of unequal international relations that has constituted our relationship with outer space under the guise of the ‘global commons’ (Beery, 2016: 99), private companies – through their anthropogenic discourse – are scaling existing Earth-bound wealth inequalities and social relations into space by siphoning off extra-terrestrial resources. By constructing their endeavours in ways that appeal to the common good, NewSpace actors are therefore concealing the reality of how commercial resource extraction serves the exclusive interests of their private shareholders at the expense of the vast majority of the global population.

#### Private companies utilize outer space as the foundation for a new era of logistical surveillance and control, manipulating satellites to justify American colonialism in the Middle East.

Stockwell 20 [Brackets Original. Samuel Stockwell (Research Project Manager, the Annenberg Institute at Brown University). “Legal ‘Black Holes’ in Outer Space: The Regulation of Private Space Companies”. E-International Relations. Jul 20 2020. Accessed 12/7/21. <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/07/20/legal-black-holes-in-outer-space-the-regulation-of-private-space-companies/> //Xu]

Private Space Corporations and Orbital Surveillance: Dual-Use Satellite Technology Starting in 2013, the leaking of classified information by former US National Security Agency employee Edward Snowden revealed the extent to which American intelligence agencies were collaborating with the private sector in mass surveillance operations (Bauman et al., 2014). In what has been described as the ‘securitisation’ of society, contemporary states have shifted from “politics to policing and from governing to managing” the public, which has often occurred without the consent or knowledge of their citizens (Petit, 2020: 31). While such practices have conventionally been Earth-bound in nature, the space domain provides an entirely radical and strategically beneficial perspective for conducting surveillance through satellites. Although many commercial US satellites provide an array of environmental and internet capabilities on Earth, they are also absolutely essential from a national security perspective of maintaining US space superiority (Chatters IV & Crothers, 2009: 257). This is known as the “dual-use” nature of satellites, where civilian and military purposes are blurred into a single observational system and can be adapted for different functions when necessary (Lubojemski, 2019: 128-129). Dual-use satellite technology has been vital for the US military in offering a tactical edge on the battlefield, with 80% of its satellite communications needs being derived from commercial satellites (Hampson, 2017: 7). The reliance on these networks forms a component of the broader US military doctrine of ‘space control’, part of which aims to secure the transmission of commercial satellite data that will prevent the exposure of sensitive military tactics (Peña & Hudgins, 2002). Whilst the OST does not contain any clauses specifying the rules or regulations of data monitoring in space, any form of malicious or illegal surveillance can be seen to violate Article XI, which requires states to: “Inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations as well as to the public and international scientific community, to the greatest extent feasible and practical, of the nature, conduct, locations and results of [space] activities” (UN, 1967). Yet, legal scholars have claimed that this clause is significantly weak, since states can withhold vital information about their space activities on the basis that the dissemination of such information is neither ‘feasible’ nor ‘practical’ (Chatterjee, 2014: 31-32). The absence of any clear UN guidelines has also meant that American satellite corporations are increasingly capable of refusing to state their intentions, or who their customers are – with the US government being one of these elusive clients. The 1994 Presidential Decision Decree-23 authorised the US government to require firms to either limit or stop sales of certain satellite images through a process known as ‘shutter control’. It is controversial because it designates the US executive branch the ability to limit publicly accessible information in certain circumstances, possibly violating First Amendment rights (Livingston & Robinson, 2003: 12). During the 2001 War in Afghanistan, the US government bought the rights to all orbital images taken over the theatre of operations by GeoEye’s Ikonos satellite on the grounds of ‘national security’ (The Guardian, 2001). However, media groups accused the government deal of preventing them from informing the public about matters of critical importance that in no way implicated national security, including the independent verification of government claims concerning damage to civilian structures and possible casualties (Livingston & Robinson, 2003: 12). These measures therefore undermined the OST’s Article XI clause by concealing important information to the public when it was feasibly possible, through the guise of national security discourse. At the same time, it allowed the US government to manipulate media coverage of areas it deems to be essential for conditioning public war support in Afghanistan, whilst simultaneously strengthening its space control doctrine. In many ways this strategy can also be seen as facilitating a ‘global panoptical’ intelligence network (Backer, 2008). By extending the private-public hybrid structure of surveillance into outer space, businesses and governments have the opportunity to observe millions of global citizens unknowingly at any one point – and with it – immense amounts of data. Given that GeoEye received nearly two million dollars in contract-related fees from the US government for its Ikonos pictures (The New York Times, 2001), this could incentivise the commercial satellite industry to continue to restrict data that might serve the interests of citizens globally. As such, satellite imaging may turn into a form of orbital data-siphoning where companies conducting observations in space could sell off their data to the highest bidder, with a concerning disregard for privacy rights. Indeed, the revelations surrounding Cambridge Analytica and Facebook have underscored the extent to which private entities are monetising off the sensitive information of their consumers unknowingly (Balkin, 2018: 2050-2051).

#### The framing of outer space as the frontier renders private entities as the primary colonizing force that marginalizes the Otherized.

Kearnes and van Dooren 17 [Matthew Kearnes (Associate Professor, School of Humanities & Languages, University of New South Wales) and Thom van Dooren (Deputy Director at the Sydney Environment Institute and an Associate Professor in the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney). “Rethinking the Final Frontier: Cosmo-Logics and an Ethic of Interstellar Flourishing”. Geohumanities. Vol 3. Pages 178-197. 18 Apr 2017. Accessed 1/2/22. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/2373566X.2017.1300448> //Xu]

We discuss the frontier in greater detail in the final section of this article. For now, however, we note that this framing raises a broad range of problems, some of which have been explored by others (Billings 1997; Newell 2014). Centrally important here are the ways in which frontier rhetoric naturalizes expansion, downplaying the significance of what existed prior to the arrival of the brave explorers and settlers, where every movement is conceived as a movement into “unoccupied” space. In addition, the frontier also refigures the homeland in important ways: The promise of new resources and territories beyond the frontier—especially in the context of an opening rendered necessary by the virtual exhaustion of previous lands—can function to undermine the perceived value of home (Plumwood 1993). There is a strange kind of empty-fullness to the frontier, a site simultaneously devoid and full of possibilities. The lands beyond the frontier could well have immense value—from the Californian gold fields to the potential mineral value of asteroids—but in this frontier logic the only values that register are those of the (dominant) colonizing force. Other modes of valuation are quickly swept aside, from those of local sentient beings, to minority opinions among the colonizing culture itself (which might, for example, advocate the value of leaving these places to their own devices). At the same time, although the frontier is often presented as the definitive site of colonial power and expansionist impulse, it is worth recalling that in practice European empires and colonial enterprises were often characterized by heterogeneous forms of political rule and chaotic engagements with indigenous peoples and environments. For example, countering its image as “vast and apparently despotic,” MacKenzie (1997) argued that the British Empire was “in reality a ramshackle conglomerate, very far from the allseeing, allpowerful monolith” (222). In this sense, frontier logics tended to paper over the heterogeneous and contingent attempts to impose colonial rule. Alongside the projection of amorphous space, again and again in these off-Earth discussions, the human figure takes a homogenous form: what Cosgrove (2001) termed “the rhetoric of universal brotherhood in a shrinking world” (272). Continuing the tradition cemented by the popular reception of the first photos of Earth from outer space, this tendency evokes the notions of a shared fate of a global humanity, that seemed to arise—almost naturally—from the “above ground” perspective beamed back to Earth by interstellar travelers (Jasanoff 2001). This amorphous humanity is positioned in very different ways in these discussions: in some cases the destroyer of extraterrestrial life, in other cases liberated from the constraints of a finite planet, free to expand the human project out into the stars. In the vision of Deep Space Industries (DSI Media 2016)—as conveyed in a short promotional video—the future is one in which we are able to “create a better future for all of us through space resources.” This talk of “humanity” or “all of us” must raise questions about who will actually benefit from extraterrestrial expansion. Recent science fiction explorations of this theme—like Kim Stanley Robinson’s (2012) 2312 and Neill Blomkamp’s (2013) Elysium—offer dystopic, yet strangely familiar, visions of a future in which the Earth-bound live on as poor neighbors to those with new forms of, very literal, upward mobility. Some recent scholarly discussions have taken these distributional issues seriously, benefiting from the introduction of perspectives from environmental justice, feminist philosophy, and political ecology (Billings 2006; French 2013; Schwartz and Milligan 2017; Mitchell 2017). In contrast to the dominant threads of ethical scholarship on space from the 1980s and 1990s—which focused on the relationship between, on the one hand, an amorphous “humanity,” and on the other, off-Earth organisms or landscapes (Baird Callicott 1986; Rolston 1986; K. Lee 1994; Lupisella and Logsdon 1997; Marshall 1997; Sparrow 1999)—these more recent discussions have served to open up questions of justice and the oppression of certain human groups in relation to, for example, the potential terraforming of Mars (French 2013). This attention to questions of justice within the scholarly literature picks up on a longer history within legal and political scholarship, as well as international discussions and agreements at the United Nations and elsewhere that have explored who is being left out of the “space race” (Billings 2006), including equity and benefit sharing among nations, the ownership of off-Earth territory and resources (United Nations 1996; Cooper 2003; Tronchetti 2014) and geostationary orbit allocations for satellites (Rathman 1999). Much of this work has pointed to the fact that it is probable that the future outcomes of the space age—from resource extraction to new scientific discoveries and burgeoning markets in space tourism—will be unequally distributed.5 For the most part, however, discussions of off-Earth mining and space colonization gloss over or completely ignore these issues in their celebration of human expansion and its projected benefits. More than simply ignoring human diversity and inequity, these discussions are grounded on, and in fact leverage, a very particular figure of the universal human, that of an inherently rapacious species engaged in unavoidable expansion.6 From this perspective, space exploration is able to be presented as “a natural extension of [hu]mankind’s desire to explore our own planet” (Williamson 2003, 47, italics added), while “the exploitation of mineral resources from celestial bodies” is “the logical progression of human development” (R. J. Lee 2012, 1, italics added). At the same time, the commercial “development of the space environment—for industry, commerce and tourism” is presented as “a natural extension of our current business and domestic agenda” (Williamson 2003, 47, italics added). A prominent Web site on off-Earth mining confidently announces that “as history has repeatedly shown, where there are valuable minerals to be unearthed, adventurous humans will arrive in droves—even if it means battling extreme conditions and risking life and limb” (Australian Centre for Space Engineering Research 2016). On its Space Settlements Web site, NASA develops the trope that humans are naturally expansive even further: “Why build space settlements? Why do weeds grow through cracks in sidewalks? Why did life crawl out of the oceans and colonize land? Because living things want to grow and expand. We have the ability to live in space … therefore we will” (cited in Mitchell 2017). So it is the notion of the frontier—fecund with images of space as devoid both of humans and recognizable signs of cultivation (both material and cultural), but rich in potential resources— that operates as the screen on which the figure of collective humanity is projected. This framing is found even within much of the literature focused on the ethics of space mining and colonization. Here, however, it is the crossing of this frontier—the threshold between a familiar earthly home and a foreign and exotic other—that precipitates the need for ethics. For scholars writing in the long shadow of the colonial experience—both historic and continuing—the echoes between the notion of a stellar frontier and the projection of a space ripe for ethical and material cultivation should be enough to give us significant pause for thought. We need only recall the consequences for both indigenous communities and colonial landscapes that projections of empty space (literally terra nullius) have had—but also the role of particular modes of ethical and moral philosophy in perpetuating and even enabling this violence (Arneil 1996) 7 —to want to insist on a different starting point.

#### Thus, I affirm Resolved: The appropriation of outer space by private entities is unjust. Spec and definitions in doc.

The – “used to point forward to a following qualifying or defining clause or phrase”. Google. <https://www.google.com/search?q=the+definition&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS877US877&oq=the+definition&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i64j69i61j69i60l2.2103j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

Appropriation – “an act or instance of appropriating something”. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/appropriation>

Of – “indicating an association between two entities, typically one of belonging”. <https://www.google.com/search?q=of+definition&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS877US877&oq=of+definition&aqs=chrome..69i57j69i60.1494j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

Outer Space – “the physical universe beyond the earth's atmosphere”. <https://www.google.com/search?q=outer+space+definition&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS877US877&oq=outer+space+definition&aqs=chrome..69i57j69i60.2363j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

By – “identifying the agent performing an action.”. <https://www.google.com/search?q=by+definition&rlz=1C1CHBF_enUS877US877&oq=by+definition&aqs=chrome.0.69i59.1433j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

Is – “dialectal present tense first-person and third-person singular of BE”. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/is>

#### Unjust means unfair.

U.S. Supreme Court 97 [Brackets Original. 521 U.S. 591 (1997) AMCHEM PRODUCTS, INC., et al. v. WINDSOR ET AL. No. 96-270. United States Supreme Court. Argued February 18, 1997. Decided June 25, 1997. Accessed 1/11/21. <https://scholar.google.com/scholar_case?case=10149606034909104692&q=definition+of+unjust+as+unfair&hl=en&as_sdt=6,44> //Xu]

The Rule 23(b)(3) predominance inquiry tests whether proposed classes are sufficiently cohesive to warrant adjudication by representation. See 7A Wright, Miller, & Kane 518— 519.[19] The inquiry appropriate under Rule 23(e), on the other hand, protects unnamed class members "from unjust or unfair settlements affecting their rights when the representatives become fainthearted before the action is adjudicated or are able to secure satisfaction of their individual claims by a compromise." See 7B Wright, Miller, & Kane § 1797, at 340-341. But it is not the mission of Rule 23(e) to assure the class cohesion that legitimizes representative action in the first place. If a common interest in a fair compromise could satisfy the predominance requirement of Rule 23(b)(3), that vital prescription would be stripped of any meaning in the settlement context.

#### Private belongs “Affecting or belonging to private individuals, as distinct from the public generally. Not official.”

That’s Black’s Law Dictionary [“What is PRIVATE?” Black’s Law Dictionary. No Date. Accessed 1/4/21. <https://thelawdictionary.org/private/> //Xu]

#### Entity is “Legally, equal to a person who might owe taxes. A generic term inclusive of person, partnership, organization, or business. An entity can be legally bound. An entity is uniquely identifiable from any other entity.”

That’s Black’s Law Dictionary [“What is ENTITY?” Black’s Law Dictionary. No Date. Accessed 1/4/21. <https://thelawdictionary.org/entity/> //Xu]

#### Instead of the logistical project of managing loss through property and ownership, understand the 1AC as a project of indebtness and hapticality, orienting away from the individuation of a smooth-functioning subject.

Moten and Harney, 21 (Fred Moten, Professor of Performance Studies for the Tisch School of the Arts at NYU, PhD in English from UC Berkeley, 2020 MacArthur Genius Fellow, Stefano Harney, Professor of Strategic Management for the Lee Kong Chian School of Business at Singapore Management University, PhD in Social and Political Sciences from the University of Cambridge, co-founder of Ground Provisions—a curatorial collective, founder of the School for Study—a nomadic study collective, 2021, *All Incomplete*, pp 13-18) gz

The first theft shows up as rightful ownership. This is the theft of fleshly, earth(l)y life, which is then incarcerated in the body. But the body, it turns out, is just the first principal-agent problem. The body is just an overseer, a factor, a superintendent for the real landlord, the real owner, the individual, in his noxious, heavy-handed conceptuality. The legal term for this principal-agent problem is mind. In this regard, the designation ‘mind/body problem’ is a synecdochal redundancy in abstraction rather than an entanglement, or even an opposition, of *anima* and matter, mama and soul.

There’s this formulation that Robert Duncan gets from Erwin Schrödinger that helps a certain disordering along. Schrödinger says “living matter evades the decay to equilibrium.” Well, if Proudhon is right, and slavery, murder, robbery, and property are a unit; if the general regime of private property is most accurately understood as social death; then what if death/private property is that equilibrium of which Schrödinger speaks? What John Donne speaks of by way of God’s sovereign capacity to preserve is a problem that will have been meant to solve a problem; and when Schrödinger speaks of evading the decay to equilibrium, he isn’t saying that all decay is bad. Corruption is our (accursed) share, our antological practice, our eccentric centering, as M.C. Richards might say. How we evade ownership/equilibrium is given precisely in that refusal to prevent loss that we call sharing, rubbing, empathy, hapticality: the undercommon love of flesh, our essential omnicentric or anacentric eccentricity.

Every thing, in the wake of such disordering, is loss prevention. John Locke creates the tabula rasa as a container for properties – properties of the mind, and properties owned by the propertied mind. Self-knowledge is self-possession and self-positioning in Locke. His accumulation process is auto-location, because one can’t help but settle for that. From the first moment, which appears to keep happening all the time, all property is posited, beginning with the positing/positioning of a body for locating ownership, and the owned, and a mind for owning. The posit and the deposit inaugurate ownership as incorporation, whose inevitable end, given in continual withdrawal, is loss. This requires the production of a science of loss, which is to say the science of whiteness, or, logistics.

Every acquisition, every improvement, is an ossification of sharing. This ossification is given in and as containment. The first odious vessel produced by and for logistics is not the slave ship, but the body – flesh conceptualized – which bears the individual-in-subjection. A profound viciousness begins with this colonization of the posited body, the appointment of the posited mind, and the manipulation – in various modalities of brutality – of their mutually enveloping redundancy, given in the dead perpetual motion of the will to colonize. This enclosure, this settlement, will be repeated because it must be repeated. Every slave will have been every time the mirror in which the self, in seeing itself, comes into existence in and as itself, which is an omnicidal fantasy.

Locke invents the derivative here, a degraded part of the accursed share that is poised to draw on the power of this share, but only to create more derivatives, to create more zones of dispossession by positing possession, in the denial of loss that prepares for loss. All property is loss because all property is the loss of sharing. In its willfulness, property is theft; but beyond the murderousness that would attend theft-in-acquisition one mind/body at a time, the theft in question here is absolute serial murder, which we survive only insofar as all property remains vulnerable to sharing. This is to say nothing other than that all property is fugitive. It flees from its own positing, runs from being-deposited. All (property) jumps bail. Sharing, exhaustion, expending, derivation will have been contained and congealed in the measurable and accountable individual unit of the derivative. But sharing is our means, the earth’s means in us and our means in earth. Logistics would seem to value means over ends – everything is how to get it there, not what it is – but logistics is really the degradation of means, the general devaluation of means through individuation and privatization, which are the same thing. It is the science of lost means advanced with every act of loss prevention.

#### The 1AC is an endorsement fugitive science – the anti-Black technologies of space exploration isn’t limited to whiteness, but is radically retooled toward a shadow archive of blurred lines and assemblages.

Murillo 19 [Brackets Original. Dr. John Murillo III (Assistant Professor of African American Studies at the University of California, Irvine. His primary research interests are Black speculative fiction, critical theory, quantum mechanics, and popular media). “Review: Fugitive Science: Empiricism and Freedom in Early African American Culture, by Britt Rusert”. Vol. 5 No. 1 (2019): Special Section on Crip Technoscience. Catalyst Journal. Apr 1, 2019. Accessed 1/4/22. <https://catalystjournal.org/index.php/catalyst/article/view/30498/24698> //Xu]

So we begin here and at a bit of length because this kind of narrative of experimentation and research done unseen, in the margins and between the lines, warrants revisiting after reading Britt Rusert’s profoundly illuminating Fugitive Science: Empiricism and Freedom in Early African American Culture. Rusert chronicles what she describes as a shadow archive—a history that lurks behind, undergirds, and complicates the dominant archive—of “African American science writing [and cultural production] in the antebellum period” (2017, p. 8), and she she calls this archive fugitive science. Fugitive science describes a heterogeneous, innovative, resistant, “dynamic and diverse archive of engagements with, critiques of, and responses to” (p. 4) the antiblack racial science that proliferated the antebellum episteme, and it expands the definition of science to include forms of praxis and experimentation typically, and often deliberately, unrecognized as science: conjuring, performance, astrology, mysticism, mesmerism, and imaginative speculation. Citing Michel Foucault’s The Order of Things: An Archaeology of rhe Human Sciences, Rusert charactizes fugitive science as a “counter-science,” (p. 6) one undergirded by a “subterranean politics and furtive insurgency” (p. 17) aimed at appropriating, confronting, mocking, or otherwise destabilizing the logics of the racial science of the antebellum period and its political and ideological echoes in eras beyond. It is a science of the “unthought” (Hartman & Wilderson, 2003) that innovates from the outside margins of history or in between the lines of the archive; it describes a set of “ongoing experiments in freedom, radical empiricisms” (p. 20) that refuse the normative constrictions and often deathly, antiblack consequences of what would typically be recognized as scientific inquiry. Irreducible to any one form of thought production (from writing to visual art to performance), it treats science—and knowledge writ large—as an “assemblage of different fields and practices that could” and should “be dismantled, reassembled, and redirected” (p. 132) toward Black thought’s work of “imagining the unimaginable” (Sharpe, 2014, p. 59): liberation from, or the end of, the antiblack world. In that way, Rusert’s fugitive science is alchemical: from base elements marshaled from countless arenas of thought and experience, fugitive scientists such as Benjamin Banneker, Henry Box Brown, Martin R. Delaney, Sarah Mapps Douglass, and even Brenda Smith, my grandmother, Blacken and transmute an altogether radical unique, and “unthinkable” scientific practice. Rusert categorizes three forms of fugitive science, but the lines between them blur and even disappear from case to case—it is, after all, a radically dynamic form of knowledge production; moving through the text, one might do well to also consider these forms to be like frequencies on which all fugitive science articulates. The oppositional frequency of fugitive science describes work done to intervene explicitly into scientific discourses, especially those that reinforced the ruling, antiblack episteme. Works operating on the practical frequency attempted to instrumentalize science and technology in ways that could help advance the project of emancipation. And finally, the speculative frequency of fugitive science wields the imaginative richness of scientific inquiry to explore the limits, conditions of possibility, and revolutionary potential of Black existence. Throughout her chronicling of the history and genealogy of fugitive science, Rusert reveals the fluidity of these forms, the ease with which an individual figure, work, or exchange may articulate on one or more of these frequencies at once. As examples, Benjamin Banneker’s confrontations with Thomas Jefferson over Jefferson’s infamous Notes on the State of Virginia locate the oppositional origin point for Rusert’s history of fugitive science. Banneker’s extensive critiques of Jefferson and those that followed in their wake—like James McCune Smith’s essays—act as intentionally and predominantly oppositional works meant to intervene against racial science. On another frequency, Martin R. Delany’s novel, Blake; or, The Huts of America, weaves a speculative history and future of revolutionary movement and organization that marshals both practical astronomical knowledge and metaphysical rumination. A work of more remarkably varied frequencies, Rusert reads Delany’s novel as aiming to radically destabilize the boundaries between metaphysical mysticism and science, and to provide information that could all advance the cause of Black liberation in and beyond the antebellum period. And on still another frequency, the little-known teachings and lectures on physiology of Sarah Mapps Douglass, which she offered almost exclusively to Black women and young girls, indirectly offers a response to “the forms of experimental science that exploited [Joice] Heth, [Sarah] Baartman, and countless other women of African descent in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world” (p. 185), where Black women were (and are) subject to layer of violent erasure that render(ed) them the “mute experimental subjects of nineteenth century science” (p. 181). Further, Douglass’s lectures operate on a lower frequency than the other subjects of Rusert’s texts, a frequency of the lapses silences of the unavailable archive—muted, censored, displaced, or forgotten into unavailability—necessitating speculation in the form of inferences, like stitches, drawn from the limited records Rusert is able to collect. In this way, Douglass also responds to the longue dureé of the deliberate and casual erasure of Black women from the still unfolding history and genealogy of fugitive science. Each work, moment, and exchange of fugitive science encapsulates a dynamic expression announcing anew the defiant, creative, and uncontainable project of Black freedom on multiple frequencies. Essential to fully tuning into the frequencies of these and the many fugitive scientists of Rusert’s study—and of Rusert’s study itself as well—is an attention to the grand questions about and implications for Black knowledge production and critical, creative thought that her chronicle compels us to (re)consider. As and after we read Fugitive Science, we must rethink the ways we define, recognize, and take seriously science, critique, resistance, and knowledge itself. After encountering the variable frequencies and forms fugitive science takes, how can we delimit what constitutes scientific inquiry? How might we better tune to the lower frequencies of intellectual and creative endeavors that we otherwise miss, that are rendered inaudible, or that we would normally disallow from being truly engaged as knowledge? Like I have been compelled to do, both at the outset of these remarks and in my own research, we might begin by radically reconsidering our encounters with the alternative, vexing, sometimes fraught fragments of experimentation, research, and speculation that comprise the vast, varied, and still-unfolding archive of Black thought. We might search the silences and lower frequencies for those articulations of Black innovation that fugitively traverse the static. We must, then, innovate an alternative form of reading and listening that will enable us to find what we, prior to reading this text, did not know we would do well to seek. Only then might the full expression of Fugitive Science and all its lessons from the antebellum period enable us to continue and advance the revolutionary struggle against racist science and its ripples in the contemporary moment.

#### The private project of space embodies an avatar of destruction that marshals violent energies to annihilate the archive – voting aff endorses Black Alchemy to transform racialized fears into incoherent spaces for Black life.

Murillo, 20—Assistant Professor, African American Studies School of Humanities, UC-Irvine (John, “Untimely Dispatch From the Middle of Nowhere 24,” Propter Nos Vol. 4 (2020), dml)

We work with the shards of Black life and death that called out to us because we knew and know that the critical, caring, and perilous work we need to do is bound up with destruction. These fragments of Black life and death surrounding us affirm our sense of our own untimeliness against the neatness of time, and of our stankiness in the middle of nowhere.

I have written elsewhere and at length about what I am calling “untime,” which describes the dereliction of Black temporality, and about “stankiness,”1 the defining characteristic of the nowhere of Black spatiality. The untimeliness that signals our destructive relationship to human models and experiences of time and the stankiness that signals our destructive relationship to human spaces and spatiality act as the Black prima materia, the Black and essential material, with which we must work to create these impossible stories we imagine, witness, bear, conjure, and live in and against the antiblack cosmos where and when we cannot be. What we knew, and now know with excruciating intimacy, to be the violent, distorted fabric of spacetime shaping the field of fragments around us is the material we must bend to create Black pocket universes from streets to pages (and everywhere and when between). We knew and know that in order to conjure Black spacetimes that might upend the antiblack cosmos, we would have to become avatars of destruction, able to bend the forces of untimeliness and stankiness and love toward the kinds of authentic upheaval that must be born if we are to save the earth and conjure the impossible story of a wholly unimaginable world.

Wherever and whenever we’ve ended up, nowhere is better or more apropos, and we’ve got no time to celebrate. We wordly wanderers wander wondering about the possibility of other worlds, word worlds that would warp and rend and otherwise radically reimagine the fabric of spacetime, especially since we understand the ways that our pain, terror, and subjection stitch that fabric together. We traverse the perilous folds in space and wrinkles in time in search of the fragments of a theory of Black spacetime because we recognized that understanding not only how time and space tear Black life, death, and creation absolutely asunder, but also how Black life, death, and creation unsettle and upend time and space,2 would be essential if we aimed to take time and make space for Black folk, in theory, in word, and in deed.

Our many lingering questions about the actual possibilities of Black creation are the connective force arranging the field of these fragmented, impossible stories we sought out and that sought us out, that we write and we tell, around us. For Jasmine, Shakara, Dajerria, Sandra, Kalief, Nephi, for my students across time and space, for my wife and my family, and for all the Black folk living and dying untimely lives and deaths in the middle of nowhere, these questions illuminate the path forward, propel and direct the vector of our imaginative journey, and shape our vision of a destination. Asking how we have marshaled, do marshal, and might better marshal the violent energy of our spatiotemporal dereliction and transmute it into the creative, caring energy required to conjure moments and sites for Black folk to disturb the air with our breath opens us into a serious consideration of the stakes and potentiality of Black creation. Our visitations with Black words and worlds created and lived by Black folk allow us to advance this consideration and to move ourselves toward taking the leap into the wholly Black black hole of it all.

Ultimately, our leap leads us to recognize that to make the arrangements, conjure ways out of no way, and take and make time when there is none to spare is to engage in dangerous work—and not in the least because the work tends to draw the fire, bullets, terror, and domination of the antiblack world, its institutions, and its agents;3 we work with volatile material, this stuff of untimely death and destruction, and this stank of nowhere, so we must negotiate how we imperil ourselves and the variously dead and living Black folk for whom we care. How we handle the forces that destroy us, that remove us from a subject position—that is, from a stable location relative to space and time—has significant import for us because our handling of these forces will impact those who encounter the creations we destructively produce.

How we alchemically transmute destruction determines the shape the product takes and the effects it might have on those for whom we endeavored to create it. How we treat this material across each step of the process of alchemical creation affects what form that material is able to take. Alchemy functions as a useful frame for this process because it requires the dissolution or destruction of our prima materia, our original material, as a necessary and first step toward the creation of something else. Nigredo, alchemy’s first step, signifies blackness and requires the dissolution of our source material, compelling us to think about how we break our material down to its volatile essential components. Albedo, alchemy’s second step, signifies whiteness and requires the distillation of the usable from what nigredo produces, compelling us to consider how we scrub clean or purify what we can or want to use of that material. And rubedo, alchemy’s final step,4 signifies redness and results in the synthesis of the fabled philosopher stone itself, compels us to consider how we alter and synthesize that destructive force into a radically different product. Alchemical transmutation is the process of radical breaking-apart/disordering, reorganization, and creation. When we think of Black creation, especially when that creation is inherently a ‘working-with-fragments,’ we must think (and have thought) about the ways we handle these fragments throughout the complex process of transmutation under untimely, spatially dislocated conditions.

This is a good way of thinking about what has been the subject and the work of the kind of impossible invention Black folk (vie to) perform: on the one hand, we spend pages trying to think about how this process works (its mechanics) and to what ends (its stakes and possibilities); on the other, we spend pages performing this work by unraveling the entanglement of Blackness, spacetime, care, and creation, extracting what is essential to this entanglement, and producing a theory of Black untimely creation out of nowhere. Across genres, styles, disciplines, and paradigmatic divides marked by woefully inadequate names, written account of a difficult and dangerous transmutation. Working with and through our destructive relationship with the fabric of the cosmos produces what we understand to be an essential contradiction of Black creative work: in this cosmos, our untimeliness and our displacement are constitutive to our capacities to make time or take a minute, and to make space or find our way; that which destroys our relationship to time, space, and each other remains inextricably bound up with our creative aspiration and imaginative aim. We knew this, and we know this, and we have created, and do and will continue to create under these conditions.

Fragment 117

Destructive Writing, and Fragmented Work

How

to tell

a

shattered

story?5

What is required to…tell an impossible story?6

I do not know

when or how else

to begin,

but I do know that

each and

e ver y Black frag ment

matters

Here are the fragments put together by another me7

The cord of cowrie shells drags across the polished dark wood of the floor beneath her feet, tracing a constellation through the small nodes of water she arranged before us. M. NourbeSe Philip conjures a liquid narrative arc from the watery remnants of the lost words and names, bodies and souls, and untimely timelines of Black lives lost at sea as she performs selections from Zong! for we who sought to bear water and witness.

Clamoring cowrie shells clatter a rhythm for our guided collective recollection. Like the beautiful fragments of shells to which she was condemned to beaches to search, they are their own w/holes, and their arrangement along the snaking cord traces the coordinate field of the event horizon that she asks us to cross. The wet drag of heavy, shelled rope through water scratch-splash-crashes above a low rumble, the drumroll of tidal forces altering the fabric of the small, dark cosmos of the theater. Overwhelming, oceanic, Black, chant, song, dance, breath, wake, word, and work warp, wrinkle, and collapse into one another. We get lost in the riff, rift, and riptide of the performance, rhythmically called by shell fragments to where and when the lost might be.8 In the cosmic Black magic being conjured, uncertainty is our familiar.

Zong! is M. NourbeSe Philip playing with fragments, a poiesis of destructive means and ends. There are orders of fragments at play, here, and play is only possible under the parameters set by Philip in an agreement with the limitations of the archive brokered by the 150 Black folk thrown overboard. The first order is comprised of the narrative bits of Black life and death that make up, but will always fail to fully add up to, the 150 souls lost beneath the waves. The second order is established by the fragmentary (and figmentary) nature of the available, historical account—the insurance claim and the court case. To become both magician and censor, the poet locks herself inside the limits of the available archive of the legal case, Gregson v. Gilbert, attempting to inhabit the same conditions endured by the slaves aboard the Zong/Zorgue. Sequestering herself to the language of the available record means situating herself in the “dysgraphia” characteristic of every untimely narrative fragment—of the Black lives thrown overboard from the deck of the Zong, of those left to die on a dinghy in the Mediterranean,9 of all of us. The “dysgraphia: the inability of language to cohere around the bodies and the suffering of [we] Black people who live and die in the wake and whose everyday acts insist Black life into the wake”10 is the condition of possibility for Philips’s magic. Incoherence makes her form of spellcasting—or spelling—possible. We read, we watch, and we are caught in the derangement of the spell.

The story of the Zong, the story that the dead demand to be told, can only be ‘un-told,’ or told in a deranged way by “re-presenting the sequence” of signs and symbols that index the available information. The writing becomes its own process of disfigurement and the process produces the second order of fragments: the language. The falling, failing, ripped-apartness of language, as an echo of the “seared, divided, ripped-apartness” of the “primary narrative” of Black flesh, becomes the manifestation of this destructive “praxis” and “theory,” “text for living and for dying, and…method for [writing] them both.”11 Spacing the words out and exploding their letters into the unintelligible disarray littering the pages of Zong! produces imaginative and physical strain. Eyes arrhythmically fail to track the lexical debris across, up, and down pages of the text, and the lack of an orthographic anchor subjects the imagination to a form of interpretive disorientation. The difference in legibility produced by a creative process that depends on the disfigurement of language and the refusal to impose meaning jettisons writer, reader, and witness into a state of imaginative vertigo.

M. NourbeSe Philip as Black poet, censor, and magician becomes something like a poetic Galactus: a Black cosmic entity and destroyer of words and worlds; a sentient, vigilant black hole in search of something in excess of meaning and sense, an “underlying current” subtending all that is written and all that the written account could ever mean. Against grammar, the “mechanism of force” structurally imposed onto the available language as symbolic order—the order of ideas, knowledge, and imaginations that ceaselessly and repeatedly murders Black beings—and the Black dysgraphia such grammar allows, Philip mutilates and disorders language, “literally [cutting] it into pieces, castrating verbs, suffocating adjectives, murdering nouns, throwing articles, prepositions, conjunctions overboard, jettisoning adverbs…[separating] subject from verb, verb from object—[creating] semantic mayhem” in the name of “reaching into the stinking, eviscerated innards…and [reading] the untold story that tells itself by not telling.” This “not-telling” is both vengeful and protective. It is vengeful because it is aimed at mutilating, jettisoning, murdering, suffocating, castrating, cutting, and exploding the archive in the same way the archive mutilates, jettisons, murders, suffocates, castrates, cuts and explodes Black being. And it is protective because Philip recognizes the need to avoid subjecting the dead “to new dangers and to a second order of violence,” one that not only affirms the violence of the grammar that imposes meaning and structure, but reproduces that violence (by ‘maintaining order’)—and this is a need recognized by Hartman, Spillers, Sharpe, myself, and countless others who know the perils of bearing fragmented witness and water.

Alchemically transmuting fragments is, in one sense, a form of violent play, a form of derangement and disorder that playfully transforms the violence that made them fragments into a form of violence that can challenge, or outright disintegrate, the symbolic order. Thinking in these terms frames Philip’s creative praxis as a form of offense. In this light, Philip poetically plays with language in order to conjure an assault on the normative constraints of language, grammar, and knowledge. Philip works with the lexical, political, and metaphysical refuse of the lost and dead Black folk thrown overboard by first recognizing them as such—as refuse, as effluvium, as whatever one might call the end product of spaghettification—and then by subjecting them to a form of destructively creative and creatively destructive alchemy that transmutes the violence that produced this refuse into something that attempts to dispose of the symbolic order and all its attendant limits. The organizing principle or grammar by which the antiblack fictions of the archive comes to be faces annihilation in the form of a poiesis that turns its refuse against itself.12 Reanimated13 or ghostly14 or deathly,15 the variously dead resurge in the breaks of word and meaning, and usher in an imaginative form of warfare waged at and against the limits of creative possibility imposed by the symbolic order that made Black folk deathly in the first place.

#### In a space dominated by anti-Blackness and white being, it is your obligation to refuse this inculcated authority. Thus, the ROB is to *endorse a fugitive pedagogy*.

**Givens, 21** - Assistant Professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and the Suzanne Young Murray Assistant Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University (Jarvis R. “Fugitive Pedagogy: Carter G. Woodson and the Art of Black Teaching,” Harvard University Press (2021), duongie)

While hyperbolic in his critique of black educators, Woodson’s rhetorical fashioning was not inconsistent with trends in black intellectual thought. 45 At first glance, it appears that Woodson berated the very group of people who constituted his greatest supporters. (One might recall here how Malcolm X, for instance, often scolded black people as fools, addicts, and slaves to the white man before suggesting that they might engage in practices of piety and self-transformation that would help them achieve dignity or self-respect.) Through this particular form of political representation of “the Negro teacher with no higher purpose,” a collective “we” is formed, that being black educators who actively chose to operate outside the interests of white educational authority. 46 The “Negro educators of today” represented in Woodson’s scenario were the ideal political actors based on the dominant ideology of the (white) American School. He anticipated how many educators fell into the traps of compliance, noting that at times “he has committed some of these errors himself.”47 Woodson’s experience as an educator allowed him to speak from a place of self-narration, where he put his prior self in the same category subjected to his critique (“the Negro teacher with no higher purpose”). Here Woodson is doing something similar to religion conversion discourse, whereby a speaker / initiate appeals to an audience by saying, in essence, “I, like you, was once lost, but now am found.” I was once parroting these white lies—I was even worse, given how deeply immersed into the system I was (a graduate of the University of Chicago, Harvard, etc.)—but now I am free, or vocationally sound, and you can be too. Woodson made it a point to express that it took him twenty years to recover after his PhD from Harvard. 48 In crafting an archetype of the American School’s ideal black educator, Woodson politically represented the kind of training and black teacher subjectivity to be refused and negated. Embedded in this rhetorical move was the assertion that the preferred educators were those who sought a higher purpose, those who committed to doing more than “what they are told to do” by white school authorities. Woodson rhetorically constructed the apolitical black educator—which was part fact and fiction, to be clear—as a means to articulate a refined political subjectivity for what it meant to be a black educator, one who is studiously suspicious and antagonistic toward the dominant schooling apparatus of the state. For these reasons, black teachers could read Mis-education or sit in the audience during Woodson’s speeches and nod in agreement. Their identities were formed over and against the picture painted of the abstract “Negro educators of today” (likely not the enlightened ones in the auditorium or reading his books). Woodson highlighted that “Negro History was not required of our teachers when they were in school, and they cannot be blamed for knowing less of this than of other things.”49 While sympathetic to this fact, Woodson critiqued teachers’ lack of attention to the history and culture of black people in schools. His critiques about black educators, which were at once a critique of black teacher training, manifested in written and spoken form, in newspaper columns and Mis-education, as well as speeches rendered at churches and black teacher convenings. The rhetorical task before Woodson when articulating these critiques about teacher training and practice was to get black educators to recognize and describe their education in the impoverished terms of “mis-education,” to then distance themselves from it and become ashamed enough (for lack of a better phrase) to engage in self-correction. This was to be in service of a self-transformation in line with their deepest vocational commitments, a realignment of the virtue of the black teacher. Woodson was appealing to commitments black teachers imagined themselves to have already possessed. This is not something he handed to them. His desire was to show them how they had fallen short, “how we missed the mark” as he put it. They might then reform themselves and their institutions in light of these collective shortcomings. Critique here was a necessary form of love and accountability, a critique of that which one values and seeks to make better. Woodson stressed the importance of black teachers’ associations as a space for teachers to engage with new ideas, emerging research about black life, and political demands of the day. He understood these meetings as a necessary alternative to the mainstream white teachers’ association. Talking to one black educator who preferred to attend the white professional meeting, Woodson responded as follows: Good enough.… You should attend the National Education Association [NEA]. You may get some help from it, but how often have you or other Negroes been invited to address that body? How often have they discussed problems of special bearing upon the work which you are doing? … If you cannot get some help also from the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, which is organized to render you special service in your particular task you cannot be seriously interested in the enlightenment of Negroes and you should be eliminated from their teaching corps. 50 This teachers’ lack of engagement with black teachers’ associations, as far as Woodson was concerned, indicated a lack of professional integrity, someone with no vocation for the art of black teaching. While the NEA might have allowed this black teacher to attend its meetings, the interests of black teachers were not represented on the organization’s agenda in any substantive way. Therefore, attending the national white meeting could not serve as a replacement for engaging the NATCS, an organization wholly committed to improving the experiences of African American teachers and prioritizing the needs of black students. After attending the NATCS meeting of 1932 in Montgomery, Alabama, Woodson commented, “It was one of the most profitable meetings which he had ever attended.” He proclaimed that any teacher in a school with black students needed to be a part of this professional organization. The teachers at this meeting were “awakening more rapidly than the other schools to realize that the Negro in the ghetto must be developed from within and under his own leadership.”51 As an abroad mentor, Woodson encouraged teachers to develop a more critical and informed perspective on the history of their race. This was essential for teachers to be effective instructors of black students, in addition to mastering knowledge in their content areas. While black life and culture was not centered in traditional teacher training pathways, black teachers encountered these ideas through their own professional channels and through Woodson’s ASNLH. As Woodson put it, the training received by both teachers and students conditioned them to become “blind to the Negro.”52 Therefore, black teachers had to actively work against this intentional underdevelopment of their group. His mission was to meet these needs in their veiled professional world. Black Teachers as “Scholars of the Practice” Beyond their encounters with his ideas at teachers’ association meetings, black teachers took up Woodson’s curricular interventions and put them to use in a variety of ways. His curricular materials—textbooks, the Negro History Bulletin, and various supplemental learning content —aided teachers in challenging the American Curriculum in the private spaces of their classrooms, which were nodes of the black counterpublic sphere—restricted spaces, (mostly) beyond the surveillance of white authorities. There, black teachers engaged their students without the mask of compliance they were forced to wear otherwise. Let us return to a rare and vivid account of such fugitive pedagogy: the anecdote of Tessie McGee with which this book opens. This scenario from McGee’s classroom offers a peek backstage, or access to part of the hidden transcript of black teachers’ work in their schools, which their public performance of deference concealed. 53 Woodson’s textbooks were appropriated by black teachers like McGee to contest white supremacy in the hallowed sites of their classrooms, where they cultivated the freedom dreams of future race leaders and worked to push black children to their highest potential. At the same time, the fugitive demands of black education required teachers to perform bold acts of defiance. Otherwise, they were forced to collude with a studiously structured program of mis-education. If black teachers were to teach against the grain of dominant curricula, to humanize black students and inspire them to push for social transformation, it would have to be deeply camouflaged. 54 The concealment of Woodson’s textbook in McGee’s lap, underneath the desk, was a clear marker of her fugitive pedagogy. She wore the mask of compliance even as she strained against the constraints of her Jim Crow classroom. McGee was likely not the only teacher in Webster Parish to use Woodson’s textbook, given the close association of the school’s faculty. Most of the school’s teachers, which totaled less than ten, boarded at the home of J. L. Jones, the school’s principal and a former presidential candidate for the Louisiana Colored Teachers’ Association. 55 The close interlocking of these teachers’ professional and home lives —given that they lived in a teachery—invites us to imagine how they may have shared instructional materials and planned their lessons with one another. Knowing that wellrehearsed performances of obedience were part and parcel of black teachers’ art of resistance, it is safe to infer that the action taken by McGee to secretly use Woodson’s textbook was not an isolated incident. The well-established channels of communication through black teachers’ associations were places where this political ethos of being “double agents” was cultivated and modeled. 56 Fugitive pedagogy also took place beyond the classroom. For example, Willis Nathaniel Huggins taught at Bushwick High School in Brooklyn and was the only black teacher of history in the New York public schools, where he began working in 1924. 57 Huggins became the first black PhD from Fordham University in 1932, taught Sunday courses on black history through the Negro History Club, and also opened a bookstore in Harlem. It was through these capacities that the renowned scholar John Henrik Clark came to refer to Huggins as “a master-teacher.”58 Huggins served in the capacities of president and instructor of the ASNLH’s New York City branch and in 1933 organized the First Annual Dinner of the Negro History Club, which included the participation of such Black Renaissance giants as Arturo Schomburg, Jessie Fauset, and Paul Robeson. And in 1937 Woodson recognized Huggins for the powerful lectures he gave around the city during Negro History Week. 59 The West Virginia State Teachers Association actively “encouraged membership in the NAACP” and similarly “endorsed the work of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.”60 Dr. Luther P. Jackson, a historian and committed colleague of Woodson’s, made sure that the state program of the Virginia State Teachers Association incorporated Negro History Week celebrations across their schools as well. 61 Furthermore, in 1934 Jackson organized a fund-raising campaign among black teachers and proudly boasted that more than three hundred teachers and hundreds of students donated money to the efforts of the ASNLH in his state. 62 By 1935 Woodson would come to name Negro History Week “the most popular effort ever made by the Association.”63 The historian Lawrence Riddick shared that Negro History Week was a “mass education program.” Woodson’s largest influence on the public came through this initiative. “The response to it from young and old, educated and uneducated, pleased him to no end.”64 Woodson himself declared that even if people were not familiar with the ASNLH or his career as the founder, they “nevertheless heard of and felt the impulse of Negro History Week.”65 To be clear, Negro History Week was not created as the one time throughout the year when students should learn about black history and culture. Woodson constantly reminded the public of this. In fact, he declared that it was the “duty of all teachers,” no matter their subject, to incorporate the life and history of black people into their curricula throughout the school year. 66 The success of Negro History Week relied on the efforts of black teachers’ associations, its wide coverage in the black press, and the work of individual educators who spread the cause in their local communities. One such figure was H. Councill Trenholm, a graduate of Morehouse College, a very influential leader of the Alabama State Teachers Association (ASTA), and an ASNLH board member. 67 Through his leadership in the ASTA, Trenholm conducted a study by circulating questionnaires “among black educators throughout Alabama to determine to what extent black students and the black community were being taught about the contributions of black people.”68 He went on to develop a two-year Negro History Project that began in 1936. This included “distributing Negro History Project study kits to black teachers throughout Alabama. As a result, black schools began to hold annual Negro History Week programs, initiate essay and oratorical contests devoted to Negro themes, and feature Negro life and history themes in school plays and bulletin boards. Black educators also made efforts to secure books by and about black people for their classrooms and libraries.”69 The ASTA published and distributed a handbook about the uses of Negro life and history in schools at its FiftyFourth Annual Convention in Bir mingham, held March 26– 28, 1936. The handbook outlined explicit goals of the Negro History Project and included relevant data on the schooling experiences of black students. This project aimed to establish “the presence of Negro history in all public and private schools; the formation of a course of study in black history; the development of creative expressions by Negro scholars leading to essays, books, monographs, and scientific research by and about black people; the development of a more tolerant relationship between the races; an increased awareness and pride among Negro people of their contributions to ancient and modern civilizations.”70 The handbook also covered the history and resources provided by Woodson’s ASNLH to this cause. The language employed by the ASTA through this Negro History Project underscores how black teachers operationalized Woodson’s educational philosophy through their professional organizations. Woodson delivered the keynote address at this convention. His partnership with the ASTA exemplifies the way he moved through the professional world of black teachers across state lines. The benefits of this relationship between black teachers and Woodson flowed in both directions, and the ties were mutually sustained. The Association welcomed black teachers as leaders and intellectuals within its ranks, even as they were not formally trained historians or social science researchers—though many black teachers did acquire advanced educational degrees. Black teachers represented a large constituency of the ASNLH’s duespaying members. Speaking to this point, historian John Hope Franklin recalled encountering “large numbers of teachers, of high schools and elementary schools” at his first annual meeting for the ASNLH in 1936, which was held in Petersburg, Virginia; and he noted the active role teachers took in the ASNLH’s academic program. 71 The large presence of black teachers at the annual conferences of the ASNLH signals not only their investment in the work of the organization but also their critical role in keeping the organization afloat during the economically challenged years of the 1930s. Some teachers took the lessons offered through Woodson’s ASNLH and its publications to develop outlines for new courses in Negro history as well as other subjects, such as civics. Ira B. Bryant wrote a thirty-page “Study Guide” outline in 1936 for a class on Negro history, which he taught at Phillis Wheatley High School in Houston, Texas. Bryant developed the outline so that other teachers in the local public schools could use it as a resource. There were nine aims for the course: 1. To trace the history of the Negro race from its origin to the present, in order to acquaint the pupil with the glorious heritage of the Negro group. 2. To give the student a comprehensive knowledge of the African culture. 3. To point out the achievement of a race transplanted from the shores of Africa, and thrust in a strange culture, but, in spite of handicaps, has made progress in all the fields of modern civilization. 4. To show clearly to pupils that all of the Negro’s friends are not above the Mason-Dixon Line, nor all of his enemies below the Mason-Dixon Line. 5. To point out the loyalty of the Negro race in each American crisis. 6. To acquaint the student with the truly great Negroes who have achieved in spite of handicaps. 7. To acquaint the student with Negro pioneers in the various fields of endeavor. 8. To show the contribution of the Negro to the political, social and economic life of the United States and of the world. 9. To point out to the pupil how a culture has developed within a culture in the United States of America. Woodson’s textbooks and the Journal of Negro History were listed throughout the proposal as key reading, along with many other books identified for various units within the general course outline. 72 Mirroring Woodson’s advice that the study of black life should inform other courses, Bryant also developed a civics unit for high school seniors entitled “Social Problems: A Report on Negro Housing Conditions.” Students worked individually and in groups to study various blocks in their neighborhood, looking at details shaping black living conditions in their local community. Bryant believed students needed to apply an analytical eye to the social problems of their communities in order to help address these matters as future leaders. 73 There are other examples of teachers in different cities, from New Orleans to Chicago, who developed similar courses of study. These cases underscore how black educators took on additional labor to work around the constraints of the school systems they were forced to function within. To be effective in the lives of black students, black educators constantly strove to be in and not of Jim Crow schools. 74

### Underview

#### Revolutionary Suicide is the risk we must take to abolish Racial Capitalism – there is no damnation worse than the current system.

Pinkard 13 [2013, Lynice Pinkard, “Revolutionary Suicide: Risking Everything to Transform Society and Live Fully”, Tikkun 2013 Volume 28, Number 4: 31-41, http://tikkun.dukejournals.org/content/28/4/31.full]

I’d like to present an alternative to conventional identity politics, one that requires that we understand the way that capitalism itself has grown out of a very particular kind of identity politics — white supremacy — aimed at securing “special benefits” for one group of people. It is not sufficient to speak only of identities of race, class, and gender. I believe we must also speak of identities in relation to domination. To what extent does any one of us identify with the forces of domination and participate in relations that reinforce that domination and the exploitation that goes with it? In what ways and to what extent are we wedded to our own upward mobility, financial security, good reputation, and ability to “win friends and influence people” in positions of power? Or conversely, do we identify (not wish to identify or pretend to identify but actually identify by putting our lives on the line) with efforts to reverse patterns of domination, empower people on the margins (even when we are not on the margins ourselves), and seek healthy, sustainable relations? When we consider our identities in relation to domination, we realize the manifold ways in which we have structured our lives and desires in support of the very economic and social system that is dominating us. To shake free of this cycle, we need to embrace a radical break from business as usual. We need to commit revolutionary suicide. By this I mean not the killing of our bodies but the destruction of our attachments to security, status, wealth, and power. These attachments prevent us from becoming spiritually and politically alive. They prevent us from changing the violent structure of the society in which we live. Revolutionary suicide means living out our commitments, even when that means risking death. When Huey Percy Newton, the cofounder of the Black Panther Party, called us to “revolutionary suicide,” it appears that he was making the same appeal as Jesus of Nazareth, who admonished, “Those who seek to save their lives will lose them, and those who lose their lives for the sake of [the planet] will save them.” Essentially, both movement founders are saying the same thing. Salvation is not an individual matter. It entails saving, delivering, rescuing an entire civilization. This cannot be just another day at the bargain counter. The salvation of an entire planet requires a total risk of everything — of you, of me, of unyielding people everywhere, for all time. This is what revolutionary suicide is. The cost of revolutionary change is people’s willingness to pay with their own lives. This is what Rachel Corrie knew when she, determined to prevent a Palestinian home in Rafah from being demolished, refused to move and was killed by an Israeli army bulldozer in the Gaza Strip. This is what Daniel Ellsberg knew when he made public the Pentagon Papers. It’s what Oscar Schindler knew when he rescued over 1,100 Jews from Nazi concentration camps, what subversive Hutus knew when they risked their lives to rescue Tutsis in the Rwandan genocide. This call may sound extreme at first, but an unflinching look at the structure of our society reveals why nothing less is enough. Before returning to the question of revolutionary suicide and what it might mean in each of our lives, let’s look at what we’re up against.

#### Is means is Definition of is (Entry 1 of 4) present tense third-person singular of BE **dialectal present tense** first-person and third-person singular **of BE** dialectal present tense plural of BE

Webster ND Definition of IS," Merriam Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/is> IS

#### Dialectical present tense means logical coherence which implies no implementation

Your Dictionary ND, "Dialectical Meaning," No Publication, <https://www.yourdictionary.com/dialectical> Cho

The definition of dialectical is a discussion that includes logical reasoning and dialogue, or something having the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of a specific way of speaking. An example of something dialectical is a Lincoln Douglass style of debate, where both parties argue a point in a logical order. Of, or pertaining to dialectic; logically reasoned through the exchange of opposing ideas.

#### “BE” is a linking verb, not an action verb so implementation is incoherent

Grammar Monster ND "Linking Verbs," Grammar Monster, <https://www.grammar-monster.com/glossary/linking_verbs.htm> CHO

What Are Linking Verbs? (with Examples) A linking verb is used to re-identify or to describe its subject. A linking verb is called a linking verb because it links the subject to a subject complement (see graphic below). Infographic Explaining Linking Verb A linking verb tells us what the subject is, not what the subject is doing. Easy Examples of Linking Verbs In each example, the linking verb is highlighted and the subject is bold. Alan is a vampire. (Here, the subject is re-identified as a vampire.) Alan is thirsty. (Here, the subject is described as thirsty.)

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Description automatically generated

