## 1AC

### AC – The Lorax

**There is no transcendental force behind being – humans, animals, rocks are forms of matter which exist as modes of a larger essence that is nature – the vessel of cause and effect.**

**Hanson 12** – Daniel Hansson “Unpacking Spinoza: Sustainability Education Outside the Cartesian Box” March 2012 chrome-extension://cbnaodkpfinfiipjblikofhlhlcickei/src/pdfviewer/web/viewer.html?file=http://www.jsedimensions.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Hansson2012Updated.pdf

Spinoza’s epistemic approach is simple yet profound. In a famous letter from 1665 to Henry Oldenburg, the first Secretary of the Royal Society (Letter 32, in Curley, 1994, Spinoza explains the relationship between parts and wholes by using an organic analogy, intuitively more fitting than a machine analogy when we describe a complex, natural system.6 **Spinoza asks the reader to conceive a**n imaginary “little **worm living in the blood” of a larger organism**. **This worm is so tiny that it is able to distinguish by sight the individual “particles of** the **blood**” and how these particles bounce into each other, “communicate part of their motion, and so on” (ibid). Spinoza explains that because of this experience, **the worm would have a worldview very different from our own:** Indeed, **it would live in this blood as we do in this part of the universe**, **and would consider** each part of **the blood as a whole, not as a part**. **Nor could it know how** all **the parts of the blood are restrained by the** universal **nature of** the **blood**, and compelled to adapt themselves to one another, as the universal nature of the blood requires, so that they harmonize with each other in a certain way (ibid). In other words, **the worm is unable to see the bloodstream in itself as a ‘whole**’ (a unified system), **and** even less **to recognize the whole body containing the blood as being a ‘whole’ in itself**. **The perspective of the observer** (the worm) **has thereby determined what is viewed as parts and wholes**. In contrast to the worm, **we** ourselves **would consider the blood to “have the nature of a part and not of a whole**” (ibid). According to Spinoza, “**all bodies in Nature” have to be understood in the same way** – from a contextual and relational perspective: “everybody... must be considered as a part of the whole universe, must agree with the whole to which it belongs, and must cohere with the remaining bodies” (ibid). Therefore, **proper knowledge of any individual thing must be based on contextual understanding**, including the recognition of how we organize the world around us as ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’ **– entities that are constructed by our limited mind,** **seeking to structure our experience** in comprehensible patterns, labeled to organize our perceptions in the form of sense-making units.7In his letter, Spinoza explains that **a complete understanding** of what we today would call a complex system **would require knowledge of all interrelations that** unify the parts of that system internally and at the same time with the rest of the universe. Since each individual “thing” in itself is conditioned by countless causes external to itself, **we can never know** – and even less, in the Cartesian sense quantify – all of them.8 Instead, **we need to understand the relative** (but not arbitrary!) **nature of ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’**. In Spinoza’s view, **this** relativity **depends** **on** **scale** **and observational vantage point**. We perceive something as a ‘part’ of a larger ‘whole’ when we experience the ‘whole’ as an integrated unit within which the component ‘parts’ coexist in a state of perceived mutual harmony. **The ‘whole’ is** therefore **a** more or less **imaginary unit** constructed by our cognitive process.9 And when we perceive that something is not sharing a mutual harmony with its surrounding environment, then we recognize this thing as a separate individual, distinct from the contextual background. Therefore it is a ‘whole’ in itself and not a ‘part’ of its surrounding context (which is perceived as a separate ‘whole’ or collection of ‘wholes’ in relation to the given thing).

#### An assemblage can engage in the world only with the features it possesses, characterized by conatus – an inherent drive towards self-preservation. Identity emerges as a site of experimentation – difference becomes the grounds for our shared singularity.

**Sharp 11** – Hasana Sharp, (2011) Assistant professor of philosophy at McGill University. “Spinoza and the Politics of Renaturalization,” The University of Chicago Press, pp. 132-139

Whereas Hegel’s Phenomenology of Spirit concerns spiritual (geistige), human beings, Spinoza’s Ethics begins with a treatment of existence as a whole. Based upon a characterization of substance (nature or God), its attributes, and their modifications, Spinoza makes specific claims about human life. Human phenomena, problems, and experiences must be ex- amined within a general portrait of nature. Desire is no different. Like Hegelian desire, Spinozan **desire exists within a relational field and is** fully **actualized** only **with** favorable **relations**. Yet Spinoza maintains a different understanding of the relationships that contour desire and power, which results in a broader view of the forces and connections essential to agency. Assimilating Spinoza to a neo-Hegelian political program mutes the fun- damental insight of the politics of renaturalization: human striving is undermined insofar as we apprehend ourselves as different in kind from the rest of nature. **The striving to persevere** in being **is the “essence**” or “nature” **of each** and every **singular thing**. “Each thing, as far as it can by its own power, strives to persevere in its being [in suo esse persevere conatur]” (E III p). A singular thing might be an idea, an artifact, or an organism. Each being aims not to exist simpliciter but to persevere in its determinate way. **To strive to be, even as a table, is to exert some kind of effort to be this table. A table does not yearn to approximate tableness but rather perseveres by virtue of a unique arrangement among its parts that effectively preserves its integrity amidst the many other ambient bodies**. **Conatus**, Spinoza’s notion of essence (III p), **names the singularity of beings**, a force of existence **unique to each thing, which accounts for the infinite diversity of finite things in nature**. Such striving should not be understood, as Matheron contends, as an abstract concept of bodily motion. **Conatus is not** simply **a mechanical**, inertial **movement that stops only when contradicted by an opposing force** (Ep ). **Conatus names a power of self-organization**, self- maintenance, and **striving to preserve one’s distinctness amidst infinitely many other singular beings.** It is the principle of conatus that endows Spi- noza’s metaphysics with a vitalistic element and makes it irreducible to simple mechanism. One’s conatus constitutes an intrinsic determination, which is not communicated from the outside by external, finite beings. Conative striving in living organisms is a desire for life, yet Spinoza as- serts that it is not reducible to a biological function (TP .). Each strives to be in a singular rather than a generic way. Thus, we strive not simply to be alive but to be alive as a distinctive power of mind and body. Nevertheless, within Spinoza’s relational ontology, t**he singularity of each essence does not entail that the conatus is the exclusive cause of a being’s perseverance**. **To remain this table or this body, one must maintain a constant flow of exchanges with** myriad ambient **beings** (E III ppostIV). **One must perpetually mutate in order to remain what one is**. Moreover, Spinoza notes that “**the power** [potentia] **of each thing**, or the striving [co- natus] by which it (either alone or with others) does anything, or strives to do anything . . . **is** nothing but **the** . . . actual **essence of the thing**” (E III pd; emphasis added). Beings act and strive “either alone or with others.” **Our most fundamental power to be cannot** ultimately **be separated from the concurrent forces of other beings**. It is for this reason that the concept of “transindividuality,” described in chapter , is particularly apt for Spinoza. We are complex singular beings whose agency is not ultimately isolable. **The striving of a given being** is irreducible to that of any other and yet **would not exist without infinitely many others**. Rather than designating a solitary agency, conatus indicates a basic power of individuation that re- mains ineluctably situated within a relational field. A thing, for Spinoza, always perseveres in being and maintains its integrity amidst and by virtue of many other beings. As mentioned above, conatus implies that a thing cannot be self- opposed in essence: “**No thing can be destroyed except through an external cause.**”

#### Conflicting affective drives within conatus cause a chaotic state of nature that produces endless egoist violence. We must re-naturalize agency as a site of constant experimentation – a unique but miniscule part of nature.

**Sharp 3** – Hasana Sharp, (2011) Sharp is an assistant professor of philosophy at McGill University. “Spinoza and the Politics of Renaturalization,” The University of Chicago Press, pp. 7-15

¶ There are practical and theoretical reasons, however, that argue for the critical alternative of renaturalization. As mentioned, Spinoza contends that regarding ourselves as special beings inflames odium. **Understand-ng humanity as vulnerable to the same determinations as beasts, rocks, and vegetables facilitates social harmony and political emancipation. Only when we consider ourselves to be constituted by our constellations of relationships and community of affects can we hope to transform the forces that shape our actions and characters.** When we regard ourselves as beings within nature, we affirm the passionate basis of activity and respond more effectively and knowledgeably to harms, sorrows, and threats, as well as to pleasures, joys, and promises. **Avowing humanity as part of nature entails** understanding individu- als as beings with complex histories, exposed to many diverse bodies and minds, and ever **open to forming new compositions with ambient forces**. Nature, on Spinoza’s model, is not opposed to history. A Spinozist can agree with the notion that man is a historical being, while insisting that history is not the product of overcoming nature. History is not a progres- sive spiritualization of nature, where humans, through working together, come to master, bring under control, and “interiorize” biological need, instinct, and other “external” elements of our existence. **Nature**, for Spinoza, **names the necessity of ongoing mutation and the inescapability of dependence among finite beings**. Rather than serving to prescribe the en- telecheic unfolding of a thing’s essence, Spinoza’s **nature affirms the vari- ability intrinsic to relational existence. To be a relational being is to undergo a history of constitutive affections and transformations in response to encounters with other beings, human and nonhuman.** The mutable aspect of Spinoza’s notion of nature underscores that renaturalization is not necessarily incompatible with denaturalization. Spinoza’s analysis of scripture as a natural rather than a supernatural ar- tifact suggests significant overlap with a denaturalist approach, insofar as it involves revealing the sociopolitical genealogies of what appears to be given. Among other things, Spinoza recommends studying the original language in which it was written, the precise meanings of the idioms at the time they were recorded, who the particular audience was, and the political circumstances the stories aim to address (do they pertain, for ex- ample, to just or oppressive conditions?) (*TTP* .). Renaturalizing scrip- ture does not produce a naturalistic ideology whereby its decrees appear eternal, necessary, and immune to challenge. On the contrary, Spinoza’s approach calls much of its authority into radical question. Given that most of ancient Hebrew is lost, interpretation of scripture is necessarily partial and ought to be responsive to new knowledge about ancient peoples and languages. Being natural means being situated within a particular time, place, and causal nexus. The encounter between reader and text, a complex meeting of composite individuals, engenders still further effects to be explored and understood, if always incompletely. Spinoza’s naturalism, likewise, shares with Marxism and feminism an emphasis upon the relational character of existence, while offering some practical guidance for negotiating life within a causal community. Marx- ism and feminism focus on the institutional and ideological character of social relations, but Spinoza presents a broader perspective that includes our relations with all of nature. The virtues of an extrasocial perspective, as I see it, are as follows: **renaturalization combats voluntarism more ef- fectively than a denaturalizing approach, which, as a variant of social con- structivism, implies that social artifacts are products of human actions and institutions. The core thesis of renaturalization is the radical redefinition of human agency as part of nature. Spinoza refuses to distinguish between natural and social forces, or mental and physical determination. Renaturalization differs from many approaches to social construction in that it does not aim to revolutionize consciousness alone or to relabel ob- jects that once appeared natural as social (i.e., effects of human agency). Rather, it is a practical theory that seeks the nonhuman forces operating within everything we think is ours, or our own doing.** ¶That is, **renaturalization maintains that there is an irreducible power of external causes, within and without each of our bodies**. The constitutive aspect of nonhuman powers points to the second major advantage of a renaturalist approach: anti-anthropocentrism. Denaturalization and so- cial constructivism meet criticism from an ecological perspective for pro- moting an anthropocentric worldview in which everything appears to be a human artifact. Nevertheless, many environmental thinkers confirm, with this very criticism, an opposition between humanity and nature. Although Spinoza has been an inspiration for ecological thought, “nature” must not be understood to imply whatever is nonhuman. It should already be clear that Spinoza challenges all of our usual distinctions between mind and body, “man” and nature, culture and wilderness, artifice and adaptation. As long as we keep in mind that cyborgs, landfills, and leviathans are just as natural as tides, forests, and flocks of birds, I hope to contribute to the ecopolitical ambition to rethink nature. In an epoch that threatens envi- ronmental catastrophe and mass extinction, we must marshal theoretical resources for thinking and speaking about nonhuman nature, in political as much as in ethical theory. Not only do we have obligations to nonhu- man nature, we have reasons to amplify the power of nonhuman nature. Our collective power, our politics, depends upon becoming a part of na- ture differently. For the politics of renaturalization, our agency, persever- ance, and pleasure depend upon affirming and nourishing the nonhuman in and outside of ourselves. The relations that matter to our intellectual and our corporeal well-being are far from exclusively human. Rather than merely defending Spinoza’s concept of nature against the denaturalist accusation that invocations of “nature” are oppressive— something that can perhaps too easily be done—this book explores the emancipatory promise of the politics of renaturalization. In the end, ad- mittedly, any concept of nature is a blunt tool that is only as valuable as its effects, its ability to generate other concepts and tools that fortify our ability to think and act (*TIE* §§–). In an age that continues to view human existence as an “empire within an empire” (*E* III pref), however, critical political thought urgently needs a sense of freedom compatible with our character as corporeal, affective, and sensuous beings, invariably embedded in relations with other beings, human and nonhuman. From a contemporary perspective, however, much of what I have said may not sound especially political. Contemporary political theory is over- whelmingly concerned with questions of justice and legitimation rather than with ontological accounts of what kinds of beings we are. Normative political theory, for good reasons, is also wary of deriving political prin- ciples from nature or metaphysics. Contemporary debates occur largely within the categories of normative political and moral thought, which per- tain to conventional human practices and the criteria for just procedures within institutions that engender and regulate what Hegel calls “ethical life.” As a result of this powerful philosophical tradition, we lack a sophis- ticated political language to address either our own naturalness or our relationship to nonhuman nature. The discourse of animal rights, for ex- ample, succeeds, to the limited extent that it does, by arguing for the ex- tension of the definition of humanity to include a tiny elite of nonhuman animals in the sphere of moral concern and juridical standing. There are, simply put, no words flowing in mainstream currents to express a poli- tics of intimacy, power, and connection with nonhuman forces, even with those nonhuman companions to which we have profound attachments and bonds. It has been argued that Spinoza’s philosophy is free of normative ele- ments. Although it is true that there is no room in Spinoza’s politics for a conception of rights separable from their exercise, presenting his thought as a radically antinormative program or a thoroughgoing critique of juridi- cal power is not my project. Moreover, despite his notorious critique of the separation of right and power, Spinoza’s practical philosophy involves an affirmation of the necessity of both (provisional) morality and juridical politics, but the precise approach to political institutions of legitimation in his political treatises is highly complex and somewhat elusive. While I often refer to the political treatises for support, my study emphasizes the political implications of the naturalist ontology in the *Ethics.* My consid- ered conviction is that the normative and juridical lens in contemporary political theory needs to be supplemented and challenged by what I call an “impersonal” perspective. Although I do not mean to claim that it repre- sents the totality of Spinoza’s political philosophy, throughout the book I develop an impersonal perspective on ethics and politics. His philosophy provides resources for unsettling the presumptions of “personal politics” and thereby altering current debates in feminist and critical theory. Hegel claims that the “commandment of right” is to “be a person and respect others as persons.” “Person” for Hegel is a technical term that re- fers to the “capacity for rights” through which human individuals and so- cieties represent themselves as free and equal. Rather than representing a simple recognition of a given, essential human freedom, personhood for Hegel is a historical achievement, possible only in “postconventional” so- cieties. Persons are equal precisely because modern institutions and ways of life liberate them from natural determination, allowing them to grasp the universal aspects of their selfhood. Recognition of oneself and others as persons involves knowledge of those so recognized as finite and infinite at once, as natural beings who can nevertheless sustain the radical infin- ity of self-consciousness. When we achieve consciousness of ourselves as moral agents through juridical representation, we grasp ourselves as per- sons rather than as things. Personhood is a normative rather than a purely descriptive category. It designates how we ought to see ourselves and others in order to recog- nize one another as free beings. With the notion of personhood we rep- resent ourselves as freed of natural determination and thereby morally responsible for our actions. Not only, then, are we persons rather than things, we are rational and not merely human. Whereas *human* names a biological organism, person, strictly speaking, designates only rational be- ings. Children and the cognitively impaired who cannot will their actions in accordance with universal rules are not persons, but extraterrestrials (and possibly higher animals) and corporate entities (“artificial persons”) may be. A virtue of Hegelianism is to insist that personal politics ap- proximates universality only when the multifarious social institutions and dimensions of collective life allow for inclusive and expansive rep- resentation of the diverse constituents of the social body. A collection of particularities needs to become universal. The normative function of “personhood” has force for Hegel only insofar as it also reflects powers that are actualized by some meaningful (in his time, male and propertied) portion of a community. The affirmation of personhood in oneself and others is far from the totality of ethical life for Hegel, but contemporary political philosophy nevertheless has come to preoccupy itself above all with this “moment” of politics. Personal politics, like denaturalization, is important and indispensable. Throughout this book, I often contrast Spinoza to Hegel because they are very close in some respects and mutually illuminating opponents in oth- ers. Moreover, I take neo-Hegelianism to be the best expression of norma- tive political thought today, especially from a feminist perspective. As I remark in chapter , the emphasis in neo-Hegelian politics of recognition upon the arduous and delicate intersubjective processes of establishing re- lationships of respect, equality, and sympathy among people with distinct languages, cultures, histories, and perspectives is invaluable. Likewise, the neo-Hegelian politics of recognition appreciates the psychic damage caused by oppressive sociosymbolic regimes, which cannot be captured by a theory that focuses on the just distribution of goods or the rights owed to individuals. Because, as I discuss in chapter , Hegel’s political ontology is thoroughly relational, like Spinoza’s, Hegelianism regards freedom as a complex process that cannot be understood independently of historical conditions or relations with others. Yet **personal politics is essentially antinatural. To be a person is to be free from nature, to have transubstantiated one’s animality into human- ity.** Even if personhood does not embody the totality of ethical life, neo- Hegelian political theory emphasizes the representation of humanity and personhood. Thus, Butler’s post-Hegelian politics of recognition, as she notes, returns again and again to “the question of the human.” **Personal politics cannot avoid restricting the domain of the political to an interrogation of the normative criteria that guarantee and foreclose personhood, the representation of distinctively human freedom**. Without arguing for a displacement of normative political theory—something that is as unre- alistic as it is foolhardy—I claim that an impersonal perspective opens up a new continent of political theory and practice. Indeed, to transform a phrase, I contend that the *impersonal* is political. Impersonal politics does not necessarily oppose but is different from a politics of rights and representation. Impersonal politics will not be tele- vised. Impersonal forces include those affects that circulate in the social body, enabling and constraining the powers of bodies and minds, often without anyone’s awareness or knowledge. **Impersonal politics happens, whether we are aware of it or not, but we can cultivate a practical wisdom of renaturalization by which we seek out new sources of agency, connec- tion, and energy. Rather than a politics of rights and representation, im- personal politics is a project of composition and synergy.** Let me offer an example. **A group of five hundred thousand people as- semble on the National Mall to protest a bill being considered by Congress.** They gather, sing, chant, present their signs, and socialize. **They receive disappointing media coverage and the opposed bill passes easily**. **From the perspective of strictly personal politics, the rally failed**. The demands of the protestors were not represented to a larger public, nor did they come to be reflected in the law; the contours of the legal person and mass under- standings of freedom were not altered. **From an impersonal political per- spective, however, the primary sites of concern are different. Rather than a concern with whether representations were contested or confirmed, an impersonal lens is trained upon the affects that concretely determine in- dividual and collective power. Insofar as individuals were exhilarated and forged connections pregnant with unknown futures, this event contrib- uted to the agency of those involved, engendered the basis of new forms of shared power, and thereby “succeeded.”** Such connections may not have taken the form of email addresses exchanged or future meet-ups estab- lished but may be nothing other than a coagulation of joyful affect that enabled ambient bodies and minds to think and act more effectively or, in Foucault’s words, to engage in an “art of not being governed quite so much” in their everyday lives. On the other hand, the event may have amplified sad passions, en- trenched divisions between social groups with different demands and self- conceptions, and foreclosed certain alliances that had seemed replete with possibility beforehand. Nevertheless, the affective therapy that emerges from a politics of renaturalization offers the following counsel: ¶It should be noted that in ordering our thoughts and images, we must always attend to those things that are good in each thing so that we are always determined to acting from an affect of joy. For example, if some- one sees that he pursues esteem too much, he should think of its correct use, the end for which it ought to be pursued, and the means by which ¶ it might be acquired, not of its misuse and emptiness, and men’s incon- stancy, or other things of this kind. (*E* V ps) ¶ **The practical wisdom of renaturalization depends upon an affective orientation toward joy, which indicates an augmentation in one’s power or agency.** Impersonal politics takes its point of departure from the desire to enhance one’s pleasure and power through encounters with other bod- ies and minds. **It is an affective politics that privileges enabling relation- ships, wherever they may be found, rather than particular identities or institutions. Such an orientation cannot simply be willed but must occur by virtue of myriad impersonal factors in one’s environment over which one cannot exercise sovereign control. The impersonal perspective en- courages one to be attuned to those sources of strength and vitality that generally fly below the radar of theoretical or even conscious scrutiny.** I have already noted that one of the virtues of the neo-Hegelian tradition of political theory is that it does not dismiss unconscious and affective elements of agency and ethical life as irrelevant. Yet Spinoza advocates a shift from understanding affective and psychic life in terms of represen- tation to thinking in terms of natural forces combining or combusting. Spinoza encourages an attentiveness to affect as an indication of whether and how ambient forces enhance one’s power of existing. Spinoza hopes that **each affect, whether painful or pleasurable, if considered in terms of both its natural multiplicity (*E* V p) and its “correct use,” can animate and support a “love of freedom”** (V ps). This book endeavors not only to describe but to be such an exercise in the love of freedom.

#### Thus, the roll of the ballot is to promote a politics of renaturalization. Prefer additionally:

#### 1 – Pedagogy – status-quo academia imposes a fragmented Cartesian model of analysis which demands difference as currency and coopts political praxis – renaturalization is necessary to affirm difference.

**Hansson 2** – “Unpacking Spinoza: Sustainability Education Outside the Cartesian Box” March 2012 chrome-extension://cbnaodkpfinfiipjblikofhlhlcickei/src/pdfviewer/web/viewer.html?file=http://www.jsedimensions.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Hansson2012Updated.pdf

In education and many other human endeavors, a systems approach can provide a basic language for communicating effectively and meaningfully about a most fundamental subject: organized complexity in any of its myriad forms (Checkland, 1993, pp. 8, 98;Checkland, 1999, p. 48). We can call such a basic language a ‘meta-discipline’. As pointed out by Peter Checkland, “systems thinking” (in the widest sense) can function as a meta-discipline: What distinguishes systems is that it is a subject which can talk about the other subjects. It is not a discipline to be put in the same set as the others, it is a meta-discipline whose subject matter can be applied within virtually any other discipline (Checkland, 1993, p. 5).Because of its multi-dimensional nature and inherent complexity, sustainability requires such an organizing, conceptual language beyond the confines of any single discipline. Without an appropriate meta-level of communication, ‘sustainability’ is often degraded to a catch-all buzzword devoid of epistemic precision, pedagogic power, and practical utility. At this point, it must be noted that the comprehensive systems theories and methodologies of the twentieth century have failed in the role as universally applicable and widely accepted meta-disciplines. One of them is General Systems Theory (Checkland and Scholes, 1999, p. A3; Jackson, 2000, p. 100). In part, this failure can be explained by the fact that a conceptual meta-language needs to have an intuitive directness and relative simplicity that makes it useful as a facilitator of understanding across artificial boundaries. To make sense to teachers and students alike, theory and method must be ontologically grounded and epistemically justified. In short, our methodology and the theory behind it must both be rooted in a philosophy explaining “what is” and how we can gain true knowledge about things in the world. Considered as a meta-level facilitator of understanding, Spinoza’s systems philosophy provides an onto-epistemic foundation for the individual systems-based disciplinary approaches that are essential to sustainability education. When this systems philosophy is taught as a meta-discipline explaining the systemic organization of nested ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’ in the world; then concepts from other systems-based disciplines and interdisciplines (including specific methodologies) are allowed to coexist functionally within a unified epistemic framework. This framework is based on a view of the world as an integrated, complex ‘whole’ that is knowable not by means of reductionism but through awareness of functional interrelations. A universal framework of this kind is one of the fundamentals of a transdisciplinary approach unconfined by any single disciplinary conceptual framework (or any synthesis of such frameworks produced by interdisciplinary integration).Grounding Transdisciplinarity in Spinoza In higher education, profoundly discipline-transcending integration is rare indeed. Instead, most course- and program offerings with “interdisciplinary” aspirations remain multi-disciplinary (in the sense of adding parts from multiple disciplines without conscious, “organic” integration among them). According to this definition, ‘interdisciplinarity’ is greater than the sum of the parts (disciplines; disciplinary concepts). ‘Multi-disciplinarity’, on the other hand, is equal to the sum of parts. ‘Transdisciplinarity’, finally, is also, just like ‘interdisciplinarity’, greater than the sum of conceptual parts, but representing a degree of integration that is profound, inclusive, and systematic.17 This unification mirrors the seamless integrity of complex systems. It also conveys a kind of understanding that, in Spinoza’s words, “follows the order and connection of things” which in reality are organized in nested structures of relative ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’ (Ethics, Part II, Proposition 7).According to Basarab Nicolescu (2002, p. 44),transdisciplinarity concerns that which is at once between the disciplines, across the different disciplines, and beyond all disciplines. Its goal is the understanding of the present world, of which one of the imperatives is the unity of knowledge. With this definition, the degree of cross-disciplinary integration increases from multi- to interdisciplinarity, culminating in transdisciplinarity where “disciplinary” aspects of understanding are considered as more or less limiting constructs vested with lesser or greater epistemic utility in relation to the undivided body of reality (the total structure of all ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’). As Erich Jantsch (1980) observed, this integrative endeavor is of greatest needbecause “an intricately interconnected reality is a whole which cannot be described by the sum of its disciplinary aspects, just as no real system may be described by the sum of its parts”. The displaced application of the Baconian-Cartesian method to educational administration has resulted in fragmentation separating the practitioners of individual academic disciplines into camps. Spinoza’s alternative to reductionism, however, could facilitate transdisciplinary integration and sustainable problem solving across cultural divides. Being among the first to use the term coined by Jean Piaget in the 1970s (Bourguignon, 1997), Erich Jantsch called ‘transdisciplinarity’ “a key notion for a systems approach to education” (1970, p. 414; italics in original). In the same publication, Jantsch also foreshadowed today’s emerging ideal of sustainability in education: It is important to understand the quest for knowledge as a form of interaction between living systems and their environment, no less essential than, say, breathing or feeding, and in the same sense subjective and objective at the same time In this paper, I use the term ‘transdisciplinarity’ in the same vein: as a rather open label-concept for a practical approach to knowledge considered as a unified body, transcends the artificially imposed boundaries of the academic disciplinary structure; an integrative approach that requires a well-developed and articulated meta-level of communication which in itself is not limited by disciplinary confines. The purpose of this meta-disciplinary level of communication is to facilitate a meaningful dialogue about the simultaneously subjective and objective nature of systematically organized ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’; subjective in the sense of being perspective-dependent (as discussed above), and objective in the sense of conveying understanding of reality with maximum accuracy. Sustainability is a discipline-transcending concept. The recognition of this fact has recently contributed to the growing interest in transdisciplinary approaches(Thompson Klein, 2004).In my courses and workshops, individual disciplines contribute conceptual tools, such as models and terminology, organized within a wider, transdisciplinary scope. I have found that Spinoza’s philosophy provides epistemic integration and justification for such an approach, as well as a pedagogic “blueprint” for problem solving beyond disciplinary and cultural confines. In the context of sustainability education, Spinoza’s “worm’s-eye approach” to ‘parts’ and ‘wholes’ can function as a meaningful and practically useful epistemic meta-context for individual elements of disciplinary knowledge, understood as parts of a larger, in reality undivided whole. Thereby, this philosophy can provide the missing key to understanding our present sustainability crisis.

#### 2 – Serial policy failure – only the politics of renaturalization can reject the liberalist demand for a conforming subject in favor of a radical body politic, unified by a shared feeling of the political.

**Sharp 4** – Hasana Sharp, (2011) Sharp is an assistant professor of philosophy at McGill University. “Spinoza and the Politics of Renaturalization,” The University of Chicago Press, Pp 181-183.

**Discussion, discord, and listening produce what the deliberative body is seeking, something no one previously considered. Rather than the identical character of each person’s fundamental yearning, deliberation exposes what the general approval determines to be useful.** If we recall, Spinoza defines utility as what enables one to be affected and to affect others in a great variety of ways (E IV p). Large assemblies are valuable, as I argued in chapter , because **being moved and moving others require corporeal proximity. Forces and energies need to combine and act in excess of the particular imaginings, desires, and volitions of the individuals involved. A space of conflictual speaking is liberating not only because we may come to respect the powers of other reasoners and find our moral agency confirmed**. It might liberate **because other bodies and minds are the only possible source of our own power.** We think only because others think (homo cogitat not ego cogito); we act only because others act. **As parts of nature, our powers are synergetic combinations with other natural forces. The collective basis of any activity confirms the enabling aspects of our unavoidable dependency. Even if we are diminished** and disabled **by hatred and oppression, we manage to think and feel otherwise only by forming and fortifying alternative constellations of affect. Black does not become beautiful because those in power agree that it is beautiful. Rather, black is beautiful because a group articulates and proliferates the words, feelings, institutions, and practices that erode the destructive forces institutionalizing the antithetical proposition.** An oppressed person cannot simply see the truth in the claim that black is beautiful but must join herself to those other counterpowers to engender new ways of being. **At an exhilarating march, regardless of whether any new adjustments to the universal are achieved, protestors will feel beautiful**. They will feel that their presence engenders joy and power in others and be strengthened by the recursive effect of the passionate exchanges. A successful march, then, is one that feels good, connects agents to one another, and thereby produces a circuit of empowerment. For the politics of imperceptibility, the agency constituted at such an occasion is limited as long as we measure success by either the index of humanization or the representations of the oppressed in the Other. Imperceptible politics, as Grosz articulates it, does not have a particular end in view, other than seeking vitality, connection, and sharing of power in terms other than those prescribed by the dominant order. The politics of imperceptibility, as a particular expression of the project of renaturalization, may not, in my view, entail a wholesale revision of what counts as political practice. **Even public deliberation, the realm of politics that is most often viewed in terms of intersubjectivity, recognition, and communicative action as the dialogical generation of rationality, can fruitfully be considered an open- ended project of vitality and discovery** . Just as public deliberation has been central to neo- Hegelian politics, **consciousness- raising has been a core practice of feminist and black liberation movements**. Consciousness- raising might seem anathema to a theory that decenters self- consciousness and intersubjectively derived truth. As it is conventionally understood, consciousness- raising coincides neatly with the commitments of the politics of recognition to mitigate self- loathing. Catharine MacKinnon describes consciousness- raising as an intersubjective practice aimed at engendering a positive identity. She cites Sheila Rowbotham approvingly: “In order to discover its own identity as distinct from that of the oppressor, [an oppressed group] has to become visible to itself.” MacKinnon associates feminist liberation with becoming visible to oneself and others through a process of mutual selfclarification and group identification. Group identification engenders solidarity and new sources of self- esteem. **Women find validation in other women who can recognize their contributions to society as meaningful, necessary, and world- sustaining. The method of discussing women’s quotidian lived experience reveals patriarchy** (a systematic form of “identity invalidation” for women) **to be the source of their feelings of inadequacy**. The moral regeneration this feminist technique promoted resembles the aims of the politics of recognition. **Consciousness- raising aims to attenuate self- loathing, produce solidarity and self- esteem, and generate a more accurate apprehension of oneself and other oppressed women**. It aspires to see through patriarchal social conventions and undo the psychic mutilation they have wrought. **The ultimate goal is to restore to women their moral agency as persons, eroding the conditions that maintain women as objects**. It is unsurprising that “[t]he analysis that the personal is political came out of consciousness raising.” Grosz’s plea for **an impersonal politics of bodies and natural forces may seem utterly alien to consciousness-raising**. And it is contrary to such a practice as it is traditionally understood. Grosz would likely share the sus- picions that Wendy Brown articulates with respect to feminist efforts to unveil the “‘hidden truth’ of women’s experience.” An impersonal politics inspired by Nietzsche might have little more than contempt for a project that institutes a unitary female experience armed with Truth against pa- triarchy, a regime of distorting lies. Nonetheless, **we might approach the practices around consciousness-raising from an impersonal perspective. Consciousness-raising among liberation groups involves gathering to speak, listen, and argue, as well as to plan public actions like marches, boycotts, campaigns, institutional reform, and sometimes more radical acts of sabotage,** etc. **An assembly of the oppressed might be reimagined as a collective production of powers, linkages, and transformations. Assembling to think and act with others who desire to live, feel, and experi- ence themselves otherwise might find a place as an experimental process grounded in little more than the yearning to generate a counterpower**, a new arrangement of corporeal forces, and alternative sources of plea- sure and agency. Such consciousness-raising will not endeavor to recog- nize one another’s experiences as analogous, or our relationships to the social structure as interchangeable. It will not be an effort to recognize “who we are.” Rather, a politics of impersonality might focus on what we desire. Following Grosz and Spinoza, impersonal politics takes its point of departure from the desire to enhance our pleasure and power the only way it can be done: together. It is an affective politics that seeks enabling relationships, wherever they may be found. An impersonal politics that endeavors to renaturalize rather than hu- manize the oppressed does not necessarily invalidate traditional feminist or antiracist practices of resistance, even as it reimagines and approaches them with new criteria of success. **As renaturalists, we do not aim primarily to be understood and valued by our fellows. We pursue strength, affinities with other vital forces, and alternative futures.** A politics of imper- ceptibility, like **the politics of renaturalization, begins from the insistence that human existence is within and not above nature. We depend upon and affect innumerable forces, human and nonhuman. The measure of our agency that is determined by other’s perceptions may be significant, but it is hardly the totality of our power and freedom. Preoccupation with our need to be seen as who we really are may be self-defeating. If our identities are constantly being revised, reinterpreted, and experienced differ- ently in response to new encounters and relationships, we will often find what we never knew we were seeking**. Although Spinoza himself exhibited little concern for women, a feminist politics of imperceptibility does not need him to recognize its validity. The politics of imperceptibility siphons enabling energy and power wherever it happens to find it. **It infects and enjoins whichever beings and forces might aid in the construction of a joyful insurgency against patriarchy, misanthropy, imperialism, and, yes, “~~crippling~~ self-hatred.”**

#### 3 – Cruel optimism – perseverance creates a gap between discursive regimes and actuality which create spaces of domination – only structures of affect escape our cruelly optimistic relation to stable structures.

**Schafer 13** – Schaefer ’13. Schaefer, D. "The Promise of Affect: The Politics of the Event in Ahmed's The Promise of Happiness and Berlant's Cruel Optimism." Theory & Event 16.2 2013. Project MUSE

At a recent talk at the University of Pennsylvania, Lauren Berlant was asked a question about the relationship between her work—she had just finished a lecture on the theme of flat affect in Gregg Araki's 2004 film Mysterious Skin—and the political. "Because I work on affect," she responded, "I think everything is realism" ([Berlant: 2012](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b3)). Like the dense introductory segments of each of her chapters—thick but fast-moving genealogical waterslides—I think that unpacking statements like this from Berlant is best repaid by taking them in a low gear. When Berlant maps her method as affect theory, she is suggesting that the works she examines in her capacity as a scholar of literature cannot be divorced from the political-material contexts out of which they emerge, but at the same time must be recognized as incarnations of aparticular embodied iteration within this field. **Texts are produced by bodies that are both enmeshed in their political worlds and trying to negotiate those worlds in their own distinct way. Everything we do is realism:** Berlant's textual objects of study are mediations, attempts to work something out, exhibitions of tensed, embodied, affective realities.[1](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#f1) This is the promise of affect theory, the possibility sliding together analytical tools used to pick apart both highly individuated and highly social contact zones—bodies and histories—as incarnated realities. Affect theory wants to maintain the insights of high theory, the doctrinaire approach that says "historicize everything," while at the same time thinking of how bodies inject their own materiality into spaces. This means using language that enters the orbit of the biological. In the introduction to their 1995 edited volume Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader (later reprinted in Sedgwick's Touching Feeling)—one of the earliest manifestoes of contemporary affect theory— Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank acerbically catalog what theory "knows today," first and foremost that 1: The distance of [an] account from a biological basis is assumed to correlate near precisely with its potential for doing justice to difference (individual, historical, and cross-cultural), to contingency, to performative force, and to the possibility of change ([Sedgwick: 2003, 93](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b11)). And 2: Human language is assumed to offer the most productive, if not the only possible, model for understanding representation ([Sedgwick: 2003, 93](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b11)). **Affect theory in this vision is designed to explore[s] the "crucial knowledges" of bodies outside a purely theoretical determination, outside the traditional domains of humanist scholarship—reason, cognition, and language** ([Sedgwick: 2003, 114](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b11)). Affect, for Lauren Berlant, is thus understandable as "sensual **matter that is elsewhere to sovereign consciousness** but that has historical significance in domains of subjectivity" ([Berlant: 2011, 53](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Affect theory is about how systems of forces circulating within bodies—forces not necessarily subsumable or describable by language—interface with histories. It is about how discourses form ligatures with pulsing flesh-and-blood creatures. Two recent texts, Sara Ahmed's The Promise of Happiness ([2010](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)) and Berlant's Cruel Optimism ([2011](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)), can be seen as developing this strand, and in particular, of indicating new ways of feeling out politics through the membrane of affect theory. Both of these authors suggest that the repertoire of the analytics of power ([Foucault: 1990](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b6)) must be supplemented with resources from the affective turn. Recent critiques of affect theory[2](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#f2) have focused on a branch of affect theory heavily informed by Gilles Deleuze's reading of Spinoza. In this strand, affect is rendered as a set of ontological properties, as an ensemble of mutable attributes.[3](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#f3) Contemporary Deleuzians such as Brian Massumi[4](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#f4) and William Connolly[5](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#f5) have been targeted by these critics for their attempts at absorbing scientific research into the Spinozistic discourse of affect. But Spinoza and Deleuze are second-tier characters in Ahmed and Berlant's work—which is perhaps why Ahmed situates herself in a lineage—stretching back to Sedgwick—that she calls "feminist cultural studies of affect"[6](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#f6) ([Ahmed: 2010, 13](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). Where the Deleuzian strands focuses on affect as the raw material of becoming, as the play of substances, Ahmed and Berlant locate affect theory [is] as a phenomenological, rather than ontological enterprise. It is in the phenomenology of the political that Ahmed and Berlant ground their projects. For Ahmed, this comes in the form of a new attention to happiness as an object of analysis. This does not mean a circumscribed exploration of happiness as a thing, but rather programmatically asking the question "what does happiness do?" ([Ahmed: 2010, 2](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). Happiness is not autonomous, Ahmed argues, but a relationship of evaluation that creates the horizon of the self. For Ahmed, the "near sphere" of the self is constituted by a perimeter studded with "happy objects." This cluster of objects is what gives the field of mobile operations of the self its shape. In this "drama of contingency," we "come to have our likes, which might even establish what we are like" ([Ahmed: 2010, 24](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). But for Ahmed, happiness as an affective field settling in proximity to bodies is not necessarily transparent in its shape or its function to the self. Happiness often takes the form, she suggests, of a promise, of a deferred possibility. Taking the phenomenological tradition of Edmund Husserl as a springboard for a discussion of time-consciousness, she suggests that happiness as a promise—from the Latin verb promittere, "to let go or send forth"—is an anticipation rather than a felt presence ([Ahmed: 2010, 38](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). Rather than simply an affect that circulates between bodies and objects, happiness is also a promise that is passed around. This analysis of the promise of happiness underpins the genealogy Ahmed organizes in the opening chapter of the book: an exploration of the contemporary "happiness turn" in scholarship and the "happiness industry" emerging in parallel in popular media marketplaces. This discourse, she suggests, moves happiness further away from its etymological origin point—in the Middle English hap or fortune, cognate with "perhaps" and "happenstance"— suggesting chance to a sense of happiness as a scheme, a program that, if followed, leads to ultimate good ([Ahmed: 2010, 6](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). This sense of the promise of happiness is the elimination of contingency by guaranteeing the futurity of happiness: "The promise of happiness takes this form: if you have this or have that, or if you do this or do that, then happiness is what follows" ([Ahmed: 2010, 29](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). Happiness as a guarantee—a promise that circulates through power-knowledge regimes—but one that defers happiness rather than making happiness present, is one of the mechanisms by which happiness is translated into the skin of a political organism, an "affective community"—such as a family or a society. Through the promise of happiness, bodies are brought together by a shared expectation of future comfort. But because this is a promise rather than immediate happiness, an interstice is formed between this promise and individual experiencing bodies— an interstice that can either be full and complete or disconnected. The family, for instance, does not share a happiness, but a happiness deferred, a promise or image of happiness to-come ([Ahmed: 2010, 46](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). It is in this interstice, either blockaded or fluid, that Ahmed articulates the need for a politics of killing joy, of breaking down the promise of happiness as a regime that demands fidelity without recourse. For Ahmed, the discourse of happiness is performative: it produces a politics of promise (or nostalgia) that suffocates alternative promises and alternative explorations. Here Ahmed produces biographies of a range of "affect aliens," bodies that are called on to be silent and accept the happiness that has been promised, while their actual desires and hopes are out of joint with the world around them: feminist killjoys, unhappy queers, melancholic migrants. The promise of happiness, Ahmed suggests, must be interrupted to make room for emancipatory politics. "I am not saying that we have an obligation to be unhappy," she writes, "I am simply suggesting that we need to think about unhappiness as more than a feeling that should be overcome" ([Ahmed: 2010, 217](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). In the closing passage of the book she writes that since "the desire for happiness can cover signs of its negation, a revolutionary politics has to work hard to stay proximate to unhappiness" ([Ahmed: 2010, 223](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b1)). Political change, Ahmed contends, is paralyzed by the imperative to be happy, to stay within the narrow guidelines of happiness's promise. Where Ahmed's background is in a western philosophical lineage that leads up to contemporary questions of affect, the immediate theoretical precursor of Lauren Berlant's Cruel Optimism is Kathleen Stewart's Ordinary Affects ([2007](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b12)), which develops the notion of the "ordinary" as a felt reality. "Ordinary affects," Stewart writes, "are the varied, surging capacities to affect and to be affected that give everyday life the quality of a continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergences" ([Stewart: 2007, 1f](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b12)). Berlant is interested in particular in how the ordinary comes to take the form of a sort of affective impasse, a set of felt relationships that cannot be moved through. Cruel Optimism is a focused study of a particular category of impasse, what she calls "cruel optimism." Cruel optimism, she explains at the book's outset, refers to a relation that emerges "when something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing. It might involve food, or a kind of love; it might be **a fantasy of the good life, or a political project**" ([Berlant: 2011, 1](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Berlant explores a range of situations where these attachments emerge, as a response to trauma or out of the ongoing pressures of the ordinary, in particular through the parameters of what she calls "genres of precarity," a range of aesthetic practices and styles—"mass media, literature, television, film, and video"—that ... emerge during the 1990s to register a shift in how the older state-liberal-capitalist fantasies shape adjustments to the structural pressures of crisis and loss that are wearing out the power of the good life's traditional fantasy bribe without wearing out the need for a good life ([Berlant: 2011, 7](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Realism: texts always reflect an affective situation, a force field of desires, a labile contact zone between bodies and intersecting historical frames. Framing literary criticism (broadly construed) as a practice of tracing the connective tissue between bodies and situations is what lets Berlant speak to the political uses of affect. She suggests that affect theory is a "another phase in the history of ideology theory," that it "brings us back to the encounter of what is sensed with what is known and what has impact in a new but also recognizable way" ([Berlant: 2011, 53](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). **Affect—especially ordinary affect—is the missing link between discursive regimes and bodies, the arterial linkages through which power is disseminated. "The present" is not an assemblage of texts and knowledges, bloodless discursive inscriptions on the body, but a felt sense out of which political circumstances emerge.** "We understand nothing about impasses of the political," she writes, "without having an account of the production of the present" ([Berlant: 2011, 4](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Cruel optimism as a byproduct of political situations colliding with bodies plays out in ongoing, semistable routines, in ordinariness. This focus on the ordinary frames Berlant's conception of the political as a slow-motion reaction rather than a series of staccato punctuations. This comes out, for instance, in her exhortation to move away from trauma theory as a way of "describing what happens to persons and populations as an effect of catastrophic impacts" ([Berlant: 2011, 9](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Rather, Berlant suggests that trauma is only one facet of the ordinary, a precursory event that yields new historical trajectories lived out in slow-motion. "Trauma," she writes, ... forces its subjects not into mere stuckness but into crisis mode, where they develop some broad, enduring intuitions about the way we live in a now that's emerging without unfolding, and imagining a historicism from within a discontinuous present and ways of being that were never sovereign ([Berlant: 2011, 93](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Rather than the instantiating event, Berlant is interested in the fallout of politics, the long-running reverberations. It is in these interwoven aftermaths following in the wake of bodies that Berlant locates the tropic of cruel optimism. Optimism, she is careful to point out, can "feel" any number of different ways, can come clothed in any number of affective orientations. "Because optimism is ambitious," she writes, "at any moment it might not feel like anything, including nothing: dread, anxiety, hunger, curiosity, the whole gamut from the sly neutrality of browsing the aisles to excitement at the prospect of 'the change that's gonna come'" ([Berlant: 2011, 2](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). Rather than a singularly identifiable feeling, optimism takes the phenomenological form of a "knotty tethering to objects, scenes, and modes of life that generate so much overwhelming yet sustaining negation" ([Berlant: 2011, 52](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). **Optimism binds bodies to "fantasies of the good life,"** to horizons of possibility that may or may not be defeated by the conditions of their own emergence. Cruel optimism is the outcome of this circumstance of tethering confused by itself, of Möbius-strip cycles of ambition and frustration. The ordinary, precisely because of its complexity, can contain the intransigent contradictions of cruel optimism ([Berlant: 2011, 53](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). It is the space of the rubble, the hovering dust, the shockwaves that follow the event rather than the piercing clarity of the punctum itself. Berlant is interested in the ways that habits form out of situations of impossibility—for instance, in her reading of Gregg Bordowitz's documentary filmHabit (2001), about the body rituals that structure the daily lives of a gay man living with AIDS and his partner in New York City in the 1990s. Bordowitz's work maps a crisis that reflects Berlant's delineation of the field of the political: with the new availability of anti-retroviral drugs in the 1990s, AIDS ceased to be "a death sentence," and thus "turned fated life back into an ellipsis, a time marked by pill- and test-taking, and other things, the usual" ([Berlant: 2011, 58](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). For Berlant, the event is a rarity, and is only secondarily the zone of the political, which is itself constituted by ongoing patterns of response and desire—slow-motion echoes producing new forms as they cross-cut and interfere with one another ([Berlant: 2011, 6](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)). In this sense, Berlant explains, her work meshes with Sedgwick's queer reading of affect as the histories that make us desire in unexpected, perverse ways. "The queer tendency of this method," Berlant writes, "is to put one's attachments back into play and into pleasure, into knowledge, into worlds. It is to admit that they matter" ([Berlant: 2011, 123](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/509908#b2)).

#### 4 – Sequencing – the only way we move past the color line is through a thousand tiny races, which can only be done with the aff.

**Saldaha 4** [Saldaha, Arun. “Reontologising Race: the Machinic Geography of Phenotype.” March 9, 2004. Brackets for Grammar. LHP MK]

Every time phenotype makes another machinic connection, there is a stutter. **Every time bodies are** further **entrenched in segregat[ed]ion**, however brutal, **there [is] needs to be an affective investment of some sort. This is the ruptural moment in which to intervene. Race should not be eliminated, but proliferated, its many energies directed at multiplying racial differences so as to render them joyfully cacophonic**. Many in American critical race theory also argue against a utopian transcendence of race, taking from W E B Du Bois and pragmatism a reflexive, sometimes strategically nationalist attitude towards racial embodiment (compare Outlaw, 1996; Shuford, 2001; Winant, 2004). **What is needed is an affirmation of race's creativity and virtuality**: what race can be. Race need not be about order and oppression, it can be wild, far-from-equilibrium, liberatory. It is not that everyone becomes completely Brownian (or brown!), completely similar, or completely unique. It is just that white supremacism becomes strenuous as many populations start harbouring a similar economic, technological, cultural productivity as whites do now, linking all sorts of bodies with all sorts of wealth and all sorts of ways of life. That is, race exists in its true mode when it is no longer stifled by racism. ––The race-tribe exists only at the level of an oppressed race, and in the name of the oppression it suffers; there is no race but inferior, minoritarian; there is no domi- nant race; a race is defined not by its purity but rather by the impurity conferred upon it by a system of domination. Bastard and mixed-blood are the true names of race'' (Deleuze and Guattari, [1980] 1987, page 379). In ``A thousand tiny sexes'', Grosz (1994b) follows a well-known passage of Deleuze and Guattari to argue for non-Hegelian, indeed protohuman feminism that utilises lines of flight of the gender assemblage to combat heterosexist patriarchy. ––**If we consider the great binary aggregates, such as the sexes or classes, it is evident that they also cross over into molecular assemblages of a different nature**, and **that there is a double reciprocal dependency between them.** For the two sexes imply a multiplicity of molecular combinations bringing into play not only the man in the woman and the woman in the man, but the relation of each to the animal, the plant, etc.: a thousand tiny sexes'' (Deleuze and Guattari, [1980] 1987, page 213). Similarly, the **molecularisation of race would consist in its breaking** up **into a thousand tiny races**. It is **from here** that **cosmopolitanism should start: the pleasure, curiosity, and concern in encountering a multiplicity of corporeal fragments outside of common-sense taxonomies**. ––We walk the streets among hundreds of people whose patterns of lips, breasts, and genital organs we divine; they seem to us equivalent and interchangeable. Then **something snares our attention**: a dimple speckled with freckles on the cheek of a woman; a steel choker around the throat of a man in a business suit; a gold ring in the punctured nipple on the hard chest of a deliveryman; a big raw fist in the delicate hand of a schoolgirl; a live python coiled about the neck of a lean, lanky adolescent with coal-black skin. **Signs of clandestine disorder in the uniformed and coded crowds''** (Lingis, 2000, page 142). **Machinism against racism builds upon a gradual, fragmented, and shifting sense of corporeal difference,** that of course extends far further than the street. **Responsibility, activism, and antiracist policy will follow only from feeling and understanding the geographical differentials that exist between many different kinds of bodies:** between a Jew and a black soldier, between a woman in the Sahel and a woman in Wall Street, between a Peruvian peasant and a Chinese journalist**. A machinic politics of race takes into account the real barriers to mobility and imagination that exist in different places;** cosmopolitanism has to be invented, not imposed. **It may seem that machinism is as utopian and open ended as Gilroy's transcendent antiracism. It is not, because it is empirical, immanent, and pragmatic.** The **machinic geography of phenotype shows that racism differs from place to place, and cannot be overcome in any simple way**. It shows that white **supremacy can subside only by changing the rules of education**, or the financial sector, or the arms trade, or the pharmaceutical industry, or whatever. For machinic politics, the cultural studies pre- occupations with apology, recognition, politically correct language and reconsiliation, or else cultural hybridity, pastiche, and ambivalence, threaten to stand in the way of really doing something about the global structures of racism. **A thousand tiny races can be made only if it is acknowledged that racism is a material, inclusive series of events, a viscous geography which cannot be `signified away'.** Miscegenation, openness to strangers, exoticism in art, and experimentations with whiteness can certainly help. But ultimately cosmpolitanism without critique and intervention remains complacent with its own comfortably mobile position. In a word, ethics encompasses politics, and politics starts with convincing people of race's materiality.

#### Now affirm – The member nations of the World Trade Organization ought to reduce intellectual property protections for medicines.

#### Intellectual property regimes biologically regulate affective relationalities and force the subject into binary, mechanical, categories.

Wolodzko 18 – Agnieszka Anna, Bodies within affect. : on practicing contaminating matters through bioart, 2018, <https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/66889>

The particular discrepancy between the practice of affect and its control, between discovering the relations of transformation and managing these relations in order to achieve particular formations, is present in the practices of biotechnology. Take, for instance, the patenting of the human genome, which touches the very intimate and existential realm of what it means to have and be a body. Donna Dickenson reports that, according to common law, once a part of your body is separated from you, it is legally treated as waste and as not belonging to anybody [lat. res nullius].22 Dickenson believes that this disposable attitude to body parts that have been detached from the body is due to the traditional distinction between a person and raw matter. Unlike a body part, persons cannot be owned as this would undermine the notion of human dignity.23 However, as Dickenson states, recent biotechnological practices undermine the boundaries between what can be considered as a person and what is just a raw body part, which results making the body a much more fluid and hybrid phenomenon. The scale and implications of the hybridity and relationality of the body as a result of biotechnological practices can be seen, for instance, within the phenomenon of human genome patenting and genetic testing, the most lucrative applications of biotechnological innovations.24 Till 2013, it was common practice to patent the human genome once it had been isolated from the body. Even though genes are not an invention as such, their isolation from a body was considered an innovative practice and thus subject to patenting laws.25 This resulted in an enormous biomarket, where, in the 1980s-1990s, till 2005, over twenty per cent of the human genome was patented in the US.26 A patent is “a legal right granted to inventors by national governments to exclude others from making, using or selling their invention in a given country,”27 and so, in this context, its function presupposes that parts of our own body are legally owned by companies and institutions.28 Most importantly, gene patents are usually applied to all methods of their detection. This means that every test and tool involved in the management of a particular sequence are covered by patent laws. The patent thus reaches a very broad research area, and this may have consequences for future innovation and medical care. Since the main role of patents in the biotechnology that has induced genetic testing was to allow for private investment in research and development, biotechnology has transformed from a common good into a commodification and exploitation of the body. Arguably, things have changed once the US Supreme Court banned the patenting of “natural” genes in the case of the Myriad Genetics Inc., the company that discovered the sequence and location of BRCA1 and BRCA1 – a gene mutation that increases the risk of ovarian and breast cancer: “A naturally occurring DNA segment is a product of nature and not patent eligible merely because it has been isolated, but cDNA is patent eligible because it is not naturally occurring.”29 However, things become more ambiguous when we look not only at the differences, but also at the similarities between DNA and its copy, cDNA (complementary DNA). cDNA is “a type of a man-made DNA composition, which is made in a lab with an enzyme that creates DNA from RNA template.”30 Not naturally occurring, and structurally and functionally different from DNA, cDNA thus complies with the patent law. Nevertheless, some critics argue that, despite its structural and functional difference, which allows for the further research, the copy (cDNA) still holds exactly the same information as the original (DNA).31 Moreover, because cDNA is not distinct from the methods it is extracted with, there is no specification of how much intervention is actually needed in order for the gene to be legally patented, since mere simple separation from the body is no longer a boundary.32 Despite the lack of boundaries and clear definitions of what a body’s natural state is and what its manipulated state is, Myriad, (like other companies involved in human gene patenting), practices what is now called personalized medicine. Bodies are practiced as autonomous and fixed identities, independent from collective relations.33 As Dickenson argues, personalized medicine deliberately positions itself against we medicine, emphasising individual responsibility and care, rather than a collective and relational understanding of the way our bodies are. We witnessed the power of individual choice when the American actress Angelina Jolie announced that she had undergone a double mastectomy due to the presence of the BRCA gene in her body. This was in 2013, just before the Supreme Court decision in the Myriad case and the actress’s experience provoked a public debate about the necessity of testing for the cancer gene. However, the media conveniently failed to mention the patent that applied to the BRCA gene, and just how expensive the test to detect it was (in 2013, the test cost between US$3,000 and US$4,000).34 Moreover, the decision to undergo the mastectomy – which for the average woman does not end with a full breast reconstruction as it did in Jolie’s case – was portrayed as being a woman’s – a mother’s – individual choice. The discussion of the elective surgery largely ignored any discussion of the financial, political or social situation of women, or of the industry involved in performing these tests. Importantly, in order for the testing to be accurate and certain, a large database of the variation of this mutation is needed. You need “we medicine in order to perform a successful me medicine.”35 In other words, to be accurate, any medicine depends on a range of relational practices and multiple bodies from various social, political and biological states. Any distinction, therefore, between “me” and “we” medicine is an artificial one. Medical practice has exposed how “me” medicine has already been “we” medicine. The tangible danger, however, is that these relational practices become veiled by the abstract categories of individuality and autonomy. In other words, while we are already living within affect, and are already practicing affect’s contaminations and its multiple relations and implications for various spheres of living bodies, we have never really changed our logic with regard to affect. In the case of Myriad, while, in principle, researchers, share their genome database in order to provide an exchange of information for the common good and to promote innovation and accurate medical care, fear of competition led the company to stop contributing to the data already in 2004. It has also stopped publicising new information about variations. As a major performer of tests for the BRCA gene, Myriad has thus significantly restricted research on breast cancer. The company’s self-interest, clothed in a policy of personalized medicine has stopped the flow of data and, therefore, causing less accurate medical care.36 What is worse, after the US Supreme Court decision of 15 April 2013, Myriad filed a number of lawsuits against laboratories that had started to offer the BRCA test more cheaply.37 What we learn from the BRCA case, is that by failing to change the logic of thinking about the bodies and as a result of its perpetuation of the belief in the autonomy of bodies, despite their obvious dependence on bodies’ relationality, the gene patenting industry has created even stronger hierarchies among bodies. The industry’s policies have enacted a strong belief in determinism, ascribed to DNA within the practices of biotechnological, economic and political application. The idea of the autonomous body is stronger than the actual matters of practice and relations that construct the body. Such practice of the body has preserved the nature/culture divide in a bizarrely paradoxical way. The US Supreme Court’s decision perpetuates a belief in the exclusion of nature from any economic-political spheres. As long as something does not occur in “nature”, it can be patented. However, as shown in the case of Myriad, the copy (cDNA) of DNA that is to be patented holds exactly the same information as the original (DNA). The border between what occurs naturally and culturally, what is original and what is a copy, is thus blurred. Without the “original” DNA there would be no cDNA in the first place. Moreover, what is considered as artificial and therefore ready for manipulation and commodification, materially influences and transforms what we consider to be “natural”. The promise of cure and treatment that has justified the privatization and monopolization of research, ultimately influences our own bodies and lives. Patented genes sequences do not regard a particular body, but “the body”. Patents have a universal function, which, in turn, incorporates all our bodies under its law. Once you have a breast cancer, part of you, what you think of as the “natural” you, belongs, in practice, to the corporation. The artificial divide between the “state of nature” and man-made practice does not respond to our bodies, which are an entanglement of living matter and practices. Furthermore, the Myriad case is also a striking example because it shows the consequences of our lack of understanding that biotechnology has a real material impact on our social and political life. Here, the idea of personhood and human dignity cannot do justice to the scale of novelty and unpredictability of the biotechnological world. Biobanks, which are the modern equivalent of surveillance and property, have resulted in: commodified cell lines, such as those in the Henrietta Lacks legal case,38 promises of regenerative medicine via new methods that transform a cell from an adult body into any other type of a cell, and CRISPR genome editing, which makes the idea of designer babies not just futuristic speculation, but a scientific possibly.39 Indeed, these new biotechnological inventions have undermined any doubt about the influence that biotechnology already has in shaping our lives. These phenomena are not just the concern of bioethical committees and economic policies, they directly touch the multiple political, social and cultural realms of our existence. Ingeborg Reichle called the unprecedented power inherent to the use of biotechnology “bottom-up eugenics”, which is not based directly on a socio-cultural idea and narration, but rather the market and profit.40 As Robert Zwijnenberg argues, biotechnology inevitably correlates with such problems as, for instance, human enhancement, posing not only ethical and legal problems, but forcing more philosophically and culturally varied questions and attitudes, i.e. “who and what do we want to be as humans, and who and what do we want to become?”41 Biotechnological innovations that allow us to manipulate our bodies construct economicsocial realities that do not respond to disciplinary divisions. Economic and political demands are strongly entangled with scientific findings, technologies and their agencies, which, in turn, inevitably influence social and cultural, individual and the population’s practices, as well as our lives and bodies. However, as the Myriad case shows, once these multiple entanglements are applied according to the traditional beliefs in autonomy, individuation and personalization, which do not respond to the relational nature of phenomena, we enter into the realm of utopian beliefs in purity and clear-cut boundaries between species and disciplines. For instance, transhumanists’ desire for designer babies and perfect humans,42 fuelled by an unquestioning use of technology, is just one among many examples of using relationality not as an ontological way of being, but as a means for strengthening the fixed ideas about our bodies. We already live and practice affect, that is why, if we do not think and act according to its dynamic nature, we create even sharper dualisms, polarizations and hierarchies. It is therefore time to map these material and relational ways of understanding. It is time to map bodies within affect, in order to meet the challenges of the biotechnological future. The question is, how to do that? How can we relationally practice the relational nature of our bodies? In other words, how do we make matters of affect matter?

#### IP laws prioritize uniformity and predictability as a method of homogenizing knowledge and refusing experimentation – that refuses the connections that are vital to a politics of renaturalization.

**Wu 2** – Tim Wu, White House official and professor of law at Columbia university. “Intellectual Property Experimentalism by Way of Competition Law” (2014) <https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2843&context=faculty_scholarship>, BXNK

Second**, rights systems** generally **aspire toward uniformity across jurisdictions**. Given a clear idea as to what rights should be protected, there is, logically, no clear reason for variation between jurisdictions or nations. We can see the practical implications of both of these tendencies as they have manifested over the last few decades. For one thing, **the reaction to technological change has usually been a fortification of the right rather than a rethinking of the system**.25 Consider, for example, the reaction of the laws to the massive technological changes over the 1980s and 1990s, when the successive development of personal computers, digitalization techTHE DOMINANT CULTURE OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RETAINS A PERSISTENT LINKAGE WITH THE NATURAL LAW TRADITION, WHICH RECOGNIZES A NATURAL RIGHT IN THE INVENTOR OR CREATOR, AND THE LANGUAGE OF PROPERTY, OF WHICH THE PHRASE “INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY” IS JUST THE MOST OBVIOUS SIGN.24 Volume 9 | Number 2 | Autumn 2013 35 **Technologies and the Internet** rather **obviously changed the assumptions on which both patent and copyright had** long **relied**. In both the United States and Europe **the** predominant **legal response was to strengthen copyrights** and to expand the subject matter of patent. The merits of such laws are not the subject here; the point was that, as opposed to reconsidering what would serve the broader purposes of the law under changed conditions**, the challenge was framed as protecting the existing rights against potential erosion. The goals of uniformity and predictability has had its clearest implications at the international level**. Unlike competition law, which varies significantly between OECD nations, over the last several decades **all of the IP laws have become subject to a much stronger and geographically broader web of harmonizing international agreements**, on multinational, regional and bilateral levels. **The general aim of these treaties is to homogenize the world’s IP regimes, reducing or eliminating geographical variation**. All of the major laws are the subject of longstanding global treaties specifying minimum protections (!e Berne and Paris conventions), which were forti"ed in 1994 by the addition of an intellectual property agreement to the World Trade Organization, and further strengthened by numerous bilateral treaties since then. And of course **the World Trade Organization**, unlike the informal organizations common to competition law, **has the power to punish deviations from the intellectual property treaties with serious trade sanctions**. !e pattern can also be observed at the national level. Both in Europe and the United States the last few decades have witnessed many important measures taken to create uniformity. In the United States, a single appeals court, the Federal Circuit, has heard the nation’s appeals in patent cases since 1982 in an effort to bring greater uniformity to the patent law. Though proposals for constructing a uniform patent court akin to the Federal Circuit in the European Union have been unsuccessful so far,26 **the European Patent Convention, founded in 1973, provides a common application for the prosecution of patents in each of the member states.**27 In short, **stronger protection of uniform rights has been the clear trajectory of the intellectual property laws over the last few decades**. That tendency is sharply at odds with the predispositions of the competition laws.

#### Our demand for affective revolution is an investigation into networks of domination – placing being over nature is the root cause of material violence and culminates in fascism.

Evans 10– Brad Evans, Lecturer in the School of Politics and International Studies at the University of Leeds and Programme Director for International Relations, “Foucault’s Legacy: Security, War, and Violence in the 21st Century,” Security Dialogue vol.41, no. 4, August 2010, pg. 422-424

**Imposing liberalism has** often **come at a price**. That price has tended to be a **continuous recourse to war.** While the militarism associated with liberal internationalization has already received scholarly attention (Howard, 2008), Foucault was concerned more with the continuation of war once peace has been declared.4 Denouncing the illusion that ‘we are living in a world in which order and peace have been restored’ (Foucault, 2003: 53), he set out to disrupt the neat distinctions between times of war/military exceptionalism and times of peace/civic normality. War accordingly now appears to condition the type of peace that follows. None have been more ambitious in map-­ ping out this war–peace continuum than Michael Dillon & Julian Reid (2009). Their ‘liberal war’ thesis provides a provocative insight into the lethality of making live. **Liberalism** today, they argue, **is underwritten by the** unreserved **righteousness of its mission**. Hence, while there may still be populations that exist beyond the liberal pale, it is now taken that they should be included. With ‘Liberal peace’ therefore predicated on the pacification/**elimination of** all forms of **political difference** in order that liberalism might meet its own moral and political objectives, **The more peace is commanded, the more war is declared** in order **To achieve it**: ‘In proclaiming peace . . . **liberals are** nonetheless **committed** also **to making war.**’ This is the ‘martial face of liberal power’ that, contrary to the familiar narrative, is ‘directly fuelled by the universal and pacific ambitions for which liberalism is to be admired’ (Dillon & Reid, 2009: 2). **Liberalism thus stands accused here of universalizing war in its pursuit of peace: However much liberalism abjures war, indeed finds the instrumental use of war, especially, a scandal, war has always been as instrumental to liberal as to geopolitical thinkers. In that very attempt to instrumentalize, indeed universalize, war in the pursuit of its own global project of emancipation, the practice of liberal rule itself becomes profoundly shaped by war.** However much it may proclaim liberal peace and freedom, its own allied commitment to war subverts the very peace and freedoms it proclaims (Dillon & Reid, 2009: 7). While Dillon & Reid’s thesis only makes veiled reference to the onto-­ theological dimension, they are fully aware that its rule depends upon a certain religiosity in the sense that war has now been turned into a veritable human crusade with only two possible outcomes: ‘endless war or the transformation of other societies and cultures into liberal societies and cul-­ tures’ (Dillon & Reid, 2009: 5). Endless war is underwritten here by a new set of problems. Unlike Clausewitzean confrontations, which at least provided the strategic comforts of clear demarcations (them/us, war/peace, citizen/soldier, and so on), **These wars no longer benefit from the possibility of** scoring outright **victory**, retreating, **or** achieving a lasting negotiated **peace** by means of political compromise**.** Indeed, deprived of the prospect of defining enmity in advance, war itself becomes just as complex, dynamic, adaptive and radically interconnected as the world of which it is part. That is why ‘any such war to end war becomes a war without end. . . . **The project** of removing war from the life of the species **becomes** a lethaland, in principle, continuous and **unending** process’ (Dillon & Reid, 2009: 32). Duffield, building on from these concerns, takes this unending scenario a stage further to suggest that since wars for humanity are inextricably bound to the global life-­chance divide, it is now possible to write of a ‘Global Civil War’ into which all life is openly recruited: Each crisis of global circulation . . . marks out a terrain of global civil war, or rather a tableau of wars**,** which is **fought on and between the modalities of life itself.** . . . What is at stake in this war is the West’s ability to contain and manage international poverty while maintaining the ability of mass society to live and consume beyond its means (Duffield, 2008: 162). Setting out civil war in these terms inevitably marks an important depar-­ ture. Not only does it illustrate how **Liberalism gains its mastery by posing** fundamental **questions of life and death –** that is, who is to live and who can be killed – disrupting the narrative that ordinarily takes sovereignty to be the point of theoretical departure, civil war now appears to be driven by **a globally ambitious biopolitical imperative** (see below). Liberals have continuously made reference to humanity in order to justify their use of military force (Ignatieff, 2003). War, if there is to be one, must be **for the unification of the species.** This humanitarian caveat is by no means out of favour. More recently it underwrites the strategic rethink in contemporary zones of occupation, which has become biopolitical (‘hearts and minds’) in everything but name (Kilcullen, 2009; Smith, 2006). While criticisms of these strategies have tended to focus on the naive dangers associated with liberal idealism (see Gray, 2008), insufficient attention has been paid to the contested nature of all the tactics deployed in the will to govern illiberal populations. Foucault returns here with renewed vigour. He understood that forms of war have always been aligned with forms of life. Liberal wars are no exception. Fought in the name of endangered humanity, humanity itself finds its most meaningful expression through the battles waged in its name: At this point we can invert Clausewitz’s proposition and say that politics is the continuation of war by other means. . . . While it is true that political power puts an end to war and establishes or attempts to establish the reign of peace in civil society, it certainly does not do so in order to suspend the effects of power or to neutralize the disequilibrium revealed in the last battle of war (Foucault, 2003: 15). What in other words occurs beneath the semblance of peace is far from politically settled: political struggles, these clashes over and with power, these modifications of relations of force – the shifting balances, the reversals – in a political system, all these things must be interpreted as a continuation of war. And they are interpreted as so many episodes, fragmentations, and displacements of the war itself. We are always writing the history of the same war, even when we are writing the history of peace and its institutions (Foucault, 2003: 15). David Miliband (2009), without perhaps knowing the full political and philo-­ sophical implications, appears to subscribe to the value of this approach, albeit for an altogether more committed deployment: NATO was born in the shadow of the Cold War, but we have all had to change our thinking as our troops confront insurgents rather than military machines like our own. The mental models of 20th century mass warfare are not fit for 21st century counterinsurgency. That is why my argument today has been about the centrality of politics. People like quoting Clausewitz that warfare is the continuation of politics by other means. . . . We need politics to become the continuation of warfare by other means. Miliband’s ‘Foucauldian moment’ should not escape us. Inverting Clausewitz on a planetary scale – hence promoting the collapse of all meaningful distinctions that once held together the fixed terms of Newtonian space (i.e. inside/outside, friend/enemy, citizen/soldier, war/peace, and so forth), he firmly locates the conflict among the world of peoples. With global war there-­ fore appearing to be an internal state of affairs, vanquishing enemies can no longer be sanctioned for the mere defence of things. A new moment has arrived, in which the destiny of humanity as a whole is being wagered on the success of humanity’s own political strategies. No coincidence, then, that authors like David Kilcullen – a key architect in the formulation of counterinsurgency strategies in Iraq and Afghanistan, argue for a global insurgency paradigm without too much controversy. Viewed from the perspective of power, global insurgency is after all nothing more than the advent of a global civil war fought for the biopolitical spoils of life. Giving primacy to counter-­ insurgency, it foregrounds the problem of populations so that questions of security governance (i.e. population regulation) become central to the war effort (RAND, 2008). Placing the managed recovery of maladjusted life into the heart of military strategies, it insists upon a joined-­up response in which sovereign/militaristic forms of ordering are matched by biopolitical/devel-­ opmental forms of progress (Bell & Evans, forthcoming). Demanding in other words a planetary outlook, it collapses the local into the global so that life’s radical interconnectivity implies that absolutely nothing can be left to chance. While liberals have therefore been at pains to offer a more humane recovery to the overt failures of military excess in current theatres of operation, warfare has not in any way been removed from the species. Instead, humanized in the name of local sensitivities, doing what is necessary out of global species necessity now implies that war effectively takes place by every means. Our understanding of civil war is invariably recast. Sovereignty has been the traditional starting point for any discussion of civil war. While this is a well-established Eurocentric narrative, colonized peoples have never fully accepted the inevitability of the transfixed utopian prolificacy upon which sovereign power increasingly became dependent. Neither have they been completely passive when confronted by colonialism’s own brand of warfare by other means. Foucault was well aware of this his-­ tory. While Foucauldian scholars can therefore rightly argue that alternative histories of the subjugated alone permit us to challenge the monopolization of political terms – not least ‘civil war’ – for Foucault in particular there was something altogether more important at stake: there is no obligation whatsoever to ensure that reality matches some canonical theory. Despite what some scholars may insist, politically speaking there is nothing that is necessarily proper to the sovereign method. It holds no distinct privilege. Our task is to use theory to help make sense of reality, not vice versa. While there is not the space here to engage fully with the implications of our global civil war paradigm, it should be pointed out that since its biopolitical imperative removes the inevitability of epiphenomenal tensions, nothing and nobody is necessarily dangerous simply because location dictates. **With enmity** instead **depending upon the** complex, adaptive, dynamic **account of life** itself**, what becomes dangerous emerges from within the liberal imaginary of threat. Violence accordingly can only be sanctioned against those** newly **appointed enemies of humanity** – a phrase that, immeasurably greater than any juridical category, necessarily affords enmity an internal quality inherent to the species complete, for the sake of planetary survival**.** Vital in other words to all human existence, **Doing what is necessary** out of global species necessity **requires a new moral assay of life that**, pitting the universal against the particular, **willingly commits violence against any ontological commitment to political difference**, even though universality itself is a shallow disguise for the practice of destroying political adversaries through the contingency of particular encounters**.** Necessary Violence Having established that the principal task set for biopolitical practitioners is to sort and adjudicate between the species, modern societies reveal a distinct biopolitical aporia (an irresolvable political dilemma) in the sense that making life live – selecting out those ways of life that are fittest by design – inevitably writes into that very script those lives that are retarded, backward, degenerate, wasteful and ultimately dangerous to the social order (Bauman, 1991). **Racism** thus **appears here** to be a **thoroughly modern** phenomenon (Deleuze & Guattari, 2002)**.** This takes us to the heart of our concern with biopolitical rationalities. When ‘life itself’ becomes the principal referent for political struggles, power necessarily concerns itself with those biological threats to human existence (Palladino, 2008). That is to say, since life becomes the author of its own (un)making, the biopolitical assay of life necessarily portrays a commitment to the supremacy of certain species types: ‘a race that is portrayed as the one true race, the race that holds power and is entitled to define the norm, and against those who deviate from that norm, against those who pose a threat to the biological heritage’ (Foucault, 2003: 61). Evidently, what is at stake here is no mere sovereign affair. Epiphenomenal tensions aside, racial problems occupy a ‘permanent presence’ within the political order (Foucault, 2003: 62). Biopolitically speaking, then, since it is precisely through the internalization of threat – the constitution of **The threat** that **is now** from **the dangerous ‘Others’ that exist within –** that **societies reproduce at the level of life the ontological commitment to secure the subject, since everybody is now possibly dangerous** and nobody can be exempt, **for political modernity to function** one always has to be capable of killing in order to go on living: Wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity; massacres have become vital. . . . The principle underlying the tactics of battle – that one has to become capable of killing in order to go on living – has become the principle that defines the strategy of states (Foucault, 1990: 137). When Foucault refers to ‘Killing’, he is not simply referring to the vicious act of taking another life: ‘When I say “killing”, I obviously do not mean simply murder as such, but also every form of indirect murder: the fact of exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people, or, quite simply, political death, expulsion, rejection and so on’ (Foucault, 2003: 256). Racism makes this process of elimination possible, for it is only through the discourse and practice of racial (dis)qualification that one is capable of introducing ‘a break in the domain of life that is under power’s control: the break between what must live and what must die’ (Foucault, 2003: 255)**.** While killing does not need to be physically murderous, that is not to suggest that we should lose sight of the very real forms of political violence that do take place in the name of species improvement. As Deleuze (1999: 76) duly noted, **when notions of security are invoked in order to preserve the destiny of a species, when the defence of society gives sanction to very real acts of violence that are justified in terms of species necessity, that is when the capacity to legitimate murderous political actions in all our names and for all our sakes becomes altogether more rational, calculated, utilitarian, hence altogether more frightening: When a diagram of power abandons the model of sovereignty in favour of a disciplinary model, when it becomes the ‘bio-­power’ or ‘bio-­politics’ of populations, controlling and administering life, it is indeed life that emerges as the new object of power. At that point law increasingly renounces that symbol of sovereign privilege, the right to put someone to death, but allows itself to produce all the more hecatombs and genocides: not by returning to the old law of killing, but on the contrary in the name of race, precious space, conditions of life and the survival of a population that believes itself to be better than its enemy, which it now treats not as the juridical enemy of the old sovereign but as a toxic or infectious agent, a sort of ‘biological danger’. Auschwitz arguably represents the most grotesque, shameful and hence meaningful example of necessary killing – the violence that is sanctioned in the name of species necessity (see Agamben, 1995, 2005). Indeed, for Agamben, since one of The most ‘essential characteristics’ of modern biopolitics is to constantly ‘redefine the threshold in life that distinguishes and separates what is inside from what is outside’**, it is within those sites that ‘eliminate radically the people that are excluded’ that the biopolitical racial imperative is exposed in its most brutal form (Agamben, 1995: 171)**.** The camp can therefore be seen to be the defining paradigm of the modern insomuch as it is a ‘space in which power confronts nothing other than pure biological life without any media-­ tion’ (Agamben, 1995: 179). While lacking Agamben’s intellectual sophistry, such a Schmittean-­inspired approach to violence – that is, sovereignty as the ability to declare a state of juridical exception – has certainly gained wide-­ spread academic currency in recent times. The field of international relations, for instance, has been awash with works that have tried to theorize the ‘exceptional times’ in which we live (see, in particular, Devetak, 2007; Kaldor, 2007). While some of the tactics deployed in the ‘Global War on Terror’ have undoubtedly lent credibility to these approaches, in terms of understanding violence they are limited. Violence is only rendered problematic here when it is associated with some act of unmitigated geopolitical excess (e.g. the invasion of Iraq, Guantánamo Bay, use of torture, and so forth). This is unfortunate. Precluding any critical evaluation of the contemporary forms of violence that take place within the remit of humanitarian discourses and practices, there is a categorical failure to address how necessary violence continues to be an essential feature of the liberal encounter. Hence, with post-interventionary forms of violence no longer appearing to be any cause for concern, the nature of the racial imperative that underwrites the violence of contemporary liberal occupations is removed from the analytical arena.

#### Relegation of identity to a static object makes their politics recalcitrant and reactive and relegates whiteness as the prime mover.

Wright 15 – Michelle Wright, professor of African American studies at Northwestern University, The Physics of Blackness, University of Minnesota Press, 2015, pg. 116

When a linear spacetime epistemology begins, as many Black diasporic epistemologies do, with object status—being enslaved, colonized, relocated, and so on—the laws of cause and effect make it difficult to reverse the binary that is set in place, because oppression is asserted as the cause of all historical events (effects) in the timeline, excepting those events that are caused by a Black (resistant) reaction to an oppressor’s action. Yet because it is a reaction to an action, we are again returned to a weird and dismally fixed race-ing of this Black physics, in which whiteness always retains the originary agency and, because origins dominate a linear narrative, white racism is always the central actor in Black lives now condemned to the status of reactors.

If, however, we add Epiphenomenal time to our interpellation here, the “now” is foregrounded by agency because Blackness begins as its own interpellation in the moment. At the same time, this moment is nuanced because it involves a potentially endless set of negotiations. Instead of the Black Subject being moved down a line through cause and effect as in a strictly linear interpellation, the Subject in the moment is variously informed by a variety of external and internal stimuli (what is witnessed and what happens; what is thought and felt) that also can intersect with one another. For example, I might watch an episode of a television show in one moment and laugh uproariously at what I find to be a daring but insightful joke about racism; in another moment, watching the same show and hearing the same joke, I might well have forgotten my previous reaction (or remember it, in whatever valence) and find myself ambivalent about or offended by the joke. In other words, I do not move through the world reacting in the same way to the same stimuli all the time—and perhaps this is because the stimuli are never the same because if not the space then the time has shifted (even if I am watching from my same place on the couch, I am doing so on different days).

This is both liberating and problematic to our lives, in which intellectual and behavioral consistency is more highly valued than its less predictable performances. It means that one does not always behave as one wishes, and for the Black Subject who seeks to adhere to a Middle Passage interpellation, the clarity of this linear timeline is often belied by the familiar complexity of lived moments. Similarly, the last paragraph of “Everybody’s Protest Novel” asserts agency as an ambivalent possession, but a possession nonetheless: “Our humanity is our burden, our life; we need not battle for it; we need only to do what is infinitely more difficult—that is, accept it.”8

#### Ontological understandings of identity lock in politics rather than opening up the possibility of a pragmatics of becoming – ontology is only a freeze frame of a particular moment of stasis.

Buck-Morss 13. Susan Buck-Morss, Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the CUNY Graduate Center, NYC, “A Commonist Ethics, ” in The Idea of Communism, 2013, http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/

The First Point: Politics is not an ontology. The claim that the political is always ontological needs to be challenged.[1](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:1) It is not merely that the negative the case — that the political is never ontological[2](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:2) (as Badiou points out, a simple negation leaves everything in place[3](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:3)). Instead, what is called for is a reversal of the negation: The ontological is never political.

It follows that the move from la politique (everyday politics) to le politique (the very meaning of the political) is a one-way street. With all due respect to Marcel Gauchet, Chantal Mouffe, Giorgio Agamben, and a whole slew of others, the attempt to discover within empirical political life (la politique) the ontological essence of the political (le politique) leads theory into a dead end from which there is no return to actual, political practice. There is nothing gained by this move from the feminine to the masculine form. The post-metaphysical project of discovering ontological truth within lived existence fails politically. It fails in the socially disengaged Husserlian-Heidegerian mode of bracketing the existenziell to discover the essential nature of what “the political” is. And it fails in the socially critical, post-Foucauldian mode of historicized ontology, disclosing the multiple ways of political being-in-the-world within particular, cultural and temporal configurations.

This is not news. From the mid-1930s on, it was Adorno’s obsessive concern, in the context of the rise of fascism, to demonstrate the failure of the ontological attempt to ground a philosophy of Being by starting from the given world, or, in Heideggerian language, to move from the ontic, that is, being [seiend] in the sense of that which is empirically given, to the ontological, that which is essentially true of existence (Dasein as the “a priori structure” of “existentially”[4](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:4)). Adorno argued that any ontology derived (or reduced5) from the ontic, turns the philosophical project into one big tautology.[6](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:6) He has a point, and the political implications are serious.

Ontology identifies. Identity was anathema to Adorno, and nowhere more so than in its political implications, the identity between ruler and ruled that fascism affirmed. Indeed, even parliamentary rule can be seen to presuppose a striving for identity, whereby consensus becomes an end in itself, regardless of the truth content of that consensus.[7](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:7) It is not that Heidegger’s philosophy (or any existential ontology) is in-itself fascist (that would be an ontological claim). Rather, by resolving the question of Being before subsequent political analyses, the latter have no philosophical traction. They are subsumed under the ontological a prioris that themselves must remain indifferent to their content.[8](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:8) Existential ontology is mistaken in assuming that, once “the character of being” (Heidegger) is conceptually grasped, it will return us to the material, empirical world and allow us to gather its diversities and multiplicities under philosophy’s own pre-understandings in ways adequate to the exigencies of collective action, the demands of actual political life. In fact, the ontological is never political. A commonist (or communist) ontology is a contradiction in terms.

But, you may ask, did not Marx himself outline in his early writings a full ontology based on the classical, Aristotelian claim that man is by nature a social animal? Are not the 1844 manuscripts an elaboration of that claim, mediated by a historically specific critique, hence an extended, socialontology of man’s alienation from nature (including his own) and from his fellow man? Yes, but in actual, political life, this ontological “man” does not exist.

Instead, we existing creatures are men and women, black and brown, capitalists and workers, gay and straight, and the meaning of these categories of being is in no way stable. Moreover, these differences matter less [than] whether we are unemployed, have prison records, or are in danger of being exported. And no matter what we are in these ontic ways, our beings do not fit neatly into our politics as conservatives, anarchists, evangelicals, Teaparty-supporters, Zionists, Islamists, and (a few) Communists. We are social animals, yes, but we are also anti-social, and 0 are thoroughly mediated by society’s contingent forms. Yes, the early Marx developed a philosophical ontology. Nothing follows from this politically. Philosopher-king-styled party leaders are not thereby legitimated, and the whole thorny issue of false consciousness (empirical vs. imputed/ascribed [zugerechnectes] consciousness) cannot force a political resolution. At the same time, philosophical thought has every right – and obligation — to intervene actively into political life. Here is Marx on the subject of intellectual practice, including philosophizing:

But again when I am active scientifically, etc, — when I am engaged in activity which I can seldom perform in direct community with others –- then I am social, because I am active as a man [human being[9](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:9)]. Not only is the material of my activity given to me as a social product (as is even the language in which the thinker is active): my own existence is social activity, and therefore that which I make of myself, I make of myself for society and with the consciousness ofmyself as a social being. [10](http://susanbuckmorss.info/text/commonist-ethics/#fn:10)

Again, no matter how deeply one thinks one’s way into this ontological generalization, no specific political orientation follows as a consequence. It describes the intellectual work of Heidegger and Schmitt every bit as much as it does that of Marx or of us ourselves.

### Underview

#### 1 – Yes 1AR theory – anything else means infinite abuse – drop the debater, competing interps, and the highest layer – the 1AR is too short to make up for the time trade-off – no RVIs – 6 min 2NR means they can brute force me every time.

#### 2 – My personal subjectivity relates to the res – IPs are necessary to ensure COVID access, and I got last year.

### Method

#### Viewing blackness as ontological is ahistorical.

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Allen and Ignatiev turned to this question in their further research, inspired by the insights of Du Bois. In the process they presented an exemplary model of a materialist investigation into the ideology of race, one that went from the abstract to the concrete. This work emerged alongside that of Barbara Fields and Karen Fields, David Roediger, and many others as a body of thought devoted to exposing race as a social construct. All of this research, in varying ways, has examined the history of the “white race” in its specificity. The guiding insight that must be drawn from it is that this racial phenomenon is not simply a biological or even cultural attribute of certain “white people”: it was produced by white supremacy in a concrete and objective historical process. As Allen put it on the back cover of his extraordinary vernacular history The Invention of the White Race: “When the first Africans arrived in Virginia in 1619, there were no white people there.” At the most immediate level, Allen was pointing to the fact that the word white didn’t appear in Virginia colonial law until 1691. Of course, this doesn’t mean that there was no racism before 1691. Allen’s argument was to show that racism was not attached to a concept of the white race. There were ideas of the superiority of European civilization, but this did not correspond to differences in skin color. The clearest example is that of the Irish, whose racial oppression by the English precedes their racial oppression of Africans by several centuries. Today white nationalists distort this history, attempting to use the racial oppression of the Irish to try to dismiss the history of white supremacy. Yet this example actually demolishes their entire framework. What the example of the Irish illustrates is a form of racial oppression that is not based on skin color and that in fact precedes the very category of whiteness. Indeed, the early forms of English racial ideology represented the Irish as inferior and subhuman, and this ideology was later repeated word for word to justify both the genocide of Indigenous people in the Americas and the enslavement of Africans. Nor was it only a matter of words: the very practices of settler colonialism, land seizures, and plantation production were established in Ireland. Allen demonstrates this with reference to specific laws: If under Anglo-American slavery, “the rape of a female slave was not a crime, but a mere trespass on the master’s property,” so, in 1278, two Anglo-Normans, brought into court and charged with raping Margaret O’Rorke were found not guilty because “the said Margaret is an Irishwoman.” If a law enacted in Virginia in 1723, provided that, “manslaughter of a slave is not punishable,” so under Anglo-Norman law it sufficed for acquittal to show that the victim in a slaying was Irish. Anglo-Norman priests granted absolution on the grounds that it was “no more sin to kill an Irishman than a dog or any other brute.”9 So racial oppression arises in the Irish case without skin color as its basis. We are forced to ask how we end up with a racial ideology revolving around skin color that represents African people as subhuman and that considers both Irish and English to be part of a unitary “white race.” The historical record quite clearly demonstrates that white supremacy and thus the white race are formed within the American transition to capitalism, specifically because of the centrality of racial slavery. However, we have to resist the temptation, imposed on us by racial ideology, to explain slavery through race. Slavery is not always racial. It existed in ancient Greece and Rome and also in Africa, and was not attached specifically to a racial ideology. Slavery is a form of forced labor characterized by the market exchange of the laborer. But there are various forms of forced labor, and its first form in Virginia was indentured labor, in which a laborer is forced to work for a limited period of time to work off a debt, often with some incentive like land ownership after the end of the term. The first Africans to arrive in Virginia 1619 were put to work as indentured servants, within the same legal category as European indentured servants. In fact, until 1660 all African American laborers, like their European American counterparts, were indentured servants who had limited terms of servitude. There was no legal differentiation based on racial ideology: free African Americans owned property, land, and sometimes indentured servants of their own. There were examples of intermarriage between Europeans and Africans. It was only in the late seventeenth century that the labor force of the American colonies shifted decisively to African slaves who did not have limits on their terms of servitude. As Painter points out in The History of White People, these forms of labor and their transformations are fundamental in understanding how racial ideology comes about: Work plays a central part in race talk, because the people who do the work are likely to be figured as inherently deserving the toil and poverty of laboring status. It is still assumed, wrongly, that slavery anywhere in the world must rest on a foundation of racial difference. Time and again, the better classes have concluded that those people deserve their lot; it must be something within them that puts them at the bottom. In modern times, we recognize this kind of reasoning as it relates to black race, but in other times the same logic was applied to people who were white, especially when they were impoverished immigrants seeking work.10 “In sum,” Painter writes, “before an eighteenth-century boom in the African slave trade, between one-half and two-thirds of all early white immigrants to the British colonies in the Western Hemisphere came as unfree laborers, some 300,000 to 400,000 people.”11 The definitions of whiteness as freedom and blackness as slavery did not yet exist. It turns out that defining race involves answering some unexpected historical questions: How did some indentured servants come to be forced into bondage for their entire lives rather than a limited term? How did this category of forced labor come to be represented in terms of race? Why did the colonial ruling class come to rely on racial slavery when various other regimes of labor were available? The first economic boom of the American colonies was in Virginia tobacco production in the 1620s, and it was based on the labor of primarily European indentured servants. African Americans were only about a fifth of the labor force: most forced labor was initially European, and the colonial planter class relied on this forced labor for its economic growth. But they couldn’t just rely on European indentured labor because it was based on voluntary migration, and the incentive to participate in a life of brutal labor and die early was not sufficient to generate a consistently growing workforce. As Barbara Fields puts it, “Neither white skin nor English nationality protected servants from the grossest forms of brutality and exploitation. The only degradation they were spared was perpetual enslavement along with their issue in perpetuity, the fate that eventually befell the descendants of Africans.”12 African Americans, on the other hand, had been forcibly removed from their homelands. So the ruling class began to alter its laws to be able to deny some laborers an end to their terms of servitude, which they were only able to accomplish in the case of African laborers. What really changed everything was Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676. This began as a conflict within the elite planter class, directed toward a brutal attack on the Indigenous population. But it also gave rise to a rebellious mob of European and African laborers, who burned down the capital city of Jamestown and forced the governor to flee. The insurrectionary alliance of European and African laborers was a fundamental existential threat to the colonial ruling class, and the possibility of such an alliance among exploited peoples had to be prevented forever. Here we see a watershed moment in the long and complex process of the invention of the white race as a form of social control. The ruling class shifted its labor force decisively toward African slaves, and thus avoided dealing with the demand of indentured servants for eventual freedom and landownership. It fortified whiteness as a legal category, the basis for denying an end to the term of servitude for African forced labor. By the eighteenth century the Euro-American planter class had entered into a bargain with the Euro-American laboring classes, who were mostly independent subsistence farmers: it exchanged certain social privileges for a cross-class alliance of Euro-Americans to preserve a superexploited African labor force. This Euro-American racial alliance was the best defense of the ruling class against the possibility of a Euro-American and African American working-class alliance. It is at this point, Nell Painter concludes, that we see the “now familiar equation that converts race to black and black to slave.”13 The invention of the white race further accelerated when the Euro-American ruling class encountered a new problem in the eighteenth century. As the colonial ruling class began to demand its independence from the divinely ordained executives and landed wealth of the English nobility, they made claims for the intrinsic equality of all people and the idea of natural rights. As Barbara Fields puts it: Racial ideology supplied the means of explaining slavery to people whose terrain was a republic founded on radical doctrines of liberty and natural rights, and, more important, a republic in which those doctrines seemed to represent accurately the world in which all but a minority lived. Only when the denial of liberty became an anomaly apparent even to the least observant and reflective members of Euro-American society did ideology systematically explain the anomaly.14 In other words, the Euro-American ruling class had to advance an ideology of the inferiority of Africans in order to rationalize forced labor, and they had to incorporate European populations into the category of the white race, despite the fact that many of these populations had previously been considered inferior. This racial ideology developed further as the new American nation encountered the phenomenon of the voluntary migration of free laborers from Europe, many of whom came from populations that were viewed as distinct European races: the Italians, Eastern Europeans, and Jews, but especially the exemplary case of the Irish, whose emigration to the US spiked with the famines of the mid-nineteenth century produced by English colonialism. The Irish, among the most oppressed and rebellious groups in Europe, were offered the bargain that had protected the American ruling class. Frederick Douglass pointed this out very clearly in 1853, at the anniversary meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in New York: The Irish, who, at home, readily sympathize with the oppressed everywhere, are instantly taught when they step upon our soil to hate and despise the Negro. They are taught to believe that he eats the bread that belongs to them. The cruel lie is told them, that we deprive them of labor and receive the money which would otherwise make its way into their pockets. Sir, the Irish-American will find out his mistake one day.15 Douglass had gone to Ireland to avoid being returned to slavery and said he was for the first time in his life treated as an ordinary person, exclaiming in a letter to the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, “I breathe, and lo! the chattel becomes a man … I meet nothing to remind me of my complexion.”16 Of course, this was not because of some intrinsic kindness of the Irish. It was rather because, at this stage in history, there were no white people there. This was clear to Douglass because he arrived during the Great Famine. Writing in his memoirs of the songs sung by slaves on the American plantations, he added: “Nowhere outside of dear old Ireland, in the days of want and famine, have I heard sounds so mournful.”17 But what Irish immigrants realized after immigrating to the United States is that they could ameliorate their subjugation by joining the club of the white race, as Ignatiev has recounted.18 They could become members of a “white race” with higher status if they actively supported the continuing enslavement and oppression of African Americans. So the process of becoming white meant that these previous racial categories were abolished and racialized groups like the Irish were progressively incorporated into the white race as a means of fortifying and intensifying the exploitation of black laborers. It was the great insight of Frederick Douglass to describe this as the Irish-American’s mistake. Douglass clearly emphasized the novelty of the very description of people as white: “The word white is a modern term in the legislation of this country. It was never used in the better days of the Republic, but has sprung up within the period of our national degeneracy.”19 Let us be clear on what the invention of the white race meant. It meant that Euro-American laborers were prevented from joining with African American laborers in rebellion, through the form of social control imposed by the Euro-American ruling class. In exchange for white-skin privilege, the Euro-American workers accepted white identity and became active agents in the brutal oppression of African American laborers. But they also fundamentally degraded their own conditions of existence. As a consequence of this bargain with their exploiters, they allowed the conditions of the Southern white laborer to become the most impoverished in the nation, and they generated conditions that blocked the development of a viable mass workers’ movement. This is why the struggle against white supremacy has in fact been a struggle for universal emancipation—something that was apparent to African American insurgents. As Barbara Fields points out, these insurgents did not use a notion of race as an explanation for their oppression or their struggles for liberation: It was not Afro-Americans … who needed a racial explanation; it was not they who invented themselves as a race. Euro-Americans resolved the contradiction between slavery and liberty by defining Afro-Americans as a race; Afro-Americans resolved the contradiction more straightforwardly by calling for the abolition of slavery. From the era of the American, French and Haitian revolutions on, they claimed liberty as theirs by natural right.20 However, this was not always recognized by socialist movements. Early American socialists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sometimes failed to recognize that the division between white and black workers prevented all workers from successfully emancipating themselves. We should not oversimplify this point or use it to discredit the whole history of the labor movement. The early socialist parties were largely composed of immigrants who were often not yet fully incorporated into the white race, and there were very significant black socialists—including, for example, Hubert Harrison, who played an important role in connecting black nationalism to socialism at the beginning of the twentieth century. The majority of the early American socialists were not racists, and in fact openly and vigorously opposed racism. However, most of these early socialist organizations failed to recognize that there was anything unique about the demands of black workers. They were also willing to work with craft unions that discriminated against black workers, and they did not attempt to recruit black members. Without an analysis of white supremacy, these socialist organizations did not address the fact that black workers were often excluded from jobs available to whites, that they were subjected to racist violence beyond the workplace, and that they could not expect racist employers to extend increasing wages to them. The cost of this indifference to race was that socialism was always competing for recruitment with whiteness. New European immigrants were often very radical and prepared to join militant labor struggles. But they were also being invited to join the white race. Once again, in the case of the Irish, this meant finally leaving behind the racial oppression that had become familiar to them in Europe. This began to change with the reconfiguration of American socialists into the Communist Party in 1919. By the 1920s the CP had incorporated not only many immigrant socialists but also the clandestine organization called the African Blood Brotherhood, which included many important black Communists, such as Cyril Briggs, Claude McKay, and Harry Haywood. These black Communists were absolutely central to Communist organizing, because they argued that the party would have to directly attack whiteness if it wanted to build a labor movement. As a result of their work, the CP threw itself into antiracist organizing in the late 1920s and early 1930s. This meant, first of all, placing a heavy emphasis on educating white members to reject white chauvinism, and organizing some of the only interracial social events that were held in the segregated US. The party worked to eliminate the influence of whiteness from the ranks of the party itself. But it also sent its organizers down South and into the black neighborhoods of Northern cities to work on political projects. These included unions for sharecroppers, tenant farmers, miners, and steelworkers; armed defense against lynching; legal defense for black victims of the racist justice system; and movements against unemployment, evictions, and utility shut-offs. Robin D.G. Kelley describes some of these initiatives in Hammer and Hoe: Representatives of the unemployed councils often dissuaded landlords from evicting their tenants by describing the potential devastation that could occur once an abandoned house became a free-for-all for firewood. When a family’s electricity was shut off for nonpayment, activists from the unemployed council frequently used heavy-gauge copper wires as “jumpers” to appropriate electricity from public outlets or other homes. Council members also found ways to reactivate water mains after they had been turned off, though the process was more complicated than pilfering electricity. And in at least one instance, a group of black women used verbal threats to stop a city employee from turning off one family’s water supply.21 Unfortunately, the complicated history of political disputes within the CP, along with the state repression of the Communist movement, led to this work being cut short. As an increasingly conservative party leadership distanced itself from the project of black liberation, white chauvinism was on the rise in the CP. It had previously been most effectively combated through mass antiracist organizing: by joining different people and disparate demands in a common struggle. But now that this practice had been abandoned, the party launched what Harry Haywood called a “phony war against white chauvinism.” In Haywood’s analysis, this phony war only ended up strengthening the material foundations of white chauvinism, now uprooted from its structural foundations and seen as a free-floating set of ideas. Instead of mass organizing, opposing white chauvinism was now seen as a matter of policing the language of those who were ostensibly comrades, thus strengthening the party bureaucracy and introducing a climate of paranoia and distrust among members. As Haywood wrote: It was an atmosphere which was conducive to the development of a particularly paternalistic and patronizing form of white chauvinism, as well as to a rise in petty-bourgeois narrow nationalism among blacks. The growth of the nationalist side of this distortion was directly linked to the breakdown of the basic division of labor among communists in relation to the national question. This division of labor, long ago established in our party and the international communist movement, places main responsibility for combating white chauvinism on the white comrades, with Blacks having main responsibility for combating narrow nationalist deviations.22 In other words, in the absence of mass organizing, racial ideology rushes to the fill the vacuum. And without the political division of labor that Haywood describes, the struggle against racism is reduced to the redress of individual injuries.

#### Brain studies prove racial bias is flexible, and that orienting groups around institutional change best breaks them down.

Cikara and Van Bavel 15 (Mina Cikara is an Assistant Professor of Psychology and Director of the Intergroup Neuroscience Lab at Harvard University. Her research examines the conditions under which groups and individuals are denied social value, agency, and empathy. Jay Van Bavel is an Assistant Professor of Psychology and Director of the Social Perception and Evaluation Laboratory at New York University. The Flexibility of Racial Bias: Research suggests that racism is not hard wired, offering hope on one of America’s enduring problems. June 2, 2015. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-flexibility-of-racial-bias/>)

The city of Baltimore was rocked by protests and riots over the death of Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old African American man who died in police custody. Tragically, Gray’s death was only one of a recent in a series of racially-charged, often violent, incidents. On April 4th, Walter Scott was fatally shot by a police officer after fleeing from a routine traffic stop. On March 8th, Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity members were caught on camera gleefully chanting, “There Will Never Be A N\*\*\*\*\* In SAE.” On March 1st, a homeless Black man was shot in broad daylight by a Los Angeles police officer. And these are not isolated incidents, of course. Institutional and systemic racism reinforce discrimination in countless situations, including hiring, sentencing, housing, and even mortgage lending. It would be easytosee in all this powerful evidence that racism is a permanent fixture in America’s social fabric and even, perhaps, aninevitable aspect of human nature. Indeed, the mere act of labeling others according to their age, gender, or race is a reflexive habit of the human mind. Social categories, like race, impact our thinking quickly, often outside of our awareness. Extensive research has found that these implicit racial biases—negative thoughts and feelings about people from other races—are automatic, pervasive, and difficult to suppress. Neuroscientists have also explored racial prejudice by exposing people to images of faces while scanning their brains in fMRI machines. Early studies found that when people viewed faces of another race, the amount of activity in the amygdala—a small brain structure associated with experiencing emotions, including fear—was associated with individual differences on implicit measures of racial bias. This work has led many to conclude that racial biases might be part of a primitive—and possibly hard-wired—neural fear response to racial out-groups. There is little question that categories such as race, gender, and age play a major role in shaping the biases and stereotypes that people bring to bear in their judgments of others. However, research has shown that how people categorizethemselvesmay be just as fundamental to understanding prejudice as how they categorize others. When people categorize themselves as part of a group, their self-concept shifts from the individual (“I”) to the collective level (“us”). People form groups rapidly and favor members of their own group even when groups are formed on arbitrary grounds, such as the simple flip of a coin. These findings highlight the remarkable ease with which humans form coalitions. Recent research confirmsthatcoalition**-**basedpreferences trump race**-**basedpreferences. For example, both Democrats and Republicans favor the resumes of those affiliated with their politicalpartymuchmore thanthey favor those who share theirrace. These coalition-based preferences remain powerful even in the absence of the animosity present in electoral politics. Our **res**earch has shown that the simple act of placing people on amixed-race teamcandiminishtheirautomatic racial bias. In a series of experiments, White participants who were randomly placed on a mixed-race team—the Tigers or Lions—showed little evidence of implicit racial bias. Merely belonging to a mixed-race team trigged positive automatic associations with all of the members of their own group, irrespective of race. Being a part of one of these seemingly trivial mixed-race groups produced similar effects on brain activity—theamygdala respondedtoteammembershiprather than race Taken together, these studies indicate that momentary changes in group membership can override the influence of race on the way we see, think about, and feel toward people who are different from ourselves. Although these coalition-based distinctions might be the most basic building block of bias, they say little about the other factors that cause group conflict. Why do some groups get ignored while others get attacked? Whenever we encounter a new person or group we are motivated to answer two questions as quickly as possible: “is this person a friend or foe?” and “are they capable of enacting their intentions toward me?” In other words, once we have determined that someone is a member of an out-group, we need to determine what kind? The nature of the relations between groups—are we cooperative, competitive, or neither?—and their relative status—do you have access to resources?—largely determine the course of intergroup interactions. Groups that are seen as competitive with one’s interests, and capable of enacting their nasty intentions, are much more likely to be targets of hostility than more benevolent (e.g., elderly) or powerless (e.g., homeless) groups. This is one reason why sports rivalries have such psychological potency. For instance, fans of the Boston Red Sox are more likely to feel pleasure, and exhibit reward-related neural responses, at the misfortunes of the archrival New York Yankees than other baseball teams (and vice versa)—especially in the midst of a tight playoff race. (How much fans take pleasure in the misfortunes of their rivals is also linked to how likely they would be to harm fans from the other team.) Just as a particular person’s group membership can be flexible, so too are the relations between groups. Groups that have previously had cordial relations may become rivals (and vice versa**)**. Indeed, psychological and biological responsesto out-group memberscan change, depending on whether or not that out-group is perceived as threatening. For example, people exhibit greater pleasure—they smile—in response to the misfortunes of stereotypically competitive groups (e.g., investment bankers); however, this malicious pleasure is reduced when you provide participants with counter-stereotypic information (e.g., “investment bankers are working with small companies to help them weather the economic downturn). Competition between “us” and “them” can even distort our judgments of distance, making threatening out-groups seem much closer than they really are. These distorted perceptions can serve to amplify intergroup discrimination: the more different and distant “they” are, the easier it is to disrespect and harm them. Thus, not all out-groups are treated the same: some elicit indifference whereas others become targets of antipathy. Stereotypically threatening groups are especially likely to be targeted with violence, but thosestereotypes can be temperedwithother info**rmation.** If perceptions of intergroup relations can be changed, individuals may overcome hostility toward perceived foes and become more responsive to one another’s grievances. The flexible nature of both group membership and intergroup relations offers reason to be cautiously optimisticabout the potential for greater cooperation among groups in conflict (be they black versus white or citizens versus police). One strategy is to bring multiple groups together around a common goal. For example, during the fiercely contested 2008 Democratic presidential primary process, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama supporters gave more money to strangers who supported the same primary candidate (compared to the rival candidate). Two months later, after the Democratic National Convention, the supporters of both candidates coalesced around the party nominee—Barack Obama—and this bias disappeared. In fact, merely creating a sense ofcohesionbetween two competitive groups can increase empathy for the suffering of our rivals. These sorts of strategies can help reduce aggression toward hostile out-groups, which is critical for creating more opportunities for constructive dialogue addressing greater social injustices. Of course, instilling a sense of common identity and cooperation is extremely difficult in entrenched intergroup conflicts, but when it happens, the benefits are obvious. Consider how the community leaders in New York City and Ferguson responded differently to protests against police brutality—in NYC political leaders expressed grief and concern over police brutality and moved quickly to make policy changes in policing, whereas the leaders and police in Ferguson responded with high-tech military vehicles and riot gear. In the first case, multiple groups came together with a common goal—to increase the safety of everyone in the community; in the latter case, the actions of the police likely reinforced the “us” and “them” distinctions. Tragically, these types of conflicts continue to roil the country. Understanding the psychology and neuroscience of social identity and intergroup relations cannot undo the effects of systemic racism and discriminatory practices; however, it can offer insights into the psychological processes responsible for escalating the tension between, for example, civilians and police officers. Even in cases where it isn’t possible to create a common identity among groups in conflict, it may be possible to blur the boundaries between groups. In one recent experiment, we sorted participants into groups—red versus blue team—competing for a cash prize. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to see a picture of a segregated social network of all the players, in which red dots clustered together, blue dots clustered together, and the two clusters were separated by white space. The other half of the participants saw an integrated social network in which the red and blue dots were mixed together in one large cluster. Participants who thought the two teams were interconnected with one another reported greater empathy for the out-group players compared to those who had seen the segregated network. Thus, reminding people that individuals could be connected to one another despite being from different groups may be another way to build trust and understanding among them. A mere month before Freddie Gray died in police custody, President Obama addressed the nation on the 50th anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Selma: “We do a disservice to the cause of justice by intimating that bias and discrimination are immutable, or that racial division is inherent to America. To deny…progress – our progress – would be to rob us of our own agency; our responsibility to do what we can to make America better." The president was saying that we, as a society, have a responsibility to reduce prejudice and discrimination. These recent findings from psychology and neuroscience indicate that we, as individuals, possess this capacity. Of course this capacity is not sufficient to usher in racial equality or peace. Even when the level of prejudice against particular out-groups decreases, it does not imply that the level of institutional discrimination against these or other groups will necessarily improve. Ultimately**,** onlycollective actionandinstitutional evolutioncan address systemic racism. The science is clear on one thing, though**:** individual bias and discrimination are changeable**.** Race-based prejudice and discrimination, in particular, are created and reinforced bymanysocial factors,but they arenot inevitable consequences of **our** biology**.** Perhaps understanding how coalitional thinking impacts intergroup relations will make it easier for us to affect real social change going forward.