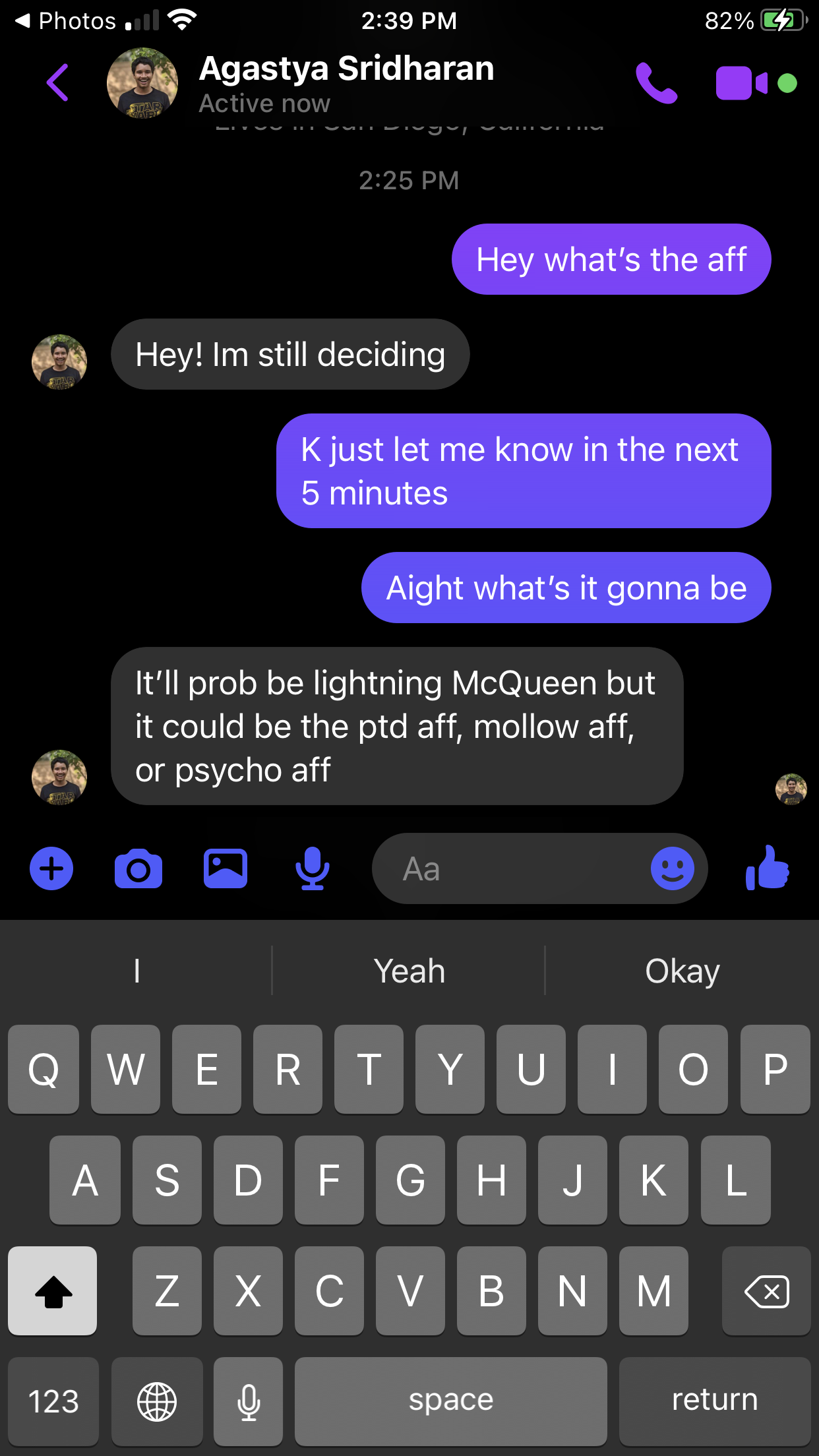
# 1NC

## Theory

#### Interpretation: Debaters must disclose all constructive speech docs open source with highlighting 25 minutes prior to this round.

#### Violation: you didn’t – I have screenshots. They disclosed late after being asked multiple times and didn’t specify which aff they’re reading. They asked for interps, but it doesn’t matter, because that was only after they had violated the shell.



**Standards:**

* 1. **Evidence ethics – open source is the only way to verify before round that cards aren't miscut – otherwise you could have highlighted unethically. Disclosing multiple affs and disclosing late links because I can’t check every card in 4 affs in 20 minutes. That's a voter – maintaining ethical ev practices is key to being good academics and we should be able to verify you didn't cheat.**
  2. **Depth of clash – open source allows debaters to come up with more nuanced researched objections to their opponents evidence before the round at a much faster rate, which leads to the highest quality evidence comparison instead of guessing what was highlighted. Can’t come up with nuanced arguments in less time with more affs. Clash controls the internal link to education because it forces us to do better research and think critically about arguments.**

**Education is voter because:**

1. **It’s the only portable benefit of debate.**
2. **It’s the only reason we get funding.**

**Theory is drop the debater:**

1. **Only DTD enables theory to deter bad behavior and be a tool for norm setting. Drop the Arg just lets them dodge whatever they did wrong with barley any consequences.**
2. **Dropping the arg can’t rectify past abuse because the 1AC was uniquely bad, so there should be a consequence.**

**No RVI’s:**

1. **they’re illogical – it doesn’t make sense to reward someone for not doing anything bad. People need to do good things to win.**
2. **RVI’s chill legitimate theory, justifying even more abuse.**

**Competing Interps:**

1. **Reasonability usually lacks a brightline and favors unnecessary judge intervention.**
2. **Reasonability lets them arbitrarily choose a brightline that favors their arguments – skews fairness.**

## Kritik

#### The oppression of organic society has given way to the informatics of domination – social control operates via logistical flows and decisions procedures rather than essential categorization. Your theory no longer applies because it is managed by a liberal system that divides and combines any threatening identity – including the disabled. If we want to end racism, sexism, ableism, capitalism, etc, we must address their newest formations. Thus, the role of the ballot is to methodologically resist the informatics of domination.

#### **Haraway 1 (2016)**

Haraway, Donna. “A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century.” University of Minnesota Press, 2016. I don’t have a link but ask for the pdf if you want it. // Park City NL

In this attempt at an epistemological and political position, I would like to sketch a picture of possible unity, a picture in- debted to socialist and feminist principles of design. The frame for my sketch is set by the extent and importance of rearrange- ments in worldwide social relations tied to science and technology. I argue for a politics rooted in claims about fundamental changes in the nature of class, race, and gender in an emerging system of world order analogous in its novelty and scope to that created by industrial capitalism; **we are living through a movement from an organic, industrial society to a polymorphous, information system**—from all work to all play, a deadly game. Simultaneously material and ideological, the dichotomies may be expressed in the following chart of transitions from the comfortable old hierarchical dominations to the scary new networks I have called the informatics of domination: [List omitted for formatting reasons, ask if you want it]This list suggests several interesting things.17 First, the ob- jects on the right-hand side cannot be coded as “natural,” a re- alization that subverts naturalistic coding for the left-hand side as well. We cannot go back ideologically or materially. It’s not just that “god” is dead; so is the “goddess.” Or both are revivified in the worlds charged with microelectronic and biotechno- logical politics. In relation to objects like biotic components, **one must think not in terms of essential properties, but in terms of design,** boundary constraints, rates of flows, **systems logics**, costs of lowering constraints. Sexual reproduction is one kind of reproductive strategy among many, with costs and benefits as a function of the system environment. Ideologies of sexual reproduction can no longer reasonably call on notions of sex and sex role as organic aspects in natural objects like organisms and families. Such reasoning will be unmasked as irrational, and ironically corporate executives reading *Playboy* and antiporn radical feminists will make strange bedfellows in jointly un- masking the irrationalism. Likewise for race, ideologies about human diversity have to be formulated in terms of frequencies of parameters, like blood groups or intelligence scores. **It is “irrational” to invoke con- cepts like primitive and civilized.** For liberals and radicals, the search for integrated social systems gives way to a new prac- tice called “experimental ethnography” in which an organic ob- ject dissipates in attention to the play of writing. At the level of ideology, **we see translations of racism** and colonialism **into languages of development** and underdevelopment,rates and con- straints of **modernization**. Any objects or persons can be rea- sonably thought of in terms of disassembly and reassembly; **no “natural” architectures constrain system design**. The financial districts in all the world’s cities, as well as the export-process- ing and free trade zones, proclaim this elementary fact of “late capitalism.” The entire universe of objects that can be known scientifically must be formulated as problems in communications engineering (for the managers) or theories of the text (for those who would resist). Both are cyborg semiologies. One should expect control strategies to concentrate on boundary conditions and interfaces, on rates of flow across boundaries—and not on the integrity of natural objects. **“Integrity”** or “sincerity” **of the Western self gives way to decision procedures** and expert systems. For example, control strategies applied to women’s capacities to give birth to new human beings will be developed in the languages of population control and maximization of goal achievement for individual decision- makers. Control strategies will be formulated in terms of rates, costs of constraints, degrees of freedom. Human beings, like any other component or subsystem, must be localized in a sys- tem architecture whose basic modes of operation are proba- bilistic, statistical. **No** objects, spaces, or **bodies are sacred** in themselves; **any component can be interfaced with any other** if the proper standard, the proper code, can be constructed for processing signals in a common language. **Exchange** in this world **transcends the universal translation effected by capitalist markets** that Marx analyzed so well. The privileged pathology affecting all kinds of components in this universe is stress— communications breakdown (Hogness 1983). The cyborg is not subject to Foucault’s biopolitics; the cyborg simulates politics, a much more potent field of operations. This kind of analysis of scientific and cultural objects of knowledge that have appeared historically since the Second World War prepares us to notice some important inadequacies in feminist analysis that has proceeded as if the organic, hierar- chical dualisms ordering discourse in “the West” since Aristotle still ruled. They have been cannibalized, or as Zoë Sofia (1984) might put it, they have been “techno-digested.” The dichotomies between mind and body, animal and human, organism and machine, public and private, nature and culture, men and women, primitive and civilized are all in question ideologically. The actual situation of women is their integration/exploitation into a world system of production/reproduction and communi- cation called the informatics of domination. **The** home, work- place, market, public arena, the **body** itself—all **can be dispersed and interfaced in** nearly infinite, **polymorphous ways, with** large consequences for women and others—**consequences that themselves are** very **different for different people and that make** potent oppositional international **movements difficult to imagine** and essential for survival. One important route for recon- structing socialist-feminist politics is through theory and prac- tice addressed to the social relations of science and technology, including crucially the systems of myth and meanings struc- turing our imaginations. The cyborg is a kind of disassembled and reassembled, postmodern collective and personal self. This is the self feminists must code.

#### Identity politics that reduce a group to one essential unity lead to either the endless division into new unities or the erasure of marginalized groups within that identity. Just as white feminism ignores women of color, any totalizing identity politics justifies the domination of some within the identity. AND total identities are defined in relation to trauma, making collective liberation impossible without destroying the identity’s signifier.

#### **Haraway 2**

Haraway, Donna. “A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century.” University of Minnesota Press, 2016. I don’t have a link but ask for the pdf if you want it. // Park City NL

It has become difficult to name one’s feminism by a single adjective—or even to insist in every circumstance on the noun. Consciousness of **exclusion through naming is acute. Identities seem contradictory**, partial, and strategic. With the hard-won recognition of their social and historical constitution, **gender, race, and class cannot provide the basis for belief in “essential” unity.** There is nothing about being “female” that naturally binds women. There is not even such a state as **“being”** female, itself **a highly complex category constructed in** contested sexual **scientific discourses and other social practices**. **Gender, race, or class consciousness is** an achievement **forced on us by** the terrible historical experience of the contradictory social realities of **patriarchy, colonialism, and capitalism**. And who counts as “us” in my own rhetoric? Which identities are available to ground such a potent political myth called “us,” and what could motivate enlistment in this collectivity? Painful **fragmentation among feminists** (not to mention among women) along every possible fault line **has made the concept of *woman* elusive, an excuse for the matrix of women’s dominations of each other**. For me—and for many who share a similar historical location in white, professional middle-class, female, radical, North American, mid-adult bodies—the sources of a crisis in political identity are legion. The recent history for much of the U.S. left and U.S. feminism has been a response to this kind of crisis by endless splitting and searches for a new essential unity. But there has also been a growing recognition of another response through coalition—affinity, not identity.10 Chela Sandoval (n.d.; 1984), from a consideration of specific historical moments in the formation of the new political voice called women of color, has theorized a hopeful model of political identity called “oppositional consciousness,” born of the skills for reading webs of power by those refused stable membership in the social categories of race, sex, or class. *Women of color,* a name contested at its origins by those whom it would incorpo- rate, as well as a historical consciousness marking systematic breakdown of all the signs of Man in “Western” traditions, con- structs a kind of postmodernist identity out of otherness, dif- ference, and specificity. This postmodernist identity is fully political, whatever might be said about other possible postmodernisms. Sandoval’s oppositional consciousness is about con- tradictory locations and heterochronic calendars, not about relativisms and pluralisms. Sandoval emphasizes the lack of any essential criterion for identifying who is a woman of color. She notes that the defini- tion of the group has been by conscious appropriation of nega- tion. For example, a Chicana or U.S. black woman has not been able to speak as a woman or as a black person or as a Chicano. Thus, she was at the bottom of a cascade of negative identi- ties, left out of even the privileged oppressed authorial cate- gories called “women and blacks,” who claimed to make the important revolutions. The category “woman” negated all non- white women; “black” negated all nonblack people, as well as all black women. But there was also no “she,” no singularity, but a sea of differences among U.S. women who have affirmed their historical identity as U.S. women of color. This identity marks out a self-consciously constructed space that cannot affirm the capacity to act on the basis of natural identification, but only on the basis of conscious coalition, of affinity, of political kinship.11 Unlike the “woman” of some streams of the white women’s movement in the United States, there is no naturalization of the matrix, or at least this is what Sandoval argues is uniquely avail- able through the power of oppositional consciousness. Sandoval’s argument has to be seen as one potent formu - lation for feminists out of the worldwide development of an- ticolonialist discourse; that is to say, discourse dissolving the “West” and its highest product—the one who is not animal, barbarian, or woman; man, that is, the author of a cosmos called history. As orientalism is deconstructed politically and semi- otically, the identities of the occident destabilize, including those of feminists.12 Sandoval argues that “women of color” have a chance to build an effective unity that does not replicate the imperializing, totalizing revolutionary subjects of previous Marxisms and feminisms, which had not faced the consequences of the disorderly polyphony emerging from decolonization. Katie King has emphasized the limits of identification and the political/poetic mechanics of identification built into read- ing “the poem,” that generative core of cultural feminism. King criticizes the persistent tendency among contemporary feminists from different “moments” or “conversations” in feminist practice to taxonomize the women’s movement to make one’s own political tendencies appear to be the *telos* of the whole. These **taxonomies tend to remake** feminist **history so that it appears to be an ideological struggle among coherent types persisting over time**, especially those typical units called radical, liberal, and socialist-feminism. Literally, **all other feminisms are either incorporated or marginalized**, usually by building an explicit ontology and epistemology.13 **Taxonomies** of feminism **produce epistemologies to police deviation from official** women’s **experience.** And of course, “women’s culture,” like women of color, is consciously created by mechanisms inducing affinity. The rituals of poetry, music, and certain forms of academic practice have been preeminent. The politics of race and culture in the U.S. women’s movements are intimately in- terwoven. The common achievement of King and Sandoval is learning how to craft a poetic/political unity without relying on a logic of appropriation, incorporation, and taxonomic identification.

#### Ontological claims of oppression define existence as a product of another’s desire – this reifies the very subjugation that their theory seeks to subvert. Defining the (non)subject by their oppression makes politics futile by removing the possibility of revolutionary subjectivity.

Haraway 3

Haraway, Donna. “A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century.” University of Minnesota Press, 2016. I don’t have a link but ask for the pdf if you want it. // Park City NL

Catharine MacKinnon’s (1982, 1987) version of radical fem- inism is itself a caricature of the appropriating, incorporating, totalizing tendencies of Western theories of identity grounding action.15 It is factually and politically wrong to assimilate all of the diverse “moments” or “conversations” in recent women’s politics named radical feminism to MacKinnon’s version. But the teleological logic of her theory shows how an **epistemology and ontology**—including their negations—**erase or police difference**. Only one of the effects of MacKinnon’s theory is the rewriting of the history of the polymorphous field called radical feminism. The major effect is the production of a theory of experience, of women’s identity, that is a kind of apocalypse for all revolutionary standpoints. That is, the **totalization built into** this tale of **radical feminism** **achieves** its end—**the unity of women**—**by enforcing the experience of** and testimony to radical **nonbeing**. As for the Marxist/socialist-feminist, conscious- ness is an achievement, not a natural fact. And MacKinnon’s theory eliminates some of the difficulties built into humanist revolutionary subjects, but at the cost of radical reductionism. MacKinnon argues that feminism necessarily adopted a different analytical strategy from Marxism, looking first not at the structure of class but at the structure of sex/gender and its generative relationship, men’s constitution and appropriation of women sexually. Ironically, **MacKinnon’s “ontology” constructs a nonsubject**, a nonbeing. **Another’s desire**, not the self’s labor, **is the origin of “woman.”** She therefore develops a theory of consciousness that enforces what can count as “women’s” experience—anything that names sexual violation, indeed, sex itself as far as “women” can be concerned. Feminist practice is the construction of this form of consciousness—that is, the self-knowledge of a self-who-is-not. Perversely, sexual appropriation in this feminism still has the epistemological status of labor; that is to say, the point from which an analysis able to contribute to changing the world must flow. But sexual objectification, not alienation, is the conse- quence of the structure of sex/gender. In the realm of knowl- edge, the result of sexual objectification is illusion and ab - straction. However, **a woman** is not simply alienated from her product but in a deep sense **does not exist as a subject**, or even potential subject, since **she owes her existence** as a woman **to sexual appropriation.** **To be constituted by another’s desire** is not the same thing as to be alienated in the violent separation of the laborer from his product. MacKinnon’s radical theory of experience is totalizing in the extreme; it does not so much marginalize as obliterate the authority of any other women’s political speech and action. It **is a totalization producing what Western patriarchy itself never succeeded in doing**—feminists’ consciousness of **the nonexistence of women**, except as products of men’s desire. I think MacKinnon correctly argues that no Marxian version of iden- tity can firmly ground women’s unity. But in solving the prob- lem of the contradictions of any Western revolutionary subject for feminist purposes, she develops an even more authoritarian doctrine of experience. If my complaint about socialist/Marx- ian standpoints is their unintended erasure of polyvocal, unas- similable, radical difference made visible in anticolonial dis- course and practice, MacKinnon’s intentional erasure of all difference through the device of the “essential” nonexistence of women is not reassuring.

#### The impact is dispersion throughout the info-sphere of domination. All lives, but especially those that exist on the margins of society, are made increasingly precarious by economic currents, social ignorance, and political impotence. Our lives are no longer located in essential experiences or identities but dispersed throughout the informatics of domination.

#### **Haraway 4**

Haraway, Donna. “A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century.” University of Minnesota Press, 2016. I don’t have a link but ask for the pdf if you want it. // Park City NL

Let me summarize the picture of women’s historical locations in advanced industrial societies, as these positions have been re- structured partly through the social relations of science and technology. If it was ever possible ideologically to characterize women’s lives by the distinction of public and private domains—suggested by images of the division of working-class life into factory and home, of bourgeois life into market and home, and of gender existence into personal and political realms—it is now a totally misleading ideology, even to show how both terms of these dichotomies construct each other in practice and in theory. I prefer a **network ideological image, suggesting** the profusion of spaces and identities and the **permeability of boundaries in the** personal **body and** in the **body politic**. “Networking” is both a feminist practice and a multinational corporate strategy—weaving is for oppositional cyborgs. So let me return to the earlier image of the informatics of domination and trace one vision of women’s “place” in the integrated circuit, touching only a few idealized social locations seen primarily from the point of view of advanced capitalist societies: Home, Market, Paid Workplace, State, School, Clinic- Hospital, and Church. Each of these idealized spaces is logically and practically implied in every other locus, perhaps analogous to a holographic photograph. I want to suggest the impact of the social relations mediated and enforced by the new technologies in order to help formulate needed analysis and practical work. However, **there is no “place”** for women in these networks, **only geometries of difference and contradiction crucial to** women’s **cyborg identities**. If we learn how to read these webs of power and social life, we might learn new couplings, new coalitions. There is no way to read the following list from a standpoint of “identification,” of a unitary self. **The issue is dispersion.** The task is to survive in the diaspora. *Home:* Women-headed households, serial monogamy, flight of men, old women alone, technology of domestic work, paid homework, reemergence of home sweatshops, home-based businesses and telecommuting, electronic cot- tage industry, urban homelessness, migration, module ar-chitecture, reinforced (simulated) nuclear family, intense domestic violence. *Market:* Women’s continuing consumption work, newly targeted to buy the profusion of new production from the new technologies (especially as the competitive race among industrialized and industrializing nations to avoid dangerous mass unemployment necessitates finding ever bigger new markets for ever less clearly needed commodities); bimodal buying power, coupled with advertising targeting of the numerous affluent groups and neglect of the previous mass markets; growing importance of informal markets in labor and commodities parallel to high-tech, affluent market structures; surveillance systems through electronic funds transfer; **intensified** market abstraction (**commodification) of experience, resulting in ineffective** utopian or equivalent **cynical theories of community; extreme mobility** (abstraction) **of marketing/financing** systems; interpenetration of sexual and labor markets; intensified sexualization of ab- stracted and alienated consumption. *Paid Workplace:* Continued intense **sexual and racial division of labor**, but considerable growth of membership in privileged occupational categories for many white women and people of color; impact of new technologies on women’s work in clerical, service, manufacturing (especially textiles), agriculture, electronics; international restructuring of the working classes; development of new time arrangements to facilitate the homework economy (flex time, part time, over time, no time); homework and out work; increased pressures for two-tiered wage structures; **significant numbers of people in cash-dependent populations** worldwide **with no** experience or no further **hope of stable employment; most labor “marginal” or “feminized.”** *State:* Continued erosion of the welfare state; decentralizations with increased surveillance and control; citizenship by telematics; imperialism and **political power** broadly **in the form of information-rich/information-poor differentiation**; increased high-tech militarization increasingly op- posed by many social groups; reduction of civil service jobs as a result of the growing capital intensification of of- fice work, with implications for occupational mobility for women of color; growing privatization of material and ideo- logical life and culture; close **integration of privatization and militarization**, the high-tech forms of bourgeois capitalist personal and public life; **invisibility of different social groups to each other, linked to** psychological mechanisms of **belief in abstract enemies.** *School:* Deepening coupling of high-tech capital needs and public education at all levels, differentiated by race, class, and gender; managerial classes involved in educa- tional reform and funding at the cost of remaining progres- sive educational democratic structures for children and teachers; education for mass ignorance and repression in technocratic and militarized culture; growing anti-science mystery cults in dissenting and radical political movements; continued relative scientific illiteracy among white women and people of color; growing industrial direction of education (especially higher education) by science-based multina- tionals (particularly in electronics- and biotechnology-de- pendent companies); highly educated, numerous elites in a progressively bimodal society. *Clinic-Hospital:* Intensified machine–body relations; re- negotiations of public metaphors that channel personal expe- rience of the body, particularly in relation to reproduction, immune system functions, and “stress” phenomena; intensi- fication of reproductive politics in response to world historical implications of women’s unrealized, potential control of their relation to reproduction; emergence of new, historically spe- cific diseases; struggles over meanings and means of health in environments pervaded by high-technology products and processes; continuing feminization of health work; intensi- fied struggle over state responsibility for health; continued ideological role of popular health movements as a major form of American politics. *Church:* Electronic fundamentalist “super-saver” preachers solemnizing the union of electronic capital and automated fetish gods; intensified importance of churches in resisting the militarized state; central struggle over women’s meanings and authority in religion; continued relevance of spirituality, intertwined with sex and health, in political struggle.

#### Negate to endorse cyborg feminist writing – this strategy tells stories of the nearly non-subjects who still have a mark to leave on the violent world. In the informatics of domination, the language of cyborg politics reminds us that people will not simply disappear and that imaginative optimism is a matter of survival.

#### **Haraway 5**

Haraway, Donna. “A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century.” University of Minnesota Press, 2016. I don’t have a link but ask for the pdf if you want it. // Park City NL

Contrary to orientalist stereotypes of the “oral primitive,” literacy is a special mark of women of color, acquired by U.S. black women as well as men through a history of risking death to learn and to teach reading and writing. Writing has a special significance for all colonized groups. Writing has been crucial to the Western myth of the distinction between oral and written cultures, primitive and civilized mentalities, and more recently to the erosion of that distinction in “postmodernist” theories attacking the phallogocentrism of the West, with its worship of the monotheistic, phallic, authoritative, and singular work, the unique and perfect name.31 Contests for the meanings of writ- ing are a major form of contemporary political struggle. Releas- ing the play of writing is deadly serious. The poetry and stories of U.S. women of color are repeatedly about writing, about access to the power to signify; but this time that power must be neither phallic nor innocent. Cyborg writing must not be about the Fall, the imagination of a once-upon-a-time wholeness before language, before writing, before Man. **Cyborg writing is about the power to survive**, not on the basis of original innocence, but on the basis of seizing the tools **to mark the world that marked them as other. The tools are often stories**, retold stories, versions **that reverse** and displace the **hierarchical dualisms of naturalized identities**. In retelling origin stories, cyborg authors subvert the central myths of origin of Western culture. We have all been colonized by those origin myths, with their longing for fulfill- ment in apocalypse. The phallogocentric origin stories most crucial for feminist cyborgs are built into the literal technologies—technologies that write the world, biotechnology and mi- croelectronics—that have recently textualized our bodies as code problems on the grid of C3I. Feminist cyborg stories have the task of recoding communication and intelligence to subvert command and control. Figuratively and literally, **language politics pervade the struggles of women of color**; and stories about language have a special power in the rich contemporary writing by U.S. women of color. For example, retellings of the story of the indigenous woman Malinche, mother of the mestizo “bastard” race of the new world, master of languages, and mistress of Cortes, carry special meaning for Chicana constructions of identity. Cherríe Moraga in *Loving in the War Years* (1983) explores the themes of identity when one never possessed the original language, never told the original story, never resided in the harmony of legitimate heterosexuality in the garden of culture, and so cannot base identity on a myth or a fall from innocence and right to natural names, mother’s or father’s.32 Moraga’s writing, her superb literacy, is presented in her poetry as the same kind of violation as Malinche’s mastery of the conqueror’s language—a violation, an illegitimate production, that allows survival. Moraga’s language is not “whole”; it is self-consciously spliced, a chimera of English and Spanish, both conquerors’ languages. But it is **this** chimeric **monster, without claim to an original language** before violation, that **crafts the** erotic, competent, **potent identities of women of color**. Sister Outsider hints at the possibility of world survival not because of her innocence but because of her ability to live on the boundaries, to write without the founding myth of original wholeness, with its inescapable apocalypse of final return to a deathly oneness that Man has imagined to be the innocent and all-powerful Mother, freed at the End from another spiral of appropriation by her son. Writing marks Moraga’s body, affirms it as the body of a woman of color, against the possibility of passing into the unmarked category of the Anglo father or into the orientalist myth of “original illiteracy” of a mother that never was. Malinche was mother here, not Eve before eating the forbidden fruit. Writing affirms Sister Outsider, not the Woman-before-the-Fall-into-Writing needed by the phallogocentric Family of Man. Writing is preeminently the technology of cyborgs, etched surfaces of the late twentieth century. **Cyborg politics are the struggle** for language and the struggle **against perfect communication**, against the one code that translates all meaning perfectly, the central dogma of phallogocentrism. That is why **cyborg politics insist on noise and advocate pollution, rejoicing in the illegitimate fusions of animal and machine**. These are the couplings that make Man and Woman so problematic, subverting the structure of desire, the force imagined to generate language and gender, and so **subverting the structure and modes of reproduction of “Western” identity, of nature and culture, of mirror and eye, slave and master, body and mind**. “We” did not originally choose to be cyborgs, but choice grounds a liberal politics and epistemology that imagine the reproduction of individuals before the wider replications of “texts.” From the perspective of cyborgs, freed of the need to ground politics in “our” privileged position of the oppression that in- corporates all other dominations, the innocence of the merely violated, the ground of those closer to nature, we can see pow- erful possibilities. Feminisms and Marxisms have run aground on Western epistemological imperatives to construct a revolu- tionary subject from the perspective of a hierarchy of oppres- sions and/or a latent position of moral superiority, innocence, and greater closeness to nature. With no available original dream of a common language or original symbiosis promising protection from hostile “masculine” separation, but written into the play of a text that has no finally privileged reading or salvation history, **to recognize “oneself” as fully implicated in the world, frees us of the need to root politics in identification**, vanguard parties, purity, and mothering. Stripped of identity, the “bastard” race teaches about the power of the margins and the importance of a mother like Malinche. Women of color have transformed her from the evil mother of masculinist fear into the originally literate mother who teaches survival. This is not just literary deconstruction, but liminal transformation. Every story that begins with original innocence and privileges the return to wholeness imagines the drama of life to be individuation, separation, the birth of the self, the tragedy of autonomy, the fall into writing, alienation—that is, war, tempered by imaginary respite in the bosom of the Other. These plots are ruled by a reproductive politics—rebirth without flaw, perfection, abstraction. In this plot women are imagined either better or worse off, but all agree they have less selfhood, weaker individuation, more fusion to the oral, to Mother, less at stake in masculine autonomy. But there is another route to having less at stake in masculine autonomy, a route that does not pass through Woman, Primitive, Zero, the Mirror Stage and its imaginary. It passes through women and other present-tense, illegitimate cyborgs, not of Woman born, who refuse the ideological re- sources of victimization so as to have a real life. **These cyborgs are the people who refuse to disappear on cue**, no matter how many times a “Western” commentator remarks on the sad passing of another primitive, another organic group done in by “Western” technology, by writing.33 These real-life cyborgs (for example, the Southeast Asian village women workers in Japanese and U.S. electronics firms described by Aihwa Ong) are actively rewriting the texts of their bodies and societies.34 **Survival is at stake in this play of readings.**

## Case

Siebers:

other justifications for discrimination, based on race, ethnicity, sex, and gender, have begun to fall away