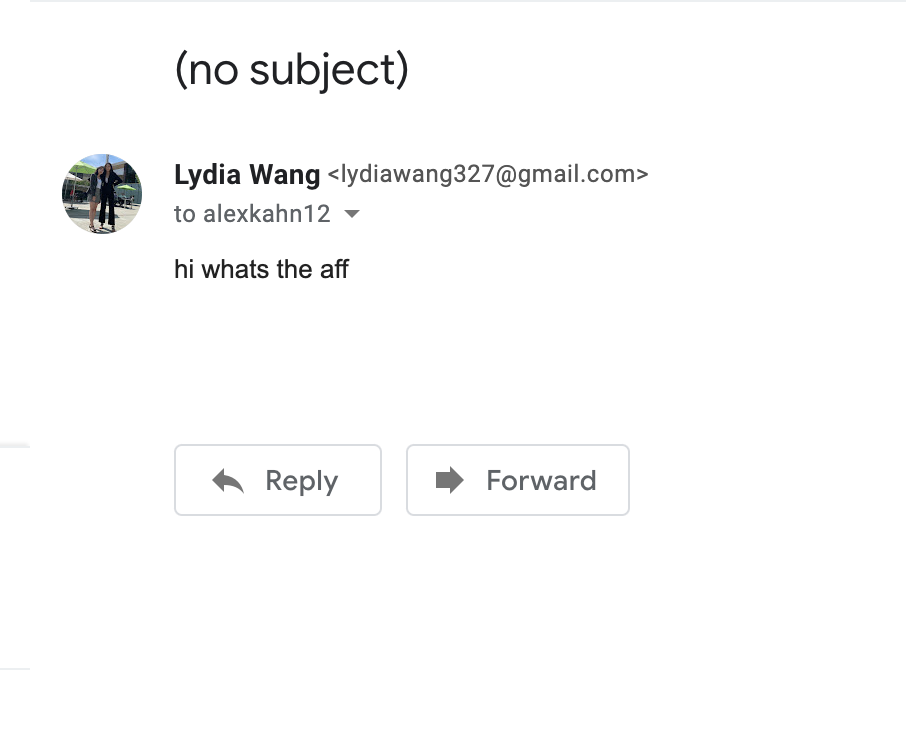
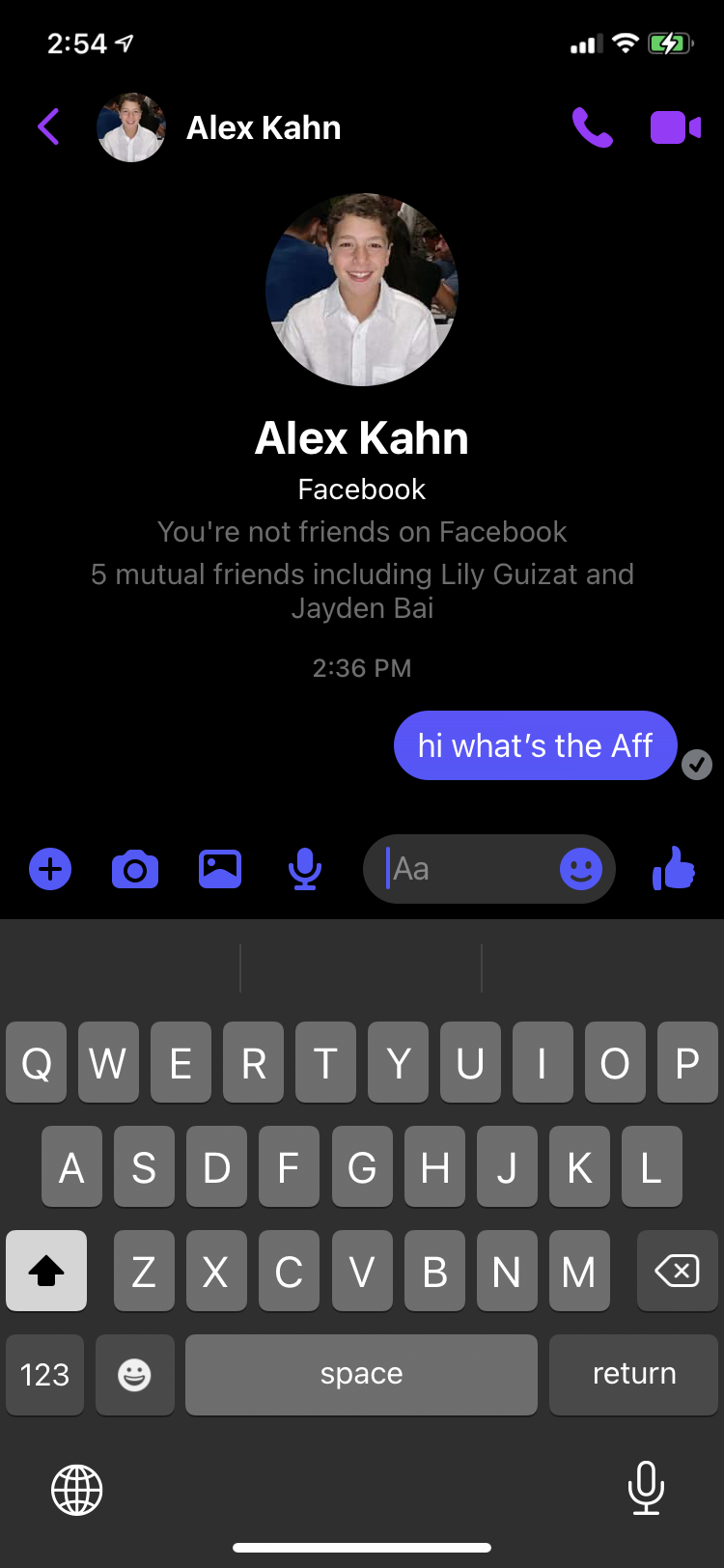
## 1NC -- Dislcosure

#### Interpretation: Debaters must reply and disclose the affirmative 30 minutes before round

#### Violation: They didn’t

#### 1] Inclusion – Novices would have a way to contact you about your positions and learn from them and debaters would tell you before round about triggering positions that you’ve read before. Independent voter because inclusion is a gateway issue for debate to occur in the first place

#### 2] Prep Skew- Pre-round disclosure can’t happen if you don’t have a preferable means of contact because I would never know the aff. That ows on education and clash bc I cant engage if I dontknow the aff

#### The impact is fairness—a] it’s an intrinsic good – debate is fundamentally a game and some level of competitive equity is necessary to sustain the activity, b] probability – debate can’t alter subjectivity, but it can rectify skews which means the only impact to a ballot is fairness and deciding who wins, c] it internal link turns every impact – a limited topic promotes in-depth research and engagement which is necessary to access all of their education

#### Education is a voter – it gives us portable skills for life like research and thinking.

#### Drop the debater – a) they have a 7-6 rebuttal advantage and the 2ar to make args I can’t respond to, b) it deters future abuse and sets a positive norm.

#### Use competing interps – a) reasonability invites arbitrary judge intervention since we don’t know your bs meter, b) collapses to competing interps – we justify 2 brightlines under an offense defense paradigm just like 2 interps.

#### No RVIs – a) illogical – you shouldn’t win for being fair – it’s a litmus test for engaging in substance, b) norming – I can’t concede the counterinterp if I realize I’m wrong which forces me to argue for bad norms, c) chilling effect – forces you to split your 2AR so you can’t collapse and misconstrue the 2NR, d) topic ed – prevents 1AR blipstorm scripts and allows us to get back to substance after resolving theory

## 1NC---T

#### Interp: The AFF must defend the hypothetical enactment of a topical plan.

#### Resolved with a colon indicates policy action.

Parcher 1 [Jeff; former debate coach at Georgetown; Feb 26, 2001; <https://web.archive.org/web/20020929065555/http://www.ndtceda.com/archives/200102/0790.html>] brett

(1) Pardon me if I turn to a source besides Bill. American Heritage Dictionary: Resolve: 1. To make a firm decision about. 2. To decide or express by formal vote. 3. To separate something into constiutent parts See Syns at \*analyze\* (emphasis in orginal) 4. Find a solution to. See Syns at \*Solve\* (emphasis in original) 5. To dispel: resolve a doubt. - n 1. Frimness of purpose; resolution. 2. A determination or decision.

(2) The very nature of the word "resolution" makes it a question. American Heritage: A course of action determined or decided on. A formal statemnt of a deciion, as by a legislature.

(3) The resolution is obviously a question. Any other conclusion is utterly inconcievable. Why? Context. The debate community empowers a topic committee to write a topic for ALTERNATE side debating. The committee is not a random group of people coming together to "reserve" themselves about some issue. There is context - they are empowered by a community to do something. In their deliberations, the topic community attempts to craft a resolution which can be ANSWERED in either direction. They focus on issues like ground and fairness because they know the resolution will serve as the basis for debate which will be resolved by determining the policy desireablility of that resolution. That's not only what they do, but it's what we REQUIRE them to do. We don't just send the topic committtee somewhere to adopt their own group resolution. It's not the end point of a resolution adopted by a body - it's the prelimanary wording of a resolution sent to others to be answered or decided upon.

(4) Further context: the word resolved is used to emphasis the fact that it's policy debate. Resolved comes from the adoption of resolutions by legislative bodies. A resolution is either adopted or it is not. It's a question before a legislative body. Should this statement be adopted or not.

#### “Appropriation of outer space” is a term of art that refers to the OST, which regulates private, national, and international conduct.

Thornburg 19 [Matthew, Associate Editor for the Michigan Journal of International Law; Vol 40; “Are the Non-appropriation Principle and the Current Regulatory Regime Governing Geostationary Orbit Equitable for All of Earth’s States?” <http://www.mjilonline.org/are-the-non-appropriation-principle-and-the-current-regulatory-regime-governing-geostationary-orbit-equitable-for-all-of-earths-states/>] brett

As the law currently stands, geostationary orbit – a constant orbital position above Earth’s equator – is governed by the OST and is therefore subject to the treaty’s attendant ban on national appropriation. Spaces, or slots, in geostationary orbit[2] are desired because they are exceedingly convenient for communicating with earth. They are highly limited and as a consequence, highly valuable. Moreover, these spaces are allotted on a first-come-first-served basis[3] making them virtually unattainable by less scientifically and economically advanced states[4], or those that are just plain late to the game.

The ban on national appropriation is enumerated in the Second Article of the OST, which states: “Outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by other means.”[5] The geostationary orbital position is generally agreed upon by experts[6] as part of “outer space” and consequently, forbidden from appropriation.

#### A practice being unjust entails legal action.

Black’s Law [The Law Dictionary Featuring Black's Law Dictionary Free Online Legal Dictionary 2nd Ed. No Date. <https://thelawdictionary.org/unjust/>] brett

What is UNJUST?

Contrary to right and justice, or to the enjoyment of his rights by another, or to the standards of conduct furnished by the laws.

#### Violation: There’s no plan, they defend [\_\_\_]

#### Prefer:

#### Vagueness---debates inevitably involve the AFF defending something, but only our interp lets them to clearly define that from the start. Their model leads to late-breaking debates that destroy ground, for example we won’t know if asteroid mining or space exploration are offense until the 1AR, which skews neg prep. This destroys neg ground because only being able to link offense to a clear advocacy enables 2nd and 3rd level testing that fosters in depth information literacy and advocacy skills.

#### Two impacts:

#### 1] Fairness---we’re both here to win, but in order to both be able to access that goal fairness is required as a rule for the game. Absent fairness, the game cannot function, and we lose our ability to engage in the AFF. That outweighs, as we need to be able to engage to test their claims in the first place.

#### 2] Iterative testing – the process of engaging in research around a predictable topic empirically produces better advocates which turns case because they’re better prepared to defend their positions.

**Iverson ’9** [Joel; 2009; Associate Professor of Communication at the University of Montana, Ph.D in Communication from Arizona State University Relations at the University of Sydney; Debate Central, “Can Cutting Cards Carve into Our Personal Lives: An Analysis of Debate Research on Personal Advocacy,” <https://debate.uvm.edu/dybvigiverson1000.html>] brett

Mitchell (1998) provides a thorough examination of the pedagogical implication for academic debate. Although Mitchell acknowledges that debate provides preparation for participation in democracy, limiting debate to a laboratory where students practice their skill for future participation is criticized. Mitchell contends:

For students and teachers of argumentation, the heightened salience of this question should signal the danger that critical thinking and oral advocacy skills alone may not be sufficient for citizens to assert their voices in public deliberation. (p. 45)

Mitchell contends that the laboratory style setting creates barriers to other spheres, creates a "sense of detachment" and causes debaters to see research from the role of spectators. Mitchell further calls for "argumentative agency [which] involves the capacity to contextualize and employ the skills and strategies of argumentative discourse in fields of social action, especially wider spheres of public deliberation" (p. 45). Although we agree with Mitchell that debate can be an even greater instrument of empowerment for students, we are more interested in examining the impact of the intermediary step of research. In each of Mitchell's examples of debaters finding creative avenues for agency, there had to be a motivation to act. It is our contention that the research conducted for competition is a major catalyst to propel their action, change their opinions, and to provide a greater depth of understanding of the issues involved.

The level of research involved in debate creates an in-depth understanding of issues. The level of research conducted during a year of debate is quite extensive. Goodman (1993) references a Chronicle of Higher Education article that estimated "the level and extent of research required of the average college debater for each topic is equivalent to the amount of research required for a Master's Thesis (cited in Mitchell, 1998, p. 55). With this extensive quantity of research, debaters attain a high level of investigation and (presumably) understanding of a topic. As a result of this level of understanding, debaters become knowledgeable citizens who are further empowered to make informed opinions and energized to take action. Research helps to educate students (and coaches) about the state of the world.

Without the guidance of a debate topic, how many students would do in-depth research on female genital mutilation in Africa, or United Nations sanctions on Iraq? The competitive nature of policy debate provides an impetus for students to research the topics that they are going to debate. This in turn fuels students’ awareness of issues that go beyond their front doors. Advocacy flows from this increased awareness. Reading books and articles about the suffering of people thousands of miles away or right in our own communities drives people to become involved in the community at large.

Research has also focused on how debate prepares us for life in the public sphere. Issues that we discuss in debate have found their way onto the national policy stage, and training in intercollegiate debate makes us good public advocates. The public sphere is the arena in which we all must participate to be active citizens. Even after we leave debate, the skills that we have gained should help us to be better advocates and citizens. Research has looked at how debate impacts education (Matlon and Keele 1984), legal training (Parkinson, Gisler and Pelias 1983, Nobles 19850 and behavioral traits (McGlone 1974, Colbert 1994). These works illustrate the impact that public debate has on students as they prepare to enter the public sphere.

The debaters who take active roles such as protesting sanctions were probably not actively engaged in the issue until their research drew them into the topic. Furthermore, the process of intense research for debate may actually change the positions debaters hold. Since debaters typically enter into a topic with only cursory (if any) knowledge of the issue, the research process provides exposure to issues that were previously unknown. Exposure to the literature on a topic can create, reinforce or alter an individual's opinions. Before learning of the School for the America's, having an opinion of the place is impossible. After hearing about the systematic training of torturers and oppressors in a debate round and reading the research, an opinion of the "school" was developed. In this manner, exposure to debate research as the person finding the evidence, hearing it as the opponent in a debate round (or as judge) acts as an initial spark of awareness on an issue. This process of discovery seems to have a similar impact to watching an investigative news report.

Mitchell claimed that debate could be more than it was traditionally seen as, that it could be a catalyst to empower people to act in the social arena. We surmise that there is a step in between the debate and the action. The intermediary step where people are inspired to agency is based on the research that they do. If students are compelled to act, research is a main factor in compelling them to do so. Even if students are not compelled to take direct action, research still changes opinions and attitudes.

Research often compels students to take action in the social arena. Debate topics guide students in a direction that allows them to explore what is going on in the world. Last year the college policy debate topic was,

Resolved: That the United States Federal Government should adopt a policy of constructive engagement, including the immediate removal of all or nearly all economic sanctions, with the government(s) of one or more of the following nation-states: Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Syria, North Korea.

This topic spurred quite a bit of activism on the college debate circuit. Many students become actively involved in protesting for the removal of sanctions from at least one of the topic countries. The college listserve was used to rally people in support ofvarious movements to remove sanctions on both Iraq and Cuba. These messages were posted after the research on the topic began. While this topic did not lend itself to activism beyond rallying the government, other topics have allowed students to take their beliefs outside of the laboratory and into action.

In addition to creating awareness, the research process can also reinforce or alter opinions. By discovering new information in the research process, people can question their current assumptions and perhaps formulate a more informed opinion. One example comes from a summer debate class for children of Migrant workers in North Dakota (Iverson, 1999). The Junior High aged students chose to debate the adoption of Spanish as an official language in the U.S. Many students expressed their concern that they could not argue effectively against the proposed change because it was a "truism." They were wholly in favor of Spanish as an official language. After researching the topic throughout their six week course, many realized much more was involved in adopting an official language and that they did not "speak 'pure' Spanish or English, but speak a unique dialect and hybrid" (Iverson, p. 3). At the end of the class many students became opposed to adopting Spanish as an official language, but found other ways Spanish should be integrated into American culture. Without research, these students would have maintained their opinions and not enhanced their knowledge of the issue. The students who maintained support of Spanish as an official language were better informed and thus also more capable of articulating support for their beliefs.

The examples of debate and research impacting the opinions and actions of debaters indicate the strong potential for a direct relationship between debate research and personal advocacy. However, the debate community has not created a new sea of activists immersing this planet in waves of protest and political action. The level of influence debater search has on people needs further exploration. Also, the process of research needs to be more fully explored in order to understand if and why researching for the competitive activity of debate generates more interest than research for other purposes such as classroom projects.

Since parliamentary debate does not involve research into a single topic, it can provide an important reference point for examining the impact of research in other forms of debate. Based upon limited conversations with competitors and coaches as well as some direct coaching and judging experience in parliamentary debate, parliamentary forms of debate has not seen an increase in activism on the part of debaters in the United States. Although some coaches require research in order to find examples and to stay updated on current events, the basic principle of this research is to have a commonsense level of understanding(Venette, 1998). As the NPDA website explains, "the reader is encouraged to be well-read in current events, as well as history, philosophy, etc. Remember: the realm of knowledge is that of a 'well-read college student'" (NPDA Homepage,<http://www.bethel.edu/Majors/Communication/npda/faq2.html>). The focus of research is breadth, not depth. In fact, in-depth research into one topic for parliamentary debate would seem to be counterproductive. Every round has a different resolution and for APDA, at least, those resolutions are generally written so they are open to a wide array of case examples, So, developing too narrow of a focus could be competitively fatal. However, research is apparently increasing for parliamentary teams as reports of "stock cases" used by teams for numerous rounds have recently appeared. One coach did state that a perceived "stock case" by one team pushed his debaters to research the topic of AIDS in Africa in order to be equally knowledgeable in that case. Interestingly, the coach also stated that some of their research in preparation for parliamentary debate was affecting the opinions and attitudes of the debaters on the team.

Not all debate research appears to generate personal advocacy and challenge peoples' assumptions. Debaters must switch sides, so they must inevitably debate against various cases. While this may seem to be inconsistent with advocacy, supporting and researching both sides of an argument actually created stronger advocates. Not only did debaters learn both sides of an argument, so that they could defend their positions against attack, they also learned the nuances of each position. Learning and the intricate nature of various policy proposals helps debaters to strengthen their own stance on issues.

#### Progress is possible – we can tackle ableism by first addressing the flawed logic of the laws and social contexts in which it exists AND this is offense because they reject the social model.

Hirschman and Linker 15 [Nancy - Professor of Politics at the University of Pennsylvania; her specialties are the history of political thought, analytical philosophy, feminist theory, disability theory and Beth - Associate Professor at the University of Pennsylvania in the Department of the History and Sociology of Science “Civil Disabilities” Disability, Citizenship, and Belonging: A Critical Introduction pp. 4-5] brett

To begin with, it is always important to note that neither citizenship nor disability is a static or universal concept. Readers new to disability will find a variety of definitions in any number of texts, ranging from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities to activist websites to articles and books in a wide variety of academic disciplines. Th authors of the essays in the present volume consider different specific instances of physical and intellectual disability, such as mobility impairment, blindness, deafness, tuberculosis, and cognitive and psychological impairment. So offering one overarching understanding of the concept may not be appropriate, and most of the essays here do not define what they mean by the term “disability.” But all the authors— and indeed most disability scholars— subscribe to at least some form of the “social model of disability.”11 For readers new to disability studies, this model holds that disability is not a physical condition pertaining to a “defective” or “inferior” or “abnormal” body but rather a social condition brought about by social norms, practices, and beliefs; it is both socially produced and socially experienced. What makes something a disability is thus not bodily difference per se— not my impaired vision, or my deafness, or my weak or missing limbs, or my autism— but rather **the social contexts in which they exist**; disability is constituted by the interaction between environmental factors and the particularities of specific bodies. The fact that I have difficulty walking and use a wheelchair, for instance, does not in itself constitute a “disability”: rather, the fact that most buildings have stairs rather than ramps and lack elevators and automatic doors is what disables my body from gaining access to the building. Because of the ways in which social relations, the built environment, laws, customs, and practices are structured and organized, certain bodies are disabled by those environments, while other bodies are facilitated and supported. “Impairment” is a term that refers to a natural part of biological life rather than an “abnormal” part and is generally incorporated into a person’s sense of self. “Disability,” by contrast, refers to what society, social conditions, prejudices, biases, and the built environment have produced by treating certain impairments as marks of inferiority. As Disability, Citizenship, and Belonging 5 Devlin and Pothier put it, “Disability is not just an individual impairment but a systematically enforced pattern of exclusion.”12 “Disability” does not describe the body per se, but the body in a hostile social environment. Among disability studies scholars, the social model has been an important corrective to the more dominant way of understanding disability, dubbed the “medical model,” which views disability as a pathology found in a particular individual body that must be fixed or cured. Disability in this model is seen as both **intrinsic** to the body that “suffers” from it, which must be made to adapt to the preexisting environment; and simultaneously alien to the body, a hostile force that undermines the individual’s true preferences. “The body” that is held up as the standard against which it is measured is what feminist disability scholar Rosemarie Garland Thomson calls the “normate”— male, white, perfect in health and physical attributes, a standard that almost everyone fails to meet but nevertheless informs our assumptions about the body and how it should function in the world.13 Th e terms “social” and “medical” models are referred to throughout these essays, so the reader who is new to disability studies will want to keep this distinction in mind. For most disability scholars today, the social model is largely accepted as the preferred way of understanding disability, whereas the medical model tends to be disparaged.

#### 3] The disability drive theory reifies the idea that disability is something that should be “cured” or abandoned and relies on a vision of psychoanalysis that abstracts from disabled people’s lived experiences and resistance

Bailey 19 – Associate Professor of Communication Arts at Allegheny College. She specializes in rhetorical studies, media studies, and feminist/queer theory. Courtney W. Bailey, “On the Impossible: Disability Studies, Queer Theory, and the Surviving Crip,” Disability Studies Quarterly, vol. 39, no. 4, 2019, <https://dsq-sds.org/article/view/6580/5463>

**My critique of anti-cure politics arises from my personal experiences** described in other parts of this essay. Thoseexperiences **include chronic pain, depression, and abuse** and participation in feminism, anti-racism, queer theory, disability studies, and other critical-political projects. Drawing on my experiences assists me in engaging analytic concepts, and vice versa. The personal and theoretical are thus inseparable from, if not reducible to, each other. Yet **academia**, with its love of the View from Nowhere, typically **treats personal experience with suspicion**. It purportedly cannot meet academic criteria for adequate evidence because it is imagined as too particular, too embodied, and too subjective. Even critical-political fields often view personal experience with skepticism and wariness, a defensive reflex against attempts to discredit them by conflating them with the personal alone. Indeed, appeals to personal experience sometimes shut down critique, especially within a confessional and therapeutic culture that demands performances of authenticity to justify the exercise of power (Mollow and McRuer 8). Although personal experience never speaks for itself and must always be theorized, this discomfort risks cordoning the two off from one another, rather than teasing out their entanglements.

Although this suspicion of personal experience is endemic to most academic fields, **I turn** here **to a particular preference for the abstractand the theoretical at the expense of the material and experiential: the anti-relational strand of queer theory influenced by psychoanalysis** and represented by work like Lee Edelman's No Future and Leo Bersani's "Is the Rectum a Grave?" Unlike the work of Halberstam, Warner, Ahmed, and Muñoz, this strand gives up on the tension between positivity and negativity altogether in favor of the strictly negative (as one might gather from the titles of Edelman's and Bersani's pieces). I read Bersani's piece in graduate school and Edelman's book when it was originally published, but I became reacquainted with them through Anna Mollow's essay "Is Sex Disability? Queer Theory and the Disability Drive" in the anthology Sex and Disability. Reading them now, with experiences like those chronicled in this essay under my belt, their complicity with the View from Nowhere comes sharply into view. Just as the disabled normate haunts Brilliant Imperfection, a desire for the "purity of sexuality as a singular trope of difference," not contaminated by "race, gender, and other particularities," haunts anti-relational work (Muñoz 11).

**Edelman's book critiques reproductive futurism**, a pro-natalist ideology that conflates futurity with procreation, upholds heteronormativity, and abjects queerness in the name of the Child (2). **Following Edelman, Mollow critiques rehabilitative futurism, a pro-cure ideology that conflates futurity with the eradication of disability** and upholds compulsory able-bodied/mindedness in the name of the Child (288). **Mollow draws on** Bersani's and **Edelman's** articulations of the **death drive to theorize** what she calls **the disability drive**. She contends, "to foreground associations between disability and the death drive means theorizing disability in terms of identity disintegration, lack, and suffering… I critique politics of disability that emphasize identity formation and pride, exploring instead the benefits of highlighting those aspects of sex and disability that undercut and perhaps even preclude assertions of humanity" (287). In some ways, then, **Mollow**, Edelman, and Bersani argue for an embrace of negativity not entirely different from what I call for in the above section. However, their work **relies on the ahistorical language of psychoanalysis, a closed symbol system that feigns universality and casts materialand personal experience as irrelevant to abstract theorizing.**

I call queer theory's anti-relational strand **"a closed system" because of its explicit rejection of both politics and history.** **Edelman contends that queer theory represents "the 'side' outside all political sides"** (7). **Mollow** nuances such sentiments, but ultimately **agrees** with Edelman that reproductive and rehabilitative futurism structure the "only politics we're permitted to know" (134). **This sweeping claim ignores** feminist, queer, antiracist, and crip **critical-political projects, dismissing them as mere identity politics**, too wrapped up in dominant notions of the human and therefore **not ideologically pure enough** to provide a real alternative to futurism. **What is that "real" alternative** that only queer theory and psychoanalysis can offer**? The implosion**/explosion **of the self** into nothingness. **This** type of self-annihilation **also requires a detachment from history.** Edelman, for instance, distinguishes the rhetorical figure of the Child from "the lived experiences of any historical children" (11). He makes a comparable move with the death drive, arguing that it does not denote literal death, but rather a metaphoric or symbolic death of the sovereign subject via the self-shattering nature of sex.

Similarly, Bersani's famous piece "Is the Rectum a Grave?" redeems penetrative (anal) sex as the space for the destruction of the sovereign subject, revels in its "anti-communal, anti-egalitarian, anti-nurturing, and anti-loving" qualities, and praises the metaphoric "suicidal ecstasy of being a woman" (22; 18). It's important to note that this recuperation only applies to penetrative sex, leaving other forms of sexual intimacy unaccounted for and bereft of any radical potential. Although I understand Bersani's piece as an intervention in homophobic discourses around gay men and the AIDS epidemic, he comes perilously close to reinforcing the vision of sex at the heart of U.S. rape culture. He argues for the appeal of "powerlessness" and "loss of control" during sex, a white masculinist fantasy given that Western culture always already positions femininity and black/brownness in these very terms (23-24).

My own experiences illustrate how a sexual breach of subjecthood can play out differently for members of marginalized groups than they might for those with more privilege. On one level, I get the appeal of the sort of surrender discussed by Bersani. In fact, I once asked my partner to tie me up on my stomach and blindfold me. In the process, she violated me via unwanted anal penetration, an "anti-loving" breach of trust and interdependence on both physical and emotional levels. On Bersani's view, this breach is the whole point of sex, the moment when the self loses autonomy, integrity, and control (as if I ever enjoyed such subjecthood in the first place). If we take this line of thinking to its logical conclusion, we come dangerously close to the familiar heteropatriarchal apology for rape, buttressed by a theoretical apparatus that claims universality: regardless of my explicitly stated wishes, I subconsciously wanted to be violated. Situating the self-annihilating queer as the site of revolution obscures these kinds of problematic echoes, dismissing them from the start as too personal, particular, and material.

**The turn to the self-annihilating queer animates Mollow**'s essay, as well. She postulates queerness and disability as structuring positions that raise important questions about "self-disintegration" (305). Far more attentive to history and lived experiences, her piece grapples directly with challenges to the anti-relational strand, much like Clare reckons with challenges to anti-cure politics in Brilliant Imperfection. Yet, also like Clare's book, her essay is haunted by the disabled normate and the naturally impaired body-mind; instead of celebrating it, she wants to destroy it, but still remains within its terms. **She notes that "disability is fantasized in terms of a loss of self**, of mastery, integrity, and control, a loss that … is indissociable from sexuality" (297; emphasis in original). **She wants us to lean into this fantasy**, which requires that we accept the conflation of the self with mastery, integrity, and control in the first place.

Through the grammatical slippage of the dependent clause, **any other visions of the self** (e.g., based on interdependence, care, or empathy) **vanish**. If we accept the sovereign self, then, yes, the death and disability drives might be resources for exploding or imploding it and the systems of oppression it enables. But such explosions and implosions need not lead to **self-annihilation**, which **seems to me just another instantiation of the disembodied View from Nowhere wherein death representstransformation** into pure soul **and** thus ultimate **freedom from the** located-ness of the **body**. If we're going to explode or implode sovereign subjectivity, then **let's clear space for other notions of the self, rather than glorifying nothingness.**

Moreover, what happens if we take literal death (biological and/or social) seriously? What happens if we take material violence, which can and does end lives, seriously? In that case, it should become clear that reproductive futurism is the domain of only some children. This ideology values children only insofar as they themselves can further reproduce whiteness, heterosexuality, the gender binary, able-bodied/mindedness, and so forth. In Muñoz's words, in a world where queer youths of color too often do not get a chance to grow up, "racialized kids, queer kids, are not the sovereign princes of futurity" (95-96). The fact that the anti-relational strand pretends such questions can or should be set aside speaks to the normative positions it upholds.

**I** therefore **read these** anti-relational **pieces** with interest, but also **with growing anger.** **I am in the process of healing from over a decade's worth of chronic pain, depression, and abuse**. I am not over these things. **I learn to survive with them**, maybe even learn from them and integrate them into my self-perception, even as I refuse to romanticize or celebrate them as keys toenlightenment and transcendence. **I haven't overcome my disabilities in some** Herculean **display of** willpower and **sovereign subjecthood**. I haven't overcome them at all, but I do embrace the value of my own survival as part of my critical-political orientation toward the world.

I respect attempts to identify the excessive, the very thing that cannot be resolved, captured, or made to signify in any coherent way, and to think beyond the human. Yet **the anti-relational strain** reads very differently now that I have emerged from a kind of living death. It **angers me given how hard I fight to believe in my right to survive and exist**, not as a lone self with mastery and control, but as an interdependent self fumbling towards compassion, justice, and care. **I'm not interested in being a figurehead for** the revolution if that revolution depends on my **erasure, absence, and self-sacrifice**. I've come too close to actual suicide to see anything ecstatic about it; **I've existed too long in chronic pain to see anything liberatory about that**, either.

I know that psychoanalysis often takes bodily pain and pleasure as one of its starting points, typically imagined as the acute, extraordinary experience of orgasm. It is not the daily slog of chronic pain that inhibits not only mastery and control, but also care, compassion, and survival. Queer versions of **psychoanalysis** claim to pay attention to sexual pain and pleasure, but then **do their best to** escape and **transcend material embodiment. They focus so narrowly on the symbolic destruction of the sovereign self that they end up treat**ing **it** as if it's detached from the body, **as if it's "just" metaphor**. But **metaphors live in actual suicidal women; they are more than abstracted playthings** for academic bad boys, their closed symbolic systems, and their "white gay male crypto-identity politics" that reproduce the mind/body dualism (Muñoz 95).

#### 4] They should not make the choice for disabled people -- if some people want to survive, it is ableist to sacrifice them -- it mirrors the same logic of doctors pulling the plug on bodies they deem to be in suffering.

#### 5] Affirming futurist politics that prioritize reducing suffering of those distant to us fosters care -- the fact they make args like “you shouldn’t care about extinction and consequences” proves their model fosters detached and reactionary elitism.

### K

#### Their inclusionist narrative of disability-as-identity justifies the mobilization of resilient subjectivity on the lines of precarity – this card is eerily specific to how they frame health care

Puar 17  
(Jasbir K. Puar, is a writer, professor, and public speaker. She is the author of the award-winning Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times (2007), an expanded 10th anniversary version of which is forthcoming (Dec 2017), as well as numerous articles in mainstream, scholarly, and alternative venues. She is currently working on her third book, Slow Life: Settler Colonialism in Five Parts, a collection of essays on duration, pace, and acceleration in Palestine. “Hands Up, Don’t Shoot!” 15 September 2017 <https://thenewinquiry.com/hands-up-dont-shoot/> cVs)

Disability is not a fixed state or attribute but exists in relation to assemblages of capacity and debility, modulated across historical time, geopolitical space, institutional mandates, and discursive regimes. The globalization of disability as an identity through human rights discourses contributes to a standardization of bodily usefulness and uselessness that discounts not only the specificity of location but also the ways bodies exceed or defy identities and subjects. The non-disabled/disabled binary traverses social, geographic, and political spaces. The distinctions or parameters between disabled and non-disabled bodies shift historically, as designations between productivity, vagrancy, deviancy, illness, and labor market relations have undergone transformations from subsistence work to waged labor to hypercapitalist modes of surplus accumulation and neoliberal subject formation. They shift geographically, as varied cultural, regional, and national conceptualizations of bodily habitations and metaphysics inhabit corporeal relations differently and sometimes irreconcilably, and issues of environmental racism are prominent. They shift infrastructurally, as a wheelchair-accessible elevator becomes a completely altered vehicle of mobility, one that masks various capacities to climb stairs, in many parts of the world where power outages are a daily, if not hourly, occurrence. They shift legally, administratively, and legislatively, as rights-bearing subjects are formed and dismantled in response to health care and insurance regimes, human rights discourses, economic opportunism, and the uneven distribution of resources, medical supplies, and basic care. They shift scientifically, as prosthetic technologies of capacity, from wheelchairs to cell phones to DNA testing to steroids, script and rescript what a body can, could, or should do. And they shift representationally, as discourses of multicultural diversity and plurality absorb “difference” into regimes of visibility that then reorganize sites of marginalization into subjects of privilege, indeed privileged disabled subjects. In The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability, I think through how and why bodies are perceived as debilitated, capacitated, or often simultaneously both. I mobilize the term “debility” as a needed disruption (but also expose it as a collaborator) of the category of disability and as a triangulation of the ability/disability binary, noting that while some bodies may not be recognized as or identify as disabled, they may well be debilitated, in part by being foreclosed access to legibility and resources as disabled. Relatedly, some bodies may well be disabled but also capacitated. I want to be clear here: I am not diluting or diffusing the identity rubrics of disability by suggesting all bodies are disabled to some extent or another, or by smoothing disability into a continuum of debility and capacity. Quite the opposite; I am arguing that the three vectors, capacity, debility, and disability, exist in a mutually reinforcing constellation, are often overlapping or coexistent, and that debilitation is a necessary component that both exposes and sutures the non-disabled/disabled binary. As Christina Crosby rightly points out, “The challenge is to represent the ways in which disability is articulated with debility, without having one disappear into the other.” I would add that the biopolitical management of disability entails that the visibility and social acceptance of disability rely on and engender the obfuscation and in fact deeper proliferation of debility. In her work on bodily impaired miners in Botswana who do not necessarily articulate their plight in relation to disability, Julie Livingston uses the term “debility,” defined broadly to encompass “experiences of chronic illness and senescence, as well as disability per se.” She demonstrates that historically many bodily infirmities “were not regarded as disabilities: indeed they were ‘normal’ and in some cases even expected impairments.” I take up Livingston’s intervention with an important refinement: debility in my usage is not meant to encompass disability. Rather, I mobilize debility as a connective tissue to illuminate the possibilities and limits of disability imaginaries and economies. Debilitation as a normal consequence of laboring, as an “expected impairment,” is not a flattening of disability; rather, this framing exposes the violence of what constitutes “a normal consequence.” The category of disability is instrumentalized by state discourses of inclusion not only to obscure forms of debility but also to actually produce debility and sustain its proliferation. In a literal sense, caretakers of people with disabilities often come from chronically disenfranchised populations that endure debilities themselves. Conceptually, state, medical, and other forms of recognition of disability may shroud debilities and forms of slow death while also effacing the quotidian modalities of widescale debilitation so prevalent due to capitalist exploitation and imperialist expansion. In my usage, debility signals precisely the temporospatial frame eclipsed by toggling between exceptionalizing disability and exceptional disability: the endemic. Relational forms of capitalism, care, and racialization inform an assemblage of disability to a constellation of debilities and capacities. If, in one definition, disability becomes a privileged category by virtue of state recognition, another definition of disability may well be that body or that subject that can aspire both economically and emotionally to wellness, empowerment, and pride through the exceptionalized status it accrues while embedded within unexceptional and, in fact endemic, debility. The compounding of disability and poverty as a field of debilitation is certainly happening in the era of Donald Trump, whose efforts to completely eliminate any whiff of socialized medicine are only really remarkable because they definitively expose the actual scale of disregard for human life, having blown so far open so quickly. Access to health care may well become the defining factor in one’s relationship to the non-disabled/disabled dichotomy. Debility is thus a crucial complication of the neoliberal transit of disability rights. Debility addresses injury and bodily exclusion that are endemic rather than epidemic or exceptional, and reflects a need for rethinking overarching structures of working, schooling, and living rather than relying on rights frames to provide accommodationist solutions. Challenging liberal disability rights frames, debility not only elucidates what is left out of disability imaginaries and rights politics; it also illuminates the constitutive absences necessary for capacitating discourses of disability empowerment, pride, visibility, and inclusion to take shape. Thus, I argue, disability and debility are not at odds with each other. Rather, they are necessary supplements in an economy of injury that claims and promotes disability empowerment at the same time that it maintains the precarity of certain bodies and populations precisely through making them available for maiming.

it.”10 Peter Wolfendale, meanwhile, sees it as a “politics of intervention”—one that starts from the insistence that nothing be exempted in advance from the enactment of re/visionary processes.11

#### Capitalism causes war, violence, environmental destruction and extinction.

Robinson 18 (William I., Prof. of Sociology, Global and International Studies, and Latin American Studies, @ UC-Santa Barbara, “Accumulation Crisis and Global Police State” Critical Sociology) RE

Each major episode of crisis in the world capitalist system has presented the potential for systemic change. Each has involved the breakdown of state legitimacy, escalating class and social struggles, and military conflicts, leading to a restructuring of the system, including new institutional arrangements, class relations, and accumulation activities that eventually result in a restabilization of the system and renewed capitalist expansion. The current crisis shares aspects of earlier system-wide structural crises, such as of the 1880s, the 1930s or the 1970s. But there are six interrelated dimensions to the current crisis that I believe sets it apart from these earlier ones and suggests that a simple restructuring of the system will not lead to its restabilization – that is, our very survival now requires a revolution against global capitalism (Robinson, 2014). These six dimensions, in broad strokes, present a “big picture” context in which a global police state is emerging. First, the system is fast reaching the ecological limits of its reproduction. We have already passed tipping points in climate change, the nitrogen cycle, and diversity loss. For the first time ever, human conduct is intersecting with and fundamentally altering the earth system in such a way that threatens to bring about a sixth mass extinction (see, e.g., Foster et al., 2011; Moore, 2015). These ecological dimensions of global crisis have been brought to the forefront of the global agenda by the worldwide environmental justice movement. Communities around the world have come under escalating repression as they face off against transnational corporate plunder of their environment. While capitalism cannot be held solely responsible for the ecological crisis, it is difficult to imagine that the environmental catastrophe can be resolved within the capitalist system given capital’s implacable impulse to accumulate and its accelerated commodification of nature. Second, the level of global social polarization and inequality is unprecedented. The richest one percent of humanity in 2016 controlled over half of the world’s wealth and 20 percent controlled 95 percent of that wealth, while the remaining 80 percent had to make do with just five percent (Oxfam, 2017). These escalating inequalities fuel capitalism’s chronic problem of overaccumulation: the TCC cannot find productive outlets to unload the enormous amounts of surplus it has accumulated, leading to chronic stagnation in the world economy (see next section). Such extreme levels of social polarization present a challenge of social control to dominant groups. As Trumpism in the United States as well as the rise of far-right and neo-fascist movements in Europe so well illustrate, cooptation also involves the manipulation of fear and insecurity among the downwardly mobile so that social anxiety is channeled towards scapegoated communities. This psychosocial mechanism of displacing mass anxieties is not new, but it appears to be increasing around the world in the face of the structural destabilization of capitalist globalization. Extreme inequality requires extreme violence and repression that lend themselves to projects of 21st century fascism. Third, the sheer magnitude of the means of violence and social control is unprecedented, as well as the magnitude and concentrated control over the means of global communication and the production and circulation of symbols, images, and knowledge. Computerized wars, drone warfare, robot soldiers, bunker-buster bombs, a new generation of nuclear weapons, satellite surveillance, cyberwar, spatial control technology, and so forth, have changed the face of warfare, and more generally, of systems of social control and repression. We have arrived at the panoptical surveillance society, a point brought home by Edward Snowden’s revelations in 2013, and the age of thought control by those who control global flows of communication and symbolic production. If global capitalist crisis leads to a new world war the destruction would simply be unprecedented. Fourth, we are reaching limits to the extensive expansion of capitalism, in the sense that there are no longer any new territories of significance to integrate into world capitalism and new spaces to commodify are drying up. The capitalist system is by its nature expansionary. In each earlier structural crisis, the system went through a new round of extensive expansion – from waves of colonial conquest in earlier centuries, to the integration in the late 20th and early 21st centuries of the former socialist countries, China, India and other areas that had been marginally outside the system. There are no longer any new territories to integrate into world capitalism. At the same time, the privatization of education, health, utilities, basic services, and public lands is turning those spaces in global society that were outside of capital’s control into “spaces of capital,” so that intensive expansion is reaching depths never before seen. What is there left to commodify? Where can the system now expand? New spaces have to be violently cracked open and the peoples in these spaces must be repressed by the global police state.

#### Thus the alternative is to affirm the model of the Communist Party – only democratic centralist dual power organizing can provide effective accountability mechanisms to correct unproductive tendencies, educate and mobilize marginalized communities, and connect local struggles to a movement for international liberation.

Escalante 18  
(Alyson Escalante, you should totally read her work for non-debate reasons, Marxist-Leninist, Materialist Feminist and Anti-Imperialist activist. “PARTY ORGANIZING IN THE 21ST CENTURY” September 21st, 2018 <https://theforgenews.org/2018/09/21/party-organizing-in-the-21st-century/> rvs)

I would argue that within the base building movement, there is a move towards party organizing, but this trend has not always been explicitly theorized or forwarded within the movement. My goal in this essay is to argue that base building and dual power strategy can be best forwarded through party organizing, and that party organizing can allow this emerging movement to solidify into a powerful revolutionary socialist tendency in the United States. One of the crucial insights of the base building movement is that the current state of the left in the United States is one in which revolution is not currently possible. There exists very little popular support for socialist politics. A century of anticommunist propaganda has been extremely effective in convincing even the most oppressed and marginalized that communism has nothing to offer them. The base building emphasis on dual power responds directly to this insight. By building institutions which can meet people’s needs, we are able to concretely demonstrate that communists can offer the oppressed relief from the horrific conditions of capitalism. Base building strategy recognizes that actually doing the work to serve the people does infinitely more to create a socialist base of popular support than electing democratic socialist candidates or holding endless political education classes can ever hope to do. Dual power is about proving that we have something to offer the oppressed. The question, of course, remains: once we have built a base of popular support, what do we do next? If it turns out that establishing socialist institutions to meet people’s needs does in fact create sympathy towards the cause of communism, how can we mobilize that base? Put simply: **in order to mobilize the base which base builders hope to create, we need to have already done the work of building a communist party.** It is not enough to simply meet peoples needs. Rather, we must build the institutions of dual power in the name of communism. We must refuse covert front organizing and instead have a public face as a communist party. When we build tenants unions, serve the people programs, and other dual power projects, we must make it clear that we are organizing as communists, unified around a party, and are not content simply with establishing endless dual power organizations. We must be clear that our strategy is revolutionary and in order to make this clear we must adopt party organizing. By “party organizing” I mean an organizational strategy which adopts the party model. Such organizing focuses on building a party whose membership is formally unified around a party line determined by democratic centralist decision making. The party model creates internal methods for **holding party members accountable**, unifying party member action around democratically determined goals, and for educating party members in communist theory and praxis. A communist organization utilizing the party model works to build dual power institutions while simultaneously educating the communities they hope to serve. Organizations which adopt the party model focus on propagandizing around the need for revolutionary socialism. They function as the forefront of political organizing, empowering local communities to theorize their liberation through communist theory while organizing communities to literally fight for their liberation. A party is not simply a group of individuals doing work together, but is a formal organization unified in its fight against capitalism. Party organizing has much to offer the base building movement. By working in a unified party, base builders can ensure that local struggles are tied to and informed by a unified national and international strategy. While the most horrific manifestations of capitalism take on particular and unique form at the local level, we need to remember that our struggle is against a material base which functions not only at the national but at the international level. The formal structures provided by a democratic centralist party model allow individual locals to have a voice in open debate, but also allow for a unified strategy to emerge from democratic consensus. Furthermore, **party organizing allows for local organizations and individual organizers to be held accountable for their actions.** It allows criticism to function not as one independent group criticizing another independent group, but rather as comrades with a formal organizational unity working together to sharpen each others strategies and to help correct chauvinist ideas and actions. In the context of the socialist movement within the United States, such accountability is crucial. As a movement which operates within a settler colonial society, imperialist and colonial ideal frequently infect leftist organizing. Creating formal unity and party procedure for dealing with and correcting these ideas allows us to address these consistent problems within American socialist organizing. Having a formal party which unifies the various dual power projects being undertaken at the local level also allows for base builders to not simply meet peoples needs, but to pull them into the membership of the party as organizers themselves. The party model creates a means for sustained growth to occur by unifying organizers in a manner that allows for skills, strategies, and ideas to be shared with newer organizers. It also allows community members who have been served by dual power projects to take an active role in organizing by becoming party members and participating in the continued growth of base building strategy. It ensures that there are formal processes for educating communities in communist theory and praxis, and also enables them to act and organize in accordance with their own local conditions. We also must recognize that the current state of the base building movement precludes the possibility of such a national unified party in the present moment. Since base building strategy is being undertaken in a number of already established organizations, it is not likely that base builders would abandon these organizations in favor of founding a unified party. Additionally, it would not be strategic to immediately undertake such complete unification because it would mean abandoning the organizational contexts in which concrete gains are already being made and in which growth is currently occurring. What is important for base builders to focus on in the current moment is building dual power on a local level alongside building a national movement. This means aspiring towards the possibility of a unified party, while pursuing continued local growth. The movement within the Marxist Center network towards some form of unification is positive step in the right direction. The independent party emphasis within the Refoundation caucus should also be recognized as a positive approach. It is important for base builders to continue to explore the possibility of unification, and to maintain unification through a party model as a long term goal. In the meantime, individual base building organizations ought to adopt party models for their local organizing. Local organizations ought to be building dual power alongside recruitment into their organizations, education of community members in communist theory and praxis, and the establishment of armed and militant party cadres capable of defending dual power institutions from state terror. Dual power institutions must be unified openly and transparently around these organizations in order for them to operate as more than “red charities.” Serving the people means meeting their material needs while also educating and propagandizing. It means radicalizing, recruiting, and organizing. The party model remains the most useful method for achieving these ends. The use of the party model by local organizations allows base builders to gain popular support, and most importantly, to mobilize their base of popular support towards revolutionary ends, not simply towards the construction of a parallel economy which exists as an end in and of itself. It is my hope that we will see future unification of the various local base building organizations into a national party, but in the meantime we must push for party organizing at the local level. If local organizations adopt party organizing, it ought to become clear that **a unified national party will have to be the long term goal of the base building movement.** Many of the already existing organizations within the base building movement already operate according to these principles. I do not mean to suggest otherwise. Rather, my hope is to suggest that we ought to be explicit about the need for party organizing and emphasize the relationship between dual power and the party model. Doing so will make it clear that the base building movement is not pursuing a cooperative economy alongside capitalism, but is pursuing a revolutionary socialist strategy capable of fighting capitalism. The long term details of base building and dual power organizing will arise organically in response to the conditions the movement finds itself operating within. I hope that I have put forward a useful contribution to the discussion about base building organizing, and have demonstrated the need for party organizing in order to ensure that the base building tendency maintains a revolutionary orientation. The finer details of revolutionary strategy will be worked out over time and are not a good subject for public discussion. I strongly believe party organizing offers the best path for ensuring that such strategy will succeed. My goal here is not to dictate the only possible path forward but to open a conversation about how the base building movement will organize as it transitions from a loose network of individual organizations into a unified socialist tendency. These discussions and debates will be crucial to ensuring that this rapidly growing movement can succeed.

## Case

### 1NC---Presumption

#### Frame the 1AC through solvency, not impacts – any attempt to filter offense through the RotB or the speech act of the aff is an arbitrary goalpost that only serves to insulate it from criticism and nuanced testing – forcing us to negate the efficacy of personal strategies is at best impossible and at worst violent – the aff can’t change the material structures that produce anti-black violence – no warrant for how the aff spills up to impact structures of politics writ large or out of debate means you vote neg on presumption.

#### Negate on presumption---Inherency---scholars and activists already affirm the 1AC. Their affirmation does not change the impacts they described and has no mechanism to spill up.

#### Using the ballot for solvency is bad:

#### 1 -- It zeroes the potential for transformative change -- stats prove.

Ritter 13. (JD from U Texas Law (Michael J., “Overcoming The Fiction of “Social Change Through Debate”: What’s To Learn from 2pac’s Changes?,” National Journal of Speech and Debate, Vol. 2, Issue 1)

The structure of competitive interscholastic debate renders any message communicated in a debate round virtually incapable of creating any social change, either in the debate community or in general society. And to the extent that the fiction of social change through debate can be proven or disproven through empirical studies or surveys, academics instead have analyzed debate with nonapplicable rhetorical theory that fails to account for the unique aspects of competitive interscholastic debate. Rather, the current debate relating to activism and competitive interscholastic debate concerns the following: “What is the best model to promote social change?” But a more fundamental question that must be addressed first is: “Can debate cause social change?” Despite over two decades of opportunity to conduct and publish empirical studies or surveys, academic proponents of the fiction that debate can create social change have chosen not to prove this fundamental assumption, which—as this article argues—is merely a fiction that is harmful in most, if not all, respects. The position that competitive interscholastic debate can create social change is more properly characterize5d as a fiction than an argument. A fiction is an invented or fabricated idea purporting to be factual but is not provable by any human senses or rational thinking capability or is unproven by valid statistical studies. An argument, most basically, consists of a claim and some support for why the claim is true. If the support for the claim is false or its relation to the claim is illogical, then we can deduce that the particular argument does not help in ascertaining whether the claim is true. Interscholastic competitive debate is premised upon the assumption that debate is argumentation. Because fictions are necessarily not true or cannot be proven true by any means of argumentation, the competitive interscholastic debate community should be incredibly critical of those fictions and adopt them only if they promote the activity and its purposes

#### 2 -- It fosters worse hostility and exclusion.

Ritter 13 (JD from U Texas Law (Michael J., “Overcoming The Fiction of “Social Change Through Debate”: What’s To Learn from 2pac’s Changes?,” National Journal of Speech and Debate, Vol. 2, Issue 1)

The fiction of social change through debate abuses the win--loss structure of debate and permits debaters to otherize, demonize, dehumanize, and exclude opponents. The win--loss structure of debate rounds requires a judge to vote for one side or the other, as judges generally cannot give a double win. This precludes the possibility of compromise on any major position in the debate when the resolution of the position would determine the ultimate issue of “which team did the better debating.” Thus, the fiction of social change through debate encourages debaters to construct narratives of good versus evil in which the other team is representative of some evil that threatens to bring about our destruction if it is endorsed (e.g. capitalism). The team relying on the fiction of social change through debate then paints themselves as agents of the good, and gives the judge a George W. Bush-like “option”: “You’re either with us or you’re against us.” The fiction of social change through debate—like Bush’s rhetorical fear tactics and creation of a false, polarizing, and exclusionary dichotomy to justify all parts of the War on Terror—enables the otherization, demonization, dehumanization, and exclusion of the opposing team. When the unfairness of this tactic is brought to light—particularly in egregious situations when a team is arguing that the other team should lose because of their skin color—all can see that the debate centers on personal attacks against opposing debaters. This causes tensions between debaters that frequently result in debaters losing interest or quitting. By alienating and excluding members of the competitive interscholastic debate community for the purpose of winning a debate, it also makes the reaching of any compromise outside of the debate—the only place where compromise is possible—much less likely. By bringing the social issue into a debate round, debaters impede out-of round progress on the resolution of social issues within and outside the debate community by prompting backlash.

#### 3 -- Symbolic affirmation divorced from material advocacy re-entrenches power.

Rigakos and Law, 9—Assistant Professor of Law at Carleton University AND PhD, Legal Studies, Carleton University (George and Alexandra “Risk, Realism and the Politics of Resistance,” Critical Sociology 35(1) 79-103, dml)

McCann and March (1996: 244) next set out the ‘justification for treating everyday practices as significant’ suggested by the above literature. First, the works studied are concerned with proving people are not ‘duped’ by their surroundings. At the level of consciousness, subjects ‘are ironic, critical, realistic, even sophisticated’ (1996: 225). But McCann and March remind us that earlier radical or Left theorists have made similar arguments without resorting to stories of everyday resistance in order to do so. Second, everyday resistance on a discursive level is said to reaffirm the subject’s dignity. But this too causes a problem for the authors because they:

query why subversive ‘assertions of self’ should bring dignity and psychological empowerment when they produce no greater material benefits or changes in relational power … By standards of ‘realism’, … subjects given to avoidance and ‘lumping it’ may be the most sophisticated of all. (1996: 227)

Thus, their criticism boils down to two main points. First, everyday resistance fails to tell us any more about so-called false consciousness than was already known among earlier Left theorists; and second, that a focus on discursive resistance ignores the role of material conditions in helping to shape identity.

Indeed, absent a broader political struggle or chance at effective resistance it would seem to the authors that ‘powerlessness is learned out of the accumulated experiences of futility and entrapment’ (1996: 228). A lamentable prospect, but nonetheless a source of closure for the governmentality theorist. In his own meta-analysis of studies on resistance, Rubin (1996: 242) finds that ‘discursive practices that neither alter material conditions nor directly challenge broad structures are nevertheless’ considered by the authors he examined ‘the stuff out of which power is made and remade’. If this sounds familiar, it is because the authors studied by McCann, March and Rubin found their claims about everyday resistance on the same understanding of power and government employed by postmodern theorists of risk. Arguing against celebrating forms of resistance that fail to alter broader power relations or material conditions is, in part, recognizing the continued ‘real’ existence of identifiable, powerful groups (classes). In downplaying the worth of everyday forms of resistance (arguing that these acts are not as worthy of the label as those acts which bring about lasting social change), Rubin appears to be taking issue with a locally focused vision of power and identity that denies the possibility of opposing domination at the level of ‘constructs’ such as class.

Rubin (1996: 242) makes another argument about celebratory accounts of everyday resistance that bears consideration:

[T]hese authors generally do not differentiate between practices that reproduce power and those that alter power. [The former] might involve pressing that power to become more adept at domination or to dominate differently, or it might mean precluding alternative acts that would more successfully challenge power. … [I]t is necessary to do more than show that such discursive acts speak to, or engage with, power. It must also be demonstrated that such acts add up to or engender broader changes.

In other words, some of the acts of everyday resistance may in the real world, through their absorption into mechanisms of power, reinforce the localized domination that they supposedly oppose. The implications of this argument can be further clarified when we study the way ‘resistance’ is dealt with in a risk society.

Risk theorists already understand that every administrative system has holes which can be exploited by those who learn about them. That is what makes governmentality work: the supposed governor is in turn governed – in part through the noncompliance of subjects (Foucault, 1991a; Rose and Miller, 1992). For example, where employees demonstrate unwillingness to embrace technological changes in the workplace, management consultants can create:

a point of entry, but also a ‘problem’ that their ‘packages’ are designed to resolve. … In short, consultants readily constitute certain forms of conduct as ‘resistance to technology’ as this gives them some purchase on its reform by identifying a space in which expertise can be brought to bear in the exercise of power. Resistance consequently plays the role of continuously provoking extensions, revisions and refinements of those same practices which it confronts. (Knights and Vurdubakis, 1994: 80)

This appears to be a very different kind of resistance from that contemplated by Rubin, but perhaps not so different from that of the authors whom he and McCann and March critique: those whose analysis ends at the discursive production of noncompliance. Instead, the above account is of a resistance that almost invariably helps power to work better. A conclusion in the present day that ominously foreshadows the futuristic, dystopic risk assemblage described by Bogard (1996).

Another example of the ‘resolution’ of resistance proposed above is the institution of a tool library described by Shearing (2001: 204–5). In this parable, a business deals with the issue of tool theft on the part of workers by installing a ‘lending library’ of tools instead of engaging in vigorous prosecution and jeopardizing worker morale. While the parable is meant to indicate a difference between actuarial and more traditional (moral) forms of justice, it also demonstrates how an act that may be considered ‘resistant’ is incorporated without conflict into the workplace loss-prevention scheme – an eminently preferable, ‘forward-looking’ solution within the logic of risk management. The same is possible in the case of more discursive forms of resistance. If I do not see myself as a Guinness man, for example, market researchers will do their best to adapt Guinness to the way I do see myself (Miller and Rose, 1997). The end result, of course, is that I purchase the beer. As manifested in a form of justice (Shearing and Johnston, 2005), it always consolidates, tempers emotions, cools the analysis, reconciles factions, and always relentlessly moves forward, assimilating as it grows. In this sense, therefore, Bogard’s ‘social science fiction’ actually pre-supposes and logically extends Shearing’s (2001) rather cheery and benevolent rendering of risk thinking. In this context of governmentality theory – as self-described and lauded for its political non-prescription by its own pundits – the acts or attitudes described as resistant are, in the end, absorbed by those who govern. Resistance as an oppositional force – that pushes against or has the potential to take power – is theoretically and politically neutralized. In the neutralization process, power is reproduced.

So, along with McCann and March’s observations that everyday resistance adds little to our understanding of false consciousness and that it denies the role of material factors in shaping identity, we can add Rubin’s two main criticisms of everyday resistance: it relies on an inaccurate understanding of power, and acts of resistance which supposedly emancipate actually may reinforce domination. All four of these criticisms demand the same thing: to know what is really going on, to get an adequate grasp of the social.

### K

#### AT: Ontology

#### Ableism recreates itself in the absence of disability’s semblance to the ableist self. Rather than confront the violence created by the secondary pity, they deem it inevitable through ontology and store away disability in unthought, which is the actual root cause of ableist violence and rhetoric. Their discourse is ableist, and independently serves as a reason to drop them.

Campbell 01

Inciting Legal Fictions: 'Disability's' date with Ontology and the Ableist Body of Law | Campbell, Fiona Kumari (Fiona Kumari Campbell is a disability studies researcher and theorist, focusing on disability in relation to the law, technology, advocacy, and desire. She is currently Senior Lecturer In the School of Education and Social Work at the University of Dundee, Scotland)2001 Griffith Law Review http://www.griffith.edu.au/criminology-law/griffith-law-review/previous-issues/volumes-5-11/ volume-10-1-2001///(\*ak)

Activists with disabilities have placed great trust in the legal system to deliver freedoms in the form of equality rights and protections against discrimination. Whilst such equalisation initiatives have provided remedies in the lives of some individuals with disabilities, the sub-text of disability as negative ontology has remained substantially unchallenged. We need to keep returning continually to the matter of disability as negative ontology, a malignancy, a body constituted by what Michael Oliver terms 'the personal tragedy theory of disability', wherein disability cannot be spoken about as anything other than an anathema: 'disability is some terrible chance event which occurs at random to unfortunate individuals' . Disability is assumed to be ontologically intolerable, inherently negative. Such an attitude of mind underpins most claims of social injury within the welfare state and is imbricated in compensatory initiatives and the compulsion towards therapeutic interventions. The presence of disability, I argue, upsets the modernist craving for ontological security. The conundrum is not a mere fear of the unknown, an apprehensiveness towards that which is foreign or strange - the subaltern. Rather, disability and disabled bodies are positioned in the nether regions of 'unthought'. Let me explain further. The ongoing stability of ableism, 5 a diffuse network of thought, depends upon the capacity of that network to 'shut away', to exteriorise and unthink disability and its resemblance to the essential (ableist) human self. French philosopher-historian Michel Foucault explains: The unthought (whatever name we give it) is not lodged in man [sic] like a shrivelled up nature or a stratified history; it is in relation to man, the Other: the Other that is not only a brother but a twin, born not of man, nor in man, but beside him and at the same time, in an identical newness, in an unavoidable duality. 6 We can see that, for the notion of 'ableness' to exist and be transmogrified into the sovereign subject of liberalism, there is a requirement for its constitutive outside: a logic of supplementarity. So, even though we can speak in ontological terms of disability as a history of unthought, this figuring should not be confused with notions of erasure by way of mere absence or exclusion. Rather, disability is always present, despite its absence in the ableist talk of normalcy, normalisation and humanness. In turn, the truth claims of disability are dependent upon discourses of ableism for their very legitimation.

#### **Mollow’s totalizing theory of disability ignores the personal and political history of disability**

Bailey 19 [Courtney W Bailey, Alleghany College, 2019, "On the Impossible: Disability Studies, Queer Theory, and the Surviving Crip," No Publication, <https://dsq-sds.org/article/view/6580/5463> ] lydia

Edelman's book critiques reproductive futurism, a pro-natalist ideology that conflates futurity with procreation, upholds heteronormativity, and abjects queerness in the name of the Child (2). Following Edelman, Mollow critiques rehabilitative futurism, a pro-cure ideology that conflates futurity with the eradication of disability and upholds compulsory able-bodied/mindedness in the name of the Child (288). Mollow draws on Bersani's and Edelman's articulations of the death drive to theorize what she calls the disability drive. She contends, "to foreground associations between disability and the death drive means theorizing disability in terms of identity disintegration, lack, and suffering… I critique politics of disability that emphasize identity formation and pride, exploring instead the benefits of highlighting those aspects of sex and disability that undercut and perhaps even preclude assertions of humanity" (287). In some ways, then, Mollow, Edelman, and Bersani argue for an embrace of negativity not entirely different from what I call for in the above section. However, their work relies on the ahistorical language of psychoanalysis, a closed symbol system that feigns universality and casts material and personal experience as irrelevant to abstract theorizing. I call queer theory's anti-relational strand "a closed system" because of its explicit rejection of both politics and history. Edelman contends that queer theory represents "the 'side' outside all political sides" (7). Mollow nuances such sentiments, but ultimately agrees with Edelman that reproductive and rehabilitative futurism structure the "only politics we're permitted to know" (134). This sweeping claim ignores feminist, queer, antiracist, and crip critical-political projects, dismissing them as mere identity politics, too wrapped up in dominant notions of the human and therefore not ideologically pure enough to provide a real alternative to futurism. What is that "real" alternative that only queer theory and psychoanalysis can offer? The implosion/explosion of the self into nothingness. This type of self-annihilation also requires a detachment from history. Edelman, for instance, distinguishes the rhetorical figure of the Child from "the lived experiences of any historical children" (11). He makes a comparable move with the death drive, arguing that it does not denote literal death, but rather a metaphoric or symbolic death of the sovereign subject via the self-shattering nature of sex. Similarly, Bersani's famous piece "Is the Rectum a Grave?" redeems penetrative (anal) sex as the space for the destruction of the sovereign subject, revels in its "anti-communal, anti-egalitarian, anti-nurturing, and anti-loving" qualities, and praises the metaphoric "suicidal ecstasy of being a woman" (22; 18). It's important to note that this recuperation only applies to penetrative sex, leaving other forms of sexual intimacy unaccounted for and bereft of any radical potential. Although I understand Bersani's piece as an intervention in homophobic discourses around gay men and the AIDS epidemic, he comes perilously close to reinforcing the vision of sex at the heart of U.S. rape culture. He argues for the appeal of "powerlessness" and "loss of control" during sex, a white masculinist fantasy given that Western culture always already positions femininity and black/brownness in these very terms (23-24). My own experiences illustrate how a sexual breach of subjecthood can play out differently for members of marginalized groups than they might for those with more privilege. On one level, I get the appeal of the sort of surrender discussed by Bersani. In fact, I once asked my partner to tie me up on my stomach and blindfold me. In the process, she violated me via unwanted anal penetration, an "anti-loving" breach of trust and interdependence on both physical and emotional levels. On Bersani's view, this breach is the whole point of sex, the moment when the self loses autonomy, integrity, and control (as if I ever enjoyed such subjecthood in the first place). If we take this line of thinking to its logical conclusion, we come dangerously close to the familiar heteropatriarchal apology for rape, buttressed by a theoretical apparatus that claims universality: regardless of my explicitly stated wishes, I subconsciously wanted to be violated. Situating the self-annihilating queer as the site of revolution obscures these kinds of problematic echoes, dismissing them from the start as too personal, particular, and material. The turn to the self-annihilating queer animates Mollow's essay, as well. She postulates queerness and disability as structuring positions that raise important questions about "self-disintegration" (305). Far more attentive to history and lived experiences, her piece grapples directly with challenges to the anti-relational strand, much like Clare reckons with challenges to anti-cure politics in Brilliant Imperfection. Yet, also like Clare's book, her essay is haunted by the disabled normate and the naturally impaired body-mind; instead of celebrating it, she wants to destroy it, but still remains within its terms. She notes that "disability is fantasized in terms of a loss of self, of mastery, integrity, and control, a loss that … is indissociable from sexuality" (297; emphasis in original). She wants us to lean into this fantasy, which requires that we accept the conflation of the self with mastery, integrity, and control in the first place. Through the grammatical slippage of the dependent clause, any other visions of the self (e.g., based on interdependence, care, or empathy) vanish. If we accept the sovereign self, then, yes, the death and disability drives might be resources for exploding or imploding it and the systems of oppression it enables. But such explosions and implosions need not lead to self-annihilation, which seems to me just another instantiation of the disembodied View from Nowhere wherein death represents transformation into pure soul and thus ultimate freedom from the located-ness of the body. If we're going to explode or implode sovereign subjectivity, then let's clear space for other notions of the self, rather than glorifying nothingness. Moreover, what happens if we take literal death (biological and/or social) seriously? What happens if we take material violence, which can and does end lives, seriously? In that case, it should become clear that reproductive futurism is the domain of only some children. This ideology values children only insofar as they themselves can further reproduce whiteness, heterosexuality, the gender binary, able-bodied/mindedness, and so forth. In Muñoz's words, in a world where queer youths of color too often do not get a chance to grow up, "racialized kids, queer kids, are not the sovereign princes of futurity" (95-96). The fact that the anti-relational strand pretends such questions can or should be set aside speaks to the normative positions it upholds. I therefore read these anti-relational pieces with interest, but also with growing anger. I am in the process of healing from over a decade's worth of chronic pain, depression, and abuse. I am not over these things. I learn to survive with them, maybe even learn from them and integrate them into my self-perception, even as I refuse to romanticize or celebrate them as keys to enlightenment and transcendence. I haven't overcome my disabilities in some Herculean display of willpower and sovereign subjecthood. I haven't overcome them at all, but I do embrace the value of my own survival as part of my critical-political orientation toward the world. I respect attempts to identify the excessive, the very thing that cannot be resolved, captured, or made to signify in any coherent way, and to think beyond the human. Yet the anti-relational strain reads very differently now that I have emerged from a kind of living death. It angers me given how hard I fight to believe in my right to survive and exist, not as a lone self with mastery and control, but as an interdependent self fumbling towards compassion, justice, and care. I'm not interested in being a figurehead for the revolution if that revolution depends on my erasure, absence, and self-sacrifice. I've come too close to actual suicide to see anything ecstatic about it; I've existed too long in chronic pain to see anything liberatory about that, either.

#### Their scholarship is exclusionary and colonizes disability as an academic tool, a reason to drop them because it itemizes suffering and epistemically silences marginalized people.

Bone 17 (Kirstin Marie Bone, Department of English, University of Alabama. “Trapped behind the glass: crip theory and disability identity”. Disability and Society, April 21, 2017. <http://www.tandfonline.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/doi/pdf/10.1080/09687599.2017.1313722?needAccess=true>)///(\*ak)

The purpose of critical theory has long been the focus of debate within the academy. Are we, as theorists, obligated to strive for political and social change, or are we merely resolved to engage in the work of critical thinking? This question becomes particularly contested in the realm of minority theory, because the groups we study are those whose histories are awash in a cycle of oppression and marginalization. Within disability studies, an examination of dominate modes of thought produces an answer: as theorists, we should strive to improve the living conditions of the community we examine. One mode of discourse in particular that has positioned itself as seeking this political and social impact is crip theory. Based in the rhetoric of queer theory, ‘crip’ seeks to challenge constructions of able-bodiedness and be politically generative through the fracturing of key systems of oppression. Whether or not it actually accomplishes these goals is debatable, particularly because its founding principles allow anyone to colonize the disabled identity as their own. In order to understand the nuances of crip theory and the ways in which this framework fractures the disabled community, I will examine this theory through three different lenses. The first lens is to understand the word ‘crip/crippled’ and its relationship with other historical terms for disability. This framework will demonstrate how crip theory continues oppressive cycles instead of fulfilling politically generative and empowering goals. Next, I examine crip theory through its relationships with other branches of theory. By placing crip theory within this context, I identify the ways crip and other dominant branches of thought both succeed and fail in advancing the lives of disabled people. Finally, I conduct a rigorous examination of crip theory as defined by the dominant theorists who subscribe to its ideology. Through this tri-fold reading, I conclude that crip theory’s transformative agenda has not been realized. Instead, crip theory continues a cycle of silencing and marginalization that widens the divide between disability studies and the lived experiences of the disabled rather than bridging those critical gaps in meaningful ways.

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