#### First, the building of the 1AC matters, their reluctance to approach Israeli anti-blackness is in itself anti-black

Nicholas Brady “The Void Speaks Back: Black Suffering as the Unthought of the American Studies Association’s Academic Boycott of Israel” Out of Nowhere: The Cutting Edge of Black Theory December 23, 2013

Second, connected to the last point, is that the reluctance to deal with Israeli anti-blackness is emblematic of the larger inability for black suffering in the Middle East and North Africa to become a discernible international scandal. Black suffering exists as a consistent heartbeat of the region, as its repressed absent center through which the other conflicts take place on top of from the sixth century onward. What remains unthought and unmentioned in all of these moves towards solidarity is that in spite of all their differences, both Israel and Palestine (and much of the Arab world) mutually bond over anti-black violence. In order to deal with anti-blackness in this region, one would have complicate all terms of solidarity and reveal the nuanced networks of violence that hold the conflict together. In other words, anti-blackness becomes a subject that could implode the entire conversation and reveal an eery, yet essential consensus between the warring factions who fight in solidarity with Israel or Palestine: neither wants to centralize and deal with anti-blackness in the region. Third, if we can agree it is politically and ethically vacuous to ignore the connection between Israeli anti-blackness and its colonial relationship to Palestine, then what is the reason to not, at least, mention it in the list of offenses of the resolution? Is it because of the threat that blackness will take over the conversation and distract from the true issue? If we are boycotting Israel for their human rights violations, it would seem their consistent violations of the human rights of Black people should be a part of the “true issue” at least. More to the point, the continued plight of black people wherever they are in the globe is reflective of the fact that we need a radical overhaul of our ideas of the “true issue” — it shows we need a better understanding of the paradigm that drives the relation between disparate forms of violence in different regions in the world. Let us make no mistake here, this is not an issue of ignorance or miseducation. The American Studies Association is filled with nothing but experts on the history of this region, people who could run laps around me in terms of understanding the socio-historical facts or the on-the-ground situation. Knowledge of both are essential, and yet having the knowledge and pursuing the question into its troubling conclusion — straight into the void — do not necessarily follow one after the other. One could know nothing but the simple fact that no matter where in the globe we are, there will be black people being treated like shit and take up this question. Or one could know every fact about the area and still not even gesture toward a mention of the black suffering occuring on the ground — the latter is what happened with the ASA resolution. Any reason for not mentioning Israeli anti-black violence is inadequate and represents a problem much bigger than ignorance, it is a question of political and ethical proportions.

#### Anti-Black violence creates the conditions for the possibility for anti-Islamic rhetoric used to justify a war with Iran

Tariq Nelson “Islamophobia’s” roots in anti-black racism April 20, 2007 http://theamericanmuslim.org/

After that, lynching died off for a short period until the 1915 release of the film “The Birth of a Nation” which played a vital role in the dehumanization of blacks. In this film a black militia pillages a white home and attempts to rape the women, but are rescued by Confederate soldiers. Later in the film a white man from the North went into the South along with his biracial protégé with the aim of empowering blacks via election fraud. The film also depicts a murderous former slave named “Gus” who (what else) has designs on white women and crudely proposes to marry one. When she refuses, he chases her into the forest where she became trapped on a cliff. She leaps to her death to avoid letting herself be raped. In response, the “heroic” Ku Klux Klan hunts Gus down and lynches him. Then the biracial protégé tries to (you guessed it) force yet another white woman to marry him. Disguised Klansmen discover her situation and leave to get reinforcements. The Klan, now at full strength, rides to her rescue and takes the opportunity to evict all of the evil blacks. Victorious, the Klansmen celebrate in the streets, and the film cuts to the next election where the Klan successfully disenfranchises black voters. I know all of that sounds really silly, but that film was key in the dehumanization of blacks and was the most profitable film of all time (in today’s dollars grossing $300 million) until it was dethroned by Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs in 1937. They depicted blacks as uncontrollable animals and a secret plot with liberal whites to subjugate “good” whites. In Lafayette, Indiana, a white man killed a black teenager after seeing that movie, the Klan grew stronger, and lynchings began again. Anyone see the parallels? Who says that films are not powerful opinion makers? I am not trying to be overdramatic here or say that those situations are the same as today or downplay the grizzly murders that took place during those tragic times, but I am illustrating the similarity in tactics and social vilification and showing where this has led in the past. It is also illustrative in that many of the anti-Muslim bigots are also anti-black racists as well. This shows that this vilification by these anti-Muslim bigots is a serious thing whether they realize it or not. I suspect they do. Similar to the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, these anti-Muslim bigots are saying that all Muslims pose a danger to the society and that Muslims are hopelessly irrational and cannot be compromised with. We must be wiped out or leave our religion. Similar to The Birth of a Nation’s “Gus”, these bigots put out films – albeit much more sophisticated - that vilify all Muslims and present a one sided, caricatured inhuman view of us. Similar to the racists of the past, these modern racists and anti-Muslim bigots tell people of a sinister plot between liberal whites and Muslims to subjugate them. As I wrote in an earlier article, part of what these bigots do with Muslims is relentlessly post news articles about violent Muslim behavior and/or misdeeds of individual Muslims, even when the perpetrator was obviously mentally ill, as “evidence” against all Muslims. They give these examples of bad Muslim behavior and pass it off as the norm without EVER balancing it with news of good things that Muslims are doing. This series of bad news is meant to represent the normal everyday Muslim. They sarcastically write: “The religion of peace strikes again” as if to say that all of us are a part of this. Every Muslim is described as a terrorist or terror supporter. Every repressive measure against Muslims is cheered on and any concession or incident of a Muslim getting justice or a new masjid being built is an example of “creeping dhimitude”. A non-Muslim supporter of Muslim rights is a “dhimmi” and depicted similar to the way white liberals were depicted in “The Birth of a Nation”. Therefore, like in “The Birth of a Nation” the message is that it is a moral duty to disenfranchise these out of control beasts. Every Muslim is up to no good. Every Muslim is plotting something insidious. A Muslim is not human. Their blogs are very popular and unyielding. It is no wonder we see polls of growing anti-Muslim hatred. Thinking back, I saw signs of this early in my life as I can remember - as a child - the racist reaction at my (99% white) school in Mississippi to the bombings in Libya. (No one should interpret this as support of Qathafi. I am only talking about the reaction) In the aftermath, a lot of the children and even the teachers made racist anti-Arab jokes. I can also remember the discomfort the black children felt at this. We certainly weren’t on Qathafi’s side, but we didn’t like these racist jokes either because we knew these people didn’t like us either. The same kids that used to tease black children with “nigger lips” jokes were the ones that making these anti-Arab jokes.

#### State representations distance us from real world representations of politics – the policymaking paradigm guarantees imperialism

Reid-Brinkley 8

Shanara Reid-Brinkley, Rhetoric PhD & Prof @ Pitt, “The Harsh Realities Of “Acting Black:” How African-American Policy Debaters Negotiate Representation Through Racial Performance And Style”

Mitchell observes that the stance of the policymaker in debate comes with a “sense of detachment associated with the spectator posture.”115 In other words, its participants are able to engage in debates where they are able to distance themselves from the events that are the subjects of debates. Debaters can throw around terms like torture, terrorism, genocide and nuclear war without blinking. Debate simulations can only serve to distance the debaters from real world participation in the political contexts they debate about. As William Shanahan remarks:

“…the topic established a relationship through interpellation that inhered irrespective of what the particular political affinities of the debaters were. The relationship was both political and ethical, and needed to be debated as such. When we blithely call for United States Federal Government policymaking, we are not immune to the colonialist legacy that establishes our place on this continent. We cannot wish away the horrific atrocities perpetrated everyday in our name simply by refusing to acknowledge these implications” (emphasis in original).116

The “objective” stance of the policymaker is an impersonal or imperialist persona**.** The policymaker relies upon “acceptable” forms of evidence, engaging in logical discussion, producing rational thoughts. As Shanahan, and the Louisville debaters’ note, such a stance isintegrally linked to the normative, historical and contemporary practices of power that produce and maintain varying networks of oppression**.** In other words, the discursive practices of policy-oriented debate are developed within, through and from systems of power and privilege. Thus, these practices are critically implicated in the maintenance of hegemony**.**

#### We control the Uniqueness: The time has come to normalize a discussion of power relations in debate practice. Only PMS opens space for a discussion of internal others to the United States and foreign policy decisions. This kind of education is at the heart of any ethical discussion and is key to producing scholarship that helps Black and Brown students in debate.

H. Rap Brown 69, die nigger die, pg Pg.67-69

All black people are involved in the struggle. Revolutionaries are not necessarily born poor or in the ghetto. There is a role for every person in revolution if he is revolutionary. You don’t have to throw a Molotov cocktail to be a revolutionary. One thing which the Black college student can do is to begin to legitimatize the brother’s actions - begin to articulate his position, because the college student has the skills that the blood doesn’t have. It reminds me of the old story about the father and his son. The son comes to the father and says, “You told me that the loin was the king of the jungle. Yet in every story I read, the man always beats the lion. Why is that?” The father looks at the son and says, “Son, the story will always end the same until the lion learns how to write.” If you don’t begin to tell your own story, you will always be Aunt Jemima; you will always be “rioting.” You must begin to articulate a position of your own. The Black college student, if he is revolutionary, can help Black people to purge themselves of the misinformation that they’ve been fed all lives. White nationalism has been instilled in us whether we know it or not. We have been told that George Washington is no hero of blacks. He had 13 children and none by Martha. They were slaves. They tell us we should celebrate Christopher Columbus was a 15th century Eisenhower. He was so dumb. He was trying to get to India Did you ever see where India is on a map? But America has the power to legitimatize these people and make them heroes in our minds**.** America has negroes in the dilemma of thinking that everything black is bad. Black cows don’t give good milk. Black hens don’t lay eggs. Black mail is bad. You wear black to funerals and white to weddings. Angel food cake is white, devils food cake is black. And all good guys wear white hats. And black people fall for it. Everything black is bad. That’s white nationalism. And they tell you, you cant talk about black nationalism. So how do you combat it if you grow up telling your children that they respect Santa Claus. Come Dec 25 is santa claus is so white that he slides down a black chimney and comes out white. But you tell your children that santa claus brought these toys and you take them to see the white santa claus. So therefore it becomes instilled in their minds that santa claus is good because santa claus is white. Thus we help foster that type of white nationalism. You must begin to define for yourself; you must begin to define your black heritage. You must begin to investigate and learn on your own. They will never tell you that Hannibal is black. They’ll never tell you that there were black societies back in the 16th century and were the most modern at that time and the highest degree of their culture existed there. Every time you open a book here in America, they gonna show you uncle tom’s cabin or they gonna show you double O soul with a piece of watermelon. It is the responsibility of the black college student to combat this sort of thing. The education that a black student gets is irrelevant, fruitless and worthless unless he uses it to define and articulate positions that are relevant to the black people. It does you no good to come to school and cross the burning sand. Hell you aint never get off the burning sand. Pledging is no good for black people in America. When the man moves against you, your Omega sticker does not mean that he is going to pass you by. All it mean is he might take you to a different camp. If you must pledge, pledge to be a revolutionary. You are involved in the struggle whether you want to be or not. Your badge of involvement is your skin. Therefore, you got to quit walking around talking about those people out there acting crazy. Them!! That’s you!! Anything we do will have a profound impact on you.

#### That’s a prerequisite to any political action

bell hooks, “Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black” pg 15 1989

Appropriation of the marginal voice threatens the very core of self-determination and free self-expression for exploited and oppressed peoples. If the identified audience, those spoken to, is determined solely by ruling groups who control production and distribution, then it is easy for the marginal voice striving for a hearing to allow what is said to be over determined by the needs of that majority group who appears to be listening, to be tuned in. It becomes easy to speak about what that group wants to hear, to describe and define experience in a language compatible with existing images and ways of knowing, constructed within social frameworks that reinforce domination. Within any situation of colonization, of domination, the oppressed, the exploited develop various styles of relating, talking one way to one another, talking another way to those who have power to oppress and dominate, talking in a way that allows one be understood by someone who does not know your way of speaking, your language. The struggle to end domination, the individual struggle to 'resist colonization, to move from object to subject, is expressed in the effort to establish the liberatory voice—that way of speaking that is no longer determined by one's status as object—as oppressed being..

#### Second, We will isolate several links

#### b. Locking discussion of Blackness into the Neg is anti-Black and destroys education

Wilderson 10- Frank Wilderson- Red, White, and Black- Cinema and the Structure of Us- antagonisms- 51-52

**This violence** which turns a body into flesh, ripped apart literally and imaginatively, **destroys the possibility of ontology because it positions the Black in an infinite and indeterminately horrifying and open vulnerability, an object made** available (which is to say fungible) for any subject. As such, "the black has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man" or, more precisely, in the eyes of Humanity. 8 How is it that the Black appears to partner with the senior and junior partners of civil society (Whites and colored immigrants, respectively), when in point of fact the Black is not in the world? The answer lies in the ruse of analogy.By acting as //the Black is present, coherent, and above all human, Black film theorists are "allowed" to meditate on cinema only after "consenting" to a structural adjustment. 9 Such an adjustment, required for the "privilege" of participating in the political economy of academe, is not unlike the structural adjustment debtor nations must adhere to for the privilege of securing a loan: signing on the dotted line means feigning ontological capacity regardless of the fact that Blackness is incapacity in its most pure and unadulterated form. It means theorizing Blackness as "borrowed institutionality." 10 Ronald Judy's book (Dis)Forming the American Canon: AfricanArabic Slave Narratives and the Vernacular and his essay "On the Ques Page(s): 51, Red, white & black by Frank B. Wilderson tion of Nigga Authenticity" critique the Black intelligentsia for building aesthetic canons out of slave narratives and hardcore rap on the belief that Blacks can "write [themselves] into being." 11 Judy acknowledges that in such projects one finds genuine and rigorous attention to the issue that concerns Blacks as a social formation, namely, resistance. But he is less than sanguine about the power of resistance which so many Black scholars impute to the slave narrative in particular and, by extension, to the "canon" of Black literature, Black music, and Black film: In writing the death of the African body, Equiano['s eighteenth-century slave narrative] gains voice and emerges from the abject muteness of objectivity into productive subjectivity**.** It should not be forgotten that the abject muteness of the body is not to not exist, to be without effect. The abject body is the very stuff, the material, of experiential effect. Writing the death of the African body is an enforced abstraction. It is an interdiction of the African, a censorship to be inarticulate, to not compel, to have no capacity to move, to be without effec**t,** without agency, without thought.The muted African body is overwritten by the Negro, and the Negro that emerges in the ink flow **of** Equiano's pen is that which has overwritten itself and so becomes the representation of the very body it sits on. 12 Judy is an Afro-pessimist, not an Afrocentrist. For him the Negro is a symbol that cannot "enable the representation of meaning [because] it has no referent." 13 Such is the gratuitousness of the violence that made the Negro.

#### c. The omission of a Slave Grammar of suffering isn’t accidental, their political ontology creates an unethical framework

Wilderson 10’( Frank Red White and Black: Cinema and the structure of U.S. Antagonisms) pg. 57

 I am calling for a different conceptual framework, predicated not on the subject-effect of cultural performance but on the structure of political ontology, a framework that allows us to substitute a culture of politics for a politics of culture**.** The value in this rests not simply in the way it would help us rethink cinema and performance, but in the way it can help us theorize what is at present only intuitive and anecdotal: the unbridgeable gap between Black being and Human life. To put a finer point on it, such a framework might enhance the explanatory power of theory, art, and politics by destroying and perhaps restructuring the ethical range of our current ensemble of questions. This has profound implications for non-Black film studies, Black film studies, and African American studies writ large because they are currently entangled in a multicultural paradigm that takes an interest in an insufficiently critical comparative analysis— that is, a comparative analysis in pursuit of a coalition politics (if not in practice then at least as a theorizing metaphor) which, by its very nature, crowds out and forecloses the Slave's grammar of suffering.

#### d. This is the same unethical relationship the makes the black body a slave, fungible object in and out of the debate community. Any representational politics that seek to be free of this burden is claiming to be free in the face of the slave. Produces violence especially amongst the resolved. Freedom always comes at a price.

Yancy 05**,** *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 19.4 (2005) 215-241

The “View from Nowhere” that most philosophical discourse fosters cannot theorize for the black body or hope to solve for the harms of white supremacy

I write out of a personal existential context. This context is a profound source of knowledge connected to my "raced" body**.** Hence, I write from a place of lived embodied experience, a site of exposure. In philosophy, the only thing that we are taught to "expose" is a weak argument, a fallacy, or someone's "inferior" reasoning power. The embodied self is bracketed and deemed irrelevant to theory, superfluous and cumbersome in one's search for truth. It is best, or so we are told, to reason from nowhere. Hence, the white philosopher/author presumes to speak for all of "us" without the slightest mention of his or her "raced" identity**.** Self-consciously writing as a white male philosopher, Crispin Sartwell observes:

Left to my own devices, I disappear as an author. That is the "whiteness" of my authorship. This whiteness of authorship is, for us, a form of authority; to speak (apparently) from nowhere, for everyone, is empowering, though one wields power here only by becoming lost to oneself. But such an authorship and authority is also pleasurable: it yields the pleasure of self-forgetting or [End Page 215] apparent transcendence of the mundane and the particular, and the pleasure of power expressed in the "comprehension" of a range of materials.

(1998, 6)

**To theorize the Black body one must "turn to the [Black] body as the radix for interpreting racial experience"** (Johnson [1993, 600]).[1](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_speculative_philosophy/v019/19.4yancy.html#FOOT1) **It is important to note that this particular strategy also functions as a lens through which to theorize and critique whiteness; for the Black body's "racial" experience is fundamentally linked to the oppressive modalities of the "raced" white body.** However, **there is no denying that my own "racial" experiences or the social performances of whiteness can become objects of critical reflection.** In this paper, **my objective is to describe and theorize situations where the Black body's subjectivity, its lived reality, is reduced to instantiations of the white imaginary, resulting in what I refer to as "the phenomenological return of the Black body.** T**hese instantiations are embedded within and evolve out of the complex social and historical interstices of whites' efforts at self-construction through complex acts of erasure vis-à-vis Black people.** These acts of self-construction, however, are myths/ideological constructions predicated upon maintaining white power. As James Snead has noted, **"Mythification is the replacement of history with a surrogate ideology of [white] elevation or [Black] demotion along a scale of human value"** (Snead 1994, 4).

#### a. The alternative is to embrace afrofuturism as an ethical imperative.

Mark Rockeymoore, “Afro-Futurism” The African Magazine February 2K

Afrofuturism is the antithesis of futurism. Countless science fiction novels, comic books and movies laud the inexorable nature of progress and, by extension, the global white supremacy system as well as the understanding that this system espouses a future that progresses in stages or flights of mental evolution, shuttling from mechanical to molecular to digital to cellular modalities, at which point science and magic become almost indistinguishable to the uninitiated and the god-concept is finally subsumed. The most inclusive of these extrapolations do indeed challenge the social structure of white supremacy but most retain the hierarchical dependencies of left-brained, materially oriented thinking. This tendency does seem to evolve as western society adapts to the wider availability of information as well as the increased exposure of xenophobic populations to ethnically diversified surroundings and traditionally holistic cosmogonies. Of course, there has always been the pagan tradition of ancient Europe, personified by the Kemetian-taught Druids - not to mention the mysticism of the east, of yin and yang, also kemetian-taught - that has informed the european weltanshau, from the prehistoric mythos of the celtic Tuatha de Danaan and the kemetian-derived greek pantheon of gods and goddesses, to the present day wiccan and new age revolution.¶ The interplay of race, culture and time coalesce in the moment, revealing the barest, most tantalizing glimpse of what afrofuturism could be and perhaps has always been.¶ Afrofuturism is not science-fiction. It is not a mechanical, technology driven vision of the future because an afro ain't never been about anything constricting or orderly, in the hierarchical sense. Rather, an afro is free-flowing, loving the wind. Changing, shifting and drifting on the breeze, bending this way, puffing out or just plain swaying gently from side to side, following the whimsical inclinations of the melanated person upon who's head it is perched. An afro can be taken from, it can be added to, yet it still retains its own natural structure, its own spiral and bouncy nature. It is flexible, yet patterned. It is about synthesis and holism. It is about accepting the kitchens and working the waves on the crown. It is about dreading, locking and following the patterns of nature where they lead, yet following a laterally delineated order. It is about the interplay between dominant and recessive genes. It is about diversity. It is about knowing purposes and determining the placement of diverse variables within their proper context**.**¶Afrofuturism is about knowledge. It is about intuitively understanding the harmonics of the Earth and solar system, their electromagnetic interactions: the effect of a butterfly in Brazil upon a hurricane in France, the weather patterns of the Earth, the living cycles of our days and nights and the stilling of the mind. The rotation and evolution of the galaxy and the oneness of the universe. The true, inner connectivity between each being on this planet. The simplicity of knowing truly, what love is. It is about the science of relationships, of clearing the mental and spiritual debris from one's life in a healthy, systematic fashion. Of cleansing the body, not only our own, but that of the earth that we, as a culturally diverse people, have helped to subjugate. It is about shattering the walls separating the sciences and realizing the oneness of all creation. Knowing, and loudly declaiming its presence and purpose in the larger scheme of creation. Afrofuturism simply is!¶ It is also a one-world philosophy. Not only because of the secret history of Afrika's primacy in early human cultural and physical evolution, but also because it is a sane alternative leading to a sustainable future. Afrofuturism is inclusive, yet it is very much aware that each thing, person, institution and body politic has its place and time and that each must fulfill its inherent purpose. This aspect makes afrofuturism more than a political or literary/artistic discourse since it approaches the metaphysical in its insistence upon realizing the fullest expression of each and every aspect of its existence. It becomes a way of life, a way of thinking holistically.

#### And this debate over war powers skirts over the war at home - white supremacy fuels white nation building that always focuses on the subjugation of the black body

Rodriguez 10 (Dylan Rodriguez, University of California, Riverside, “The Terms of Engagement: Warfare, White Locality, and Abolition” Critical Sociology, Crit Sociol January 2010 vol. 36 no. 1 151-173)

The state’ is fundamentally a conceptual term that refers to a mind-boggling array of geographic, political, and institutional relations of power and domination. It is a term of abstraction: certainly the state is ‘real’, but it is so massive and institutionally stretched that it simply cannot be understood and ‘seen’ in its totality. Thus, the way a given public comes to comprehend the state’s realness – or more accurately, the way the state makes itselfcomprehensible, intelligible, and materially identifiable to ordinary people – is through its own self-narrations and institutional mobilizations. By way of example, consider the narrative and institutional dimensions of the ‘war on drugs’ during its most heightened period of political currency: New York City mayor Edward Koch, in a gesture of masculine challenge to the Reagan-era federal government, offers a prime example of such a narration in a 1986 op-ed piece published in the pages of The New York Times: \*\*QUOTE\*\*I propose the following steps as a coordinated Federal response to [the war on drugs]: Use the full resources of the military for drug interdiction. The Posse Comitatus doctrine, which restricts participation of the military in civilian law enforcement, must be modified so that the military can be used for narcotics control … Enact a Federal death penalty for drug wholesalers. Life sentences, harsh fines, forfeitures of assets, billions spent on education and therapy all have failed to deter the drug wholesaler. The death penalty would. Capital punishment is an extraordinary remedy, but we are facing an extraordinary peril … Designate United States narcotics prisons. The Bureau of Prisons should designate separate facilities for drug offenders. Segregating such prisoners from others, preferably in remote locations such as the Yukon or desert areas, might motivate drug offenders to abandon their trade. Enhance the Federal agencies combating the drug problem. The Attorney General should greatly increase the number of drug enforcement agents in New York and other cities. He should direct the Federal Bureau of Investigation to devote substantial manpower against the cocaine trade and should see to it that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is capable of detecting and deporting aliens convicted of drug crimes in far better numbers than it now does. Enact the state and local narcotics control assistance act of 1986. This bill provides $750 million annually for five years to assist state and local jurisdictions increase their capacities for enforcement, corrections, education and prosecution. These proposals offer no certainty for success in the fight against drugs, of course. If we are to succeed, however, it is essential that we persuade the Federal Government to recognize its responsibility to lead the way. \*\*END QUOTE\*\* (Koch 1986, emphasis added) Koch’s manifesto builds a mechanism of self-legitimating violence: the state (here momentarily manifest in the person of the New York City mayor) constantly tells stories about itself, facilitated by a politically willing corporate media. This storytelling – which through repetition and saturation assembles the popular ‘common sense’ of domestic warfare – is inseparable from the on-the-ground shifting, rearranging, and recommitting of resources and institutional power that we witness in the everyday mobilizations of a state waging intense, localized, militarized struggle against its declared internal enemies, structurally embodied in the nationalist animus that epidermally 3 (Fanon 1967) criminalizes black and indigenous populations and distends into localized racist state violence waged on differently racially and ethnically pathologized brown populations, from Puerto Ricans and Filipinos to Mexicans and Iranians. Consider, for example, how pronouncements like Koch’s are consistently accompanied by the operational innovation of different varieties of covert ops, urban guerilla war, and counterintelligence warfare that specifically emerge through the state’s declared domestic wars on crime/drugs/gangs/etc. (Parenti 2000) Hence, it is no coincidence that Mayor Koch’s editorial makes the stunning appeal to withdraw (‘modify’) the Posse Comitatus principle (tantamount to a call for martial law), in order to facilitate the federal government’s formal mobilization of its global war apparatus for battle in the domestic urban theater of the war on drugs. To reference our example even more closely, we can begin to see how the ramped-up policing and massive incarceration of Black and Latino youth in Koch’s 1980s New York was enabled and normalized by his and others’ attempts to storytell the legal empowerment and cultural valorization of the police, such that the nuts-and-bolts operation of the criminal justice system was lubricated by the multiple moral parables of domestic warfare. It is useful here to further illustrate the lineage of the self-narrating state through a tracing of a few of its own pronouncements of domestic war. The first three articulations arrive courtesy of President Ronald Reagan, the last through Asa Hutchinson, an administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). While the selection of the following passages is somewhat arbitrary (there are literally thousands of similar tone and content that are easily discovered with the most casual perusal), they have been chosen for illustration precisely because they are symptomatic of the state formation in which they are situated: \*\*QUOTE As I’ve said before, we’ve taken down the surrender flag and run up the battle flag. And we’re going to win the war on drugs. (Reagan 1982) My generation will remember how America swung into action when we were attacked in World War II. The war was not just fought by the fellows flying the planes or driving the tanks. It was fought at home by a mobilized nation – men and women alike – building planes and ships, clothing sailors and soldiers, feeding marines and airmen; and it was fought by children planting victory gardens and collecting cans. Well, now we’re in another war for our freedom, and it’s time for all of us to pull together again. In this crusade, let us not forget who we are. Drug abuse is a repudiation of everything America is. The destructiveness and human wreckage mock our heritage. Think for a moment how special it is to be an American. Can we doubt that only a divine providence placed this land, this island of freedom, here as a refuge for all those people on the world who yearn to breathe free? (Reagan 1986) This war is not yet won, not by a long shot. When we say zero tolerance, we mean, simply, that we’ve had it. We will no longer tolerate those who sell drugs and those who buy drugs. All Americans of good will are determined to stamp out those parasites who survive and even prosper by feeding off the energy and vitality and humanity of others. They must pay. That’s why the administration … has advocated tougher measures than ever before to combat the drug runners and the drug dealers. We’re doing this by seizing the ill-gotten possessions of drug dealers and their accomplices. Those fancy cars and fancy houses and bank accounts full of dirty money aren’t really theirs. They were bought from the sale of illegal blood pollutants. We do not tolerate companies that poison our harbors and rivers, and we won’t let people who are poisoning the blood of our children get away with it either. Those who have the gall to use federally subsidized housing to peddle their toxins must get the message as well. We will not tolerate those who think they can do their dirty work in the same quarters where disadvantaged Americans struggle to build a better life. We want to kick the vermin out and keep them out. (Reagan 1988) We give up freedom when we addict ourselves to drugs. This fact is not lost on the terrorists. (Hutchinson 2001) Generally, the state materializes and becomes comprehensible to both its anticipated and unexpected publics through such definitive moments of crafting: the state identifies itself as a series of active rhetorical, political, and institutional projects and mobilizations, many of which hinge on the marshalling of capacities for racist state violence (war).The state’s self-narration inundates and hails multiple publics with its discourse of policing and jurisprudence as the righteously punitive and justifiably violent front lines of an overlapping series of comprehensive, militarized, and culturally valorized domestic wars, whether the ‘war on drugs’, ‘war on crime’, ‘war on gangs’, ‘war on illegal immigration’, or ‘war on terror’. By extension, it is the material processes of war, from the writing of public policy to the hyper-weaponization of the police, that commonly represents the practical existence of the state as we come to normally ‘know’ it. Domestic warfare has thus become both the common language and intensely materialized modality of the US state. While this form of legitimated state violence certainly predates Reagan’s ‘war on drugs’ and his/its inheritors, the scope and depth of domestic warmaking seems to be mounting with a peculiar urgency in our historical moment. To take former NYPD and current LAPD ChiefWilliam Bratton on the strength of his own words, the primary work of the police is to engage aggressively in ‘the internal war on terrorism’ (Garvey and Winton 2002), which in these times entails everything from record-breaking expansions of urban police forces (McGreevy 2007), to cross-party consensus in legislating state offensives against criminalized populations of choice (Rau 2007) and the reshuffling of administrative relationships between the militarized and juridical arms of local and federal government to facilitate the state’s various localized ‘wars on gangs’ (McGreevy and Winton 2007). This modality of domestic warmaking also, crucially, entails the discursive innovations of an emergent multiculturalist white supremacy, wherein authoritative embodiments of the ‘new’ post-civil rights racist state smoothly recapitulate the a priori of the nation-building project. Barack Obama’s now notorious 2008 Father’s Day speech at the Apostolic Church of God in Chicago, in which he scolded and cajoled ‘black fathers’ for ‘acting like boys instead of men’ and rendering ‘the foundations of our families … weaker’, also encompassed a back-door (and largely unnoticed) pledge of allegiance to the law-and-order state: ‘Yes, we need more cops on the street. Yes, we need fewer guns in the hands of people who shouldn’t have them.’ (Obama 2008) Crucially, Obama obtained an enthusiastic round of applause from his ostensibly progressive black audience on all rhetorical counts.

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Wise 2009, TIM WISE 2009 (HEY DUDE, WHERE'S MY PRIVILEGE? RACE AND LAWBREAKING IN BLACK AND WHITE MAY 19, 2009 [HTTP://WWW.ZMAG.ORG/ZNET/VIEWARTICLE/21490](http://WWW.ZMAG.ORG/ZNET/VIEWARTICLE/21490))

This is perhaps the most blatant example of white privilege imaginable: the ability to do what you want, when you want, without fear of consequence, and then to have that behavior deemed largely harmless, even when, for others, it would be viewed as dysfunctional, destructive, and evidence of a profound cultural flaw. Well it's time to flip the script on all that; time to note that it isn't the culture of black and brown youth, or working class youth (of whatever color), that needs changing. They aren't the problem**.** They aren't the ones with inverted value systems. They aren't the ones whose presence on campus is the problem. It's some among the ones with money and insufficient melanin who are the problem. And it's time we treated them like one, especially when, by their behavior, they literally beg us to do so.

#### Blackness is intrinsic to any discussion of America. Normalizing a discussion of our relation to the topic guarantees this kind of education.

Grier and Cobbs, (Black Rage, p149-50) 1968

“Such are the factors that make academic achievement difficult for dark students: loving but untrusting parents, discouraged teachers, institutional opposition to a learned black community, and a state of war that has both historical roots and a contemporary reality. When in spite of these barriers a student surfaces as an academician, the passage through these dark places has left its mark. He steps onstage to put his skill to work in a nation and an economy which has blocked his progress at every step and which yet offers him serious obstacles. ¶ The systemic discrimination against black academicians and intellectuals is a dreary tale well told by many voices. Let us add only this: The paths beyond scholarly excellence may lead to positions of power in government, in industry, or in the administrative hierarchy of major educational institutions. But the black man who has breached so many barriers to achieve academic status must at this writing realize that further doors are open to all save him. His is a blind alley. His achievements are circumscribed by the same impediments of discrimination as are those of his less gifted brother. ¶ If education truly freed the brother from this peculiarly American latter-day bondage, the transition from black to white might actually be approached by means of the refinement of skills. But there is no prospect of this and no one realizes it more keenly than the black intellectual.”

#### Ignoring the colonialist violence of Israel kills their ability to solve the aff

Nicholas Brady “The Void Speaks Back: Black Suffering as the Unthought of the American Studies Association’s Academic Boycott of Israel” Out of Nowhere: The Cutting Edge of Black Theory December 23, 2013

In spite of its general criticism of Israel’s human rights violation, the absence that screams louder than this progressive stance is the utter lack of any mention of Israel’s history of anti-black policies and violent aggression against African immigrants. Considering the context of the resolution, the absence of Israel’s anti-black policies and mob-violence is not peculiar — it was to be expected. And yet what is to be expected should not be accepted, especially from an organization acting in the stated interest of “justice.” Its silence occurs in an especially unethical time. Within the last few months, Israel’s anti-black immigration policies and the recent mob-led riot against African immigrants have exploded into international news (with headlines such as “Violent Anti-African Race Riot Rocks Israel, Black Men and Women Beaten” or “Israel Passes Law aimed at deterring African Migrants”). The ASA resolution therefore does double damage: it simultaneously ignores the importance of anti-blackness to the Israel’s colonial regime and actually acts to cover it up by moving critical academic attention away from the current anti-black crisis towards the well-defined contours of an Israel-Palestine debate that always circles around anti-semitism versus settler colonialism. What falls out is how anti-blackness exists as its own singular formation of violence that operates in excess of — and simultaneously in concert with — the logic of racism or settler colonialism. The response to this may be that even if the plight of African immigrants is dire, to bring it up in the context of the Israel/Palestine conflict is at best in poor taste and at worst a vulgar form of opportunism. This response is inadequate for a multitude of reasons. First, there is a growing movement of Palestinian activists (and activists for the Palestinian cause) who recognize the centrality of anti-blackness to understanding the Israeli colonial regime and also desire to move towards a greater solidarity with blackness through calling out the anti-black violence endemic to their own culture (notable example, “Confronting Anti-Black Racism in the Arab World”).

#### Can’t separate anti Islam concerns from anti blackness

Tariq Nelson “Islamophobia’s” roots in anti-black racism April 20, 2007 http://theamericanmuslim.org/

So, I saw signs of this very early in my life and though - at the time - I was too young to understand the nuances, it nonetheless made me uncomfortable because I knew that these people were racist All of this is why it was not surprising that the commentators from the anti-Muslim blogs use the racist terms such as “nigger” and “nigger lover” in addition to “raghead” and the like. They are the ideological descendents of the KKK. I must also note that several news organizations have noted a rise in white nationalism since 9/11. I don’t find this to be surprising as I think that this is directly connected to the rise in anti-Muslim bigotry. You get one, you usually get the other. One is connected to the other like a two headed monster. A white nationalist political party in the UK (the BNP) that “stands for the preservation of the national and ethnic character of the British people and is wholly opposed to any form of racial integration between British and non-European peoples” has made gains in local elections since 9/11 running on an anti-Muslim platform. In their platform they say that they intend to oppose ” the endless wave of Islamics who are flocking to our shores to bring our island nations into the embrace of their barbaric desert religion.” One of their leaders stated: ““We should be positioning ourselves to take advantage for our own political ends of the growing wave of public hostility to Islam currently being whipped up by the mass media.” So after 9/11, they expanded their racist message to include Muslims. Are we seeing the connection yet? As crazy and racist as these people are, they have made small yet consistent electoral gains since 9/11 and now have 53 councillors in local government. In 2004, one of their candidates gained over 51% of the vote in the local district. The BNP is still working and constantly whipping up anti-Muslim hysteria everyday to work toward their insidious goals. Their counterparts are doing the same here, except here most of them veil their white nationalism and racism. But we should remember that the two usually come together.

#### The alternative is a prerequisite to solving the conflicts of the 1AC

Nicholas Brady “The Void Speaks Back: Black Suffering as the Unthought of the American Studies Association’s Academic Boycott of Israel” Out of Nowhere: The Cutting Edge of Black Theory December 23, 2013

To speak of blackness as “unthought” is not to speak of ignorance then, nor is it even to mean unconsidered. We can say very definitively that black suffering is not simply unknown, but actually remains a central metaphor for how people understand their solidarity against Israel. People’s statements of support are full of similes: “this is like the boycott of South Africa…” “Israeli occupation is like segregation…” etc. Black suffering becomes the gold standard of evaluating other people’s suffering and the foundation for our moral outrage and political maneuvering. What is tragic here is that the metaphor was unnecessary, for the metaphor elides the existence of black bodies on the ground on both sides of the wall catching hell from both sides of this conflict. Black flesh exists as the unknown term in the Israel/Palestine conflict, the void off the map of political contestation. The question being raised from the void of blackness is not one of either saying “yes” or “no” to solidarity, but instead explodes the bounds through which choices issue from. It is not a question for how to be with or against Israel, but instead demands we rethink how we can form solidarity in an infinitely more complex and violent situation. And no, it is not an adequate answer to say Frantz Fanon or Malcolm X or any other figure believed in a natural solidarity between Arabs and Blacks. They had their ways of answering this question, and yet the question still remains to be posed because of the perpetuation of the African slave trade in the region, the anti-black solidarity between Israel and the Arab nations, the black flesh that is beaten, burned, murdered. No, there is no easy answer to this question — it is a question that demands to be handled as the singularity it is. Shout outs to different activists working on the frontlines of the Palestinian struggle that recognize the centrality and singularity of anti-blackness in this entire affair. It is by meeting ya’ll that this question that I have always felt, from the days I cut my teeth as a young teenage activist on the question of Palestine, but did not know how to pose has percolated further in my mind now. The ASA resolution emerges directly out of an obfuscation of this work that is currently happening between certain activists on both sides. If solidarity is important, then all cards must be laid on the table at all times, never swept under the rug strategically to make things easier. This is not about intentions, but instead is a question of paradigm and what concepts center one’s analysis. The ASA resolution’s silence speaks louder than any individual’s intentions. The statement reflects an organization that looked into the abyss of black suffering and patted it on the head saying, “Its not your time. Maybe it was before, and maybe it will be later. But it will not be now.”

#### Specificity is unstrategic when talking about Afrofuturism because it kills our ability to change our imaginations in place of ineffective contingent stringencies. We’ve tried to use government institutions before, they fail without an elimination of white supremacy.

Mark Rockeymoore, “Afro-Futurism” The African Magazine February 2K

Or perhaps the term gives rise to more contemplative dreamscapes, in which the future approximates the past in a more organic, holistic understanding of the human condition. Civilizations have coexisted before, in synch with the Earth's natural rhythms, each another and the biosphere. Examples abound: Kemet, Sumeria, Mesoamerica, India. Terraced gardens amidst the rainforested mountain ranges of the equator. Pre-Saharan expanses of irrigated plain in northern Afrika. Cultivated forestland and ceremonial mounds in mid-latitudinal America. Ancient monuments of cyclopean conception witness the passage of time, the world across. Only ruins of these civilizations remain, yet they provide a model of truly integrative theocratic dynasties that ensured the existence of poverty-free, moral based societies girded by certain knowledge of humanity's inherent divinity rather than its original sin. The future meets the past in the crucible of the present. There exists, deep within the ebony recesses of the net noir, a diverse community that skirts the quantum-dusted fringes of the new afrikan technotronic space, awash in a blaze of neon, shining sites proclaiming knowledge born, revolution and reinvigorated ancestral memory; space that serves as enclaves of exploration for three generations of diasporic afrikans as they interact and explore the issues shaping the melanated perspective. There is a tradition of black emancipatory thought, inextricably linked to western civilization and its evolution, that has proffered various works of a speculative nature pertaining to the physical or spiritual omnipresence of the Afrikan archetype within a western framework. A serialized novel like Schuyler's "Black Empire" would be one example. Even recent contributions - especially those that press those boundaries and explore the possibilities of human interaction, sociologically or biologically - such as Octavia Butler's "Mind of my Mind" or Nalo Hopkinson's "Brown Girl" serve to exemplify this worldview. According to afrofuturist Alondra Nelson, a colleague named Mark Dery was the first to use the term afrofuturism in his edited collection "Flame Wars", among other places. He defined the term thusly: "Speculative fiction that treats African-American themes and addresses African-American concerns in the context of 20th century technoculture--and more generally, African American signification that appropriates images of technology and a prosthetically enhanced future --might for want of a better term, be called "Afro-futurism." Since that moment in time, afrofuturism has expanded to embrace the entire, colorful world. As expressions of the possibilities that afrofuturism heralds, these examples and definitions cover but a fraction of the whole. There are also the soulful intonations of Sun Ra, DJ Spooky, Busta Rhymes, the Wu-Tang Clan, Public Enemy and others who straddle the razor's edge of the digital divide; the visual and aural artists redefining the way we think about ourselves by adding layers of contextual blackness in a multi-media format, accessed by varying levels of understanding and acceptance. It is questionable whether or not afrofuturism possesses specific traits or characteristics because its expressions are as diverse as the Afrikan diaspora and the experiences shared by those who compose it. The only framework that can possibly contribute to an understanding of what afrofuturism is would be the overarching cultural system within which it has gestated. Because afrofuturism is transnational - disdaining place and localized adaptations for a more holistic global extent - this 'overarching cultural system' can only be defined as Marimba Ani's global white supremacy system. In this view, cultural icons like Nat Turner, Akhenaton, Nkhrumah, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Martin, Malcolm and countless others were the afrofuturists of their day.

#### Perm is severance: what they justify matters for our wellbeing in debates and what becomes possible in the debate community.

Leonardo 04 “The Color of Supremacy: Beyond the discourse of ‘white privilege’” California State University Educational Philosophy and Theory, Vol. 36, No. 2, 2004 Zeus Leonardo Associate Professor Language and Literacy, Society and Culture zeus Leonardo has published numerous articles and book chapters on critical social thought in education

When it comes to official history, there is no paucity of representation of whites as its creator. From civil society, to science, to art, whites represent the subject for what Matthew Arnold once called the best that a culture has produced. In other words, white imprint is everywhere. However, when it concerns domination, whites suddenly disappear, as if history were purely a positive sense of contribution. Their previous omnipresence becomes a position of nowhere, a certain politics of un-detectability. When it comes to culture, our students learn a benign form of multiculturalism, as if culture were a purely constructive notion free of imperialist histories and examples of imposition. Encouraging white students to reinsert themselves into the underbelly of history does not always have to occur in a self-destructive context. There are ways to address domination that require very little from people who benefit from it

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#### 5. Perm is a form of multiculturalism that leaves white imprint on black dreams

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#### The perm is merely cultural tourism – whiteness allows the privileged tourist to vacation in the identity of the exotic other secure in the promise of a return to safety and comfort at the end of the adventure, creates the Sci. Fi. Rockeymoore critiques

Nakamura, Lisa Ph.D., Graduate Center, City University of New York (English), "Race In/For Cyberspace: Identity Tourism and Racial Passing on the Internet", 2000

Tourism is a particularly apt metaphor to describe the activity of racial identity appropriation**, or "passing" in cyberspace.** The activity of "surfing," (an activity already associated with tourism in the mind of most Americans) **the Internet not only reinforces the idea that cyberspace is not only a place where travel and mobility are featured attractions, but also figures it as a form of travel which is inherently recreational, exotic, and exciting, like** surfing. **The choice to enact oneself as a samurai warrior in LambdaMOO** constitutes a form of identity tourism which allows a player to appropriate an **Asian** racial identity without any of the risks associated with being a racial minority in real life**. While this might seem to offer a promising venue for non-Asian characters to see through the eyes of the Other by performing themselves as Asian through on-line textual interaction, the fact that the personae chosen are overwhelmingly Asian stereotypes blocks this possibility by reinforcing these stereotypes.** This **theatrical** fantasy of passing as a form of identity tourism has deep roots in colonial fiction**, such as Kipling's *Kim* and T.E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom,* and Sir Richard Burton's writings. The Irish orphan and spy Kim, who uses disguise to pass as Hindu, Muslim, and other varieties of Indian natives, experiences the pleasures and dangers of cross cultural performance. Said's insightful reading of the nature of Kim's adventures** in cross cultural passing contrasts the possibilities for play and pleasure for white travelers in an imperialistic world controlled by the European empire **with the relatively constrained plot resolutions offered that same boy back home. "For what one cannot do in one's own Western environment, where to try to live out the grand dream of a successful quest is only to keep coming up against one's own mediocrity and the world's corruption and degradation, one can do abroad. Isn't it possible in India to do everything, be anything, go anywhere with impunity?" (42). To** practitioners of identity tourism **as I have described it above, LambdaMOO** represents an phantasmatic imperial space**, much like Kipling's Anglo-India,** which supplies a stage upon which the "grand dream of a successful quest" can be enacted**. Since the incorporation of the computer into the white collar workplace the line which divides work from play has become increasingly fluid. It is difficult for employers and indeed, for employees, to always differentiate between doing "research" on the Internet and "playing": exchanging email, checking library catalogues, interacting with friends and colleagues through synchronous media like "talk" sessions, and videoconferencing offer enhanced opportunities for gossip, jokes, and other distractions under the guise of work.**[**3**](http://www.humanities.uci.edu/mposter/syllabi/readings/nakamura.html#anchor209709) **Time spent on the Internet is a hiatus from "rl" (or real life, as it is called by most participants in virtual social spaces like LambdaMOO), and when that time is spent in a role playing space such as Lambda, devoted only to social interaction and the creation and maintenance of a convincingly "real" milieu modeled after an "internation al community," that hiatus becomes a full fledged vacation. The fact that Lambda offers players the ability to write their own descriptions, as well as the fact that players often utilize this programming feature to write stereotyped Asian personae for themselves, reveal that attractions lie not only in being able to "go" to exotic spaces,**[**4**](http://www.humanities.uci.edu/mposter/syllabi/readings/nakamura.html#anchor214798) **but to co-opt the exotic and attach it to oneself.** The appropriation of racial identity becomes a form of recreation, a vacation from fixed identities and locales. This vacation offers the satisfaction of a desire to fix the boundaries of cultural identity and exploit them for recreational purposes. **As Said puts it,** the tourist who passes as the marginalized Other during his travels partakes of a fantasy of social control, one which depends upon and fixes the familiar contours of racial power relations.

#### The permutation is merely another form of Western “Universalism”. This is a desire to destroy singularities. The impact is racism and bare life.

Lander 2k

Edgardo, Sociologist, “Eurocentrism and Colonialism in Latin American Social Thought” Nepantla: Views from South, Volume 1, Issue 3, pg. 527-528

Neoliberalism and postmodernism are two of the prevailing theoretical influences in contemporary Latin American social sciences. From the point of view of the tensions referred to earlier, neoliberalism has an unequivocal content. It is a dogmatic reaffirmation of lineal conceptions of universal progress and the “imaginary of development.” It assumes the central countries as models toward which all must inexorably turn. Neoliberalism reaffirms a colonial perspective in which the only significant subjects are those with roles in the modernizing project: entrepreneurs, technocrats, middle-class neighborhood associations, and other members of a mythological civil society. The indifference toward “others” who cannot find a place in this utopia of market and liberal democracy suggests the presence of vestiges of the fundamental racism characteristic of all colonial thought. The most deplorable assumptions on the sociology of modernization have been taken up with renewed devotion. From the perspective of the imaginary of modernity, all differences are redefined as obstacles to be overcome. On the other hand, such modern values as equity and autonomy become archaic, obsolete. In this radicalization of Western “universalism,” all historical singularity disappears. International financial experts can jump from country to country and indistinctly advise Russia, Poland, or Bolivia on the virtues of the market. Economics is a science; the places, people, and customs with which it operates are accidents of minor importance compared to the universality of its objective laws.

#### Cooption DA - must push away from the 1AC to solve – independent reason to vote Neg

Alfred 99 [Taiaiake, U of Victoria dir. of Indigenous Governance Program, Peace, Power, Righteousness, p79]

Freeing ourselves from co-optation comes down to acknowledging the unbalanced power relation that we exist within (and not making excuses for its continuation); and holding ourselves apart from the institutions and people that actually constitute colonialism. Colonialism is not an abstract notion, but a set of real people and relationships and structures that can be resisted and combated by placing our respect and trust where it belongs: in indigenous people, relationships, and structures.