# Speech 1NC Harvard Rd 7 vs Strake 2-20 12AM

## 1

#### we affirm black liberation theology without their singular demand for " The appropriation of outer space by private entities is unjust"

#### abiding by “religious leaders” or a single telos point – endorse insurgent feeling just for feelings sake – this un-regulated nature is the undercommons and solve black care

Harney, Stefano, and Fred Moten. "The undercommons: Fugitive planning and black study." (2013): 1. (Stefano Harney is the Professor of Strategic Management Education at Singapore Management University., Fred Moten is the professor of Performance Studies at New York University and has taught previously at University of California, Riverside, Duke University, Brown University, and the University of Iowa)//Elmer

HAPTICALITY, OR LOVE Never being on the right side of the Atlantic is an unsettled feeling, the feeling of a thing that unsettles with others. It’s a feeling, if you ride with it, that produces a certain distance from the settled, from those who determine themselves in space and time, who locate themselves in a determined history. To have been shipped is to have been moved by others, with others. It is to feel at home with the homeless, at ease with the fugitive, at peace with the pursued, at rest with the ones who consent not to be one. Outlawed, interdicted, intimate things of the hold, containerized contagion, logistics externalises logic itself to reach you, but this is not enough to get at the social logics, the social poesis, running through logisticality. Because while certain abilities – to connect, to translate, to adapt, to travel – were forged in the experiment of hold, they were not the point. As David Rudder sings, “how we vote is not how we party.” Te hold’s terrible gift was to gather dispossessed feelings in common, to create a new feel in the undercommons. Previously, this kind of feel was only an exception, an aberration, a shaman, a witch, a seer, a poet amongst others, who felt through others, through other things. Previously, except in these instances, feeling was mine or it was ours. But in the hold, in the undercommons of a new feel, another kind of feeling became common. Tis form of feeling was not collective, not given to decision, not adhering or reattaching to settlement, nation, state, territory or historical story; nor was it repossessed by the group, which could not now feel as one, reunifed in time and space. No, when Black Shadow sings “are you feelin’ the feelin?’’ he is asking about something else. He is asking about a way of feeling through others, a feel for feeling others feeling you. Tis is modernity’s insurgent feel, its inherited caress, its skin talk, tongue touch, breath speech, hand laugh. Tis is the feel that no individual can stand, and no state abide. Tis is the feel we might call hapticality. Hapticality, the touch of the undercommons, the interiority of sentiment, the feel that what is to come is here. Hapticality, the capacity to feel though others, for others to feel through you, for you to feel them feeling you, this feel of the shipped is not regulated, at least not successfully, by a state, a religion, a people, an empire, a piece of land, a totem. Or perhaps we could say these are now recomposed in the wake of the shipped. To feel others is unmediated, immediately social, amongst us, our thing, and even when we recompose religion, it comes from us, and even when we recompose race, we do it as race women and men. Refused these things, we frst refuse them, in the contained, amongst the contained, lying together in the ship, the boxcar, the prison, the hostel. Skin, against epidermalisation, senses touching. Trown together touching each other we were denied all sentiment, denied all the things that were supposed to produce sentiment, family, nation, language, religion, place, home. Tough forced to touch and be touched, to sense and be sensed in that space of no space, though refused sentiment, history and home, we feel (for) each other.

#### The Net Benefit is Incompleteness – strategies of completeness are genocidal.

- modified for problematic rhetoric

Harney and Moten 11 Stephano Harney and Fred Moten March 2021 "Refusing Completion: A Conversation" <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/116/379446/refusing-completion-a-conversation/> (Stefano Harney is the Professor of Strategic Management Education at Singapore Management University., Fred Moten is the professor of Performance Studies at New York University and has taught previously at University of California, Riverside, Duke University, Brown University, and the University of Iowa)//Elmer

FM: Maybe what we always also want to be doing is operating under the assumption that when it comes to thought, rigor and generosity are not separate from one another. That “intra-action,” to use Karen Barad’s term, is intra-active with another: that of black study and black studies. That’s where it’s at, as the Godfather would say. That’s what we’re interested in. And that’s also where we’re at in our lives, in our intellectual life together, and in our social life together as friends. It’s just that the syntax and the semantics that we have been given in order to try to understand that double intra-action is inadequate for the most part. We ask ourselves, how do we understand the relation between black study and black studies, and then we have to take two months to try to overcome the fact that “relation” ain’t the right word. In other words, the **intra-action of black study** and black studies **requires** something like what Barad calls “**experimental metaphysics**.” Or, maybe another way to put it is that what’s required are some experiments in anti-metaphysics. Maybe black study is just this continual experiment in anti-metaphysics. SH: All Incomplete is also **about the next town**, about what we heard about the next town, about **the next experiment** already going on, continually as Fred says. And so, for instance, I’m very grateful to the current generation of Guyanese feminist, activist scholars such as Kamala Kempadoo and Alissa Trotz who have made more available the work of the great Guyanese feminist activist intellectual Andaiye. We’ve been studying and teaching with Andaiye’s The Point Is to Change the World, and also with Lessons from the Damned by the Damned, the latter a collectively written book about a freedom school set up by black women in the late 1960s and early ’70s in Newark. Now, Andaiye talks about the research she did as part of Red Thread, an independent cross-racial organization of women in Guyana. She talks about how the poor and working class women who are keeping diaries on their social reproductive labor were doing research that she, Andaiye, could never do as well as them. Then, from the Damned, we hear the story of a key turning point in the freedom school. The women running the school have met some middle-class, teacher-qualified black women at a Vietnam protest and invited them back to the school. Much is gained by the encounter, but after a few weeks the women who run the school say something to the effect of, we loved them, but we had to send them away because they could not believe that we—in our position as black working-class women—were better placed to theorize this world. If we take these lessons from Andaiye and the Damned seriously, maybe we can get out of some of the metaphysical assumptions of our positions and roles. What Andaiye and the Damned are saying is that **poor people, poor black and Indian and indigenous women**, in these most vital instances **were better researchers and** better **theorists** than those of us who are traditionally and institutionally trained as such and rise through the “meritocracy.” So, we have to find some other reason for doing what we are doing—cause it is not because we are the best at it—and so we have to **find some other way**, **beyond** this **metaphysics of meritocracy we inhabit.** And from there it becomes clear that we are not the ones to sit in judgment, and this means we can **practice nothing but open admissions** and open promotion in the places where we teach, whether elementary schools, universities, or art academies. And what we would do is support the primary theorists and researchers as they come through, should they wish to come through, and should they wish to stay. And isn’t this serving the people? After all, serving the people never meant serving them breakfast. It meant being at the service of the people, because the people held what we all need, precariously, with only partial access sometimes themselves to this wealth, knowledge, and practice of how to learn about society and how to analyze it because it needs to be changed. That is why it was called a party of self-defense: to defend all this, not to imagine that the party was going to generate the wealth itself. Service becomes the answer to all the anxieties about allyship and class. And service is debt, partiality, incompleteness in action. SS: Your use of **incompleteness** reminds me in certain ways of how before you talked about **debt not as this crushing condition** **but** **as something that, in being unpayable**, **is the very principle of sociality**. So debt not as IMF-backed austerity measures, but **debt as** all those **things we owe to each other**. The way you talk about incompleteness strikes me as similar in that it’s **not incompleteness as a problem**—**like there’s something lacking in myself** which is fulfilled through another person—**but rather as a permanent state which is more of a blessing**, or something to be preserved. It’s not something that needs to be dealt with as a problem. Is that a fair reading? SH: Yes, I think that’s right. FM: Have you ever seen the film Jerry Maguire? The title character is this brutal drone of individuation whose whole life ends up depending upon his exploitation of a black football player, which he accomplishes with the help of a female assistant whom he later marries. The movie begins with Jerry Maguire being a successfully individuated man who’s complete, or thinks he is, until he gets stripped of all that. In order to find himself he’s got to attach himself in a more or less straight Hegelian mode to one who’s not quite really one, this player who shows out on and off the playing field while also modeling an authentic and loving family life, all of which reveals him never to have been the kind of free subject Jerry used to be. They call this a romantic comedy. It’s the story of the man who at the end of his personal (re)development—after having the biggest night of his life because the black football player literally endangers his own health in order to make a catch that will make him a superstar so that Jerry MaFuckingGuire can exploit him and attract other superstars who he can also exploit—finds that he can’t enjoy it without the woman who has made it all possible but whom he has exploited and demeaned and overlooked. That’s when this motherfucker breaks into a feminist consciousness-raising group in order to reclaim his wife. How does he get her back? Just by saying, “Hello,” according to her, but he gets to finish his speech by saying to her, “You complete me.” Like, he was at 87 percent and she was the final 13 percent. Now, he’s fucking complete when he gets her back. Well, [**screw**] ~~fuck~~ **completeness**. Not only that, ~~fuck~~ completeness **as a way of understanding** anything about what love actually is. What they call romantic comedy is really anti-romantic tragedy. It’s amazing that something like Jerry Maguire is offered as a representation of what it’s like to fall in love. If you’ve ever fallen you know that **the other person** or persons don’t complete you. They **incomplete you**. They fuck you the fuck up. It doesn’t leave you intact. It plays you, undermines you. It disturbs and **disrupts your individuation**. It obliterates not only the possibility of but the desire for individuation. If you think about it in those terms, incompleteness is a consummation devoutly to be wished. The entire genre of the romantic comedy is usually some white dude who’s being dragged against his will into the condition of incompleteness. When, finally, he submits to it, you know that the sequel of that movie will be all about the breakup, which follow’s the idea of individuation having had a chance to rally, which the regular miseries of monogamous heterosexuality—which Samuel R. Delany teaches us is the deepest perversion—are happy to provide. The idea of **completeness** **is ridiculous and genocidal**. **There’s** just no end **to the ways it continually seeks to destroy our shared capacity to breathe and ground**. It **predicates** **and requires** the constantly asserted revision of what Robinson calls “**the terms of order**.” It predicates and necessitates the constant **brutalization** of all the people in the world who resist those terms of order and who practice modalities of **social existence** that are not predicated on those terms of order, as Robinson shows in his beautifully radical use of ethnographic and anthropological work in The Terms of Order. We advocate for incompleteness. We think such advocacy is part of what it is “to preserve,” as he says, “the ontological totality.” To preserve the totality is to refuse its completion. That’s our ongoing ante- and anti-metaphysical experiment.

## 2

#### We affirm the fugitive counter-science as a method of outer space appropriation.

#### Treating outer space as structurally anti-Black ignores the revolutionary and Black theological potential through astronomy. From Douglass to Delany, astrological metaphysics is retooled for liberation.

Rusert 13 [Britt Rusert (Associate Professor in the W. E. B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst). Delany’s Comet: Fugitive Science and the Speculative Imaginary of Emancipation”. American Quarterly. Johns Hopkins University Press. Volume 65, Number 4, December 2013. pp. 799-829. Accessed 1/22/2022. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/533794> //Xu]

While Douglass’s “Negro Ethnologically Considered” aimed to make a direct intervention into the biased and destructive discourses of the American school of ethnology, he also uses the world-shrinking capacities of scientific innovation to produce a bold, speculative imaginary of black solidarity and alliance across the African diaspora. Such imaginative leaps were common in early black writing on natural science: explicit critiques of dominant scientific discourse often turned into more speculative investigations that sought to mobilize the exciting discoveries and rich imaginary of natural science as fodder for the critical imagination of black freedom struggle. The many fields of natural science, both explicitly linked to the science of race and not, provided a window onto new horizons and new knowledges, glimpses of radically new worlds that provided inspiration to antislavery struggles, which were focused not only on the negative act of abolishing slavery but also on the (re)construction of a new world after the fall of slavery. The prophet of this speculative genealogy of fugitive science is Martin Delany, whose wide-ranging and experimental engagements with nineteenth-century science were inextricably linked to his literary and political experiments in black transnationalism. Delany is best known today for his unique novel of slave organization and revolt, Blake; or, the Huts of America, which appeared in fragments in the Anglo-African Magazine in 1859 and then presumably in its entirety in the Weekly Anglo-African in 1861 and 1862.44 However, within the pages of the Anglo-African, “Dr. M.R. Delany” was presented to readers as, above all else, a respected man of science, a learned physician, and “the head of a scientific corps of colored gentlemen, ‘The Niger Valley Exploring Party.’”45 Delany attended Harvard Medical School for a short time in 1850–51 (before he, two other African American men, and one white woman were ejected from the program by Dean Oliver Wendell Holmes under the pressure of the faculty and student body),46 operated a medical practice in Pittsburgh, lectured on comparative anatomy, and wrote his own treatise on the origins of the races, Principia of Ethnology, in 1879.47 In addition to his short-lived stint as coeditor of the North Star with Douglass and earlier founding of the Mystery paper in Pittsburgh, Delany was an active contributor to science writing in early black periodicals. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, Delany’s literary contributions appeared in the Anglo-African alongside a wide array of scientific articles, two of which were authored by Delany himself. Edited by Thomas Hamilton, and later by his brother Robert Hamilton, the Anglo-African Magazine was a prominent black periodical published in New York City from 1859 through 1865. Self-dubbed as a monthly devoted to “the literature, science, statistics, and the advancement of the Cause of Human Freedom,” African American poetry, short stories, and serial novels were accompanied in the Anglo-African by a heterogeneous set of scientific theories, statistical analyses and ethnological tracts, written by leading black abolitionists and scientists, including McCune Smith. In a January 1859 article titled “The Attraction of Planets,” which appeared in the magazine’s inaugural issue, Delany laid out an elaborate and somewhat peculiar theory of the important role of electrical attraction and repulsion in the galaxy to disprove scientific theories about the possible “clashing of worlds,” the collision of the earth with another planetary body.48 While Delany’s theory of the role of electricity in maintaining “the revolution of the great Planetary system” restricts itself to the pure realm of scientific inquiry, his articulation of the role of circuits of energy in planetary revolution and of the transfer of energy between excited moving bodies bears an uncanny resemblance to his political and fictional writings on black fugitivity and revolutionary movements throughout the United States and across transnational spaces.49 In fact, Delany’s astronomical treatise, which focuses on the agitated movement and circulation of intergalactic bodies throughout space, immediately precedes “The Fugitives,” the first chapter of Blake to appear in the magazine.50 As in most of the novel, this chapter tracks the artful and nearly supernatural movements of the fugitive protagonist, Blake (who also goes under the name Henry Holland), as he, directed by his “pocket compass,” skips across space and time, spreading word among diverse slave populations about an impending race revolution.51 In both his fictional and scientific writings in the Anglo-African, Delany explores how various fugitive bodies, which constantly exceed the restrictive boundaries of the human, become vectors of force and affect change in the world, a world that stretches beyond the South, beyond the nation-state, and reaches across the cosmos. Delany’s scientific engagements with astronomy, followed in the February 1859 issue with an article titled “Comets,” also appear throughout Blake, which explicitly links planetary revolution with slave revolution.52 In doing so, Blake mobilizes extraterrestrial metaphysics and speculative science for a science of emancipation here on Earth. While Blake has long been considered a formally unorthodox and eccentric work of early African American literature, Delany’s substantial scientific interests and writings on astronomy in the Anglo-African reveal the true experimentalism of this text, which draws from multiple scientific and literary domains in constructing a fantastical narrative that challenges the circumspect boundaries placed around “the human” in both antebellum science and literature. In Blake, speculative science transforms the archetypal fugitive slave narrative into speculative fiction. Delany composed Blake in the tense years after the passage of the Compromise of 1850, which sought to ameliorate tensions between the North and South over the status of slavery in territories newly acquired in the MexicanAmerican War. The Compromise also included the notorious Fugitive Slave Act, which legally required all citizens to aid in the return of runaway slaves even in states where slavery was outlawed. Blake registers, and exploits, international preoccupations with the threat of Southern expansion into the new territories of the United States as well as the annexation controversy of the 1850s, in which Southern slaveholders rallied for the conquest and annexation of Cuba as a US slave state.53 Delany’s novel follows the stealth travels and secretive meetings (or “secretions”)54 of Henry Holland (Blake), who escapes from his master’s plantation in Natchez, Mississippi, after learning that his wife has been sold to a Northern woman on her way to Cuba. Henry turns widespread confusion about the legal status of slavery following the Compromise of 1850 to his advantage, moving between the categories of slave and freeman in his revolutionary survey of the plantation South, visiting states that correspond today to parts of the South, Midwest, and Southwest. Jeffery A. Clymer notes, “Blake’s travels are so varied that the narrative practically offers a tutorial in antebellum Southern geography,” and Eric Sundquist speaks of Blake’s “panoramic view of enslavement.”55 Much of the serial reads like a grand travel narrative, following Henry’s movements across what feels like the entire Western Hemisphere. Part 2 of the novel moves to the tumultuous political climate of Cuba, where a number of competing factions, including the Spanish colonial government, creole colonists, troublesome American “patriots,” the free mulatto class, the servant class, and enslaved plantation laborers, struggle over the control and fate of the island. The constant threat of insurrection looms over the country as rumors of numerous plots and conspiracies circulate. While Henry is presented to readers in part 1 as an exceptional slave who elevated himself from lowly origins in the insular Deep South of the United States, he is revealed in part 2 to be the elite, freeborn son of a black Cuban tobacco manufacturer, sold into slavery in his youth while working on a slave ship. Dramatically unveiling himself as “Carolus Henrico Blacus,” Blake is named by his new Cuban comrades as the “General-in-Chief of the army of emancipation of the oppressed men and women of Cuba.”56 He joins forces with his long-lost cousin, the Cuban poet Placido, in organizing a plot to overthrow the slaveholding regime of the island.57 Contemporary readers remain in the dark as to whether Blake’s “deep laid secret organization” for race war ever comes to fruition, since the novel’s final chapters have not been located. While the literary, political, and socioeconomic contexts of Blake have been thoroughly explicated by scholars, Delany’s dynamic engagements with nineteenth-century science have been largely neglected.58 In addition to didactic discussions on astronomy, natural history, and the speculative practices of New World conjuring, the narrative offers a trenchant critique of the cruel exploitations and dehumanizing spectacles enabled by the popular diffusion of the new physiological sciences linked to the midcentury emergence of biology. But the narrative is equally attuned to the construction of a practical fugitive science, cobbled together from a range of scientific methods and fields and put to pragmatic use for liberation struggles. A repeated reference to Blake as a “messenger of light and destruction” is both striking and apt, since the protagonist’s project to “enlighten” his enslaved comrades is inextricably linked to the project to topple the institution of slavery through a wide-scale uprising and race war.59 Blake is routinely presented in his travels as a mobile, if not itinerant, scientific investigator on a serious mission of research. Early in his expedition, readers are informed that Henry is both an “intelligent slave” and a “scholar” who “carefully kept a record of the plantations he had passed.”60 Henry’s meticulous empirical observations aid him in concealing his identity, allowing him to pose as a local slave from a neighboring plantation “when ac- costed by a white,” but they are also part of Henry’s larger project of collecting data on the status and conditions of enslavement across the United States and in Cuba.61 At each plantation visit, Henry poses a series of probing questions to enslaved informants about the practices and cruelties on the estate. But instead of summing up these interviews into properly scientific conclusions, the information is presented to readers as raw data. In other words, Henry rarely works through his data set to offer a proper scientific conclusion from his experimental survey. Instead, plantation life appears to readers in all of its radical heterogeneity. In doing so, the narrative reveals the impossibility of properly “accounting” for the diverse forms of life and modes of resistance practiced by enslaved peoples through the surveillance of antebellum science and statistics. In both his scientific and literary writings, Delany drew widely on astronomy to link the subterranean science of fugitivity to speculative sciences that were themselves resistant to the accounting methods of racist sciences and statistics. Delany’s astronomical treatises in the Anglo-African, including the “Attraction of Planets” and his February 1859 column “Comets,” are speculative texts of exobiology that seem far from politics and, indeed, far from Earth.62 However, in Blake, which incorporates and extends Delany’s scientific concerns, astronomy is supplemented by astrology, making for a more earthly inquiry that explicitly connects the movement of the stars to the movement of human affairs and bodies. In addition to collecting vast amounts of information for his revolutionary research, Blake also disseminates popular scientific knowledge among enslaved populations, practical tools for calculating escape and mapping routes to freedom. In chapter after chapter, stars, constellations, and other celestial objects appear as objects of concern and investigation for free, fugitive, and enslaved people. In the description of a serene evening in New Orleans, the moon is presented as an “object of impressive interest” to “the slave as well as those of enlightened scientific intelligence.”63 Delany’s interest in astronomy and astrology was clearly shaped by his lifelong affiliation with Masonry, which sought out the secrets of universal knowledge in esoteric signs, numbers, symbols, and ancient artifacts.64 Martin Bernal has argued that arguments made by African Americans about the invention of astronomy in ancient Africa made astronomical and astrological figures of prime importance to black Masons during the antebellum period.65 In addition to the connection between astrology and black freemasonry, Susan Buck-Morss rightly reminds us that for enslaved peoples, “astrological signs figured centrally in New World spatial reckoning.”66 Blake focuses on the use of both astronomy and astrology while forcefully blurring the lines between the two, for the pragmatics of calculating and mapping escape routes. In other words, Blake’s highly speculative engagements with science also include many examples of practical fugitive science. A chapter titled “Studying Head Work” reads like an elementary science lesson, as Henry offers a group of fugitives detailed instruction on mapping constellations to locate the North Star, “the slave’s great Guide to Freedom.”67 The chapter also includes an introduction to a “little round metallic box” called a compass, as well as step-by-step instructions on how the tool can aid in fugitive escapes.68 Henry advertises the compass as an absolutely essential tool for conducting fugitive science, as it costs only “one-half dollar, or four bits, as we call it, so that every slave who will, may get one.”69 While this chapter provides readers of the Anglo-African with a veritable instruction manual in the science of fugitivity, Henry’s didactic lessons are somewhat condescending to his fellow travelers, who struggle to understand Henry’s lesson both because of their lack of education and because of their belief in superstitious practices that distort their ability to recognize reality and comprehend “truth.” In a series of exchanges set with a comic tone, Henry’s students repeatedly interrupt him with questions and distract him from being able to directly communicate his important lessons. Mammy Judy, whose investments in conjuration and Christianity are viewed as unhelpful, backward-looking practices throughout the novel, even accuses Henry of conjuring because she is unable to understand him. Throughout the novel, passionate debates are staged over the role that religion should or should not play in the struggle for emancipation. Early on in the narrative, Henry condemns both Western Christianity and Africanist practices as superstitious belief structures that block enslaved peoples from taking action against the slave power. “The Fugitives” chapter includes a diatribe against the “silly nonsense of conjuration” among slaves and ex-slaves: “Now you see, boys,” said Henry, “how much conjuration and such foolishness and stupidity is worth to the slaves in the South. All that it does, is to put money into the pockets of the pretended conjurer, give him power over others by making them afraid of him; and even old Gamby Gholar and Maudy Ghamus and the rest of the Seven Heads, with all of the high conjurers in the Dismal Swamp, are depending more upon me to deliver them from their confinement as prisoners in the Swamp and runaway slaves, than all their combined efforts together. I made it a special part of my mission wherever I went, to enlighten them on this subject.70 Delany’s condescending critique of conjuring and the detrimental effects of superstition among slaves is amplified by the fact that the chapter was immediately prefaced in the Anglo-African by his astronomical theory on the electrical attraction of the planets, where a distinctively modern form of scientific inquiry was modeled for readers. In his political, scientific, and literary experiments, Delany clearly sought a thoroughly modern scientific revolution, liberated from outmoded and subjugated knowledges of the enslaved. The embrace of a distinctly secular science simultaneously resisted the conversion imperative and Christian moralism of the white abolitionist reform movement in the North, of which Delany was severely critical. Yet the realm of the metaphysical is not so easily abandoned in Blake, since belief, even if focused on a world after or beyond Earth, is an indispensable component of liberation in this one. After much debate, Henry finally assents that conjuring and Christianity are good insofar as their metaphysical pretensions can be used for the ultimate aims of freedom. Henry may disregard religious and other forms of spiritual belief, but he continues to mobilize and deploy religious material practices that may forward the struggle for freedom. In a brazenly secular appropriation of Christianity, Blake deploys scriptural characters and verses to organize disparate plantation populations across diverse geographic spaces through the shared knowledge base of the Bible. Robert Levine notes that although Henry is critical of Christianity, it is his “visionary insight into (not a rejection) of a scriptural phrase [“Stand still and see the salvation”] that provides him with the germ of his insurrectionary plot.”71 In one scene, Henry travels to the “mystical, antiquated, and almost fabulous Dismal Swamp,” where a “number of old confederates of the noted Nat Turner were met with” along with fugitive slaves, conjurers, and even some claiming to have been “patriots in the American Revolution.”72 The image of the conjurers as wizened, “frosty-headed, bowed old men” presents conjuring traditions as antiquated modes for revolutionary action. The ceremonies of the conjurers appear as silly and almost pathetic rituals: fragments of “green bottle glass” are claimed to be a “mysterious and precious ‘blue stone,’” while a talisman of scales “declared to be from very dangerous serpents” appears, under closer observation, “to be those of innocent and harmless fish, with broken iron nails.”73 Despite the perceived bogusness of their practice, Henry allows the swamp conjurers to anoint him a priest of the order of High Conjurers. While indulging a “time-honored superstition” as well as, apparently, his own amusement, Henry later tells his comrades that he became a conjuror because he will “do anything not morally wrong to gain our freedom.”74 While Henry may claim to prefer rational science to the superstitious knowledges of the enslaved, he repeatedly abandons the dry plane of rational knowledge production for a mystically inflected praxis of freedom. Metaphysics is shed from religion only to reappear at the heart of science.

#### Outright refusal of space forecloses alternative, non antiblack futures---the alternative refuses the 1AC’s refusal as a gesture towards afrofuturist uses of space are an act of reclamation that creates alternate spaces for Black life within antiblack structures

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Elizabeth C. Hamilton, “Afrofuturism and the Technologies of Survival.” African Arts, Volume 50, Number 4, Winter 2017. Pp. 18-23. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/677241/pdf>

Situating the Afronaut in contemporary art and Afrofuturism is very much about ­finding safe spaces for black life. It is about exploring and protecting and preparing the body for hostile environments. In an Afrofuturist vision that stakes out black space in the future, black life is often obscured and simultaneously endangered. This obscurity is the result of the overdetermination of the past on black future spaces, namely the baggage of colonialism and apartheid, slavery and Jim Crow, and legacies of displacement. through the image of the Afronaut, artists are making defi­nitive statements about current situations of liberation, freedom, and oppression, while simultaneously referencing the past and staking a place for black life in the future. Tegan Bristow, interestingly, situates the Afrofuturist legacy within the trajectory of “the black man in space” (Bristow 2012). Several other theorists, such as J. Grith Rollefson, also adopt this trajectory, acknowledging Sun Ra and Parliament Funkadelic (P-Funk) as the progenitors of Afrofuturist thought. Bristow notes that “by placing the black man in space, out of the reach of racial stereotypes, Afrofuturism allows for a critique of both Western culture and technoculture” (Bristow 2012:26). I do not want to reduce Bristow’s article to just “the black man in space.” She also makes interesting claims about the relationship Afrofuturism has to art in Africa, but notes its potential to be global and not centered on the West. She points out the centrism of the United States in theories of Afrofuturism. She is correct in this assessment, but it is not because Afrofuturism doesn’t apply to the arts of Africa. Addressing technoculture broadly and technology as a medium especially in music, Bristow notes the potential for a global theory that reects the hybridity of African experience as well as the opportunity to decentralize identity and the totalizing views of African culture. Afrofuturist thinkers, such as Kodwo Eshun and Alondra Nelson, have indicated the overwhelming tendency of Western visions of Africa to indicate impending doom and disaster. e tendency has also been to disqualify Africa from claims of technological invention and innovation in favor of a discourse of tradition. Elsewhere I wrote about how this tendency has more to do with the validity and prosperity of art markets as they trac in authenticity and tradition (almost fetishizing the possibility) and the stubborn persistence of imposing a chronologically driven canon upon African art. I would like to address technology as a subject recurring in the various costumes of the Afronaut depicted across the Diaspora in various media and formats. J. Grith Rollefson argues that “Afrofuturism is most prominent in music … because a number of its artists have continually highlighted the mythic qualities of both historical tropes of magic and futuristic narratives of science through the seemingly paradoxical ­gure of the soulful spaceman” (2008:86–87). He thereby centers the “soulful spaceman” as icon in Afrofuturism. The “black man in space” is a signi­cant symbol and signal ubiquitous in music of the 1970s, but is making a resurgence in the twenty-­rst century as the Afronaut in contemporary art of Africa and the African Diaspora. I contend that this resurgence is a response to current oppressive conditions, such as extrajudicial killings of black people in the United States and continued human rights disparities based on race elsewhere in the world. Artists are asking through these works containing Afronauts: What are the technologies of survival? e artists parallel these images of technologies with black people’s predicament in a white supremacist society. e word “Afronaut” is a neologism, so it is dicult to pin down its roots or know when and where it was ­rst used. For the purposes of this research, the Afronaut is a person of African descent who travels through outer space. e term seems to have gained popularity with the advent of African space programs, like the one in Zambia in the 1960s (De Middel 2012). As the race for space by countries like Nigeria continues and the ­rst South African-born astronaut will be launched into space, the term gets more popular, fascinatingly, through artists’ imaginings of the Afronaut (Monks 2016, “Mandla Maseko” 2014). Several artists, such as Daniel Kojo Schrade, Gerald Machona, and Robert Pruitt, have adopted the term “Afronaut” to describe the subjects in their projects, while others have applied the label loosely to those subjects in art that convey the theme of space travel. I made this determination from the most obvious accoutrement—space suits, helmets, boots, rockets, ships—which are ubiquitous in the work I examine. ere is also a conscious naming of the artwork that classi­es the subjects as Afronauts (Nick Cave’s and Yinka Shonibare’s work is less obvious in this sense). Afronaut is an obvious play on astronaut that reveals the ethnic identity of the space traveler. ere are deeper implications, which also indicate an eternal tension between African identity and technological stasis. In a linguistic sense, the Afronaut is a tense construction, an oxymoron in a sense: afro–naut, when taken in consideration with stereotypical notions of African-ness and technological advancement. Alondra Nelson (2002) indicates this in her now-canonical Social Text issue about Afrofuturism. is tension between blackness and technology is also evident in the conversation between Mark Dery, Tricia Rose, Greg Tate and Samuel Delaney (Dery 1993). Whereas Dery believes that black artists will shun technology, Rose, Tate, and Delaney challenge this assumption. Elsewhere, I have written that Afrofuturism is the injection of futurity, fantasy, and technology in the arts of Africa and the African Diaspora (Hamilton 2013). is de­nition has expanded tremendously, as contemporary situations in art and contemporary events are in constant ux. Presently, I defi­ne Afrofuturism as a mechanism for understanding the real world situations of oppression in the contemporary world in the context of the ever-present past, while charting the future situation through the arts. My prior de­nition was bogged in recovery and optimism; I am open to the possibility that neither of these exist as options. To understand Afrofuturism as a mechanism, I developed a visual, a casual graph, that addressed the interdependence of certain terms to Afrofuturist thought in the visual arts (Fig. 1). In this graphic, Afrofuturism as a mechanism relies on not just the injection of futurity, fantasy, and technology, but also an ever-present orientation toward black liberation that draws its strength from liberation movements in the past. ere is a tendency to romanticize here, though. Other characteristics that keep Afrofuturistic visual arts grounded are the reliance on the material (materiality), the manipulation of temporality, and the impetus for artists to demonstrate all sorts of transformations. e former de­nition is still relevant. However, an expansion is needed to accommodate the moving target that visual speculation and visual science ­ction narratives encompass. By its very nature, these types of narratives—whether in cinematic, literary, or visual art—progress, evolve, and artists are constantly innovating. An insistence on materiality, rather than a nebulous reliance on concept, is remarkable in Afrofuturist works. e material does not by any means subordinate the subject, but it is signi­- cant to the understanding of each work of art. e transformative nature of Afrofuturist art addresses not only the subject, but also the audience. Afrofuturist art is a mechanism for understanding and making meaning for audiences—transforming them in the process is its goal. e artwork I examine is overwhelmingly ­gural; therefore, the subjects are always going through profound physical changes that have some eect on their spiritual or mental states. Temporality is in constant ux with time travelers and artists as temporal interlopers. As temporal interlopers, artists are constantly making useful space for the past to make a stake in the present or the future. From the time the notion of Afrofuturism was ­rst conceptualized—by Mark Dery in 1993 and expounded upon a decade later by Alondra Nelson—the situation of the alien and the outsider have played prominently. Afrofuturism seemed like the natural way to discuss the ri‑ that black people felt with the dominant culture in the United States. However, theorizing about Africa was le‑ by the wayside even though the interfaces are fruitful and ripe for the picking. e art of Yinka Shonibare, Nick Cave, and Gerald Machona demonstrates trends of the Afronaut across the diaspora as well as the overlaps of experiences of people of African descent across the globe. They expand the idea of the black man in space with the notion that we are already in alien environments. e three artists discussed here are male, and the overwhelmingly masculine ­gures they create are worth noting, considering that the black female body is also in danger in a white supremacist society. eir ­gurative works of various media adorn the black human ­gure in the technologies that are needed to survive, but the absence of the woman in space as Afronaut is a glaring omission in the artworks discussed in this paper. Yinka Shonibare is a British-Nigerian artist whose conceptual project relies on the duplicitous messages communicated through fabrics deemed “African” by European textile merchants. Speci­cally, Dutch wax print fabric is brightly colored, elaborately designed cotton marketed to countries in Africa. It has been adopted as an exemplar of African culture, even though it has no origins in the countries to which it is marketed. is duplicity is what interests Shonibare and why he uses Dutch wax print fabrics, as they are ubiquitous in his oeuvre of (usually) headless human forms. e fabric communicates the constructed-ness of identity and cultural heritage and its inherent diculties in “pinning down” origins in a global society. With the fabric, Shonibare is able to address important issues about creativity and identity (speci­cally African) and the notions of authenticity that o‑en bog down understanding of African art and ideas of belonging that plague the diasporic, nomadic artist. Shonibare’s biographers have addressed the idea of the alien in Shonibare’s work, but this seems awkward to me. is is where the astronaut, the particularity of the Afronaut especially, comes into play. Shonibare’s diverse media and ways of working in his Afronaut works are very much about mediating the spatial, not so much the temporal. Human subjects in astronaut accoutrement are not traveling though deep space; they are navigating Earth utilizing the technologies of survival needed to engage the problems associated with immigration, exile, colonialism, and the attendant xenophobia and racism. Shuttling between Britain and Nigeria is not necessarily alien when one considers the spatial slippages resulting from the legacies of colonialism. Place is rather arbitrary considering those legacies of conquest. e made-up, politically imposed boundaries make and mark identities in the same arbitrary ways that the Dutch wax print makes something authentically African. But the boundaries are signi­cant, nonetheless, and have real-life consequences, especially for refugees and migrants, those vulnerable to the spatial slippages and violence that results. e violence does manifest itself through racist and xenophobic policies that create outsiders and noncitizens. Consequently, I believe the Afronaut is a more cogent symbol than the alien for communicating the situation of the refugee and the migrant. Shonibare’s installations depicting astronauts demonstrate the strength of this symbol. e ­gure of the Afronaut seems to begin in Shonibare’s work at the turn of the century. Into the new millennium, Shonibare began a conversation about futurity, fantasy, and technology that is in concert with space exploration. e ­gures are all costumed in African wax print fabric, helmets, and space boots. Various accoutrement for travel makes each installation distinct. Cloud 9 (2000)1 consists of a mannequin in an astronaut’s costume made of Dutch wax print fabric. e ­gure stands beside a ag made from a dierent print of Dutch wax print fabric. e installation photograph is reminiscent of Neil Armstrong’s “conquest” of the moon. e image also brings to mind themes of conquest and colonization on Earth, speci­cally on the African continent. Vacation (2002)2 depicts a family of astronauts, two adults and two children, who are attached to what appears to be oxygen packs. ey wear helmets and boots also. eir helmets are all oriented towards the ground, as if they are searching for something. e title denotes a leisure activity, but the astronaut suits and the searching complicate the assumptions of leisure. One child is seemingly separated from the rest of the family and his suit fabric is dierent. Perhaps this installation demonstrates Shonibare’s own anxieties about being a cosmopolitan nomad— someone who traverses continents eortlessly, but whose identity requires more eort to “pin” down. But pinning down isn’t the goal for Shonibare. e opposite seems to be true. roughout his body of work he is interested in the uidity of identity and the sometimes dubious implications of ethnic content in his work. e astronaut ­gures are no dierent, but they speak to the sustained feeling of isolation and otherness that people of color feel when traversing white spaces. e environments are sometimes hostile; so, the technologies that they wear are a necessity. Space Walk (2002)3 demonstrates the drive for survival in a hostile and alien environment. Shonibare’s artistic process diers in this installation, because he designed and created the silkscreened fabric himself as an artist in residence at the Fabric Workshop and Museum in Philadelphia. e installation includes two figures dressed in the trademark fabrics of Shonibare’s oeuvre. e fabric features vocal artists native to Philadelphia and responsible for the so-called Philly Sound. e ­gures are suspended from the ceiling along with a half-size replica of the Apollo 13 shuttle, which is made from ­berglass and wood. e ­gures wear backpacks, helmets, and boots. eir suits are attached to the replica of the space ship with tubes covered in the colorful fabric. Refugee Astronaut (2012)4 features a single ­gure dressed in a Dutch wax print astronaut’s suit. A net full of survival items burden this astronaut’s back. Pans, ropes, and a lantern are visible through the net. e items tell the story of an itinerant astronaut, who has yet to ­nd home. Instead, he travels with his most important belongings from place to place. e tubes that are connected to the spaceship in Space Walk are connected back into the astronaut’s suit in Refugee Astronaut. e latter installation emphasizes a sense of homelessness with the placement of the tubes and a notable lack of the mothership that we see in the former installation. A cool sky blue dominates the costume that is interspersed with ­ery orange and red forms. e contrast brings to mind the conicting situations of actual refugees. All of these astronaut-themed installations point to Afrofuturism and technologies of survival for people of color in Europe in the United States. Nick Cave is a multimedia artist from the United States who made his ­rst Soundsuit in 1992 in response to the Rodney King beating. King was an unarmed citizen whose brutal and sustained beating during a trac stop by the Los Angeles Police Department was caught on videotape and disseminated to the media, causing a public outcry that led to a trial and subsequent acquittal of the oending ocers. Cave’s feelings of vulnerability as a black man in a white supremacist society guided the construction of a protective apparatus that he called a Soundsuit for its kinetic and sonic qualities. e Soundsuit is an Afrofuturist project that adopts the themes of fantasy to create safe spaces for black bodies. Moreover, the performers in the suits function like the Afronaut, who need a protective layer in a hostile environment. In a world where black people can be beaten, and even killed, without legal retribution, Cave desired “a kind of outerwear to protect (his) spirit,” he says.5 e ­rst Soundsuit was made from detritus to reect the ways that black people and their true identities are discarded and dismissed through racial pro­ling. e collection of found objects are assembled to form a suit of armor that protects against the outside world and its racism. For over two decades, Cave has continued to make the Soundsuits and they continue to maintain their relevance to current events in the United States. Cave’s Soundsuits have been compared to synthesized versions of African masquerade performances. e Soundsuits do not just function visually, but have kinetic and sonic functions that support this claim. When they are worn, they are activated in ways that harness “the power within the black male, that intimidation and scariness” in addition to preliminary protective function.6 Although this quote from Cave emphasizes the masculinity of the Soundsuit’s function, history demonstrates that women are also vulnerable and are in need of a similar harnessing of power. In some ways, that intimidation and scariness becomes its own performer and takes on a life of its own in narratives about black people in interactions with police. e fantastical nature of the costumes mimics the imaginary nature of the presumed deviance and violence of black people. While his messages and meanings remain consistent, Cave’s materials and messages have changed throughout his history as an artist. e labor-intensive process of assembling found objects to create Soundsuits is now the work of multiple assistants who commit Cave’s visions to reality. How he ­nds objects has also changed. e objects are not simply discarded, but also constructed by artisans and bought from thri‑ shops. is alters the process of ­nding and repurposing discarded items. Cave claims that through the objects that he carefully chooses for his Soundsuits the viewer can come to an understanding of the world and how to navigate it through her relationship to memory. is mnemonic process is evident in Cave’s Soundsuit for Trayvon Martin, titled TM 13 (Fig. 2). Martin was a teenager murdered by George Zimmerman a‑er visiting a store to buy a so‑ drink and candy. Zimmerman was acting under the auspices of the neighborhood watch and was subsequently acquitted with the aid of Florida’s Stand Your Ground Law, which allows armed citizens judicial leniency for self defense. e acquittal led to the rallying cry and movement: “Black Lives Matter.” In Cave’s imagining of a Soundsuit for Martin, the body is shrouded in a protective net that is made of brightly colored beads that mimic and recall the Skittles that Martin never got to enjoy that fateful night. ough obscured by the beaded net, the costume underneath is equally compelling7 : a black mannequin wears sneakers, a hoodie, and jeans. Surrounding the mannequin are plastic yard decorations, typically used at Christmas and Halloween—a cherubic-looking Santa Claus and a costumed teddy bear. ese playful ­gures recall the innocence lost and the clothing reects a sort of vulnerability. Cave refers to the holiday ­gures as guardians. e net of beads in gold with red, black, and green, the colors of the black liberation ag. e net encases the body—traps it, yet protects it. rough the Soundsuits, Cave’s Afrofuturist project imagined a technology of survival that is performative and meditative on the materials that he chooses. Gerald Machona’s Vabvakure (People from Far Away) (2013) is both a short ­lm and installation. Machona is a Zimbabweborn artist commenting on the collapse of Zimbabwe and the subsequent upheaval and migration of people into South Africa. With the works, Machona comments on the nature of migration and refugee status in South Africa for people from Zimbabwe. e life-size Ndiri Afronaut (I am an Afronaut) (2012), which is performed in the short ­lm, is made from decommissioned Zimbabwean dollars, foam padding, fabric, wood, Perspex, rubber, plastic tubing, nylon thread, and gold leaf. e migration was not without diculties, however. South Africans rejected the Zimbabwean refugees and created a racial and social hierarchy similar to apartheid.8 Vabvakure opens with a discombobulated Afronaut, trying to compose himself a‑er landing in a desert.9 His costume is disheveled—tubes are loose and a space boot is strewn to the side. He dizzily moves around and then begins to dance. As if remaking a scene from Neil Armstrong’s famous lunar landing, the Afronaut plants his ag, which resembles the ag of Zimbabwe, but Machona’s ag is metallic and has the same decommissioned Zimbabwean dollars as the astronaut suit. e Afronaut then ventures away from the landing site, which he has claimed with his ag. e suit functions as the Afronaut’s protection, but it also represents economic instability and, consequently, vulnerability in a foreign environment. e Afronaut’s intentions in the new place are its conquest despite that vulnerability communicated through the defunct currency. Next, the Afronaut ­nds a plant specimen and puts it into a vessel. e plant is obviously alien and arti­cial and looks to be made of the same currency as the other items. e Afronaut ends up at an ATM, which is strange considering that his suit is made of money, but it emphasizes that the currency that comprises the suit is defunct. In the next scene, the Afronaut is carrying the plant specimen down the street. He arrives in front of a crowded store, where people stare, and he retrieves a shopping cart and places his plant specimen in it. e camera focuses on the uprooted plant in an alien environment as the Afronaut pushes it through the store. People stare and one can only compare the two—the plant and the Afronaut traversing the land as outsiders. e Afronaut retrieves water from the store shelves, people point and stare, and then he heads to the cashier to pay for his purchase. He leaves the grocery store and stops in front of a fast food restaurant. At this point, the Afronaut opens the vessel of the plant specimen and pours in the water that he just purchased. He closes the vessel and places the plant specimen in his backpack. e Afronaut nourishes and protects the plant in ways that underscore its displacement. In this way, the specimen and the Afronaut are parallel. To end the ­lm, Machona emphasizes the performative nature of the ­lm, by focusing on the audience screening and viewing the Afronauts costumes in the next scenes. Groups of people stoop over the suits, discussing them, and pointing, and touching and even trying to get into them. e technologies of survival in Machona’s work are in response to the abject violence against Zimbabweans who ed to South Africa, which came to a head in 2008, but persist presently. What are these artists saying about the black body in their work? That it is fragile, permeable, and under attack. It is fungible and open to meanings that may destroy it. THrough Afrofuturism, the technologies of survival mitigate these dangers as the black body navigates space. The body and the attendant identity is in orbit, but not always freely navigating the space.

## 3 – Cap

#### Their insistence on “Liberation Theology” recommits to modernity’s obsession with individuality.

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In exploring these issues, I do not intend to offer a comprehensive examination of slavery and Reconstruction or to recover the resistances of the dominated but to critically interrogate terms like "will," "agency," "individuality," and "responsibility. " As stated previously, this requires examining the constitution of the subject by dominant discourses as well as the ways in which the enslaved and the emancipated grappled with these terms and strived to reelaborate them in fashioning themselves as agents. For these reasons, the scenes of .subjection at issue here consider the Manichaean identities constitutive of slave humanity-that is, the sated subordinate and/or willful criminal, the calculation of humanity, the fabulation of the will, and the relation between injury and personhood. While the calibration of sentience and terms of punishment determined the constricted humanity of the enslaved, the abased and encumbered individuality of the emancipated resulted largely from the equation of responsibility with blameworthiness, thereby making duty synonymous with punishment. The enduring legacy of slavery was readily discernable in the travestied liberation, castigated agency, and blameworthiness of the free individual. By the same token, the ubiquitous fun and frolic that supposedly demonstrated slave contentment and the African's suitedness for slavery were mir- rored in the panic about idleness, intemperate consumption, and fanciful expressions of freedom~ all of which justified coercive labor measures and the constriction of liberties. Apparent here are the entanglements of slavery and freedom and the dutiful submission characteristic of black subjectivity t whether in the making and maintain- ing of chattel personal or in the fashioning of individuality t cultivation of con.. science, and harnessing of free will.

#### Attempting to stage a semiotic break through “hostage taking” and “symbolic extinction” through “symbolic terrorism” is a form of semiotic recapitulation that mystifies materialism. Violence is not an amalgamation of signs but is instead about flesh and bone – their project fuels capitalist pedagogy.

McLaren 10 [Peter, UC-Los Angeles and Nathalia E. Jaramillo, Purdue University, “Not Neo-Marxist, Not Post-Marxist, Not Marxian, Not Autonomist Marxism: Reflections on a Revolutionary (Marxist) Critical Pedagogy” Cultural Studies <=> Critical Methodologies 2010 10: 251]

Ebert (2009; Ebert & Zavarzadeh, 2008) makes an important distinction between corporeality/materiality and matter/materialism. Materiality is related to objective idealism and refers to the acceptance of an idea in the mind as something real, something that escapes class interests. In this way, avant-garde scholars will deconstruct materialism as merely the effects of tropes and representations. It attempts to create a prefigurative origin for what is essentially an ontology. However, Ebert (2009) argues that this constitutes transforming materialism into materiality, into a contemplative corporeality of difference, purging materialism of its conceptuality and determinate meanings. Matter is turned into signs or the effect of signs or sign power. This has led to the recent interest in the politics of performativity—performing identities, performing pedagogy, performing class, and so on. However, Ebert argues that matter is not synonymous with physical objects; matter exists outside the consciousness of the subject, and it cannot be separated from its production and contradictions in history. Matter is objective reality in history. Ebert and Zavarzadeh (2008) characterize materialism as the objective (transformative) productive activities of humans involving them in social relations; these social relations occur under definite historical conditions that are independent of their will and are shaped by class struggle over the surplus produced by social labor. A materialism that excludes historical processes and operates as a medium of cultural practices is not materialism; it is materiality or what Ebert (2009) refers to as “matterism.” Avant-garde critics who would replace materialism with materiality (through the tropes of supplementarity, spectrality, undecidability, and difference) severely undercut the claim for the objectivity of class interests and ultimately replace class struggle with the struggle over the sign. Like Ebert, David McNally (2001) in his classic Marxist text, Bodies of Meaning, describes the deconstructive efforts of post-structuralists such as Jacques Derrida as a form of linguistic idealism. In his critique of anti-fetishistic thought (like that of Marx), that palpates the farthest reach of linguistic meaning, Derrida devalues dialectical critique as useless by disavowing embodied human activity, by ignoring laboring human bodies and rejecting them as metaphysical illusions. When Derrida deals with issues of the economy, he is interested only in capital that begets capital—that is, in credit or fictitious capital. Likewise, in his critique of Saussure, he critiques the notion of a transcendental signified, a universal equivalent or what McNally refers to as meaning’s gold standard (something positive that can exist outside of an endless reference of commodities to other commodities). There is nothing extralinguistic for Derrida, since language suspends all reference to something outside of it. Similarly, for Derrida, money lacks a referent. It is driven by credit and speculation and lacks any material foundations. Derrida deals with fictitious or dematerialized money, money that can be produced without labor, that is, money as an expression of hyperreality. Capital in this view is nothing more than a self-engendering dance on a solipsistic path of self-fecundation. The real is folded into the representation. Derrida (and Baudrillard and others) assimilate the economy (the same one that is throwing people out of their homes and into the streets at present) into their poststructuralist model of language. Contrary to Derrida, Ebert and McNally maintain that value is not a sign freed from its referent; rather, value expresses itself in material form. It must pass through laboring bodies and their history of struggle, through toiling subjects and practical human activity that takes place in an organic social universe of skin, hair, blood, and bone. And capitalism abstracts from these bodies, and commodifies them. The work of McNally and Ebert implodes the limitations of post-structuralist thought in dealing with capitalist exploitation. According to Ebert (2009), revolutionary agents of social transformation act ethically when they attempt to resolve the contradictions of their objective location in relations of exploitation. Capitalist violence often doubles as cultural discourses, and Ebert views popular culture, especially, as a narcosis of violence, predicated on distracting subjects from the central antagonism of capitalist society—the struggles over the surplus labor of the other––thereby producing subjects who cannot grasp the totality of the system. In Ebert’s view, the pedagogical practices developed by the poststructuralist avant-garde theorize experience in relation to trauma, desire, and affective relations in general as if these relations were antiseptically cleaved from relations of class, thereby replacing a conceptual analysis of the social totality with liberating pedagogical narratives grounded in local affective strategies—strategies that serve unwittingly as epistemological covers for economic conditions that help the subject cope with the objective material conditions of capitalist exploitation. This leads ultimately to a de-historicization of social life and draws attention away from the way in which all human beings who populate capitalist societies are implicated in some manner in international class struggles and the social division of labor (see also Zavarzadeh, 2003). Ebert and Zavarzadeh describe this process as a “pedagogy of affect.” They write that The pedagogy of affect piles up details and warns students against attempting to relate them structurally because any structural analysis will be a causal explanation, and all causal explanations, students are told, are reductive. Teaching thus becomes a pursuit of floating details—a version of games in popular culture. Students seem to know but have no knowledge. This is exactly the kind of education capital requires for its new workforce: workers who are educated but nonthinking; skilled at detailed jobs but unable to grasp the totality of the system—energetic localists, ignorant globalists. This pedagogy provides instruction not in knowledge but in savviness—a knowing that knows what it knows is an illusion but is undeluded about that illusion; it integrates the illusion, thereby making itself immune to critique. Savviness is enlightened false consciousness: a consciousness that knows it is false, but its “falseness is already reflexively buffered.” (2008, pp. 107-108)

#### The will to secure civil society against the crises of financialization is parasitic on black exploitation and death in the form of racial capitalism

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**Our** dominant critical **understanding of** the term **racial** capitalism **stays close to** the usage of its originator, **Cedric Robinson**, in his seminal Black Marxism: The Making of a Black Radical Tradition.3 **Robinson develops the term to correct the developmentalism and racism that led Marx and Engels to believe mistakenly that European bourgeois society would rationalize social relations.** Instead, **Robinson explains**, the obverse occurred: “**The development**, **organization**, **and expansion of capitalist society pursued** essentially **racial directions**, **so** too **did social ideology. As a material force** . . . **racialism would inevitably permeate the social structures emergent from** capitalism. **I** have **use**d **the term** ‘**racial cap**italism’ to refer . . . **to** the subsequent structure as a historical agency.”4 Thus the term “racial capitalism” **require**s **its users to recognize that** capitalism **is racial capitalism.** **Capital can only be capital when it is accumulating**, and **it can only accumulate by producing and moving through relations of severe inequality among human groups**—**capitalists** with the means of production/workers without the means of subsistence, creditors/debtors, conquerors of land made property/the dispossessed and removed. These antinomies of accumulation **require loss**, **disposability**, **and the unequal differentiation of human value**, and **racism enshrines the inequalities that** capitalism **requires**. **Most obviously**, **it** **does this by displacing the uneven life chances that are inescapabl**y part of capitalist **social relations onto** fictions of **differing human capacities**, **historically race**. We often **associate racial** capitalism **with the central features of white supremacist capitalist development**, **including slavery, colonialism, genocide, incarceration regimes, migrant exploitation, and contemporary racial warfare.** Yet we **also** increasingly **recognize that contemporary racial** capitalism **deploys liberal and multicultural terms of inclusion to value and devalue forms of humanity differentially to fit the needs of reigning state**- **capital orders**.

**Racial Capitalism produces fascism, endless war and environmental destruction – state is key**

* Black author

Robinson 14(William I., Prof. of Sociology, Global and International Studies, and Latin American Studies, @ UC-Santa Barbara, “Global Capitalism: Crisis of Humanity and the Specter of 21st Century Fascism” The World Financial Review)

Cyclical, Structural, and Systemic Crises Most commentators on the contemporary crisis refer to the “Great Recession” of 2008 and its aftermath. Yet the causal origins of global crisis are to be found in over-accumulation and also in contradictions of state power, or in what Marxists call the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. Moreover, because the system is now global, crisis in any one place tends to represent crisis for the system as a whole. The system cannot expand because the marginalisation of a significant portion of humanity from direct productive participation, the downward pressure on wages and popular consumption worldwide, and the polarisation of income, has reduced the ability of the world market to absorb world output. At the same time, given the particular configuration of social and class forces and the correlation of these forces worldwide, national states are hard-pressed to regulate transnational circuits of accumulation and offset the explosive contradictions built into the system. Is this crisis cyclical, structural, or systemic? Cyclical crises are recurrent to capitalism about once every 10 years and involve recessions that act as self-correcting mechanisms without any major restructuring of the system. The recessions of the early 1980s, the early 1990s, and of 2001 were cyclical crises. In contrast, the 2008 crisis signaled the slide into a structural crisis. Structural crises reflect deeper contra- dictions that can only be resolved by a major restructuring of the system. The structural crisis of the 1970s was resolved through capitalist globalisation. Prior to that, the structural crisis of the 1930s was resolved through the creation of a new model of redistributive capitalism, and prior to that the struc- tural crisis of the 1870s resulted in the development of corpo- rate capitalism. A systemic crisis involves the replacement of a system by an entirely new system or by an outright collapse. A structural crisis opens up the possibility for a systemic crisis. But if it actually snowballs into a systemic crisis – in this case, if it gives way either to capitalism being superseded or to a breakdown of global civilisation – is not predetermined and depends entirely on the response of social and political forces to the crisis and on historical contingencies that are not easy to forecast. This is an historic moment of extreme uncertainty, in which collective responses from distinct social and class forces to the crisis are in great flux. Hence my concept of global crisis is broader than financial. There are multiple and mutually constitutive dimensions – economic, social, political, cultural, ideological and ecological, not to mention the existential crisis of our consciousness, values and very being. There is a crisis of social polarisation, that is, of social reproduction. The system cannot meet the needs or assure the survival of millions of people, perhaps a majority of humanity. There are crises of state legitimacy and political authority, or of hegemony and domination. National states face spiraling crises of legitimacy as they fail to meet the social grievances of local working and popular classes experiencing downward mobility, unemployment, heightened insecurity and greater hardships. The legitimacy of the system has increasingly been called into question by millions, perhaps even billions, of people around the world, and is facing expanded counter-hegemonic challenges. Global elites have been unable counter this erosion of the system’s authority in the face of worldwide pressures for a global moral economy. And a canopy that envelops all these dimensions is a crisis of sustainability rooted in an ecological holocaust that has already begun, expressed in climate change and the impending collapse of centralised agricultural systems in several regions of the world, among other indicators. By a crisis of humanity I mean a crisis that is approaching systemic proportions, threatening the ability of billions of people to survive, and raising the specter of a collapse of world civilisation and degeneration into a new “Dark Ages.”2 This crisis of humanity shares a number of aspects with earlier structural crises but there are also several features unique to the present: 1. The system is fast reaching the ecological limits of its reproduction. Global capitalism now couples human and natural history in such a way as to threaten to bring about what would be the sixth mass extinction in the known history of life on earth.3 This mass extinction would be caused not by a natural catastrophe such as a meteor impact or by evolutionary changes such as the end of an ice age but by purposive human activity. According to leading environmental scientists there are nine “planetary boundaries” crucial to maintaining an earth system environment in which humans can exist, four of which are experiencing at this time the onset of irreversible environmental degradation and three of which (climate change, the nitrogen cycle, and biodiversity loss) are at “tipping points,” meaning that these processes have already crossed their planetary boundaries. 2. The magnitude of the means of violence and social control is unprecedented, as is the concentration of the means of global communication and symbolic production and circulation in the hands of a very few powerful groups. Computerised wars, drones, bunker-buster bombs, star wars, and so forth, have changed the face of warfare. Warfare has become normalised and sanitised for those not directly at the receiving end of armed aggression. At the same time we have arrived at the panoptical surveillance society and the age of thought control by those who control global flows of communication, images and symbolic production. The world of Edward Snowden is the world of George Orwell; 1984 has arrived; 3. Capitalism is reaching apparent limits to its extensive expansion. There are no longer any new territories of significance that can be integrated into world capitalism, de-ruralisation is now well advanced, and the commodification of the countryside and of pre- and non-capitalist spaces has intensified, that is, converted in hot-house fashion into spaces of capital, so that intensive expansion is reaching depths never before seen. Capitalism must continually expand or collapse. How or where will it now expand? 4. There is the rise of a vast surplus population inhabiting a “planet of slums,”4 alienated from the productive economy, thrown into the margins, and subject to sophisticated systems of social control and to destruction - to a mortal cycle of dispossession-exploitation-exclusion. This includes prison-industrial and immigrant-detention complexes, omnipresent policing, militarised gentrification, and so on; 5. There is a disjuncture between a globalising economy and a nation-state based system of political authority. Transnational state apparatuses are incipient and have not been able to play the role of what social scientists refer to as a “hegemon,” or a leading nation-state that has enough power and authority to organise and stabilise the system. The spread of weapons of mass destruction and the unprecedented militarisation of social life and conflict across the globe makes it hard to imagine that the system can come under any stable political authority that assures its reproduction. Global Police State How have social and political forces worldwide responded to crisis? The crisis has resulted in a rapid political polarisation in global society. Both right and left-wing forces are ascendant. Three responses seem to be in dispute. One is what we could call “reformism from above.” This elite reformism is aimed at stabilising the system, at saving the system from itself and from more radical re- sponses from below. Nonetheless, in the years following the 2008 collapse of the global financial system it seems these reformers are unable (or unwilling) to prevail over the power of transnational financial capital. A second response is popular, grassroots and leftist resistance from below. As social and political conflict escalates around the world there appears to be a mounting global revolt. While such resistance appears insurgent in the wake of 2008 it is spread very unevenly across countries and regions and facing many problems and challenges. Yet another response is that I term 21st century fascism.5 The ultra-right is an insurgent force in many countries. In broad strokes, this project seeks to fuse reactionary political power with transnational capital and to organise a mass base among historically privileged sectors of the global working class – such as white workers in the North and middle layers in the South – that are now experiencing heightened insecurity and the specter of downward mobility. It involves militarism, extreme masculinisation, homophobia, racism and racist mobilisations, including the search for scapegoats, such as immigrant workers and, in the West, Muslims. Twenty-first century fascism evokes mystifying ideologies, often involving race/culture supremacy and xenophobia, embracing an idealised and mythical past. Neo-fascist culture normalises and glamorises warfare and social violence, indeed, generates a fascination with domination that is portrayed even as heroic.

#### The alternative and ROB is to reject the aff in favor of a material analysis toward revolution - Our form of study builds the Party based on the scientific formulation of Maoist principles to catalyze a mass base against capitalism and white supremacy

* Black author

Williams 18 [Carine, 7/30/18, “Why Black People Need Maoism in 2018”, *The Hampton Institute*, <http://www.hamptoninstitution.org/why-black-people-need-maoism.html#.XWwv7ZNKh0s> //KZaidi]

When they hear Maoism, many people think of China, Peru, and the Philippines. They picture peasants "surrounding the cities from the countryside." This is, of course, understandable, but a mistake. Maoism is not simply "everything that Mao did," or "everything that happened in China between 1949 and now." I have spent a great deal of my time writing working to dispel these sorts of myths, some peddled in an unprincipled fashion by anti-Maoists. Maoism is a living, breathing science. By science we mean something with universal principles that can be taken and applied by all who have a material interest in making revolution. In the United States, this is Black people, or the New Afrikan nation. It was not by accident that the original Black Panther Party (BPP) developed close relations with the revolutionary leadership of the People's Republic of China. Huey didn't go to China to play; he went to study and learn things that could be applied back home. Of course, he eventually degenerated in political line and practice, taking a right opportunist course along with Bobby Seale (always a centrist) and Elaine Brown (who guided the party, in his absence, into a mainstream political force that led into the arms of the Democratic Party). This opportunism in the highest expression of revolutionary sentiment, practice, and force in this country to date needs to be studied and ruthlessly criticized, yet we should be careful. We must place things in their historical context and ensure that we are able to divide one into two, meaning see the beneficial as well as the negative aspects of a thing but also realize that one aspect must be primary. The BPP was destroyed by a combination of factors: lack of a really scientific method of analysis and cohesive program of political education, failure to promote and apply the Marxist-Leninist principle of Democratic Centralism (debate inside the party, formation of a political line through this debate, and the upholding of this decision by all party members and organs), and a culture of liberalism that ended with comrades fighting comrades, thus opening the door for external factors (the FBI and other LE agencies) to play havoc and get cadre railroaded into prison and killed. We must study and learn all of these lessons, because when we develop another organization with the prestige, mass base, and power that the Panthers had, and we will, they will come for us all again. So, why do we need Maoism? Because we are against the most brutal, bloody, and vicious empire known to humankind. This country is looting and enslaving our class siblings all over the world. To overturn this order of things, to smash it and rebuild it in the interests of the revolutionary proletariat of the entire world, we must apply the synthesis of 200 years of systematic, organized class struggle, which is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: the continuity of the revolutionary project that was Marxism-Leninism, with a rupture from the dogmatism and revisionism. Maoists do not uphold "Actually Existing Socialism" because a scientific analysis rooted in the principles laid down by the revolutionary movements and projects that gave us Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao would demonstrate that stealing food from Filipino fisherfolk, like the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been doing, is 100% non-Marxist. This is in disagreement with many Marxist-Leninist organizations today, which uphold these things and other imperialist depredations carried out under the faded red banner of China. The Maoist argument is that Marxist-Leninist terrain has been spent, and the 21st century must learn from Maoism. "You haven't seized state power yet!" others cry. Indeed, and there has never been a truly Maoist party that has initiated armed struggle in the imperialist metro poles. This doesn't mean that Maoist principles cannot be applied to these countries, this means that we must be ever more creative in our application and ever more disciplined in our party-building efforts. Party building in the USA requires the careful and thorough cultivation of a mass base. Tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands, of people must depend on and follow this party and participate in mass organizations before it can even begin to call itself a vanguard. This is what many who came out of the New Communist Movement of the mid-late 1970s failed to realize. The days of endless squabbling sects that fight over "mass bases" of a handful of other activists must be put to an end, and we must have a truly mass perspective. There is optimism in the spread of For the People (FTP) organizations and the development of the Organizing Committee for a Maoist Communist Party (MCP-OC) which has a more mass orientation and places primacy on the development of a class analysis and political line in the USA that is based in painstaking investigation and rooted in the aspirations and struggles of the most oppressed, along with a record of seeking to develop international solidarity and prison work. This, I believe, is the best hope for New Afrikan Maoists in the United States and I wholeheartedly encourage Black comrades to develop FTP-type organizations in their own communities under OC guidance. Even if this isn't done, at the very least studies in Maoism, studies in Maoist revolutions, and studies in Maoist theory are beneficial. After and during these studies, think about how it can be applied on your block and in your community. Learn about and be like Fred Hampton. Time is up for spinning our wheels; we must get together, unite on a principled and unshakeable basis, and mount a formidable resistance against decades and centuries-old oppression based in capitalism and white supremacy. I also encourage support and donation to the Hampton Institute as an invaluable resource in promoting revolutionary ideology and practice in the finest Marxist tradition.

## 4 – Crip

#### I advocate for the aff absent their pathologization of “crippling”.

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#### The use of “crip” in academia is privileged and oppressive – privileged academics use it without acknowledging the racialized implications of it for disabled black people.

Sherry**:** Sherry, Mark [Ph.D., University of Toledo] “Crip Politics? Just…No.” *The Feminist Wire.* November 2013. RP

**I have spent most of the last 20 years working with two main groups of disabled people: brain injury survivors and people who’ve been the victims of disability hate crimes. I’ve had the privilege of working with, talking to, and advocating alongside about 5000 people in that time, mainly in Australia and the United States. Among those people, I could count on one hand the number of people who call themselves “crip” or want to be called “crip” by others**. Those who do choose the term “crip” as an identity tend to be privileged people. **“Crip” is the new fashionable term among disability studies academics**. It has become particularly trendy among those whose focus is literary studies. **However, I think that if they spent more time with disabled people, and less time thinking about disability in terms of textual analysis and narrative, they would have a different perspective.** This is not hard. Find the women at your local domestic violence shelter and ask if any have suffered a concussion or brain injury as a result of domestic violence. Listen to their gut-wrenching, painful stories. Feel their pain. And at the end of it, ask them “Now, do you mind if I call you crip from now on?” **Go to a meeting of your local People First organization, where those with cognitive impairments meet and support each other. You don’t have to even ask anyone whether they would mind if you used the term “crip.” Just listen to the noticeable absence of such terms in their discussions. They will talk about disability politics – about rights, responsibilities, and relationships – but they won’t use such a trite, trendy cliché as “crip politics.”** Or go to the local homeless shelter. Get to know the people there over time, as they won’t trust you if they’ve never seen you before. Learn about their personal histories. You can bet they will have been assaulted; hate crime and homelessness go together. And if you want to find out whether they’ve had mental illness, be very careful how you approach the topic. These are vulnerable people we are talking about. Socially isolated, impoverished, and struggling for basic survival. Learn to appreciate their dignity. If you call any one of them a “crip,” it’s you who was lost dignity, not them. Go speak with people who are applying (and have possibly been rejected for) Social Security Disability. Disability benefits are not evenly distributed among the community, which affects poor people of color the most. Go to one of the community agencies for people of color in Los Angeles and ask the people, “Are you a crip?” You’ll offend every one of them. **That’s because the term “crip” has a long history – one that is racialized, classed, gendered, and gang- related.** Being a “crip” is not a metaphor of being a ‘bad ass’ disabled person, as many privileged academics seem to assume. It’s an actual gang, and people who’ve made deliberate choices to avoid the violence of street life deserve respect and recognition for not being a crip. **For a privileged (usually White) disabled academic, calling oneself a “crip” might seem radical, if not trendy. But using such a term in the context of the safety of academia masks enormous embodied, classed, gendered, sexualized, racialized privilege**. This sense of using the term “crip” to mask privilege has struck me since I first heard the term in Robert McRuer’s book Crip Theory (2006). Realizing he was the only representative of queer studies and disability studies at an AIDS conference, he decided to “come out crip.” McRuer states “I came out as HIV-positive. I’m not, as far as I know, HIV-positive” (p.53). It would have been far more powerful and ethical for McRuer to bring disabled people and those with AIDS alongside him to the meeting and to ensure that they had a place at the table. Or he could have organized a boycott of the meeting, given its exclusionary nature. **But that would not have placed so much emphasis on “crip” as a performative practice. It would have demanded honesty, openness, respect, dialogue, and a recognition of privilege. Privilege – that’s what the discussion of “crip” politics is always missing. It’s what so many academics have, and so few disabled people actually experience.**

#### Even if some disabled people use the term, their use of it to describe large groups of people is totalizing and exclusionary

Sherry**:** Sherry, Mark [Ph.D., University of Toledo] “Crip Politics? Just…No.” *The Feminist Wire.* November 2013. RP

McRuer is right – nondisabled people can choose to call themselves “crip.” Doing so is a performative act; and disabled people usually lack the social resources to control what their nondisabled peers do. **But claiming a “crip” identity as a nondisabled person is not a sign of being “radical.” It is a sign of being out of touch, of being privileged and feeling empowered to claim other people’s experiences as your own.** This could be avoided if disability studies in the U.S. worked in closer partnership with a wide variety of disabled people in the community. That is not to deny that some disabled people do actively call themselves “crip.” **But a genuine engagement with the wide representation of disabled people in the community – those affected by blindness, deafness, learning disabilities, intellectual impairments, neurodiversity, brain injuries, and psychiatric symptoms – would show that very few disabled people in this setting identify themselves as “crip.**” So if the term alienates so many of the people it is supposed to represent, what is its attraction? Partly, there is academic trendiness: new lingo is always seen as a sign of intellectual growth. It’s also a second-wave phenomenon: the basic premise of disability studies (that disabled people have different experiences which are often ignored, sidelined, or excluded) has been fairly well established. Second-generation theorists want to develop new concepts, explore new fields, and challenge the canons of the first wave. This is fine to a certain degree, but this particular form of identity politics is deeply problematic. It is inherently rooted in physicalism. Physical impairments are simply one among many; there is no justification for prioritizing a term associated with their embodiment and their politics as opposed to any other. **The discursive links between “crip” and “cripple” are dense and difficult; but that connection could be widely made and would alienate people who do not have physical impairments. It would be akin to imposing a “survivor” discourse on all disabled people – it may work for some people, such as brain injury survivors, cancer survivors, and psychiatric system survivors – but it would not resonate with others, such as people with congenital impairments, sensory impairments, neurodiverse people, and so on**. There is no ethical justification for imposing this mode of representation on people with quite dissimilar bodies, minds, senses, and experiences. People with physical impairments have long been at the top of the disability hierarchy. It is through their advocacy and political power that the universal sign for accessibility includes the image of a wheelchair. This pedagogical move – to center disability theorizing around a problematic notion most closely associated physical impairment – is equally disempowering for the vast majority of disabled people, who do not have physical impairments. It is important to remember, however, that it is not all people with physical impairments who have dominated the politics and representation of disability. Far from it. Once again, it has been a question of privilege. While male wheelchair users dominated (at least the early stages) the independent living movement, the concerns of disabled women (particularly around abuse, domestic violence, rape, sexual assault, and hate crimes) have been far less prominent on the disability movement’s agenda. **The concerns of people of color who are wheelchair users (concerns which include police brutality, safe and affordable public housing, opposition to government economic policies which create ghettos) are still barely acknowledged in either the disability movement or disability studies**. The promise of the disability movement is one that should excite everyone with a passion for social justice and equality – it involves valuing human diversity in all its myriad forms, seeing the interconnections between us all, working to reduce the barriers that unfairly limit the rights of some people, and creating a world where everyone can access and utilize society’s resources. But that promise will not be possible if disability studies, or disability advocates, attach themselves to a discourse that so many disabled people find alienating, even oppressive. “**Crip” politics may be a trendy terminology among privileged academics right now, but disabled people cannot afford the luxury of gambling on jargonistic fads to secure themselves social justice**. “Cripistemologies” may be appealing for academics who are interested in the power of a performative utterance and the viability of transgression. But imposing such an epistemological framework on disabled people is the height of disrespect. They don’t agree with it; they don’t want it; they (generally) find it oppressive or offensive. This is the value of grounded research: millions of disabled people who would love to share their stories, to talk about what it is like to struggle at school, to share what it is like to be relentlessly bullied, or to discuss their worries about finding or keeping romantic partners. Millions more would love help in getting a job, or getting a better job. Others are desperate to find suitable, safe, housing, and would gladly share their stories about finding housing in return for assistance with applications, or help finding a better place to live. This – ideally – is the promise of disability studies. That it can be a positive force in the lives of disabled people, sharing the resources that are available to students and faculty with a community which is impoverished and socially excluded. That conception of disability studies – as an active agent for social change and equality – will not come easily. There will be serious resistance to it, from those with vested interests in the disability community and in disability studies. But that must be the challenge before us. So, the next time I am exhausted from the community advocacy I do – with victims of hate crimes, or with brain injury survivors – and someone starts talking with me about “crip politics” – please understand when I say “Just ... no.”

#### Black, disabled individuals are a unique identity position that needs to be incorporated.

**Wilson-Greene 2014** (Malaka Wilson-Greene is a queer femme living in Oakland. She is a graduate student, an avid baker, and maybe a future teacher. She writes for BlackGirlDangerous.org, “What We Should Learn From Avonté Oquendo’s Death About Anti-Blackness and Education” [http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2014/02/learn-avonte-oquendos-death-anti-blackness-education/ some words are edited and replaced within [])DR](http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2014/02/learn-avonte-oquendos-death-anti-blackness-education/%20some%20words%20are%20edited%20and%20replaced%20within%20%5b%5d)DR) 16

**Avonté was a 14 year-old Black boy with autism**. **He could not speak** and was reported via his Individualized Education Plan to wander away during transitional periods in the school day. [The cause of death is as yet undetermined and suspicion has fallen on the school](http://www.businessinsider.com/the-tragedy-of-avonte-oquendo-2014-1) for allowing Avonte to slip past them. **Avonté, as a Black, disabled youth was not safe, not even in school**. Blackness, in general, is not safe in schools. This is evidenced by recent, yet seemingly eternal, [cases](http://www.dailymail.co.uk./news/article-2540354/I-playing-Frightened-5-year-old-girl-locked-closet-punishment-1-HOUR-teacher-left-school-without-telling-girl-was.html) of Black students experiencing abuse and mistreatment by school staff and teachers. Black children are often preemptively charged with being “bad”, threatening or defiant and therefore excessively punished. In fact, [a recent Department of Education study showed](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/education/black-students-face-more-harsh-discipline-data-shows.html) that even though **Black students only made up 18% of students enrolled at the sampled school, they represented 39% of the students expelled.** Additionally, **studies show that**[**youth with disabilities are significantly overrepresented in juvenile correctional facilities**](http://www.hoagiesgifted.org/eric/e621.html). Consider the [School-to-Prison Pipeline](http://www.aclu.org/school-prison-pipeline), which, via zero tolerance policies that do not meaningfully consider ability, race, socioeconomic status, etc., funnel and prepare Black students for a life of imprisonment. It is obvious that Black students are not valued and, instead, treated as surplus and unsubstantial contributors to educational spaces. **What is important to think about in Avonté’s case is not only his race but his disability as well.** In our society, Blackness connotes unworthy, incapable, and unknowledgeable. In educational settings, Blackness has this in common with disability.  This characterization positions Black people as unwilling to do the impossible and pull ourselves up by the bootstraps. **~~People with disabilities~~ [Disabled people] are** also **characterized as unable and incapable** of learning. Both characterizations are related to our supposed **inability to perform to institutional standards.** However, studies show that Black students who struggle with disabilities are not given the same attention that is given to white children and most schools lack culturally sensitive resources, staff, and teachers that can help children with disabilities succeed. I write about this as someone who has struggled through education and academia, because my Black skin and decidedly Black way of communicating were misunderstood and characterized as unfit and unworthy. **I know the pain that comes from feeling like you do not belong, the pain that comes from being pushed out of academic spaces because you don’t fit into the model. I write about this as someone who has struggled to find supportive, accessible resources for my 8 year old brother.** Through this frustrating, daunting process of navigating the racist medical institution and schools who would rather throw us away than help us, I have become aware that my brother’s position as a student is inextricably related to his being Black. I write about this as someone who wants Black deaths like Avonté’s to cease. **I write about this because this is about survival**.As it currently exists, mainstream U.S. education favors a one-size-fits-all model of education that marginalizes students who have different learning styles, abilities, backgrounds, and needs. The U.S. education system lacks culturally relevant approaches that meet students at their level and provide learning environments where students can be continuously engaged and appropriately challenged. Often, poor, **Black students, with disabilities** who are not able to succeed within this model **are ostracized**. **When we only value one type of** intellectual academic **achievement** and link that specific achievement with superiority, **those who do not excel in those same ways** may **experience** classroom **marginalization** and act out with very appropriate anger. Further, **institutions must introduce anti-ableist curriculum** to the classroom **so that students with disabilities can have an accessible,** safe, fully integrated classroom **experience**. I am confident that **in the next few months**, **we might find out more about what Avonté’s** school **life was like**. I cannot make assumptionsabout whether or not his needs and rights for accessibility and love were being met. **What we do know now is that we have failed him. We fail him when we do not consider the important intersections between Blackness and disability. Schools fail Black students with disabilities when we do not actively work to make the classroom** an **inclusive** environment. Overall, there exists a lack of understanding and empathy regarding what it means to be a Black, disabled student. **The vulnerability of Black disabled students** like Avonté **is indisputable yet still** invisible and largely **ignored**. **It is imperative to think about the intersections between Blackness and ability in order to provide Black, disabled students with** the safety and adequate learning environments that they rightfully deserve. I want Black students that struggle with disabilities to be and feel loved, understood, and protected. I want Black students to the have the opportunity and **access** that they need to succeed, in whatever way that looks like to them.

## Case

### Part 1

#### Vote Negative on Presumption:

#### 1] No ability to solve trauma – what does affirming in this round change to structural antagonisms – you can only change the mindset of you and us.

#### 2] read in debate fractures movnets

#### Yes coalitions matter – Memorial reads green.

Reddie 2 Anthony Reddie. Professor Anthony G. Reddie is the Director of the Oxford Centre for Religion and Culture in Regent’s Park College, in the University of Oxford. 25 August 2020. “Black theology: an introduction” <https://www.theosthinktank.co.uk/comment/2020/08/12/black-theology-an-introduction> B1ack ZD

A central part of the work of Black theology has been the necessity of critiquing the alleged superiority of White people or the notion that ‘Whiteness’ should predominate. In using the term ‘Whiteness’ I am referring to the lens through which we see the world and how social and economic relations are organised for the benefit of White people. The relationship between the British Empire, colonialism and Christianity, in many respects, remains the unacknowledged ‘elephant in the room’. Empire and colonialism became the basis on which notions of White supremacy were based. The intellectual underpinning of White supremacy, the notion that White people are superior to peoples who are not White, was based on a corruption of Christianity, in which Whiteness was conflated with the Christian faith. This conflation of Whiteness with Christianity led to a clear binary between notions of civilised, acceptable, and saved, against uncivilised, backward, and heathen.[[xxii]](https://bibsoc.sharepoint.com/sites/Theos/Shared%20Documents/Final%20Upload/Anthony%20Reddie%20article%20intro%20to%20BT%20section%20v2%20FINAL.docx" \l "_edn22) The continued paucity of theological texts written by White British theologians that address the legacy of slavery, colonialism, and racism on the British psyche remains troubling. The reason why most White British theologians and White Christians have not engaged with issues of Whiteness is largely due to the invisibility of Whiteness: for most White people, they do not see or think about Whiteness. The truth is, Whiteness does not need rescuing from centuries of negative stereotyping and the notion that White people are backward and inferior.[[xxiii]](https://bibsoc.sharepoint.com/sites/Theos/Shared%20Documents/Final%20Upload/Anthony%20Reddie%20article%20intro%20to%20BT%20section%20v2%20FINAL.docx" \l "_edn23) Whatever the hardships are that face poor, marginalised White people (which I do not dispute, I hasten to add), these do not include a historic set of symbolic associations surrounding the unacceptability of being White in and of itself. Nor do such negative, symbolic associations find expression in right-wing groups demanding their removal from the country in order that such doubtful and unsubstantiated notions of ‘purity’, ‘civilisation’ and ‘Our Way of Life’ can be maintained – again, often synonyms for covert ways of speaking of the normativity of Whiteness. One of the most recent and penetrating critiques of Whiteness written by a White British theologian is that of Steve Latham who not only critiques the ways in which Whiteness underpins the basis of much White theology, but explores the ways in which it provides the intellectual and emotional anchor that bolsters ideas of White supremacy. Latham writes One of the greatest obstacles to the White person realising their own culpability, is that our own ‘Whiteness,’ is so invisible to us. The problem is always other people. ‘They are Black; we are ordinary.’ ‘They have a culture; we are normal.’ ‘They are ethnic; but we don’t have an ethnicity.’ We consider to be ‘common-sense’ what is actually part of our culture. However, when anything appears natural or ‘neutral’, then we know we are in the presence of a particular ideology.[[xxiv]](https://bibsoc.sharepoint.com/sites/Theos/Shared%20Documents/Final%20Upload/Anthony%20Reddie%20article%20intro%20to%20BT%20section%20v2%20FINAL.docx" \l "_edn24) So, whiteness operates on the basis of stealth, holding a pivotal central place for that which is considered normal and as it should be. It becomes central to all that is concerned to be ideal, better than and considered the epitome of supposed civilisation and acceptability. The sad fact is that most White people take this so much for granted that it rarely occurs to many of them that we live in a world in which whiteness is so embedded as the norm. It is accepted as the way of seeing and organising the world to the extent that it can be likened to a fish swimming in the sea. The fish is so normalised to its existence that all it knows is that the sea represents its total existence. White supremacy has been the basis on which the world has been organised for the last 500 years. The reason why we do not have a ‘White Lives Matter’ movement is because there has never been any serious impediment to asserting otherwise. This is not to say that poor White people or White women have not suffered or been oppressed. But none of this was due to the fact that they were simply ‘White’. Such has been the opposite for Black people over the past 500 years, beginning with slavery and then colonialism, so that our lives have been a constant battle to assert that we matter, as equally as White people, be they poor, or women, advantaged or disadvantaged economically, culturally or politically. Black theology in Britain is a theology of liberation that seeks ultimately to bring about justice for all peoples. It is an invitation to see the world through the eyes of those who are suffering and being oppressed. The Coronavirus pandemic has laid bare the toxic reality in which many Black people live. The disproportionate deaths of Black people of African descent in the UK, the U.S. and in Brazil (amongst the top three countries for COVID-19 victims and deaths) has reminded us that systemic racism has not been a figment of our imaginations, nor have we been paranoid or have had the legendary chips on our shoulders. Rather, the Coronavirus pandemic has reminded us that the systemic racism of the transatlantic slave trade and later, the European colonialism of Black and Brown peoples in the global south and west, is now being replicated in an age of neo-liberalism and globalisation. The need for social, political and economic change has been clearly demonstrated by the COVID-19 pandemic. The world that has been revealed is not the one that God has designed for all people. We are in desperate need of change. A Black theology of liberation has always been committed to the necessity for structural change and the personal transformation of all people, in order that there is justice and equity for all. The prophetic work of Black theology continues. If the Christian faith and the churches that constitutes it are to live out their mandate as signs of hope and redemption, then Black theology is a must! I remain committed this work. I pray that others may be also!

#### 3] the rez should divide aff and neg ground – a] key to seeing If the method good in the first aplce

#### 4] its already been published

#### 5] allies DA