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**Contention 1 is the Status Quo**

**US detention policy is an act of Islamophobia informed by a culture of collective suspicion and prejudice**

**Koenigsknecht 12, Public History MA Candidate**

[October 04, 2012, Theresa Koenigsknecht is Public History MA Candidate at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, “Perspectives on Post 9/11 Prejudices: Islamophobia”, http://blog.gitmomemory.org/2012/10/04/perspectives-on-post-911-prejudices-islamophobia/]

**Have the September 11th terrorist attacks changed how you view or treat others**? For many, unfortunately, **the answer is** probably “**yes**.” **The events of 9/11, the United States government’s response to them, and an increasing public misunderstanding of Islam have created a culture of collective suspicion and prejudice towards Muslims** (**or those perceived to be Muslim**). **This “unfounded fear of and hostility towards Islam” is** popularly known as “**Islamophobia**.” **Whether this attitude occurs intentionally or subconsciously**, **this mindset has resulted in intensifying stereotypes, hate crimes, discrimination and often condones the violation of civil rights of Muslim-Americans**. The Muslim community’s response to the 9/11 attacks, both initially and today, remains remarkably patriotic and supports cooperation with government authorities. Yet **immediately following 9/11, Muslim-Americans, as well as those perceived to be Muslims, often endured increased suspicion from other Americans and even experienced physical violence, supposedly in retaliation for the attacks**. Over a decade later, **Muslims are still subjected to hate crimes, workplace discrimination, unreasonable arrest and detention, passenger profiling, verbal** (especially through hate mail and internet outlets) **and physical harassment and abuse.** Although racism and anti-Semitism are considered socially unacceptable, **ethnic profiling against Muslim-Americans is often encouraged and accepted by government authorities and popular media**. Fortunately, some people are actively working to counter the rise of Islamophobia and many communities have come together showing solidarity and interfaith cooperation with their Muslim neighbors. **Anyone can take steps to defeat Islamophobia by encouraging empathy for others and participating in activities that promote discussion between people of different faiths and ethnicities**. More information on countering Islamophobia can be found on The Muslim Public Affairs Council website which provides helpful resources, links and workshops. It is efforts such as these that can help create an atmosphere of trust and dialogue, as opposed to fear and misunderstanding. So what does Islamophobia have to do with Guantánamo? **Muslims constitute almost all of those detained there since 9/11**. For that reason, **although Guantánamo may not figure largely in the minds of some Americans, Islamophobia strongly influences Western culture and plays a large part in what Americans do understand about Guantánamo and its detainees**. **To many American’s the prevalent misconception that Islam is equivalent with terrorism unfortunately justifies the violation of Muslim’s civil liberties in the United States as well as violations of detainees’ human rights at Guantánamo**. Yet, the American Civil Liberties Union’s “A Call to Courage” report states that, “by allowing and in some cases actively encouraging the fear of terrorism to divide Americans by religion, race, and belief, our political leaders are fracturing this nation’s greatest strength: its ability to integrate diverse strands into a unified whole on the basis of shared, pluralistic, democratic values.” Remembering each person’s right to civil liberties and advocating for greater awareness and knowledge can persuade people to reconsider how they view or treat those around them and in time provide an antidote for Islamophobia.

**These constructions create a broader state of violence against Islamic bodies and bodies that are racially marked to look like them—this manifests itself in xenophobic profiling and immigration policies**

**Wing 3, Bessie Dutton Murray Distinguished Professor of Law**

[Spring 2003, Adrien Katherine Wing is a Bessie Dutton Murray Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Iowa College of Law. A.B. Princeton, 1978; M.A. UCLA, 1979; J.D. Stanford, 1982. This paper was presented at the Civil Rights symposium of the Louisiana State“Civil Rights in the Post 911 World: Critical Race Praxis, Coalition Building, and the War on Terrorism”, <http://digitalcommons.law.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5987&context=lalrev&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.com%2Fscholar%3Fq%3Dguantanamo%2B%2522critical%2Brace%2Btheory%2522%26btnG%3D%26hl%3Den%26as_sdt%3D0%252C5%26as_vis%3D1#search=%22guantanamo%20critical%20race%20theory%22>, 63 La. L. Rev. (2003)]

To illustrate how race can be socially constructed, I will use myself as an example. In the United States, **I am considered African American or Black American**, with the defacto second class status that designation still implies. My parents and grandparents were all considered Black, even though some of them had very light skin. The most recent white person whom we can determine is an ancestor is my great-great grandfather, Confederate General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard.35 We even have members of the African American group who look white, yet are still considered part of the Black group. In South Africa, where I have taught many times, I was considered part of the historically mixed race group known as Coloured, due to my light skin, wavy hair and other characteristics. 7 During the apartheid era, this group had a buffer status between the de jure most privileged whites and the least privileged black Africans.3 " In Brazil, I learned that my same features would classify me as White, with all the defacto privileges that the designation still brings in that society.39 **The pan-ethnicity term "Arab" and the religious signifier "Muslim" have been socially constructed as a synonymous "race" in the United States**.4° **While there are over 1.2 billion Muslims worldwide, only 15% are Arab**.41 In the U.S., **it is unclear, but there maybe between 4-8 million Muslims, of whom 22.4% are U.S. born and 23.8% are African American**.42 There may be 3 million Arabs in the U.S., originating from 22 countries,43 and the Arab American Institute has revealed the little known fact that **nearly three quarters of Arab Americans are Christians**." In an important case, St. Francis College v. Al-Khazraji, the Supreme Court acknowledged that Arabs can be discriminated against on account of their race. Interestingly, **those who merely look like Arabs or Muslims may be racially profiled on that basis as well. The double group can thus be considered larger than the number of actual members**. According to one commentator, **there may be**, in this country, **7 million Arabs, 8 million Muslims, and 1.6 million South Asians, Latinos, and African Americans who could look "Arab,"** **probably at least 10 million people**,46 which I think even that is a vast underestimate of the numbers of the Blacks and Latinos in America who could pass as Arab. One African American radio personality stated that French citizen Zacharias Moussaoui, native of Morocco, who may have been the twentieth September 11 hijacker, looks like "a brother from around the way.' When my sons and I travel abroad, **we are often mistaken for Arabs or Muslims.** My partner James, who is a dark brown skinned Christian African American, often wears a kufi or skull cap to express his cultural affinity for Africa. He is always taken for a Muslim, although not an Arab. Sadly, **I have told my NYU student son, who can phenotypically pass for Arab, that he has to be careful when flying so that he will not be mistaken for an Arab**. **Dressing in the popular ghetto styled baggy pants coupled with corn rowing his hair, and the use of an Ebonics dialect**,48 **helps ensure that he is not racially profiled as an Arab.** Of course, when he lands in New York, his failure to be able to hail a cab indicates he is clearly seen as a Black - too risky to pick up.49 **These two overlapping and socially constructed-as-synonymous groups, Arabs and Muslims, have come to be regarded in some of the negative ways that have historically characterized African Americans.** **While Arabs and Muslims are often** **stereotyped as dangerous, evil, sneaky, primitive, and untrustworthy, much as Blacks are, the criminality has a twist-they are considered potential or actual terrorists."** **They are forever "foreign, disloyal and imminently threatening,"'**" **whether they are citizens or not.** **Arabs and Muslims were racially profiled, victimized, and demonized** as terrorists well before September 11 2 **These activities have included: physical attacks** by individuals and pro-Israel groups such as the Jewish Defense League; **political attacks** by pro-Israel lobby AIPAC and the Anti-Defamation League ofB'nai Birth, as well as many other Democratic and Republican Party affiliated entities; **blacklisting of prominent Arab American intellectuals** such as Columbia professor Edward Said and Harvard professor Walid Khalidi; **as well as vicious stereotypes in films and television** that would not be tolerated if used to characterize other groups.53 For example, Jack **Shaheen surveyed a number of movies and found the following characterizations of Arabs and Muslims**: "**assholes," "bastards," "camel-dicks," "pigs," "devil-worshipers," "jackels," "rats," "rag-heads," "towel-heads," "scum-buckets," "sons-of-dogs," "buzzards of the jungle," "sons-of-whores," "sons-of-unnamed goats," and "sons-of-she-camels."** 4 **It is difficult to imagine the movie industry applying those sorts of labels to Blacks** or Jews **today**. **Arab American campaign contributions have been returned as if Arab citizens have no right to participate in American politics** 5 3 Anti-Arab and anti-Muslim activities have intensified during periods of high tensions in the Middle East, such as the 1980 Iran Hostage situation, 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war, 1986 war against Libya, and the 1991 Gulf war.56 "The **Supreme Court has upheld immigration laws discriminating against noncitizens on the basis of race, national origin and political affiliation that would patently violate the constitution** if the rights of citizens were at stake."57 The cases include Harisiades v. Shaughnessy," Nguyen v. US.,59 Reno v American-Arab AntiDiscrimination Committee,6 ' Sale v. Haitian Centers Council, Incorporated,6 ' and The Chinese Exclusion cases.62 The plenary power doctrine has historically provided immunity from judicial scrutiny of immigration judgments, whether by Congress or the Executive branch. Many Americans assumed the Oklahoma City bombing of the Murrah federal building had to be done by Arabs or Muslims, rather than by white Christian militia member Timothy McVeigh.' After that incident, even though Arabs and Muslims were not involved, draconian immigration laws were passed in 1996 which singled out those groups. 65 Unfortunately, what happened to Arabs and Muslims under these 1996 laws was not unique. According to Kevin Johnson, these laws are part of a history of attempts to stiffle dissent that includes the Alien and Sedition Acts of the 1790s and the Palmer Raids after World War 1.66 In that period after the war, the U.S. imprisoned people for years for speaking out against the war effort.67 During the cold war Red Scare, many people lost jobs and were subject to investigation, or were even imprisoned, because of rumored association with the Communist party.6 According to Jerry Kang, "**wartime coupled with racism and intolerance creates particular types of mistakes. Specifically we overestimate the threat posed by racial 'others,'** in WWlI, Japanese Americans; **today, Arab Americans, Muslims Middle Easterners, immigrants and anyone who looks like 'them** . ,9, ? **The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996** (AEDPA)70 **made it a crime to contribute to foreign groups deemed as terrorist, and created special deportation procedure**s, including the formation of special courts to evaluate secret evidence. 7 ' **The Illegal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibility Act** of 1996 (IIRIRA)72 supplemented AEDPA. That act **prevents federal courts from reviewing a variety of immigration cases**, with very limited exceptions. 3 These two laws "either explicitly-or according to INS interpretation, impliedly-authorize the use of classified evidence to exclude an 'alien terrorist' under special removal proceedings,74 to summarily remove an alien who is a 'national security' risk,7 and to deny bond to aliens in removal proceedings."76 Pursuant to these statutes, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deported or attempted to deport more than two dozen people on the basis of secret evidence-almost all were Muslim, mainly Arabs. 77 Ironically, in 2000, Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush accused the Clinton administration of racial profiling when it used secret evidence.78 **After September 11 the situation affecting Arabs and Muslims dramatically worsened,79 and there have been profound effects on their civil rights**.8 " Before that fateful date, 80% of Americans considered racial profiling wrong.8 **After September 11, the polls reversed and 60% said profiling was fine, especially if directed against Arabs and Muslims.** 82 **U.S. Congressman John Cooksey** of Louisiana likely expressed the sentiments of many when he **stated** on the radio, "**If I see someone come in and he's got a diaper on his head and a fan belt around that diaper on his head, that guy needs to be pulled over and checked**." 3 A survey done soon after September 11 said that **nearly half would be in favor of having Arabs, including citizens, carry a special identification card**.8 There were early reports that **some Blacks and Latinos welcomed the law enforcement targeting of Arabs and Muslims**.85 When I heard that comment, it reminded me that I preferred that my sons not be mistaken for Arabs when flying. On the other hand, I also realized that increased racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims has not meant that the long term racial profiling of African Americans has stopped. It merely means that my sons may be doubly profiled depending on the context. At the airport, they may be regarded as Arab terrorists, while at the taxi stand or ATM machine, they may be regarded as Black criminals.8 6 After September 11, Muslims and Arabs and people who look like them have been under siege." **Over 1000 incidents of hate crimes were reported** by February 2002.8 **Even President Bush's Arab secret service agent was removed from an American Airlines plane**. 9 **Of five people who were killed, including a Sikh Indian, a Pakistani Muslim, an Egyptian Coptic Christian, and an Indian Hindu,9 none of them was a Muslim Arab, but all were socially constructed as such**. The U.S. Justice Department opened up more than 380 investigations into violence or threats, which have taken the form of "telephone, internet, mail and face-to-face threats; minor assaults, assaults with dangerous weapons, and assaults resulting in serious injury or death; and vandalism, shootings, and bombings directed at homes, businesses, and places of worship."9 ' About 70 state and local criminal prosecutions were instigated against 80 defendants. 92 According to Bill Hing, **Arabs and Muslims, whether citizens or not, are literally and figuratively being de-Americanized, which is "a twisted brand of xenophobia that is not simply hatred of foreigners, but also hatred of those who may not be foreigners but whom the vigilantes would prefer being removed from the country anyway**."93 A member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has even said that **in the event of another terrorist attack, the American government might consider interning Arab Americans,"4 reminiscent of the treatment of 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans in World War II**.9 ' The legal position of Arabs and Muslims has especially declined since the exceptionally speedy passage of the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot Act),96 which subjects noncitizens to guilt by association, ideological exclusion, unilateral executive detention, and racial profiling.97 Aliens are deportable for innocent association, without any proof that they supported terrorist activity.98 **Noncitizens are now subject to the resurrection of ideological exclusion**, that is that they will be denied a visa on the basis of pure speech **if they are seen as endorsing or espousing terroristic activity or persuading others to support activity or a group**.99 **Aliens can be detained without any hearing or showing that they pose a threat to national security or** are a flight risk. **The defendant in a normal criminal proceeding can be held without bail only if he is a danger to the community or a flight risk. " Aliens can now be held not only during the proceeding which can take years, but also** afterwards, **indefinitely**, **even if the proceeding says they should not be removed from the country!!**lo Rules that effect citizens and noncitizens alike include the authorization of secret searches and wiretaps without any probable cause as would normally be required by the Fourth Amendment. 0 2 Under the USA Patriot Act, **over 1000 people were held for** weeks or **months with no charges in mass preventive detention**. 03 They did not have access to lawyers and, in many cases, their families were not told where they were."° Some people were held as material witnesses, i.e. they might have information. Even they have been treated harshly.'0 5 **Some have challenged that detention in court.** While federal judges have found that the use of material witness warrants to detain individuals for potential testimony before a grand jury is unlawful,'0 6 otherjudges have held the opposite. 1 7 According to Jerry Kang, [**we] should not be surprised if courts determine that national security in the face of terrorism is-in the lingo of constitutional law- a 'compelling interest' and that rude forms of racial profiling**, notwithstanding its over and under-inclusiveness, **are 'narrowly tailored' to furthering that interest**. **It would be foolish to think that the courts will necessarily save us from the excesses of the more political branches**, r' **Little research has been done as to how all this has affected women** in the Arab and Muslim communities, **as many of the men detained were the sole or major breadwinners** for their families as well as respected business owners, religious leaders, and community activists." **These women are usually stereotyped as voiceless and passive, needing to be liberated from the all encompassing Afghanistan burqa or even the more modest varieties of head scarves many wear in the United States."**' **Some of them may not speak English, may not have been working, or even had a visa to work**, if foreign born." **In November 2001, the Bush Justice Department said it would interview some 5000 young men, solely based on age, date of arrival, and country of origin.** **Virtually all were Arabs or Muslims**." 2 Some police departments refused to assist the federal government as they believed the policy constituted racial profiling."' They knew that law enforcement works best if it positively involves the community rather than terrorizes it."4 Needless to say, the affected groups have been outraged by the targeting."5 Some months later, the Justice Department announced it would interview 3000 additional men from countries with an Al Qaeda presence." 6 When **the Justice Department** announced the Absconder Apprehension Initiative in February 2002, they **decided to prioritize the deportation of 6000 aliens out of the 300,000 foreigners who remained in the country after being ordered deported**. Needless to say, **these men were from Arab countries."** 7 In April 2002, the Justice Department announced that it would put into effect a provision from IIRIRA, which gives the police the authority to enforce immigration laws."' This was controversial not only in immigrant communities, but with police concerned about racial profiling. "'We've spent decades establishing trust... with our very diverse communities,' says a San Diego spokesman. 'If there is an immigration emergency tied to criminal activity, of course we'll assist. But if it is simply an immigration violation.., we will not be involved.""" In June 2002, **the Entry-Exit Registration System was established which now requires men from age 16 up**, from 25 countries including nationals of Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan and Syria, **to register and be photographed, fingerprinted, interviewed, or else be deported**.2 **Over 1200 men have been detained under this program.'** For example, in December 2002, **400 men from Iraq, Iran, Sudan, and Syria were detained in Los Angeles** under this program, **and Amnesty International reported their harsh treatment included being shackled, hosed down with cold water, forced to sleep standing up, and kept from contacting family or legal counsel**.'22 The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights has called for a dismantling of this registration system since it is "discriminatory in nature, ineffective and inefficient as a law enforcement strategy, and creates widespread ill-will in Arab American and Muslim communities across the country."'2 Of course, the **inadequacy of all such profiling is shown by the fact that the airplane "shoe bomber" Richard Reid is a citizen of Great Britain**;24 **the "American Taliban" John Walker Lindh is a Muslim convert, white upper middle class native of Main County, California;** ' 25 **potential "dirty bomber" Jose Padilla is a Puerto Rican**, former Chicago gangbanger; 12 6 **and alleged twentieth hijacker** Zacharias **Moussaoui**, who was captured before September 11, **is a citizen of France**.' 7 **None of them would have been identified through profiling on the basis of nationality**. It is interesting to look at the disparate legal treatment of these men. **Lindh**, captured in Afghanistan, **got a public trial**, **whereas hundreds of foreign born Arabs and Muslims**, also **captured there, are being held in incommunicado detention in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba**.'28 **The President issued a military order that Al Qaeda members and other noncitizens could be tried in military tribunals or commissions without appeal to civilian courts**, an action which has been heavily criticized by various scholars,'29 as well as our allies.**130 At least two federal courts have denied habeas petitions filed by lawyers representing some of the detainee**s, refusing to assert jurisdiction over the cases. 13 1 **There may be approximately 650 suspects from 43 countries in Cuba, and officials are preparing accommodations for up to 2000 inmates**.13 1 Some **scholars and government officials have suggested that detention and prosecution of captured suspects should not even be governed by international law**. 1 3 **Harvard law professor** Alan Dershowitz **and others have argued that such persons could be tortured without violating any laws binding the U.S.** 34 **Padilla**, also known as Abdullah al-Muhajir, is a former Chicago Latin Kings gang member who converted to Islam.' He was picked up by authorities as he returned from Pakistan and was allegedly planning to set off a dirty bomb containing radioactive materials. 36 He **is now being held in incommunicado detention in a U.S. military prison as an "enemy combatant," without access to counsel or any court-military or civilian**, and may never be tried. 1 37 In December 2002, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York judge Michael Mukasey issued a 102 page opinion affirming Padilla's right to consult counsel, but the government continues to resist the court's order. 38 Another U.S. citizen, Yaser Hamdi, born in Louisiana of Saudi descent, who was captured by Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, is also being held as an enemy combatant, after being discovered among the Guantanamo prisoners. 139 **The U.S. government in both the Padilla and Hamdi cases is resisting petitions for habeas corpus and saying that courts should just accept the President's determinations as to their status**.140 Ironically, **putting U.S. citizens under military jurisdiction without access to legal counsel places them in a legal limbo where they have less rights than foreigners** Reid or Moussaoui 14 1 In October 2002, Reid ultimately pleaded guilty and was sentenced to life imprisonment by Judge William G. Young of the U.S. District Court in Boston. 142 In Seattle last August, an African American thirty-six year old, Earnest James Thompson, now known as James Uj aama, was accused of lending assistance to Al Qaeda by founding a training camp in Bly, Oregon in 1999.43 He was also alleged to have run a militant Islamic web site in Great Britain, and was allegedly linked to Abou Hamza Masri, a London Muslim and alleged recruiter for Bin Laden.'" Investigators hope to "squeeze some information out of him, "and he is being tried in a civilian court.145 In March 2003, the INS was dissolved and folded into the new Department of Homeland Security along with 21 other federal agencies. **The implications are ominous, as one commentator has stated. "Placing all of the INS's functions into a department focused primarily on national security suggests that the United States no longer views immigrants as welcome contributors, but as potential threats viewed through a terrorist lens**."'146 At the time of this writing, it is alleged that **the U.S. government has drafted in secret Patriot II, the Domestic Security Enhancement Act of 2003**.147 The proposed law would authorize secret arrests, overturning the federal court decision requiring the government to release the names of all those detained since September 11. 148 Additionally, the law would permit the U.S. to extradite even American citizens for trial to countries with which we do not have extradition treaties, such as Saudi Arabia, Syria and Libya, which are well known for torture. 149 International and current U.S. law prohibit sending a person to a country where there is likelihood of torture. 50 Constituting a new level of invasion of privacy, a proposed Terrorist Identification database would authorize the collection of DNA of any suspect and of all noncitizens suspected of having an association with a "terrorist organization."'' The most extraordinary proposal would possibly strip Americans of citizenship as a form of punishment for giving material support to terrorist groups.15 2

**Islamophobia shapes US foreign policy—notions of western superiority are a critical tool to drum up support for militaristic and elitist interventions in poor countries**

**Kumar 13**

[09/11/13, Deepa Kumar is an Associate Professor of Media Studies and Middle Eastern Studies at the Rutgers University. She is the author of Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire and Outside the Box: Corporate Media, Globalization, and the UPS Strike being interviewed by Jessica Desvarieux, The Real News Network, “Twelve Years Post 9/11, Islamophobia Still Runs High”, http://truth-out.org/video/item/18759-twelve-years-post-9-11-islamophobia-still-runs-high]

KUMAR: Absolutely not. I think **it is true that larger numbers of conservative voters are racist**. They are racist not just in terms of their attitude towards Arabs and South Asians, but also to a whole host of other groups. So it's true that this idea sort of concentrated within those ranks. But in fact **Islamophobia is far more systemic than that**. That is to say, **the idea of a Muslim enemy**, **the idea of a terrorist enemy is one that actually goes back a couple of decades but was brought to light after 9/11 by the political elite**, by our political leaders. So in fact **it is built into the system of U.S. foreign policy in this country.** And **to simply look at the far right and to ignore the fact that it has larger implications in terms of justifying U.S. foreign policy would be really to have only an incomplete picture of what is at work in this form of racism.** DESVARIEUX: Okay. Let's talk about the mass media and how they depict Islam since 9/11. Can you describe for us how the mass media has depicted Islam? KUMAR: Well, basically, **the trauma of 9/11**, the fact that, you know, 3,000 Americans died meant that it **enabled the U.S. media to actually draw on stereotypes that have been**, you know, **propped up by Hollywood, by the news media, and so on for a few decades** before that. And **that was the idea that these are crazy, irrational people. They are all apparently driven by Islam to violence**. And **so we should lock them up, we should be suspicious of them, we should detain them at airports, and so on and so forth.** And so that's what you saw in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. And this show called 24, which your viewers may know, is--**it's about a lot of things** [incompr.] that **it's about justifying the building of a national security state and justifying practices like torture and so on and so forth.** DESVARIEUX: Okay. And also the story of the day, of course, is Syria, and everyone's attention is drawn to Syria. Can you describe for us just how does Islamophobia play a role in any of the arguments for intervention in Syria, really? KUMAR: Okay. It doesn't play a direct role in that. It is--**the idea of humanitarianism has a long history in the United States. The idea that there are victims all over the world, that the U.S. government has then got to make war in order to**, you know, **somehow defend them**, this **goes back all the way to the Spanish-American war** of 1898, which was supposed to be about rescuing Cubans. And similarly, **you see these sorts of justifications given**. You know, Vietnamese need to be defended. **In Iraq, it was babies**, apparently, **who were being bayoneted in Kuwait**, **and therefore the U.S. needed to intervene and defeat Iraq in 1991**. So this idea of humanitarianism has a long history within the foreign policy establishment. But **what makes it particularly potent in this case is that after 9/11 what you see is the Bush administration projecting this idea of clash of civilizations,** **which is basically the notion that we in the West are democratic, we are rational, we are civilized, we are**, you know, **all things wonderful, and they in the East are barbaric, they're misogynistic, and so on and so forth**, **and** therefore **we have an obligation, what used to be called the white man's burden, to go off and rescue them.** And so you see some of that language, which is the idea that Arabs cannot bring democracy by themselves, they cannot make change, and so we need to intervene. So **it's a combination both of the victim narrative, which has a long history, combined with this language of clash of civilizations.** DESVARIEUX: Okay. And how does this fit into domestic policy? How do they work Islamophobia into domestic policy? KUMAR: Right. I mean, the comparison I make in the book and that I'm actually working on in the next book is that **the U.S. government, and U.S. imperialism in particular, always needs an enemy**. That is, **when there is no humanitarian cause, an enemy is an extremely useful way to justify wars abroad, as well as the policing of dissent at home**. So, for instance, during the Cold War we had been menacing enemy of the Soviet Union, against whom both a hot and a Cold War had to be waged. And, of course, this justified, then, McCarthyism, because there's always a reflection of the external enemy inside, and these people have to be rounded up, blacklisted, and so on and so forth. So that's the logic back then, and, of course, it was entirely about a politics of fear. Today **we have the same sort of thing**. **After 9/11, the war on terror comes into being precisely about fighting endless wars.** Remember, **back in 9/11 the Bush administration was going to start with Afghanistan, go to Iraq, and then Iran, Syria, and so on and so forth**. It didn't work out that way. But **the idea was to drum up this fear of this menacing terrorist enemy, which justified wars all over the world in order to gain the U.S.'s interest in** [incompr.] **particularly in the oil-rich region in the Middle East.** You asked me about domestic politics. Always there was a reflection of the domestic in terms of the international threat. And so what you've seen is innocent Muslims--and often actually not even Muslims, people from the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia, some of them Sikhs, some some of them Hindus, some of them Christians, and so on, being racially profiled because that is the logic that comes out of this. I have a whole chapter in the book about how the legal system has been reworked so as to justify things like indefinite detention, things like torture, things like deportation. And, frankly, the infiltration of agents into our schools, into my school, into colleges, and so forth. So, you know, **it's truly horrific the extent to which Muslim Americans and people who look Muslim have been demonized since 9/11.**

**We advocate a critical praxis centered on challenging islamophobic indefinite detention policies.**

**Centering our praxis in this space is key—interrogating islamophobia in educational settings is critical to establish a critical consciousness that enables larger political projects**

**Housee 12, Senior Lecturer in Sociology**

[Jan. 04 2012, Shirin Housee works at the School of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences, University of Wolverhampton, UK “What’s the point? Anti-racism and students’ voices against Islamophobia”, Volume 15, Issue 1]

**Having reflected on the two seminar sessions on Islamophobia** and the student comments, I am convinced that **the work of anti-racism in university classrooms is fundamentally important**. As one student said racism is real. **Through racism people suffer physically, psychologically, socially, educationally and politically. Our work in university classrooms is just the beginning of this challenge against racisms and other oppressions. Classroom discussions and general teaching form a very important contribution to this work of anti racism in education.** There are no short cuts or painless cuts; **the work of anti-racism is a difficult one.** As educators **we should make use of classroom exchanges; students’ engaged learning could be the key to promoting anti-racism** in our class. My goal is to teach in a way that engages students and leads them to reflect on the socio-economic political/religions issues that surrounds theirs (our) lives. This article argues for making anti-racist thinking possible in class. **The student voice, that critiques mainstream thinking** **as found in the media and elsewhere, is a starting point for this political work.** I argue that **teaching and learning in our classroom should encourage the critical consciousness necessary for pursuing social justice**. **Whilst I acknowledge the limits of doing anti-racist campaign in university spaces, I argue that this is a good starting point**. And who knows, **these educational exchanges may become** (as with my own story) **the awakening for bigger political projects against injustices in our society**. In **conclusion I endorse social justice advocates**, such as Cunningham (cited in Johnson-Bailey 2002, 43) who **suggest that educators re-direct classroom practices and the curriculum**, because: ‘**if we are not working for equity in our teaching and learning environments, then…educators are inadvertently maintaining the status quo.**’ In conclusion I argue that **a classroom where critical race exchanges and dialogues take place is a classroom where students and teachers can be transformed. Transformative social justice education calls on people to develop social, political and personal awareness of the damages of racism and other oppression**s. I end by suggesting that **in the current times of Islamophobic racism, when racist attacks are a daily occurrence**, in August and September 2010 alone, **nearly 30 people have been racially abused and physically attacked** (Institute of Race Relations 2010). **The point of studying racism**, therefore, **is to rise to the anti-racist challenge**, **and** for me, **a place to start this campaign is within Higher Education Institutions**, optimistic as it might sound, I believe, as asserted by Sheridan (cited in Van Driel 2004) that: ‘**Education can enlighten students and promote positive attitudes**…. **Education settings can be the first arena in which battles can be fought against Islamophobia. It is to education that our attention should be directed**.’ (162)

**Deconstructing and interrogating flawed assumptions behind Islamphobia is critical to establish a transformative and liberatory pedagogy that enables us as agents to challenge racist dynamics**

**Zine 4, Professor of Sociology and Equity Studies**

[2004, Jasmin Zine is a researcher studying Muslims in the Canadian diaspora. She teaches graduate courses in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto in the areas of race and ethnicity, anti-racism education and critical ethnography., “Anti-Islamophobia Education as Transformative Pedadogy: Reflections from the Educational Front Lines”, American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences 21:3]

**As an anti-racism scholar and educator**, fellow colleagues and I realized from as early as September 12 that **there was an urgency to frame a critical pedagogical response to address and challenge the rampant Islamophobia affecting the realities of Muslims from all walks of life and social conditions**. Among **the most vulnerable were children and youth**, who received little support from schools in dealing with the backlash that many were experiencing on a routine basis. Most schools were reluctant to engage in any response beyond the politically neutral arena of “crisis management.” Among the school districts that I was in contact with, **there was a clear resistance to addressing or even naming issues of racism and Islamophobia.** In fact, **the discursive language to name and define the experiences that Muslims were encountering** on a day-to-day basis **did not even exist within the educational discourse**. While schools were reluctant to name specific incidents as racism – part of an all-too-common denial – **the notion of “Islamophobia” did not have any currency at all**. In fact, **it was not a part of the language or conceptual constructs commonly used by educators, even by those committed to multicultural and antiracist pedagogy.** **I realized the urgency to map a new epistemological and pedagogical terrain by creating an educational framework for addressing Islamophobia**. Within **the existing equity-based educational frameworks, one could find the conceptual and pedagogical tools to address issues of racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, and anti-Semitism**. However, the **discursive foundations for dealing with Islamophobia and the accompanying educational resources simply did not exist**. Developing a new framework to fill this gap involved coining a new term: “Anti-Islamophobia Education.” **Being able to name and define the experience of Muslims as the result of Islamophobia was critical to shaping the kind of interventions that would take place from a critical educational standpoint**. **Before outlining a methodology for conducting anti-Islamophobia education, it was necessary to develop some discursive foundations**, arrive at a definition of Islamophobia, **and create an understanding of what it was that we sought to challenge and resist**. From a socio-psychological standpoint, the notion of Islamophobia is often loosely translated as an “attitude of fear, mistrust, or hatred of Islam and its adherents.” However, this definition presents a narrow conceptual framework and does not take into account the social, structural, and ideological dimensions through which forms of oppression are operationalized and enacted. Applying a more holistic analysis, far from being based on mere “ignorance,” **Islamophobic attitudes are**, in fact, **part of a rational system of power and domination that manifests as individual, ideological, and systemic forms of discrimination and oppression**. **The idea that discrimination**, be it based on race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, or religion, **simply stems from “ignorance” allows those engaged in oppressive acts and policies to claim a space of innocence.** By labeling Islamophobia as an essentially “irrational” fear, this conception denies the logic and rationality of social dominance and oppression, which operates on multiple social, ideological, and systemic levels. Therefore, **to capture the complex dimensions through which Islamophobia operates, it is necessary to extend the definition** from its limited conception as a “fear and hatred of Islam and Muslims” **and acknowledge that these attitudes are intrinsically linked to individual, ideological, and systemic forms of oppression that support the logic and rationale of specific power relations**. For example, individual acts of oppression include such practices as name-calling or personal assault, while systemic forms of oppression refer to the structural conditions of inequality regulated through such institutional practices as racial profiling or denying jobs or housing opportunities. These **exclusionary practices are shored up by specific ideological underpinnings, among them the purveyed notions designed to pathologize Muslims as “terrorists” and impending threats to public safety. Understanding the dimensions of how systems of oppression such as Islamophobia operate socially, ideologically, and systemically became a key component of developing educational tools that would help build the critical skills needed to analyze and challenge these dynamics**. From a discursive standpoint, I locate anti-Islamophobia education within a integrative anti-racism framework5 that views systems of oppression based on race, class, gender, sexuality, ability, and religion as part of a multiple and interlocking nexus that reinforce and sustain one another. Based on this understanding, I have mapped some key epistemological foundations for anti-Islamophobia education.6 This includes the need to “reclaim the stage” through which Islam is represented from the specter of terrorists and suicide bombers to a platform of peace and social justice. “**Reclaiming the stage” requires adopting a pedagogical approach that shifts the popular media discourse away from the negative, essentialized referents and tropes of abject “Otherness” ascribed to Muslims**. **This move involves presenting a critical counter-narrative in order to reframe the Manichean worldview and “clash of civilizations” narratives typically being purveyed in order to present a more nuanced, reasoned, and critical perspective of the global sociopolitical realities that Muslim individuals and societies are confronting, engaging, and challenging**. **Another foundational aspect of anti-Islamophobia education involves interrogating the systemic mechanisms through which Islamophobia is reinforced, by analytically unraveling the dynamics of power in society that sustain social inequality**. **Racial profiling**, which targets groups on the basis of their race, ethnicity, faith, or other aspects of social difference, **and similar issues are major systemic barriers that criminalize and pathologize entire communities**. In schools, the practice of “color-coded streaming,” whereby a disproportionate number of racially and ethnically marginalized youth are channeled into lower non-academic level streams, is another example of institutionalized racism. **Negative perceptions held by teachers and guidance counselors toward racialized students have often led to assumptions of failure or limited chances for success**, based on such false stereotypes as the notion that “Islam doesn’t value education for girls” or “Black students won’t succeed.” These **negative attitudes are relayed to students through the “hidden curriculum” of schooling and lead to lower expectations being placed upon youth from specific communities**.7 **Developing critical pedagogical tools to analyze and develop challenges to these systems of domination is part of building a transformative and liberatory pedagogy**, **one geared toward achieving greater social justice in both schools and society.** **Another key goal of anti-Islamophobia education involves the need to demystify stereotypes**. Since 9/11, renewed Orientalist constructions of difference have permeated the representation of Muslims in media and popular culture. Images of fanatical terrorists and burqa-clad women are seen as the primary markers of the Muslim world. **Deconstructing and demystifying these stereotypes is vital to helping students develop a critical literacy of the politics of media and image-making**. **Critically examining the destructive impact of how these images create the social and ideological divide between “us” and “them” is important to exposing how power operates through the politics of representation.**

## 2AC

**AT: Suffering K Top Level**

**Justifies inaction and unethical construction of “outsiders”**

**Kapoor, 2008** (Ilan, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, “The Postcolonial Politics of Development,” p. 45-46)

But **Spivak** is quick to examine the other side of the equation. She **reproaches Western researchers**/academicians **for** sometimes **too easily distancing them- selves from postcoloniality by uncritically situating the native informant as authentic** and exotic ‘insider’: **they say ‘“O.K., sorry, we are just very good white people, therefore we do not speak for the blacks**.” **That’s** the kind of breast- beating that is **left behind at the threshold and then business goes on as usual’** (1990a: 121). **By placing themselves as ‘outsiders’, they duck their own complicity in North–South politics**, often **hiding behind naïveté** or lack of expertise, all the **while congratulating themselves as the ‘saviors of marginality’** (1993: 61). **This inside/outside separation either helps contain and depoliticize ethnicity, or puts the onus for change** and engagement **exclusively on the Third World subaltern** (or on the native informant as its representative). Thus, for Spivak, **it is dangerous to assume that one can encounter** the Third World, and especially **the Third World subaltern, on a level playing field. Our interaction with, and representations of, the subaltern are inevitably loaded**. They are **determined by our favourable historical and geographic position**, our **material and cultural advantages** resulting from imperialism and capitalism, **and our identity as privileged Westerner** or native informant. **When the investigating subject**, naively or knowingly, **disavows its complicity or pretends it has no ‘geo-political determinations’, it does the opposite of concealing itself: it privileges itself** (1988a: 272, 292). **It is liable** (as discussed above and detailed further below) **to speak for the subaltern, justifying power and domination, naturalizing Western superiority, essentializing ethnicity, or asserting ethnocultural** and class **identity, all in the name of the subaltern**. In so doing, it is liable to do harm to the subaltern. As Linda Alcoff writes, ‘Though the speaker may be trying to materially improve the situation of some lesser-privileged group, the effects of her discourse is to reinforce racist, imperialist conceptions and perhaps also to further silence the lesser-privileged group’s own ability to speak and be heard’ (1991: 26).

**The aff is not a form of appropriation but a necessary solidarity**

**Bhambra 10—U Warwick**

AND—Victoria Margree—School of Humanities, U Brighton (Identity Politics and the Need for a ‘Tomorrow’, http://www.academia.edu/471824/Identity\_Politics\_and\_the\_Need\_for\_a\_Tomorrow\_)

As such, **a question arises as to what would happen if the “identity” in “identity politics” were rethought along the lines of the solidarities that are generated around the address of injustices rather than** the **solidarity** that is **presumed to ensue from being the victim of an injustice.** Defending “identity” against a variety of critiques from the academic left, Bramen (2002) asserts that **identity can** also **be productive in its construction of moral** and other **communities. Our question**, however, **would be why such communities** – sites of resistance and the discovery of political agency – **need to be constructed around essentialising rhetoric and restricted** (this is the implication) **to those who suffer the injustice.** Indeed, Bramen herself recognises that “**identity politics** certainly **has its limitations**, primarily **in terms of prescribing modes of behaviour that pressure individuals to conform to certain standards of authenticity**” (2002: 7-8). And **this** surely **is a real problem; that essentialist rhetoric establishes** belonging to **a community, and thus identity, on the basis of presumed shared attributes or experiences that are imagined to be irreducible.** **As such, not only may the community itself become oppressive to those who do not share those attributes, or who wish to articulate experiences that differ from those expressed by the majority, but the community itself may be weakened in its resistance to** other forms of **oppression by the distraction of its internal policing against difference.**¶ **We suggest that alternative models of identity and community are required** from those put forward by essentialist theories, **and** that these **are offered by** the work of two theorists, Satya **Mohanty and** Lynn Hankinson **Nelson. Mohanty’s** ([1993] 2000) post-positivist, realist theorisation of **identity suggests a way through the impasses of essentialism, while avoiding the excesses of** the **postmodernism** that Bramen, among others, derides as a proposed alternative to identity politics. For Mohanty ([1993] 2000), **identities must be understood as theoretical constructions** that enable subjects to read the world in particular ways; **as such, substantial claims about identity are**, in fact, **implicit explanations of the social world and its constitutive relations of power.** **Experience – that from which identity is usually thought to derive –** is not something that simply occurs, or announces its meaning and significance in a self-evident fashion: rather, experience **is always a work of interpretation that is collectively produced** (Scott 1991).¶ Mohanty’s work resonates with that of **Nelson** (1993), who **similarly insists upon the communal nature of meaning or knowledge-making.** Rejecting both foundationalist views of knowledge and the postmodern alternative which announces the “death of the subject” and the impossibility of epistemology, Nelson argues instead that, **it is not individuals who are the agents of epistemology, but communities.** Since it is not possible for an individual to know something that another individual could not also (possibly) know, it must be that the ability to make sense of the world proceeds from shared conceptual frameworks and practices. Thus, it is the community that is the generator and repository of knowledge. Bringing Mohanty’s work on identity as theoretical construction together with Nelson’s work on epistemological communities therefore suggests that, **“identity” is one of the knowledges** that is **produced** and enabled for and **by individuals** in the context of the communities within which they exist.¶ **The** post-positivist **reformulation of “experience” is necessary here as it privileges** understandings that emerge through the processing of experience in the context of **negotiated premises about the world, over experience itself producing self-evident knowledge (self-evident, however, only to the one who has “had” the experience).** **This distinction is crucial** for, if it is not the experience of, **for example, sexual discrimination** that **“makes” one a feminist, but** rather, the paradigm through which one attempts to understand acts of sexual discrimination, then **it is not necessary to have actually had the experience oneself in order to make the identification “feminist”.** If **being a “feminist” is not a given fact of a particular social (and/or biological) location – that is, being designated “female” – but is**, in Mohanty’s terms, **an “achievement” – that is, something worked towards** through a process of analysis and interpretation – then two implications follow. First, that not all women are feminists. Second, that **feminism is** some- thing that is **“achievable” by men.**3¶ While it is accepted that experiences are not merely theoretical or conceptual constructs which can be transferred from one person to another with transparency, we think that **there is some- thing politically self-defeating about insisting that one can only understand an experience (or** then **comment upon it) if one has actually had the experience oneself.** As Rege (1998) argues, **to privilege knowledge claims on the basis of direct experience, or** then **on claims of authenticity, can lead to a narrow identity politics that limits the emancipatory potential of** the **movements** or organisations making such claims. Further, **if it is not possible to understand an experience one has not had, then what point is there in listening to each other?** Following Said, **such a view seems to authorise privileged groups to ignore the discourses of disadvantaged ones, or**, we would add, **to place exclusive responsibility for addressing injustice with the oppressed themselves.** Indeed, as Rege suggests, **reluctance to speak about the experience of others has led to an assumption on the part of some white feminists that “confronting racism is the sole responsibility of black feminists”**, just as today “issues of caste become the sole responsibility of the dalit women’s organisations” (Rege 1998). **Her argument** for a dalit feminist standpoint, then, **is** not made in terms solely of the experiences of dalit women, but rather **a call for others to “educate themselves about the histories**, the preferred **social relations** and utopias **and** the **struggles of the marginalised”** (Rege 1998). **This**, she argues, **allows “their cause” to become “our cause”, not as a form of appropriation of “their” struggle, but through the transformation of subjectivities that enables a recognition that “their” struggle is also “our” struggle.** Following Rege, we suggest that social processes can facilitate the understanding of experiences, thus making those experiences the possible object of analysis and action for all, while recognising that they are not equally available or powerful for all subjects.4¶ **Understandings of identity as given and essential**, then, we suggest, **need to give way to understandings which accept them as socially constructed and contingent on the work of particular**, overlapping, **epistemological communities that agree that this or that is a viable and recognised identity. Such an understanding avoids** what Bramen identifies as **the** postmodern excesses of **“post-racial” theory, where** in this “world without borders **(“racism is real, but race is not”)** one can be anything one wants to be: a black kid in Harlem can be Croatian-American, if that is what he chooses, and a white kid from Iowa can be Korean-American” (2002: 6). Unconstrained choice is not possible to the extent that, as Nelson (1993) argues, the concept of the epistemological com- munity requires any individual knowledge claim to sustain itself in relation to standards of evaluation that already exist and that are social. **Any claim to identity**, then, **would have to be recognised by particular communities as valid in order to be successful. This** further **shifts the discussion beyond the limitations of essentialist accounts of identity** by recognising that the communities that confer identity are constituted through their shared epistemological frameworks and not necessarily by shared characteristics of their members conceived of as irreducible.5 Hence, **the epistemological community that enables us to identify our- selves as feminists is one that is built up out of a broadly agreed upon paradigm for interpreting the world** and the relations between the sexes: **it is not one that is premised upon** possessing¶ 62¶ the physical attribute of **being a woman or** upon **sharing the same experiences.** Since at least the 1970s, a key aspect of black and/or postcolonial feminism has been to identify the problems associated with such assumptions (see, for discussion, Rege 1998, 2000).¶ We believe that **it is the identification of injustice which** calls forth action and thus **allows for the construction of healthy solidarities.**6 **While it is accepted that there may be important differences between those who recognise the injustice of disadvantage while being**, in some respects, **its beneficiary (for example, men, white people**, brahmins), **and those who recognise the injustice from the position of being at its effect (women, ethnic minorities**, dalits), **we would privilege the importance of a shared political commitment to equality as the basis for negotiating such differences. Our argument** here **is that thinking** through **identity** claims **from the basis of** understanding them as **epistemological communities militates against exclusionary politics** (and its associated problems) **since the emphasis comes to be on participation in a shared** epistemological and **political project as opposed to notions of fixed characteristics** – the focus is on **the activities individuals participate in rather than the characteristics they** are deemed to **possess.** **Identity is thus defined** further **as a function of activity** located in particular social locations (understood as the complex of objective forces that influence the conditions in which one lives) **rather than of nature or origin** (Mohanty 1995: 109-10). As such, **the communities that enable identity** should not be conceived of as “imagined” since they **are produced by** very real **actions, practices and projects.**

**View from Nowhere**

**Claiming that only the victims of oppression can understand it dooms identity politics and reproduces exclusion**

**Bhambra 10—U Warwick**

AND—Victoria Margree—School of Humanities, U Brighton (Identity Politics and the Need for a ‘Tomorrow’, http://www.academia.edu/471824/Identity\_Politics\_and\_the\_Need\_for\_a\_Tomorrow\_)

**It is inexcusable to build analyses of historical experience around exclusions**, exclusions **that** stipulate, **for instance,** that **only women can understand feminine experience, only Jews can understand**¶ **Jewish suffering, only formerly colonial subjects can understand colonial experience (Said 1993**: 35).¶ The idea of a politics underpinned by solidarities based on “sameness” has a long history in the critical tradition. Marx’s initial conceptualisation of the standpoint of the proletariat (albeit, significantly different from those of subsequent developments of standpoint epistemology) has been used by feminist theorists as well as those arguing for a post-colonial perspective in terms of the subaltern, and, more recently, for a dalit standpoint (Hart- sock 1984, Guha 1983, Rege 1998, 2000). However, while **using identity as the basis of political action has** been seen to be powerful (and effective), it has also increasingly **become seen as problematic. The exclusionary politics of movements such as black power,** much **radical** and **lesbian feminism, and** latterly, **movements for ethnic purity** and/or religious integrity, for example, **have yielded a deep concern**

with the programme **of separation and isolationism** that such movements are often seen to be based upon. For many critics, more **troubling** still **has been the** usually **accompanying claim that only women can be feminists, or only black people can work against racism**, or only dalits against caste oppression, **and so on.**¶ **A position which states that only those who have experienced an injustice can understand and thus act** effectively **upon it seems to rest upon an essentialist theory of identity which assumes that the possibility of knowledge** about particular situations **is restricted to one’s possession of the relevant (seemingly) irreducible traits (being female, black**, dalit, **and so forth).** Arguably, one consequence of **these separatist tendencies is that they perpetuate the individualist fallacy that oppressive social relationships can be reformed by particular subjects without the broader agreement of others who**, together, **constitute the social relations within which the injustices are embedded**. But even where the limitations of a purely exclusionary form of identity politics are recognised, many theorists continue, nevertheless, to argue for a form of “strategic essentialism” (Fuss 1989, Spivak 2003) suggesting that where structures of inequality overlap with categories of identity, then a politics based on those identities is both liberatory and necessary (Bramen 2002).

**This solves the worst forms of “view from nowhere” of “what would I do if I were black mother”**

**The affirmative’s focus on whiteness and white privilege trades off with struggles against white supremacist thinking which are the foundation for persistent structural harms of racism**

**Hooks 12**, Distinguished Professor in Residence at Barea

(Bell, Writing Beyond Race: Living Theory and Practice, pg. 6)

When I speak with audiences about imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy, **the one piece of these interlocking political systems that individuals most resist acknowledging is white supremacy. And yet if we cannot as a culture accept the way white supremacist thinking and practice informs some aspect of our lives irrespective of skin color, then we will never move beyond race. Unlike race and racism, which does not overly harm masses of folk in ways that causes direct damage, white supremacy is the covert ideology that is the silent cause of harm and trauma**. Think of the black children, both rich and poor, who watch long hours of television that imprints their young minds with the notion that white is good and black is bad. All over the United States, parents who assume they have taught their families to be actively anti-racist are shocked when they discover that their children harbor intense anti-black feelings. This is just one example. Another example might be the interracial couple in which the white individual proclaims their undying love for a black partner but then in conversations talks about their belief that black people are intellectually inferior. This is not an expression of conventional racial prejudice. It does however remind us that one can be intimate with black folks, claim even to love us, and yet still hold white supremacist attitudes about the nature of black identity. **Thinking about white supremacy as the foundation of race and racism is crucial because it allows us to see beyond skin color. It allows us to look at all the myriad ways our daily actions can be imbued by white supremacist thinking no matter our race.**

**Certainly, race and racism will never become unimportant if we cannot recognize the need to consistently challenge white supremacy. When cultural studies emerged as a context where the issues of whiteness and white privilege could be studied and theorized, it appeared that a new way of thinking and talking about race was emerging.** **Even though scholars wrote much about white privilege, they** did not always endeavor to show the link between underlying notions of white supremacy and white privilege. Overracialising whiteness then **made it seem as though white skin and the privileges that it allows were the primary issues, and not the white supremacist ways of thinking and acting that are expressed by folks of all skin colors. It may very well be that the re-centering of whiteness has helped silence the necessary theories and practice that are needed if we are as a nation to truly learn how to be rid of racism.**

**Perm**

**This solves – images can help galvanize critical public pedagogy if they are are combined directly with emancipatory, democratic goals**

**Giroux** 20**12**

/Henry A., One of the founding theorists of critical pedagogy in the United States, he is best known for his pioneering work in public pedagogy, cultural studies, youth studies, higher education, media studies, and critical theory. In 2002 Routledge named Giroux as one of the top fifty educational thinkers of the modern period, A high-school social studies teacher in Barrington, Rhode Island for six years,2 Giroux has held positions at Boston University, Miami University, and Penn State University. In 2005, Giroux began serving as the Global TV Network Chair in English and Cultural Studies at McMaster University “Disturbing Pleasures: Murderous Images and the Aesthetics of Depravity” Third Text, 26:3, 259-273, DOI: 10.1080/09528822.2012.679036/

This is not to suggest that aesthetic standards and values do not matter but to inquire how they come to function in the broader culture. **I am not suggesting that**, as a result of the symbiosis of the pleasure principle, the death drive and the spectacle, **any consideration of aesthetics simply adds insult to the portrayal of human suffering and** thus **has no place in** an **emancipatory** notion of **politics**. Photographers, as Mieke Bal points out, ‘can deploy art not only as a reflection but also as a form of witnessing that alters the existence of what it witnesses’.45 Bal also insists that **art can be used ‘to reconquer beauty [when] mobilized as a weapon against suffering’**, as represented by Nan Goldin's deeply personal photographs displaying the violence and aggression that marked her relationship with her lover. What is at stake with the rise of the depravity of aesthetics is that it offers up representations of human suffering, pain and death as the ultimate repository of desire and pleasure. This is not so much the beginning of a debate on the relevance of the aesthetic as much as a dialogue on the perversion of a formative culture that renders democratic society impossible, while also producing a depravity of aesthetics. This latter line of thought raises a different set of questions. **What forms of responsibility and what pedagogic strategies should one invoke in the face of a society that feeds off spectacles of violence and cruelty**? What forms of witnessing and education might be called into play in which the feelings of pleasure mobilised by images of human suffering can be used as ‘a catalyst for critical inquiry and deep thought’?46 **Responding** to these questions **would mean** not only **refusing to allow images to dissolve into a neoliberal pleasure machine by interrogating the crimes they portray, but also transforming the pedagogic function of a cultural apparatus that seriously limits and undermines any viable notion of aesthetics that might extend rather than shut down critical agency in the service of** a **democracy** to come.

Rather than being reduced to a mechanism for the cathartic release of pleasure, **a society** saturated in the claims of poisonous violence **must** serve as an indictment, a source of memory and evidence of the need to **imagine otherwise**. In pointing to these photos and the culture of cruelty, I do not want to suggest that because neoliberal social formations appear to be winning in the United States they have already achieved victory, or that the struggle is over. I think it is too easy to slide from an analysis of such dominant forces to erasing the important point that this is an ongoing struggle operating within a number of different contexts, however uneven. As Larry Grossberg has pointed out:

The fact that one can read for example a culture of cruelty off of various articulations does not yet mean that this is how people live their lives. The fact that the cultural discourses are all about markets does not mean that people live their lives with markets as the only definition/locus of value.47

These new social formations emerging within and across diverse contexts need a new language for describing the nature of such forces, their complexity and the different terrains on which they operate. What I am arguing is that analysing the aesthetics of depravity does not mean that such a project or social formation is an accomplished and sutured fact of domination, but to be properly understood must be located within complex and ongoing spheres of struggle.

**In contrast to the ‘Kill Team’ photos, we have seen a radical cultural and perspectival shift** – or Arendt's ‘instants of truth’ – **sparked by images** from Libya, Syria and Iran in which the murder of young students and other protesters by state militia thugs have been **captured on video and circulated** the world over. The video **images** of the killing of a young music student, twenty-seven-year-old Neda Agha-Soltan, **helped to inspire massive waves of protests** in Iran that continue to this day. Similarly, terrifying images of the torture and killing of thirteen-year-old Hamza Ali al-Khateeb have spread throughout Syria, indicting the state security forces who murdered him. **Such images become a critical mode of public pedagogy capable of forms of witnessing that allow people to imagine the unimaginable**. What is emancipatory about these images, as Georges Didi-Huberman points out in a different context, is that **they work to refuse** what he calls **the ‘disimagination machine’**; that is, these are images that are ‘images in spite of all’, bearing witness to a different and critical sense of remembering and collective resistance.48 Such images do not feed the basest of collective desires and pleasurable fantasies detached from any real consequences. On the contrary, **such images of abuse and suffering have inflamed a society in which a formative culture exists that enables people to connect emotional investments and desires to a politics in which unthinkable acts of violence are confronted as part of a larger ‘commitment to political accountability, community and the importance of positive affect for both belonging and change’**.

## 1AC

**You are the Right**

**This is proven because their Schaffer article uses the SAME LOGIC of the K to support Ron Paul**

**THEIR SCHAFFER ARTICLE** <http://www.lewrockwell.com/2008/03/butler-shaffer/ozymandias-usa/>

All is not bleak, however. **In the presidential candidacy of Ron Paul, one saw the igniting of a human energy devoted to peace, liberty, and free markets**. Perhaps the most encouraging qualities of the Paul supporters are (1) most were under the age of forty, and (2) there were many self-organizing, self-directed people taking orders from no one in a political hierarchy, but doing what they thought best served the interests of their candidate. I like to think of such young men and women as Albert Jay Nock’s "remnant," **the** ten percent who are the creative, **liberty-loving people upon whom the health of a civilization always depends**. Such are the people who will be around to pick up and reorganize — on fundamentally different principles — the broken pieces of a fallen system. Contrast these young, energized, optimistic young people with the lifeless, aged humanoids who sit glassy-eyed listening to empty bromides from a John McCain!

**The affirmative’s challenge to islamophobic indefinite detention policies creates an ideal intersectional space to build coalitions against racial violence—general claims to racial injustice are insufficient—we must coalesce around particular projects where there is a commonality of interest LIKE THE ADVOCACY**

**Wing 3, Bessie Dutton Murray Distinguished Professor of Law**

[Spring 2003, Adrien Katherine Wing is a Bessie Dutton Murray Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Iowa College of Law. A.B. Princeton, 1978; M.A. UCLA, 1979; J.D. Stanford, 1982. This paper was presented at the Civil Rights symposium of the Louisiana State“Civil Rights in the Post 911 World: Critical Race Praxis, Coalition Building, and the War on Terrorism”, <http://digitalcommons.law.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5987&context=lalrev&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fscholar.google.com%2Fscholar%3Fq%3Dguantanamo%2B%2522critical%2Brace%2Btheory%2522%26btnG%3D%26hl%3Den%26as_sdt%3D0%252C5%26as_vis%3D1#search=%22guantanamo%20critical%20race%20theory%22>, 63 La. L. Rev. (2003)]

**Because of the** various **problems with coalition building, several scholars do not endorse it**. For example, **Delgado advocates laboring within your own group** for the social justice goals you support. "For some projects, justice turns out to be a solitary though heroic quest, and the road to justice is one that must be traveled alone, or with our deepest, most trusted companions."' 4 **Haunani-Kay Trask states that real organizing of native Hawaiians takes place outside of coalitions.**205 She supports Malcolm X's claims that **whites need to tackle racism within their own communities, rather than in coalition**." "Work in conjunction with us-each working among our own kind."207 **Despite the frictions and problems between various traditional and nontraditional groups, coalition building can be a useful tool of critical race praxis in the current period.** **African Americans have been used to being the dominant minority** in the United States, **able to keep their concerns at the center of the civil rights movement**. **Latinos are** now **surpassing Blacks numerically**,208 and are the majority in California already.2 They will be 25% of the U.S. population by 2050.210 **Blacks will have to learn to work in coalition with Latinos to ensure that Black concerns are not lost in a new dispensation of "favored minority**." While the **Latinos are** becoming the majority minority, they are **not as politically organized as the Blacks yet, with many being recent immigrants or noncitizens, who may not speak English.**21 ' Thus in some instances, **Latinos will need to learn from African Americans, and** with them, **to achieve various goals. Coalition is good for Asians because** although they score higher on standardized tests and have a higher income level than the other minority groups, **history has already shown that they remain regarded as perpetual foreigners**,1 2 once **subject to internment**. 3 **Native Americans constitute only two million people," 4 and can benefit from linking with the larger groups**, some of whom may resent those tribes, who now profit from gambling casino wealth." 5 **Arabs and Muslims need to join in coalition with the other groups because they are too small and too recent as immigrants in comparison to the other groups to go it alone**. **As the current personification of evil of the moment, they need to draw upon the resources of other groups for support. Coalition building** does not happen in a vacuum. It **must coalesce around particular projects where there is commonality of interest**. For instance, Frank Valdes has noted that Latinos and Asians share a common interest in legal issues that involve "immigration, family, citizenship, nationhood, language, expression, culture, and global economic restructuring."216 **Racial profiling is a potential issue for cooperation as it affects all the major minority groups**. I will use it for illustrative purposes in the remainder of this section, even though it is only one of various issues that could be the basis for coalition building. Asian scholars have noted how both the recent mistreatment of Chinese American scientist Dr. Wen Ho Lee 2 17 and **the interning of 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans** in World War II **could both be regarded as cases of racial profiling**.218 **Kevin Johnson has called for Asians and Latinos to form political coalitions to challenge arbitrary INS conduct** . 21 **He** also **wants Blacks and Latinos to form coalitions to work on issues of racial profiling**, as well.22° **In the war against terrorism, racial profiling is particularly affecting Blacks, Latinos and South Asians who look Arab, creating an ideal intersectional issue for coalition building**.22 **' Coalescing around profiling in these times will not be easy**. In his timely book, Justice at War: Civil Liberties and Civil Rights in a Time of Crisis, Richard Delgado, a founder of CRT, queries, "**Will the establishment insist on Americanism** and toeing the line in the war on terrorism, **and demand that minorities demonstrate loyalty, in return for a symbolic concession or two**?.. .**Will it choose one minority group for favored treatment, in hope of keeping the others in line**."2'22 There are several foreseeable scenarios in this regard. For example, **the Bush administration could reconfigure rather than terminate various federal affirmative action programs** after an expected hostile Supreme Court decision in the upcoming Michigan cases,223 **to attempt to ensure Black support for the war efforts.** The administration's rejection of the pro-affirmative action position of the University of Michigan may have attracted some Asian support.224 **The perpetuation of the forty year old blockade against Cuba** despite U.S. business opposition **ensures Cuban American loyalty**,225 **and the rumored appointment of a Hispanic for the next U.S. Supreme Court vacancy may attract other Latinos.**22 ' **Delgado wonders whether people of color will "be able to work together toward mutual goals--or [will] the current factionalism and distrust continue into the future, with various minority groups competing for crumbs while majoritarian rule continue[s] unabated?** 22