# 1ac

#### 4:19

Janelle Monaé and Erykah Badu “Q.U.E.E.N” Atlantic Records 2013 http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player\_detailpage&v=26Gjy9nIpWQ#t=259

I asked a question like this:

Are we a lost generation of our people?

Add us to equations but they'll never make us equal

She who writes the movie owns the script and the sequel

So why ain't the stealing of my rights made illegal?

They keep us underground working hard for the greedy

But when it's time pay they turn around and call us needy

My crown too heavy like the Queen Nefertiti

Gimme back my pyramid, I'm trying to free Kansas City

Mixing masterminds like your name Bernie Grundman

Well I'mma keep leading like a young Harriet Tubman

You can take my wings but I'm still goin' fly

And even when you edit me the booty don't lie

Yeah keep singing, I'mma keep writing songs

I'm tired of Marvin asking me “What's Going On?”

March to the streets 'cuz I'm willing and I'm able

Categorize me, I defy every label

And while you selling dope, we gon’ keep selling hope

We rising up now, you gotta deal you gotta cope

Will you be electric sheep? Electric ladies, will you sleep?

Or will you preach?

#### Step 3: The Essay

#### When I was 12, I babysat a child with my older sister, Kiana. During the evening, Kiana slipped away for two hours and I didn’t question where she had gone. A few days later, my mother came to interrogate me about that night.  After me, she moved onto demanding information from Kiana.  Eventually, my mom pulled out a home Marijuana test and told my sister to pee in a cup.  Kiana had gone to smoke that night and my mother knew.

#### When the test came back positive, Kiana and I were taken into her room, stripped completely naked, and beaten with a thick brown leather belt she acquired from one of our houseguest. We were asked to exchange places every ten minutes or so to give us time to develop new swellings before our next turn to be whipped and our wounds were hidden so no school counselor could see.  It was one of the most humiliating and physically painful things I’ve ever gone through.

#### This year’s topic calls for us to examine the executive powers of the United States. Each day, the US tortures suspects who have been detained indefinitely with methods derived from slavery. Suspects detained indefinitely experience sexual humiliation; sleep deprivation, and whippings on the regular. These same techniques have been passed down through the African-American community for over three centuries. This is from Grier and Cobbs:

“The black parent approaches the teacher with the great respect due a person of learning. The searching expectations which are an important part of the parent’s feelings find substance in the person f the teacher. Here is the person who can do for this precious child all the wonderful things a loving parent cannot. The child is admonished to obey the teacher as he would his parents and the teacher is urged to exercise parental prerogatives, including beating. In this the parent yields up his final unique responsibility, the protection of his child against another’s aggression. The child is placed in the teacher’s hands to do with as she sees fit, with the sole requirement that she teach him. The meaning of this gift is not lost on the teacher, who is alternately touched by the parent’s trust and staggered by the responsibility, for the teacher knows best of all that much has gone on before she gets the child and knows that, even as the parent urges her not to spare the rod, that same parent is telling volumes about the life that child has led up to this moment. The parent tells of a child both beloved and beaten, of a child taught to look for pain from even those who cherish him most, of a child who has come to feel that beatings are right and proper for him, and of a child whose view of the world, however gently is persuades him to act toward others, decrees for him that he is to be driven by the infliction of pain.¶ Pity that child.¶ Beating in child rearing actually has it’s psychological roots in slavery and even yet black parents will feel that, just as they have suffered beatings as children, so it is right that their children be so treated. This kind of physical subjugation of the weak forges early in the mind of the child a link with the past and as he learns the details of history, with slavery per se.” [black rage—grier and cobbs p137-8]

#### American Slavery forms white domination and is an ongoing reminder of fear for the black body.

Grahn Farley 4

To make the question of redressing slavery into a simple matter of how best to resolve legal and economic issues regarding the appropriate accounting practices is to foreclose a general social critique of a culture of racism and a history of oppressive racial relations. 3 To fore- close such a critique is also to detach the question of reparations from questions of ethics and humanism.4 Instead of focusing on the legal and monetary parts of the question of reparations, I will focus on the value of a collective memory. This should not be interpreted as an argument that legal and monetary reparations should not be sup- ported. My argument is that redressing slavery is much wider than what law and economics can give through mere reparations. Redressing slavery means eliminating the power whites have over blacks in the form of human, economic, and organizational resources.5 The white over black relationship springs out of slavery.6 The structure of white over black has survived, through nurturing, from the time of slavery, through the time of segregation and, finally, to the present time of neo-segregation. 7 This is why the memory of slavery is still of importance and still serves as a resource to white people. The memory of slavery itself functions in the present as a threat toward black people because the power relationship between black and white people has not changed. At every turn, white people have been able, through their advantage of resources, to preserve their white dominance. At the end of slavery, white people were able to reconstitute racial relations through segregation; at the end of segregation, white people were able to reconstitute racial relations through neo-segrega- tion; and at each turn, white people have been willing to die and kill to preserve slavery and segregation.8 It should not be forgotten that slavery was not given up without a tremendous fight, and segregation was not given up without a tremendous fight, which is why the mem- ory of slavery still serves as a reminder to black people of what white people are willing to do and what white people are willing to sacrifice in order to maintain racial domination.9 The memory of slavery is a white threat against blacks that is made possible because the power relationship between black and white has not changed. The memory of slavery, then, is a threat-this is what whites can and have done to blacks-that is a resource for whites. The memory of slavery will always remind black people of the price they will have to pay for their liberation from racial oppression.10 The memory of slavery will remain a threat, and a white resource, until the threat is made impossible to carry out. The threat can only be made impossible to carry out when whites no longer have power over blacks. Until that moment, the memory of slavery will remain a threat and that threat will remain a white resource and a black burden. [THE MASTER NORM: ON THE QUESTION OF REDRESSING SLAVERY Maria Grahn-Farley, Depaul Law Review, 2004]

#### This policy is modeled, paranoia is the justification for torture

McClintock 9

(Anne, “Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib, Small Axe, Number 28, Vol. 13, 1, March 2009, pp. 50-74, Project Muse, ASH)

The specters from Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib place in our hands a profound and compromising question: what is the motive for torturing people whom the government and the interrogators know are innocent? This may appear to be a simple question, but it is not. It is a terrible question with terrible implications, not only for the people immiserated by ruinous US occupation but also for how we understand what kind of empire it is that now extends its ghostly filaments beyond Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib throughout the shadowy, global gulag of secret interrogation prisons, “black sites,” torture ships, and off-shore internment camps now known to straddle the world. Simply to ask the question, why torture innocent people? is to enter a dark labyrinth, a labyrinth of imperial paranoia marked on all sides by flashpoints of violence and atrocity (the massacres at Haditha, Fallujah, Nisour Square, Azizabad, and Nadali only a handful among many), a labyrinth haunted by the historical ghostings and half-concealed specters that I call “imperial déjà vu.”3 By now it is fair to say that the United States has come to be dominated by two grand and dangerous hallucinations: the promise of benign US globalization and the permanent threat of the “war on terror.” I have come to feel that we cannot understand the extravagance of the violence to which the US government has committed itself after 9/11—two countries invaded, thousands of innocent people imprisoned, killed, and tortured—unless we grasp a defining feature of our moment, that is, a deep and disturbing doubleness with respect to power. Taking shape, as it now does, around fantasies of global omnipotence (Operation Infinite Justice, the War to End All Evil) coinciding with nightmares of impending attack, the United States has entered the domain of paranoia: dream world and catastrophe. For it is only in paranoia that one finds simultaneously and in such condensed form both deliriums of absolute power and forebodings of perpetual threat. Hence the spectral and nightmarish quality of the “war on terror,” a limitless war against a limitless threat, a war vaunted by the US administration to encompass all of space and persisting without end. But the war on terror is not a real war, for “terror” is not an identifiable enemy nor a strategic, real-world target. The war on terror is what William Gibson calls elsewhere “a consensual hallucination,”4 and the US government can fling its military might against ghostly apparitions and hallucinate a victory over all evil only at the cost of catastrophic self-delusion and the infliction of great calamities elsewhere.

#### To forgo the question of how this has affected my community is to ignore the positioning of the black body. This manifests by teaching black people what it means to have power and that power becomes unrestricted in the face of wars and crisis. But black people are always in crisis and are taught the power to save ourselves is not available to us in these moments. More from Grier and Cobbs

“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.” [black rage—grier and cobbs p149-50]

#### Framework questions only seek to place us in boxes, and strip us of our connection to the oppressed people we claim to help. In doing so, this debate community has continually determined my path for me. I can’t talk about the issues that affect my community because they don’t fit on your flow in a strategic way.

#### Debate is a space that replicates academia’s desire to create containment strategies for Blacks, structurally forcing us into other identifies like democratic citizens, which normalizes the gratuitous violence that creates the blackness.

Wilderson 2010 [Frank Wilderson- Red , White, and Black- Cinema and the Strucutre 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 adjustxment, 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 effect, 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. But it is precisely to this illusive symbolic resistance (an aspiration to "productive subjectivity"), as opposed to the Negro's "abject muteness," and certainly not to the Slave's gratuitous violence, that many Black scholars in general, and Black film theorists in particular, aspire when interpreting their cultural objects. My claim regarding Black film theory, modeled on Judy's claim concerning Black studies more broadly, is that it tries to chart a project of resistance with an ensemble of questions that fortify and extend the interlocutory life of what might be called a Black film canon. But herein lies the rub, in the form of a structural adjustment imposed on Black film scholars themselves. "Resistance through canon formation," Judy writes, must be "legitimated on the grounds of conservation, the conservation of authenticity's integrity." 14 A tenet that threads through Judy's work is that throughout modernity and postmodernity (or postindustrial society, as Judy's echoing of Antonio Negri prefers) "Black authenticity" is an oxymoron, a notion as absurd as "rebellious property," 15 for it requires the kind of ontological integrity which the Slave cannot claim. The structural adjustment imposed on Black academics is, however, vital to the well-being of civil society. It provides the political economy of academia with a stable "collegial" atmosphere in which the selection of topics, the distribution of concerns, esprit de corps, emphasis, and the bounding of debate within acceptable limits appear to be "shared" by all because all admit to sharing them.

#### It’s time to turn the page. Let me choose when I get to say no and take control of my destiny. The Janelle Monae song is the best instance of standing up and shouting, I am a Q.U.E.E.N., treat me the way I deserve, let me write the issues I want to discuss. To insert your knowledge production onto me is to penetrate my dreams and marginalize my voice, if they win any offense here they have to prove I don’t have a right to speech, which reinforces domination this is bell hooks.

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.. [talking back pg 15]

#### Even if they win writing isn’t inherently key, internal solvency checks. Authors like Brenda Miller explain,

"The urge to write was the urge to explain the sense of loss I felt, to bring coherence to an identity that now seem fragmented, in flux, chaotic." – [Brenda Miller,*A Braided Heart: Shaping the Lyric Essay]*

#### Performing this writing is key, Audre Lorde

“Once you start to speak, people will yell at you. They will interrupt you, put you down and suggest it’s personal. And the world won’t end. And the speaking will get easier and easier. And you will find you have fallen in love with your own vision, which you may never have realized you had. And you will lose some friends and lovers, and realize you don’t miss them. And new ones will find you and cherish you. And you will still flirt and paint your nails, dress up and party, because, as I think Emma Goldman said, “If I can’t dance, I don’t want to be part of your revolution.” And at last you’ll know with surpassing certainty that only one thing is more frightening than speaking your truth. And that is not speaking.” [sister outsider]

#### Writing enables a transformation from object to subject, bell hooks

That way of speaking is characterized by opposition, by resistance. It demands that paradigms shift—that we learn to talk—to listen—to hear in a new way.¶ To make the liberated voice, one must confront the issue of audience—we must know to whom we speak. When I began writing my first book, Ain't I A Woman: black women and feminism, the initial completed manuscript was excessively long and very repetitious. Reading it critically, I saw that I was trying not only to address each different potential audience—black men, white women, white men, etc.—but that my words were written to explain, to placate, to appease. They contained the fear of speaking that often characterizes the way those in a lower position within a hierarchy address those in a higher position of authority. Those passages where I was speaking most directly to black women contained the voice I felt to be most truly mine—it was then that my voice was daring, courageous. When I thought about audience—the way in which the language we choose to use declares who it is we place at the center of our discourse—I confronted my fear of placing myself and other black women at the speaking center. Writing this book was for me a radical gesture. It not only brought me face-to-face with this question of power; it forced me to resolve this question, to act, to find my voice, to become that subject who could place herself and those like her at the center of feminist discourse. I was transformed in consciousness and being [talking back pg 15]

#### The role of the ballot is to determine who best imagines a world that pushes the ethical range out of the box.

#### JM said it best, we can’t be an electric sheep. Electric ladies need to preach. Afrofuturism is ethically imperative Rockeymoore

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

# 2ac

### Framework

**Must use our bodies to change the space of debate**

**Reid Brinkley 2008**

[Shanara is the Director of Debate at the Univeristy of Pittsburgh, “THE HARSH REALITIES OF “ACTING BLACK”: HOW AFRICAN-AMERICAN POLICY DEBATERS NEGOTIATE REPRESENTATION THROUGH RACIAL PERFORMANCE AND STYLE, Dissertation.]

**The use of hip hop and personal experience function as a check against the homogenizing function of academic and expert discourse**. Note the reference to bell hooks, Green argues **that without alternative perspectives, “radical libratory theory becomes rootless**.” The term **rootless seems to refer to a lack of grounded-ness in the material circumstances that academics or experts study**. In other words, **academics and experts** by definition **represent an intellectual population with a level of objective distance from that which they study**. For the Louisville debaters, **this distance is problematic as it prevents the development of a social politic that is rooted in the community of those most greatly affected by the status of oppression.** The use of hip hop by the Louisville debaters signifies on the normative construction of expertise. Hip hop and rap artists are hardly considered intellectuals. And yet, the Louisville debaters dub hip hop practitioners “organic intellectuals.” A phrase taken from Mari Matsuda, **the use of “organic intellectuals” as a basis for evidentiary claims repeats the significance of evidenced based claims, but revises by making hip hop artists experts on race and racism in America.** In Green’s First Negative Constructive or 1NC in the double-octo-final round against Emory University’s Allen and Greenstein (ranked in the “sweet sixteen”), she argues: “Mari **Matsuda, a Hawaiian American discusses her connections and parallels to the African American community and concluded** that **when we approach change**, she felt that **listening and opening up space for organic intellectuals are key ways in which we can begin to construct knowledge in a different way**.”62 According to Matsuda and the Louisville debaters, it is **the intermingling of alternative knowledge practices with current practices that can lead to different methods of knowledge construction**. For them, **the introduction of “organic intellectuals” into the normative processes of knowledge production is a critical tool in developing new methodologies.** Green notes further: “Not only do you open up space but you listen to them and follow some of their approaches, follow some of their methods. **They have the power to construct a counter- hegemonic discourse to challenge power relations that is not through academia that is just as powerful at dismantling walls of institutional racism through their dissemination of subversive ideas.**”63 That Green distinguishes opening up space for organic intellectuals and actually listening to and following their methods, is a crucial discursive choice. Within debate rounds that are oriented toward critical interrogations of policy, debaters often argue for the importance of “opening up space” for those individuals and voices that might normally be excluded from policy discussions. However, **simply opening space for those individuals to participate is often a maneuver by which dominant discourse can maintain itself**. In other words, you can open up space within a dominant discourse for those who have been excluded to speak, but **such an action does not necessitate that the dominant discourse respond to the call of the new voices.** Signifyin’ on the Body and the Speaking Flesh. Throughout this project I have argued that **the bodies of debaters of color are critically relevant to their engagement in public argumentation.** In this section of this chapter I want to turn our attention more directly to the raced and gendered bodies of the Louisville debaters. In chapter one, I argued that bodies signify to onlookers within particular cultural contexts. As we've discussed, **the race and gender constructions attached to bodies are critically important in defining and determining success and achievement in educational contexts**. Specifically, recall Warren's discussion of the purity of educational environments where the body is invisibilized in favor of a focus on the mind. Thus, as Warren argues, ¶ **the black body exceeds the purity of that social space as that body can never be fully hidden**. The Louisville **debaters find themselves in a space of public deliberation and education where the body is deemed irrelevant in favor of a dependence on the power of the mind**. Yet, **only those bodies that can remain un-marked, or unremarkable, in its social and competitive space can remain relatively invisible thus maintaining purity**. **Black bodies** in particular are notable in these spaces if only because they are so few. Their bodies **cannot be hidden or ignored, they exceed attempts to constrain them. However, these bodies can go through a process of purification by which the black body attempts to signify itself within and through the normative discourses that marks one as an in-group member. This is the process of integration and at its extremes, assimilation.** The Louisville debaters engage the normative practices of the community by resisting attempts to capture and purify their colored bodies. In other words, they make their bodies more visible. **They signify on their bodies, bringing them forth to participate within competition and public deliberation, crowding out the visual normativity of whiteness.** Other scholars have noted **that body rhetoric has been a critical strategy of confrontation amongst radical or protest groups**.64 Deluca argues **that it is an absolute necessity that social movement scholars analyze "the body when attempting to understand the effects of many forms of pubic argument, especially social protest rhetoric."**65 Deluca's essay speaks specifically to protest movements that have the ability to gain television coverage. Thus, **it is** critically **important for those protest groups to use their bodies to effectively make arguments within a very small window of** media **coverage.** While this type of study of the uses of the body in protest rhetoric are important to the study of rhetoric in the media age, **it is equally critical that those studying the rhetoric of the body engage in the analysis of the body in social protest that occurs without broad media coverag**e. As Richard Jensen and John Hammerback note, **communication scholars have studied large scale movements and protests or the rhetoric of particular national figures or leaders resulting in a limited understanding of social movements and protest rhetoric, with the Civil Rights Movement as their specific example**.66 Thus, they argue that **communication scholars must concern themselves with local, grassroots examples of social movements for these are the building blocks of larger, more visible movements**. While the Louisville Project has received some media attention, that it is not a nationally visible movement makes it no less useful for critical and theoretical analysis. Even without media attention, the Louisville **debaters find their bodies to be useful spaces of public argumentation.** That is not to say that the project has not been represented through mediated discourse. College Station Televison (CSTV) produced documentaries of the NDT between 2004 and 2006 which were aired on their station. J ones and Green in particular are featured in the documentary in 2004

### Case

#### Addressing Anti-Blackness outweighs – scandalizes ethicality and sets the stage for all violence

**Wilderson**, award-winning author of Incognegro: A Memoir of Exile and Apartheid. He is one of two Americans to hold elected office in the African National Congress and is a former insurgent in the ANC’s armed wing, **2003** (Frank B. III “Chapter One: The Ruse of Analogy” *Red, White, & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S.* Antagonisms,)

Two tensions are at work here. One operates under the labor of ethical dilemmas-- “simple enough one has only not to be a nigger.” This, I submit, is the essence of being for the White and non-Black position: ontology scaled down to a global common denominator. The other tension is found in the impossibility of ethical dilemmas for the Black: “I am,” Fanon writes, “a slave not of an idea others have of me but of my own appearance.” Being can thus be thought of, in the first ontological instance, as non-niggerness; and slavery then as niggerness. The visual field, “my own appearance,” is the cut, the mechanism that elaborates the division between the non-niggerness and slavery, the difference between the living and the dead. Whereas Humans exist on some plane of being and thus can become existentially present through some struggle for/of/through recognition, Blacks cannot attain the plane of recognition (West 82). Spillers, Fanon, and Hartman maintain that the violence that has positioned and repetitively re-positions the Black as a void of historical movement is without analog in the suffering dynamics of the ontologically alive. The violence that turns the African into a thing is without analog because it does not simply oppress the Black through tactile and empirical technologies of oppression, like the “little family quarrels” which for Fanon exemplify the Jewish Holocaust. Rather, the gratuitous violence of the Black’s first ontological instance, the Middle Passage, “wiped out [his/her] metaphysics…his [her] customs and sources on which they are based” (BSWM 110). Jews went into Auschwitz and came out as Jews. Africans went into the ships and came out as Blacks. The former is a Human holocaust; the latter is a Human and a metaphysical holocaust. That is why it makes little sense to attempt analogy: the Jews have the Dead (the Muselmenn) among them; the Dead have the Blacks among them.¶ This violence which turns a body into flesh, ripped apart literally and imaginatively, destroys the possibility of ontology because it positions the Black within 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” (110) or, more precisely, in the eyes of Humanity

### Cap

#### Marxist purism kills the revolution

**Passavant 2010** [Paul, Paul A. Passavant is Associate Professor of Political Science at Hobart and William Smith Colleges. He is the author of *No Escape: Freedom of Speech and the Paradox of Rights* (NYU Press, 2002), and the editor (with Jodi Dean) of *Empire's New Clothes: Reading Hardt and Negri* (Routledge, 2004). He is also the author of numerous essays in law and political theory, including "The Strong Neo-liberal State: Crime, Consumption, and Governance," which appeared in *Theory & Event* 8:3 (2005). “Theory, Political Manifesto,” Theory & Event, vol. 13, issue 4]

The paradox afflicting radically democratic efforts (those sharing some sort of a relation to the Marxist legacy) to change our collectively worsening political and economic lives is the following. **Political concepts and institutions like law, the state, and systems of representation, or "sovereignty," have stunted our capacity to imagine being otherwise. "Discipline" has increased the capacity of labor, hence the profits extracted from those who labor. Institutions organize and stabilize these exploitive systems.** In order to reject, totally, systems of exploitation, some may be tempted to eschew not only the substantive concepts and institutions that have captured us and then fooled us into accepting our capture as the best life has to offer, but transcendentals, discipline and institutions period. **The obsession with revolutionary purity can become messianic, satisfied with nothing less than seeking or waiting for entirely new grounds to begin life again, ones that are totally unrelated to, and uncontaminated by, the corruption that has preceded us and gives place to us. Or, this kind of obsessive purity can itself capture revolutionary energies and keep them suspended** in (re)enacting "spontaneous" revolt and destructive violence, since any "structure" would be a limit to life's unthinkable potential. In refusing all limits, however, **this manner of "revolution" becomes infinitely destructive of efforts to constitute and conserve better ways for us to be, collectively. It is self-immolating or suicida**l. Yet, in seeking to institutionalize democratic gains against reaction, to support economies sustaining our collective welfare and happiness against necessity and the fearfulness necessity breeds, to create the new political subjects capable of sharing in these collective efforts, and the institutions that will sustain these new political subjects, **do we not risk limiting our potential if we repress some possibilities, and if we create institutions that appear differentiated from, if not alien to, certain life flows**? Is this not another manner of suicide? In sum, **to choose the first option, we are led to reject what we have, winding up with nothing, and if we choose the second, we risk winding up becoming that which we set out to refuse**.

#### The link only goes one way – we must start with anti-blackness because it is precisely what gives late capitalism coherence – anticapitalism represents a demand that can be satisfied through redistribution of resources, while the struggle for black subjectivity cannot be accommodated by the present system

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Capital was kick-started by the rape of the African continent, a phenomenon that is central to neither Gramsci nor Marx. According to Lindon Barrett, something about the black body in and of itself made it the repository of the violence that was the slave trade. It would have been far easier and far more profitable to take the white underclass from along the riverbanks of England and western Europe than to travel all the way to Africa for slaves. The theoretical importance of emphasizing this in the early twenty-first century is twofold. First, capital was kick-started by approaching a particular body (a black body) with direct relations of force, not by approaching a white body with variable capital. Thus, one could say that slavery is closer to capital's primal desire than is exploitation. It is a relation of terror as opposed to a relation of hegemony. Second, today, late capital is imposing a renaissance of this original desire, the direct relation of force, the despotism of the unwaged relation. This renaissance of slavery—that is, the reconfiguration of the prison-industrial complex—has once again as its structuring metaphor and primary target the black body. The value of reintroducing the unthought category of the slave by way of noting the absence of the black subject lies in the black subjects potential for extending the demand placed on state/capital formations because its reintroduction into the discourse expands the intensity of the antagonism. In other words, the positionality of the slave makes a demand that is in excess of the demand made by the positionality of the worker. The worker demands that productivity be fair and democratic (Gramsci's new hegemony; Lenin's dictatorship of the proletariat—in a word, socialism). In contrast, the slave demands that production stop, without recourse to its ultimate democratization. Work is not an organic principle for the slave. The absence of black subjectivity from the crux of radical discourse is symptomatic of the text's inability to cope with the possibility that the generative subject of capitalism, the black body of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the generative subject that resolves late capital's over-accumulation crisis, the black (incarcerated) body of the twentieth century and twenty-first century, does not reify the basic categories that structure conflict within civil society: the categories of work and exploitation. Thus, the black subject position in America represents an antagonism or demand that cannot be satisfied through a transfer of ownership or organization of existing rubrics. In contrast, the Gramscian subject, the worker, represents a demand that can indeed be satisfied by way of a successful war of position, which brings about the end of exploitation. The worker calls into question the legitimacy of productive practices, while the slave calls into question the legitimacy of productivity itself. Thus, the insatiability of the slave demand on existing structures means that it cannot find its articulation within the modality of hegemony (influence, leadership, consent). The black body cannot give its consent because "generalized trust," the precondition for the solicitation of consent, "equals racialized whiteness."8 Furthermore, as Orlando Patterson points out, slavery is natal alienation by way of social death, which is to say that a slave has no symbolic currency or material labor power to exchange.9 A slave does not enter into a transaction of value (however asymmetrical), but is subsumed by direct relations of force. As such, a slave is an articulation of a despotic irrationality, whereas the worker is an articulation of a symbolic rationality. A metaphor comes into being through a violence that kills the thing so that the concept may live. Gramscian discourse and coalition politics come to grips with Americas structuring rationality—what it calls capitalism, or political economy—but not with its structuring irrationality, the anti-production of late capital, and the hyperdiscursive violence that first kills the black subject so that the concept may be born. In other words, from the incoherence of black death, America generates the coherence of white life. This is important when thinking about the Gramscian paradigm and its spiritual progenitors in the world of organizing in the United States today, with its overvaluation of hegemony and civil society. Struggles over hegemony are seldom, if ever, asignifying. At some point, they require coherence and categories for the record, meaning that they contain the seeds of antiblackness.

#### By resisting the means by which capitalist appropriations regulate society the flow of capitalism can be disrupted

**Deleuze, 1990** (Gilles, French philosophers, “Postscript on Control Societies”, Negotiations, 180-181)

**It's easy to set up a correspondence between any society and some kind of machine**, which isn't to say that their machines determine different kinds of society but that they express the social forms capable of producing them and making use of them. The old sovereign societies worked with simple machines, levers, pulleys, clocks; but recent disciplinary societies were equipped with thermodynamic machines presenting the passive danger of entropy and the active danger of sabotage; control **societies function with a third generation of machines, with information technology and computers, where the passive danger is noise and the active, piracy and viral contamination. This technological development is more deeply rooted in a mutation of capitalism.** The mutation has been widely recognized and can be summarized as follows: nineteenth-century capitalism was concentrative, directed toward production, and proprietorial. Thus it made the factory into a site of confinement, with the capitalist owning the means of production and perhaps owning other similarly organized sites (worker's homes, schools). As for markets, they were won either through specialization, through colonization, or through reducing the costs of production. But **capitalism** in its present form **is no longer directed toward production**, which is often transferred to remote parts of the Third World, even in the case of complex operations like textile plants, steelworks, and oil refineries. **It's directed toward metaproduction**. It no longer buys raw materials and no longer sells finished products: it buys finished products or assembles them from parts. What it seeks to sell is services, and what it seeks to buy, activities. It's a capitalism no longer directed toward production but toward products, that is, toward sales or markets**. Thus it's essentially dispersive, with factories giving way to businesses. Family, school, army, and factory are no longer so many analogous but different sites converging in an owner**, whether the state or some private power, but transmutable or transformable coded configurations of a single business where the only people left are administrators. Even art has moved away from closed sites and into the open circuits of banking. Markets are won by taking control rather than by establishing a discipline, by fixing rates rather than by reducing costs, by transforming products rather than by specializing production. Corruption here takes on a new power. The sales department becomes a business center or "soul." We're told businesses have souls, which is surely the most terrifying news in the world. **Marketing is now the instrument of social control and produce-- the arrogant breed who are our masters. Control is short-term and rapidly shifting, but at the same time continuous and unbounded, whereas discipline was long-term, infinite, and discontinuous**. A man is no longer a man confined but a man in debt. One thing, it's true, hasn't

changed--capitalism still keeps three quarters of humanity in extreme poverty, too poor to have debts and too numerous to be confined: control will have to deal not only with vanishing frontiers, but with mushrooming shantytowns and ghettos.

*Program*

**We don't have to stray into science fiction to find a control mechanism that can fix the position of any element at any given moment**

-- an animal in a game reserve, a man in a business. Felix **Guattari has imagined a town where anyone** can leave their flat, their street their neighborhood, **using their** (dividual) **electronic card that opens this or that barrier; but the card may also be rejected** on a particular day, or between certain times of day; it doesn't depend on the barrier but on the computer that is making sure everyone is in a permissible place, and effecting a universal modulation.

**We ought to establish the basic sociotechnological principles of control mechanisms as their age dawns, and describe in these terms what is already taking the place of the disciplinary sites** of confinement that everyone says are breaking down. It may be that older means of control, borrowed from the old sovereign societies, will come back into play, adapted as necessary. **The key thing is that we're at the beginning of something new**. In the *prison system:* the attempt to find "alternatives" to custody, at least for minor offenses, and the use of electronic tagging to force offenders to stay at home between certain hours. In the *school system:* forms of continuous assessment, the impact of continuing education on schools, and the related move away from any research in universities, "business" being brought into education at every level. In the *hospital system:* the new medicine "without doctors or patients" that identifies potential cases and subjects at risk and is nothing to do with any progress toward individualizing treatment, which is how it's presented, but is the substitution for individual or numbered bodies of coded "dividual" matter to be controlled. In the *business system:* new ways of manipulating money, products, and men, no longer channeled through the old factory system. This is a fairly limited range of examples, but enough to convey what it means to talk of institutions breaking down: **the widespread progressive introduction of a new system of domination**. **One of the most important questions is whether trade unions still have any role: linked throughout their history to the struggle against disciplines, in sites of confinement, can they adapt, or will they give way to new forms of resistance against control societies? Can one already glimpse the outlines of these future forms of resistance, capable of standing up to marketing's blandishments? Many young people have a strange craving to be "motivated," they're always asking for special courses and continuing education; it's their job to discover whose ends these serve, just as older people discovered, with considerable difficulty, who was benefiting from disciplines**. A snake's coils are even more intricate than a mole's burrow.