1NC—Introduction

Shake 'til the break of dawn

Don't mean a thing, so duh

I can't take it no more

Baby, we in tuxedo groove

Pharaohs and E. Badu

Crazy in the black and white

We got the drums so tight

Baby, here comes the freedom song

Too strong we moving on

Baby this melody

Will show you another way

Been tryin' for far too long

Come home and sing your song

But you gotta testify

Because the booty don't lie

No, no, the booty don't lie

Oh no, the booty don't lie

(JANELLE MONAE – QUEEN)

Our roll of the ballot—the judge should vote for the team who best performatively and methodologically rejects the object status of the black female body.

We Begin with the originary example of the Hottentot Venus—Sarah Bartman, a Khoikhoi woman from what is now South Africa, was exhibited throughout London and Paris, her sexuality the subject of “freak show” like fascination from predominantly white male audiences. This Objectification of blackness feminity/body demonstrates How whiteness understands its sexuality Creates commodities of women

Sarah **Sharpley-Whiting 1999** “Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French”

**Sometime during the early quarter of the twentieth century, the esteemed director of Paris's Musee de !'Homme, Professor Verneau, wrote in ire of the continued popularity of the long-dead Hottentot Venus, Sarah Bartmann. "[It is her] enormous steatopygia," declared the director, "that excites many of the visitors to our collections." 1 Bartmann who as we have seen, was brought to Paris in Septem- ' ' her 1814 for purposes of exhibiting her buttocks, found herself, or at least parts of herself, at the center of Parisian popular culture.**  But perhaps the most astounding example of Sarah Hartmann's popularity in the French cultural imagination was the production of a vaudeville entitled La Venus hottentote, ou haine aux Franfaises.z A "one-act vaudeville," The Hottentot Venus was written in 1814 by Messieurs Theaulon, Dartois, and Brasier. The comedy made its debut on November 19, 1814, at the Theatre de Vaudeville, just two months after Hartmann's arrival in Paris. The Theatre de Vaudeville's musical director, Doche, composed and arranged thirty-four airs, including a "Hottentot" song for the musical comedy. The vaudeville used the same performers for its entire run of thirteen months: Messieurs Isambert, Hipolite, Seveste, Mesdemoiselles Riviere, Bodin, Betzi, and Madame Lenoble. Bartmann died Representing Sarah JJ on December 29, 1815. However, the last performance, triple-billed with Les Visites and Madame Favart, was given on January 4, 1815. Although Bartmann's exhibition at 188, rue St. Honore, just blocks away from the theatre, coincided with the vaudeville's run she was ' not in the piece. She was caricatured by a white female actress, Mademoiselle Riviere. And it is only at the vaudeville's end that a portrait of Bartmann's "beaute effrayante" (frightening beauty) is conspicuously presented (11). Vaudeville represents an interactive genre of jocular performativity that combines dialogue, dance, song, and pantomime. Vaudeville provides a hermeneutics of culture since its effectiveness de- ' pends wholly on audience participation.3 The interactive comedic or joking aspect of this cultural production allows for insight into the significance of the performance as a segue into the political unconscious of the culture. Jokes are explicitly linked to the production of pleasure. But jokes equally, according to Freud, carry implicit and insidious judgments about the object or objects of the joke: Joking · · . is an activity which aims at deriving pleasure from mental processes .... Where a joke is not an aim in itself- that is, where it is not an innocent one-there are only two purposes that it may serve, and these two can themselves be subsumed under a single heading. It is either a hostile joke (serving the purpose of aggressiveness, satire, or defence) or an obscene joke (serving the purpose of exposure).4 The jocular nature of this performance places it in the hostile aggressiveness category that allows one "to exploit something ridiculous in another," in this case, Bartmann's beauti effrayante, savagery, and her buttocks. The vaudeville will further "bribe the third party (the audience) with its yield of pleasure into taking sides with the interlocutors (the actors/writers) of the joke without very close investigation." 5 Replete with dangerous liaisons, both incestuous and interracial, **The Hottentot Venus plays upc,n the idea of difference and sameness within categories of racial/ethnic stereotypes.** As Hal Foster notes in Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics: **The other is structurally necessary, for it defines the limits of bourgeois social text-what is (a)social, (ab)normal, (sub)cultural. In short, order is produced around the positioning of the other by which (on the social level) it is made marginal and (on the historical level) suspended as exotic or "primitive." Exclusionary stereotypes, which effectively turn the other into a "pure object, a spectacle, a clown" (Barthes), have long comprised a principal mode of this control.6** Indeed, I would argue that although exemplifying Parisian's Bartmannmania,the vaudeville implicates itself more as a narcissisticventure, a call "to order," however cloaked in comedic verbiage, for a reaffirmation of Frenchwomen as erotic objects of the white male gaze,' and conversely for Bartmann's reduction to the "enormous butt" of a joke. **To reduce Sarah Bartmann to an object of derision, "a spectacle, a clown," is to strip away her sexual appeal, albeit perverse and objectified, to the French male spectator, to reinforce and reinscribe Bartmann's position in the Manichaean social world as a primitive savage. The gaze is always bound up with power, domination, and eroticization; it is eroticizing, sexualized, and sexualizing. The indisputable fact that throngs of a predominantly male, French crowd paid to gaze upon Bartmann as the essential primitive, as the undeveloped savage unable to measure up to Frenchness, is undercut by her practically au naturel presentation. From a purely ethnographic standpoint, her unveiling, the essentially nude exhibition, except for the apron that covered her genitalia, allows one to "best seize" her remarkable formation.** There is of course, as Laura Mulvey writes, pleasure in this looking; there is repressed desire in it. For as much as the apron covers Bartmann, it also thwarts the unveiling, the ocular seizing needed to judge, to see all and beyond, bound up with the act of looking. The male spectator will return time and time again to imagine what is behind the "veil" (apron), so to speak, to discern the sexual mysteries of Africa. Representing Sarah JS Yet the comedy's intentions of redirecting the gaze have still more far-reaching and insidious cultural implications. The de-eroticization of the French male gaze with respect to black women (embodied in the objectified Sarah Bartmann) and the redirection of that eroticized gaze to white female bodies underscore the pervasive nineteenth-century male fear of cultural/racial dissolution embedded, as Sander Gilman has noted, in the act of miscegenation.8 Bartmann will at every turn be represented as savage, primitive, foreign, grotesque, barbarous-a cultural and racial pariah, an enemy constructed by the French so as to be able "to exploit something ridiculous." The vaudeville's opening scene is situated at the chateau of an aristocratic family just outside Paris. Hatred of Frenchwomen characterizes the sentiment of Adolph. Femmephohia is perhaps a more fitting description of Adolph's anxieties-he has a fear rather than a hatred of Frenchwomen. "**Disgracefully deceived" by his first and second wives (7), he has sequestered himself at his uncle and aunt's chateau in the hope of avoiding the disarming charms of Frenchwomen. He envisions his next wife as "une exotique," "une sauvage" (7). His uncle, the baron, assures him that his extensive travel memoirs lead him to believe that only the beauty of "native American women and the Hottentots" rivals that of Frenchwomen (7). The baron's travel memoirs, however, do not extend beyond his imagination; he has never left France for these exotic places, nor has he seen these "wild" women. Rather, according to the baroness, "his imagination traveled for him" (6). The baron's imaginings, nonetheless, bring difference back (the unknown) into the familiar space of sameness by measuring the beauty of the "femmes sauvages" against familiar French frames of reference:** the Fran<;aises. We, the readers/ audience, know Hottentot maidens and Indian squaws are beautiful because of their comparability to Frenchwomen, the embodiment of beauty itself. The scene between the bumbling baron and the impressionable Adolph is immediately preceJcd by and juxtaposed to the scene between plotting-planning women: the baroness and Adolph's amor ous, widowed cousin, Amelia. Amelia has secretly arrived at the chateau from Paris. The baroness explains to her niece that not only has Adolph "lost his mind," but he has "made a vow to only marry a woman absolutely foreign to our morals and customs" (3-5). Amelia's first response is one of incredulity, "You mean a savage?" ( 5 ), swiftly followed by a condemnation of Adolph's lack of "nationalist spirit" (5). To say that something is different from French customs and morals is to say that it is savage, Other, in this vaudeville. Adolph has "lost his mind," gone mad, gone primitive. He must be "cured of [his] madness" (31), for surely the desire for an Other woman is utter madness. His incomprehensible desires not only run counter to French ethnocentrism and racial hierarchization, but also deviate from the aristocracy's well-noted propensity for incestuous liaisons. Amelia will trick Adolph into marriage for his own happiness as well as to erase "all of [their) familial differences" (19). Difference must be suppressed culturally, racially, and familially. The trickery takes the form of Amelia's impersonation of the Hottentot Venus, who is brought to her attention by a persistent suitor from Paris, the Chevalier d'Ericourt. Offering a lifetime of distractions, d'Ericourt shows her an advertisement for the most recent Parisian attraction: "A woman! This is a Venus, Madame! A Venus who has arrived here in France from England" (11). Bartmann is more than a woman; she is a Venus, the mythic goddess of beauty and sexuality. The Parisian women are so impressed with the Parisian men's admiration for the Hottentot that they "have already ordered dresses and overcoats in Hottentot styles" (12). The Hottentot Venus not only influences male sexual fantasy, but also feminine fashion for the "upcoming winter season" (12). Frenchwomen's desire to be desirable results in the appropriation ofBartmann's exhibition attire. The chevalier continues with his backhanded recounting of the Venus's charms: Really, this is no game! Already all Paris praises her. Representing Sarah 17 This woman is amazing: First she speaks very little. Her song seems barbarous, Her dance is lively and burlesque, Her face a little grotesque, Her waist of a becoming contour. One says that marriage binds her; But this Venus, I wager, Will never inspire love. (II) **The chevalier certainly cannot fathom Bartmann as an eroticized object of (white) male desire. The explicit reference to love and conjugal desire and "this Venus's" undesirability belie her designation as Venus. With her lively dance and primitive songs, she is diminished to a near-mute, entertaining spectacle for the French. Geographically, linguistically, culturally, and aesthetically, France, the French language, French culture, and Frenchwomen are privileged sites against which Hartmann, and hence Africa, are measured as primitive, savage, and grotesque. Hartmann's symbolic presence acts as a mirror, legitimizing existing notions of the superiority of France and the inferiority of the Other. A savage and primitive image ofBartmann governs the piece. And as an image, she does not speak. She is, therefore, spoken for. The silent image (Hartmann) and the privileged voice (Amelia) are conflated. Amelia's knowledge of the "sauvage" allows her to represent the Hottentot Venus, Sarah Hartmann, and rename her Liliska. " 'Knowledge' involving the other is never objective, neutral, disinterested," writes critic Daniel Brewer, "insofar as the discourse of knowledge is inextricably bound up with the discourse of power."** 9 To appropriate Hartmann's persona, to re-present her, is to, in Amelia's words, "perform a comedy" (n), to reduce Bartmann to an object of derision and thereby reveal her existence as comedic, and Adolph's desires for a "true savage" as laughable-a grotesque joke. The ease with which Amelia is able to perform as Bartmann brings to mind another artistic, literary motif and preoccupation popularized in the nineteenth century: white women as "closeted" sexual savages. The comedic masquerade begins when the Frenchwoman figuratively in blackface and dressed a la hottentote is introduced to Adolph and the baron by the baroness. Liliska is a Hottentot from the "country of the Hottentots" (22). Adolph falls in love instantly with Liliska's exotic beauty. Yet a language barrier arises between the destined lovers. The well-traveled baron is asked to act as interpreter for Adolph. The baron improvises, inventing a language derived from French to communicate with the native: Bellea Liliska, j' ea suisa votrea serviteura. Voulezi vousi repondrei <li l'amouri dei moni neveui .... C'est une langue mixte. Tous les sauvages ... Ia comprennent. [Beautifula Liliska, Ia ama at youra servicea. Wouldi youi like to respondi toi myi nephewi's declarations of lovei .... It is a mixed language. All the savages ... understand it.] (22) All savages understand this mixed language, according to the baron, who makes no distinction between Hottentots and other "savages." Within this broadly defined category of indistinguishable savages are included Hottentots and the continuously mentioned Iroquois, as well as "all the savages from the Adriatic sea" (22). There is no difference between their cultures or languages. Possessing indiscriminate differences, savages become interchangeable; a savage is a savage is a savage. Miming Bartmann, Liliska, the Hottentot, performs her trademark "barbarous" song and "burlesque" dance to impress her Parisian suitor: Ric mir voulouf izami Crif hec romir tonoe Mar zemu samho semi [emphasis mine) Zang sir colofrinoc Allious, Allious, allious, ou Representing Sarah 19 Allious, nimou Zic !omen coric zoni Rif af volin olof Trozalouf coric ani Crouf ragoli riolof Allious, allious, allious, ou Allious, nimou. (24) F these "neologisms," again artt.c ulate d rco r come die effect budt atr othme same time representative of the natt.v e ,s d'1f lie r ence. ' the w.o r samho glaringly stands out. Sambo was a popu1 a r Am.e ncan ca.n ca- ture of black men, one of the many ways m. w h'lC h wh tte Abm e.n canges desired to perceive black h.f e. A J. ester o f s.or ts ' the S. am of ltamua hrepresent e d enlroo · rts "to make the black male mto an obJect o g ter, and, onversely to force him to devise laughter, was to stn·p h.i m of m. ascu-f cli nity dign' ity and self-possession. Sambo was, th en ' an tll.u stratton. o humo' r as a dev' ice of oppression, and one o f th e most po tent m Amencan. h' to effect mastery. Popular culture. The ultimate objective for w ltes was . l to render the black male powerless as a potenu.a 1 warr tor ' as a sexua competitor, as an economt.c ad v ersary. 10 Sambo's inclusion in this vaudeville t.s not gratm' to us ' nor a s. imbp l'e syntactic slip of the pen in mimick.m g t h e savage ,s tongue . Sam o s place of origin was seventeenth-century s1 a ve-tra d'm g Europe ' specifically England. Like Bartmann, Sam b o was t. mp orted to Fb rahn' cde from England via conceptualizations o f A fn ·c a. The c.o ncept . e m. Samba's creation-the use o f h umor as an oppress lYe devtce -dl s.f ' equally evident in this comedy. T .n,\_ e If,o ttento t Venus. ' or Hf ahtr e oJ Frenchwomen is a can.c ature o f Ba rtmann, an attestatlon o t e wba yt . hich Parisians desired to construct not on1 y Sarah Bartmann .u mall w" savage women" as funny, pn.m t. u.v e, b u t more important, mferior and ultimately sexually undesirable. d '11 ' Liliska's soft-shoe routine rapt' dly b n.n gs us to the vau evl e sdenouement. Adolph notes that were it not for Liliska's savage "candeur" and "innocence," he would have believed that she was a Frenchwoman: You do not have at all That strange and savage countenance of a country far away, Your gaze is sweet and serene, Grace animates your face. Charming object, in truth, If it were not for your candor, your innocence, I would have believed, such is your beauty, That your fatherland was France. (25) Difference and sameness are thoroughly confounded in the vaudeville. Where there is stereotyped sameness (Frenchwomen's "serene gaze, beauty, grace"), the characters attempt to glean stereotyped difference (the savage's "candor and innocence"). And where there should he obvious difference, as in Amelia's usurpation of a black female identity, sameness emerges. Difference makes no difference at all, since the difference is always the same. The moment of truth, the lifting of Amelia's primitive veil, arrives when the chevalier gallops in with a portrait of the real Hottentot Venus-Sarah Bartmann: What a strange thing! Such features until now unknown! With such a face She cannot be a Venus. (30) 11 The baron then notices Amelia's same-difference: "I saw, however, that she did not have that swarthy complexion" (31). Hartmann's "unknown features" do not conform to the French canon of feminine beauty. She is certainly not representative of the mythic Greek goddess of beauty and sexuality, and thus her billing as the Hottentot Venus is a misnomer. "**It is, undoubtedly with derision," wrote Professor Verneau, "that she was nicknamed the Hottentot Venus." 12 She is, rather, a hideous Representing Sarah 4t mirror a "grotesque spectacle," that legitimizes French aesthetic~ of beauty' and cultural norms, that reinscribes Frenc h women as " o h"] ets charmants." Adolph's jungle fever is remedied with a d~se o: ef- frayante" Hottentot realt.t y. T h e Mam·c h aean wor ld ' the dt.a lecucs of superiority (France) and inferiority (Africa), is left wholly mtact. The gulf between black and white, between "Hottentot" and French, between civilization and the jungle, is unbridgeable. The senousness of the investigation, the occasional " reality check" of one's footing as superior, was carried out under the facade of humor.**

We will no longer dance for your pleasure. We Will No Longer Be your spectacle. This speech, this dance, this debate is for us because no one will write our story and no one can offer you our body. We will take our place rather than have you tell you when or where we can have a place.

The Hottentot Venus was not just in the past, it was simply one of the first instances in which you see black woman objectified, caged and obsessed over by whites. It is continued in the contemporary fascination with the derrieres of Beyonce, Nicki Minaj, and Buffy the Body. Whiteness utilizes us, bodily. The black female body and its specificity is not only on display, but the focal point for whites to understand. We dance for our ancestors now to reclaim our body – our booty.

1NC—Links

North American Economic Relations With Latin America are Based on Gendered and Racialized Practices of Domination and the Extension of the Frontier of White Masculinity

**Goldberg- 2009** - David Theo Goldberg- 2009- University of California- Humanities Research Institute- The Threat of Race- Reﬂections on Racial Neoliberalism- p. 215-218

This, Wade concludes, is achieved multiply: **by lightening up**, in both senses; by leaving rurality behind, after all presumptuously the place of less and lesser whiteness; **by “advancing” to more upwardly mobile social relations and economic activities**; by pairing the “weakness” of black or mixed women with the “power” – the strength, the standing – of white216 Revealing Alchemies men; by purportedly improving the national stock; by embodying – and thus inhabiting, making habit of – the supposed virtues of whiteness. **Upward mobility articulates race with class and gender in the most intricate and intimate of ways.** It turns people in more than one manner of speaking inside out and outside in. **This ﬂux in whiteness** (by the same token, those in could fall out – and down – in the reverse process) **is what marks the racial imaginary of Latin America,** what inscribes the conﬁguration of racial latinamericanization, as largely unique. Other regions and the societies making them up, most notably **Southern Africa and the US** but also and in different ways the likes of Australia and Canada, Japan, and Korea, **sought to sustain a contrived sense**  or semblance of **racial purity,** deﬁning national belonging in puri- ﬁed and homogeneous terms. They did so by inferiorizing those deemed different, excising them from national identity, amputating them from the body politic, separating them out at most into segregated social segments with radically reduced rights if not gesturing to expel them more or less completely from the space and imagination – the national image – making up the state. This is not to say the commitment to the logic played out perfectly in practice. Its practice was occasionally comic, almost always deeply tragic. But the commitment to a stricter, formalized segregation identiﬁed with the societies mentioned above was less negotiable, more straight- jacketed, more ﬁxed across space and time. **Neo-Americanism,** by contrast – this production of the new Americas, of Europe’s alter, as Darcy Ribeiro nominates it – **is** at the same time **the ﬁrst neo-racism. Latin American neo-racism makes explicit at the opening of the nine- teenth century what Europe was simply beginning to gesture towards.** Up to the end of the eighteenth century, thinking about race was driven formatively by the restriction of cultural traits racially deﬁned to a sup- posedly unalterable biology. With the new century European intellectuals ﬁrst and social policy considerably later began to shift from this hegemonic racial naturalism to a culturally inscribed historicism, ascribing race to potentially alterable and educable cultural traits and habits. **The relative but constrained openness of the “new” world – “open” land for the taking, open horizons for self-making, open possibilities for cultural experimen- tation and invention – meant cultural malleability could be mobilized for purposes of ongoing social control and especially maintenance of racial elevation and existing relations of power.** Cultural elevation through euro-mimesis, educability into civilizing mores of European design andRevealing Alchemies deﬁnition, if with local accent, promoted the supposed ascent from indigeneity into whiteness. But this **euro-mimesis also meant,** even as it cemented into place, that both what could be imagined as the national community and **the interests the state could represent were conﬁgured in terms of and around the structures of whiteness.** Homi Bhabha has made clear that imitation is never complete, failing always to be fully satisfactory. It lurches, Bhabha says, between resemblance and menace, identiﬁcation and distantiation. **It prompts an abiding sense of failure and lack, of limitation** and shortfall, of attendant loss **but also of displacement, experimentation,** possibility, **often at the expense of the already racially marginalized**. A sense also of anguish, as Freud emphasizes, without being able to grasp what exactly is beyond reach, what precisely not yours or what ought to be. Those registered as racially different, as bruised, are lured into Euro-likeness while warned that its inner treasures are almost always beyond their reach. **White-likeness is a liking of what’s white, socially induced, a drive to be white-like, but also a grasping in the dark about its idealized experience**, for its treasury. That “playing in the dark,” to twist Toni Morrison’s title, and the more or less extreme ambi- valence both about what one thus is missing and what it is about one that inevitably makes one miss, if only one could put one’s ﬁnger on it, is the sinking sand, the depressing frustrations, of ﬁxating on the unreachable. Euro-mimesis characterizes as much a national commitment as a personal choice or striving. **Imitation necessarily judges the qualities of the imitated superior to those of the imitating.** **It accordingly denies or fails to recognize the virtues and values,** **contributions and characteristics** in and on their own terms of those at hand, **of fellow citizens** and civic contributors **unless socio-cultural clones** and **drones of the imitated.** Frustration follows for the mis- or unrecognized, a swelling fury at the lack of possibilities or cultural closures, a sense of unfulﬁllment of national possibility, an emerging national malaise at the swelling discontent, whether voiced politically or via criminality and social violence. Threat to wellbeing, if not to being itself, becomes threaded with a menace to society as such.  **And those experiences of malcontent and melancholy at inevitable failure of mimetic fulﬁllment seek compensation in other forms of gratiﬁcation that both engage and exploit, often brutally, those considered non-European. Euro-mimesis**, **then, is related to – may overlap with – the standard sense of Eurocentrism,** though it is not reducible to it. Eurocentrism makes what is recognized as prevailing European values, norms, and cultural expression,218 Revealing Alchemies historically understood, not just the point and frame of reference but also, as Quijano notes, the telos, if not endpoint, of world historical progress. It is thought to provide the dominant (and dominating) language and style of expression, elbowing to the margins other ways of knowing and being, con- ception and expression, where they might be recognized fuzzily if at all. **In a sense, Eurocentrism covers its tracks by refusing any other point of refer- ence as viable, as bearer of (universal) truth. It acknowledges no gap between center and provinces other than in the dismissal of practice at a distance.** Euro-mimesis, by contrast, has an inkling of – if it doesn’t fully com- prehend – the inevitable slippages, the replicative failures of and between European inﬂuence, its models, and its copies. It is the source, on one hand, of the doleful sense of loss that affectively follows. And, on the other, it is the prompt of a motivation to do better at it, to improve the blueprint by adaptation to new environments, eventually to undo itself in reaching beyond for something new. **This reaching for the horizon of a modernity not yet present, the symbol of a national techno-modernity yet to be real- ized, conjures the unstinting and later self-ironizing sense, for example, of Brazil as the “country of the future”** (Brazil, **nais do futuro)**, initially articulated in the 1940s. While the demographic proﬁles differ,  **Venezuela represents another, complementary feature of a** more generalized Latin American mode, namely, the troubled **institutionalization of a policy of whitening.** In the 1950s, a little later than Brazil and Argentina, for instance, Venezuelan dictator Marcos Perez **Jimenez introduced the prevailing national ideal of whitening,** both demographically and culturally, importing signiﬁcant numbers of Western European immigrants. The accompanying europeanizing of local culture as the national imperative underpinned the subsequent erasure of race from explicit national reference and policy with the end of the dictatorship in 1958. This simultaneously silenced any attempt to penalize racial discri- mination. From 1999 onwards Hugo **Chavez, himself of mixed African, indigenous, and European heritage, has attempted partially and with limited success to address the consequent social exclusions of Afro- Venezuelan and indigenous people**. Most Venezuelans would claim to be mestizo, not in the technical sense of being the product of European and indigenous family mixtures but more broadly and informally of being (racially) all mixed up. A**s largely a mixed population,** **the claim continues, there really is no** – the implication is that there could not possibly be, or be a **place for – racism, for that would be to self-denigrate.** The demography is more measured, however, at least according to a pan-Latin American survey that does not claim objectivity but a broad consistency across the sub-continent. Insofar as numbers can be determined at all in the absence both of formal deﬁnitions and of226 Revealing Alchemies reliable census-taking, mestizos make up 19 percent of Venezuela’s popula- tion, mulattos – the mix of black and white – 38 percent, blacks 9 percent, whites 30 percent, and indigenous just 1 percent. At the time of slavery’s abolition in March 1854, African-descended people numbered approximately 400,000, roughly 40 percent of the population, 25,000 of whom at the time were slaves. **Today, relatedly, race largely maps onto socio-economic class. The overwhelming members of Venezuela’s elite, politically and econom- ically, have tended to be white or at least light skinned**, while those inhabit- ing the poorer classes have tended largely to be darker. **Most incarcerated in Venezuela’s prisons**, by the same token, **are Afro-Venezuelan.** This is not, of course, to say that whites overwhelmingly are wealthy and powerful and blacks not; only that being wealthy largely correlates with being white, and being dark(er) largely does not correlate with wealth, social privilege, or power. It also implies, more tellingly, that being white disposes one to privilege, that there are fewer barriers to social advancement and decent health than for those not white. **Whiteness and blackness,** as I have indic- ated more generally, **are structural conditions of possibility and restriction, not simply social identities. These are the classic, bare social arrangements that we know generally to structure the life worlds of racial states** and racist exclusion. Where differentiated demography so closely maps onto social and economic privilege and disprivilege along class-articulated racial lines, we can now safely say from a long legacy of geopolitical exempliﬁcation that there racism presumptively structures the society, in one form or another. Popular forms of reference become quite revealing. Thus, the common dismissive derogatory term for black people among Venezuelans is, well, “monkeys”! The local response to Hugo Chavez’s presidency in this context is as revealing racially as it is politically and economically, a touchstone of the complex history of racial politics in the country. Historically, both the ﬁrst and second constitutions of independent Venezuela in the 1820s and 1830s excluded African-descended and indigenous people from citizenship. A century later African and indigenous Venezuelans were still being characterized as lazy. **Today, school textbooks continue to talk of both groups in the past tense, thus naturalizing their condition as ﬁxed in some irre- trievable and regressive past,** as though having nothing to contribute to nor forming a constitutive part of the vibrancy of contemporary Venezuela. As I suggest, then, **mestizaje**/mesticagem has **served as the means, the enablement, of euro-mimesis. Where mestizaje/mesticagem is the national commitment, the ofﬁcial imagination,** the state’s public face, euro-mimesisis its embodiment, its manifestation in the practices of everyday life and cultural expression. **Mestizaje has preserved Euro-cultural determination**, artiﬁces of gentility and decency, ﬁxing in place the horizons of possibil- ity, **securing the marks of modernity, morality, and progress while inﬂect- ing them with the aesthetic appeal of honey-tinged color.** Creole kissed by color, as the projected imaginary of the public sphere would have it. Less café con leche than caramel-colored and -tasting chocolate milk, **sun-splashed rather than sun-seared.**

1NC—Debate

DEBATE AS AN ACTIVITY ASK YOU TO VIOLENTLY PERFORM THE “POLITICAL TANGO” we reject that ideological battery that leaves me metaphorically black and blue with the bruises of topical violence, by nature my body is not topical. Let’s embrace a form of performative dance as a site of resistance. Our dancing creates a different non- autonomous resistance.. Rounds are not innocent forms of amusement, they have forced the Black Female body to perform in a way that affirms that we are “the mules uh the world.” In order to deconstruct this system built on exclusion we must use performance as insurgency.

Advocacy statement – we perform/dance to reclaim our stolen bodies. This is a process of redressing the slave body. In other words, your ballot should reflect an endorsement of the reclaiming the black body and the booty that belongs to it. This is a matter of literal survival.

Survival. We have a need to survive, as people, as debaters, as black women. Surival is not only the physical life of the body, but a pedagogy of knowledge transmission. Survival is not the convoluted consequences of political capital, but the ability to reclaim knowledge, the self and the body. We are already excluded from social life.

THE DANCING BODY IS THE SITE OF COUNTERINVESTMENT IN THE BODY. The performance and everyday revolutionary acts of the pained body not only interrogates different modes of dominance but creates a space for the black body to create her own politics in an attempt to redress her. Redressing of the pained body are made effective when the system is exploited and operated against. Performance allows for the slave to participate in mundane situations to express her pain. We disrupt the debate space through our dance to create transient zones of freedom*.*

Saidiya Hartman IN 1997[Scene of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America pg. 50-51]

**Exploiting the limits of the permissible, creating transient zones of freedom, and reelaborating innocent amusements were central features of everyday practice.** Practice is, to use Michel de Certeau’s phrase, “a way of operating” defined by “the non-autonomy of its field of action,” internal manipulations of the established order, and ephemeral victories. **The tactics that compromise the everyday practices of the dominated have neither the means to secure a territory outside the space of domination nor the power to keep or maintain what is in won in fleeting surreptitious, and necessarily incomplete victories. The refashioning of permitted pleasures in the effort to undermine, transform, and redress the condition of enslavement was consonant with other forms of everyday practice. These efforts generally focused on the object status and castigated personhood of the slave, the pained and ravished body, severed affiliations and natal alienation, and the assertion of denied needs.** Practice is not simply a way of naming these efforts but rather a way of thinking about the character of resistance, the precariousness of the assaults waged against domination, the fragmentary character of these efforts and the transient battles won, and the characteristics of a politics without a proper locus. **The everyday practices of the enslaved encompassed an array of tactics such as work slowdowns, feigned illness, unlicensed travel, the destruction of property, theft, self-mutilation, dissimulation, physical confrontation with owners and overseers that document the resistance to slavery. These small-scale and everyday forms of resistance interrupted, reelaborated, and defied the constraints of everyday life under slavery and exploited opening in the system for the use of the enslaved. What unites these varied tactics is the effort to redress the condition of the enslaved, restore the disrupted affiliations of the socially dead, challenge the authority and dominion of the slaveholder, and alleviate the pained state of the captive body.** However, these acts of redress are undertaken with the acknowledgement that conditions will most likely remain the same. This acknowledgment implies neither resignation nor fatalism but recognition of the enormity of the breach instituted by slavery and the magnitude of domination. **Redressing the pained body encompasses operating in and against the demand of the system, negotiating the disciplinary harnessing of the body, and counterinvesting in the body as a site of possibility.** In this instance, pain must be recognized in its historicity and as the articulation of a social condition of brutal constraint, extreme need, and constant violence; in other words, it is the perpetual condition of ravishment. Pain is a normative condition that encompasses the legal subjectivity of the enslaved that is constructed along the lines of injury and punishment, the violation and suffering inextricably enmeshed with the pleasures of minstrelsy and melodrama, the operation of power on black bodies, and the life of property in which the full enjoyment of the slave as thing supersedes the admittedly tentative recognition of slave humanity and permits the intemperate uses of chattel. This pain might best be describes as the history that hurts-the still-unfolding narrative of captivity, dispossession, and domination that engenders he black subject in the Americas. If this pain has been largely unspoken and unrecognized, it is due to the sheer denial of black sentience rather than inexpressibility of pain. The purported immunity of blacks to pain is absolutely essential to the spectacle of contended subjection or, at the very least, to discrediting the claims of pain. The black is both insensate and content, indifferent to pain and induced to work by threats of corporal punishment. These contradictions are partly explained by the ambiguous and precarious status often black in the “great chain of being”-in short, by the pathologizing of the black body-this abhorrence then serves to justify acts of violence that exceed normative standards of humanely tolerable, though within the limits of the socially tolerable as concerned the black slave. In this regard, pain is essential to the making of productive slave laborers. The sheer enormity of this pain overwhelms or exceeds the limited forms of redress available to the enslaved. Thus the significance of the performative lies not in the ability to overcome this condition or provide remedy but in creating a context for the collective enunciation of this pain, transforming need into politics and cultivating pleasure as a limited response to need and desperately insufficient form of redress.

Their Concepts of International Relations and Political Economy are Based on an Explicit and Unthematized Understanding of Spatiality—The Alternative’s Focus on the Localized Oppression of the Body Within Space is Crucial to Reframe these Questions

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This book is largely about how the conduct of international affairs can only be understood in the context of the Big Stories of particular historical periods. But, more especially, it is about how the geographical character of international affairs in these different periods offers a key to understanding their conduct. ‘Terrestrial space’ has become an important point of focus for scholars seeking to understand such contemporary changes as the restructuring of the modern world economy and the causes of the end of the Cold War. Among the attempts at explicit incorporation of ‘space’ or ‘geography’ into social science in general and the study of international relations in particular could be included the following: the revival of fixed-form geopolitics (the direct impact of geographical location on state behaviour) in the writings of Gray (1988) and Collins (1986); the use of concepts of geographical core and periphery in the writings of world-system and dependency theorists; Harvey’s (1990) argument for the spatial shifting of investment by business in response to declining rates of profit; the incorporation of geographical distance into quantitative models of interstate conflict (e.g. O’Loughlin 1986; Ward 1990); and the interpretation of claims about geostrategy and the spatial ordering of foreign policy decisions by political élites often called ‘critical geopolitics’ (e.g. Dalby 1990; Luke 1991). This recent interest in space is surprising in that one of the main features of the present age is the speed or pace of change. Surely, space, or the presumed effect of geographical location and spatial setting on economic and political life, is fixed and, hence, of little use as a focus for understanding change? In fact, the production of space and how it is conceived can be used to convey the sense of how change is occurring. But this is so only if space is historicized; put in a historical context rather than seen as a permanent set of influences or fixed backdrop upon which history is inscribed. This book is about using the angle of vision provided by a focus on the changing spatial organization of political-economic activity to offer an alternative approach to the field of international political economy. This field seeks to explain how political power affects economic outcomes and how economic forces limit political action within the world economy (see Crane and Amawi 1991; Biersteker 1993). While it incorporates many of the interests and perspectives of the longer established field of international relations, it rejects the often singular concentration on political and military power that has characterized that enterprise. It also ranges well beyond an international level of analysis to global and local scales. It is in this respect that a geographical perspective, sensitive to questions of geographical scale and spatial representation, has particular merit.

Starting at the booty is key to reclaiming the body - The black female “booty” as a site of resistance is key as the starting point for anti blackness in civil society, the Booty don’t Lie. Starting anywhere but here is a misfire and a Disad to their argument

The "Batty" Politic: Toward an Aesthetics of the Black Female Body Janell Hobson, Hypatia, Volume 18, Number 4, Fall/Winter 2003, pp. 87-105 (Article) Published by Indiana University Press DOI: 10.1353/hyp.2003.0079

The title of this essay is an obvious pun on the phrase, “body politic,” yet the

choice of “batty,” the Jamaican vernacular term for the rear end, requires explanation.

The “batty,” in Jamaican culture and to a larger extent in West Indian

culture, is taken rather seriously and given certain reverence in discourses of

beauty and sexual desire. Whether in working-class Jamaican dancehall settings

or in carnival street scenes in Trinidad and the Caribbean Diaspora of Brooklyn,

Toronto, or London, black female batties are let loose and uninhibited in

glorious celebrations of fl esh and sexual energy. Even though such displays have

historically been characterized as “riotous and disorderly” (Barnes 1997, 290),

such movements of the batty, in the contexts of dancehall and carnival, invite

a public discourse that challenges colonial constructs of “decency” and “white

supremacy.” Hence, “batty” implies for me a more liberatory and unashamed

view of the body. The batty can thus function as a site of resistance, rather than reinforcing

shame and self-deprecating humor. This is captured, for example, in the

Jamaican legend of Nanny of the Maroons. The legend is as follows. A fugitive

slave in the eighteenth century who forged her own community in the

Jamaican rainforests with other fugitives known as maroons is credited with

defeating English armies by catching their bullets in her buttocks and hurling

back their ammunition.13 In this myth, Nanny’s batty, much like those of our

contemporary Jamaican dancehall “queens,” suggests possibilities for the black

female body as a site for decolonization. She also serves as a powerful contrast

to the enslaved black woman, whose exploited sexuality fueled the economies

of slavery and colonialism through forced reproduction and labor, and to the

Hottentot Venus, whose powerful batty was diminished by freak show display

and scientifi c dissection. The dance troupe Urban Bush Women is one contemporary example

continuing in this path of resistance. Perhaps drawing on such histories, this

troupe provides an important discourse on the “batty” that attempts to develop

an aesthetic of the black female body, as well as to establish this part of the

anatomy as a site of resistance, through their 1995 dance piece, Batty Moves.

Choreographed by the group’s founder, Jawole Willa Jo Zollar, this performance

captures the sensibilities of a ballet and modern-dance trained performer who

“got tired of tucking and holding and apologizing” for the movements of her

buttocks in these Western-based dance forms (Asantewaa 1998). As such, the

performance constantly fl uctuates between the gestures of ballet—such as pliés

and arabesques, which require the strict, rigid, and disciplined nonmovement

of the derrière—and the butt-accentuated moves in Afro-based and Caribbean

dances. Batty Moves begins with a line of dancers, dressed in form-fi tting leotards,

positioning their backs to the audience. As a result, they fi nd themselves in the

position of “object,” in the stance of a Hottentot Venus on exhibit. However,

this historical body undergoes transformation as each dancer moves and poses

in ways that suggest that their batties will no longer function as fetishes but

as expressive extensions of their mobile, energetic bodies. Indeed, this point

of transformation occurs when one dancer, refl ecting on this performance,

decided, upon hearing an audience member “gasp” at the sight/site of her body:

“I’m going to shove it in your face, so you can just take it!”14

This resolve of the dancer reflects her need to resist this disapproval of her

rear end, to in fact, “shove it” all the more, as a defiant gesture that dares to

claim the black female batty as visible, pronounced, sexy, and beautiful. This

resistance is not just an individual protest. Rather, she expresses defi ance of

a historical tradition that degrades black women’s bodies. One by one, each

dancer performs and defi nes for herself, through spoken-word language and

dance moves, the body beautiful, fi nally culminating in a group dance—rigorously

thrusting their behinds toward the audience throughout the entire

performance—that reclaims the powers of the batty in communal affi rmation.

Borrowing Jamaican slang for the title of this piece, Urban Bush Women not

only celebrate the sexual provocations of black women’s rear-end-shaking dances

in Jamaican dancehall settings but also create an African diasporic discourse in

which black women, across the Atlantic divides, can begin a cultural exchange

in which their behinds fi gure prominently in the arenas of hip-hop, reggae, soca,

and calypso. While these male-centered music forms objectify black women’s

backsides, often in extreme, misogynistic language, black women—through

their dance moves—nonetheless negotiate dance spaces to assert their sexuality.

In response to Urban Bush Women’s performance of Batty Moves, dance critic

Eva Yaa Asantewaa (1998) notes, “They took back, from men on the street and

society in general, the power to name, direct, praise, or critique their buttocks”

(Upbeat Program). Across the diaspora, black women often begin in girlhood to center their

sexuality by performing with their backsides. Whether in the African-American

ring game, “Little Sally Walker,” where young girls are encouraged to “shake it

to the east, shake it to the west,” or in the similar Afro-Caribbean “Brown Girl

in the Ring,” who is urged to “show me your motion,” these circles of black girls

provide a female-centered space for affirmation and pleasure in their bodies,

even as these scripts prepare them later for the male gaze. As adult women, this

display becomes not only more sexualized but racialized as well, as black women

find their bodies subject to misinterpretation and mislabeling by the dominant

culture. Not only that, but these bodies no longer respond to self-motivated

desires and expressions but to the requests of others—whether to black male

desires in such hip-hop shouts as “shake what your Mama gave ya” and such

soca-calypso demands as “wine yuh waist,” or to other black women’s policing

call to “tuck it in.” We may need to recreate that circle of women—fi rst enacted in childhood—

who reaffirm that our bodies are fi ne, normal, capable, and beautiful.

We may also need to enlarge that circle to include men, who can challenge

their own objectifying gazes, and non-blacks, who can overcome the equation

of blackness with deviance. Most of all, black women, who have been unmirrored

for so long, must confront the prevailing imagery of grotesque derrières

and black female hypersexuality to distinguish the myths and lies from our own

truths and the ways in which we wish to represent ourselves. Only then will we

be able to follow the lead of Serena Williams, proudly displaying our behinds

while continuing our winning streak.