# 1AC

### Moazzam Begg 1AC

#### In an interview earlier this year Moazzam Begg, a former detainee at Guantanamo Bay, shared his experiences at the prison:

(Moazzam Begg, former Gitmo detainee, Interviewed by Global News network RT, FORMER DETAINEE OF GUANTANAMO “‘Everybody in Guantanamo has been tortured or abused’ - former detainee” July 6th http://rt.com/op-edge/gitmo-strike-torture-inmate-724/)

“I was subjected to the sounds of a woman screaming, I was led to believe that my wife was being tortured,” Moazzam Begg, a former Guantanamo Bay detainee has shared with RT. The former inmate has shed light on some of the torturous detention techniques at Guantanamo. They include, being cavity searched and given directions on how to commit suicide. Despite being physically and psychologically tortured by the guards in the US prison, Begg says prisoners find it in themselves to forgive the soldiers. RT: What was your own stay like at the prison? Moazzam Begg: Most of my time was spent in solitary confinement which meant being in a a cell that measured 6 foot by 8 foot which was windowless at that time, I did not have access to any meaningful communication with my family, I had no knowledge whether I was ever going to get charged or not, which I was not. At that time no lawyers were allowed. So for two and a half years there was no concept of facing any legal proceedings. But now the situation has changed a lot. RT: During that time would you claim that you were tortured or abused? MB: I say that everybody who’s been held in Guantanamo has been tortured or abused in one way. When I was first taken into custody, it was the most torturous process I think that any person can imagine. It meant being stripped naked, it meant your body being searched, cavity searched as they called it. Having your hair shaved off, being punched and kicked and being spat upon. On one occasion it was in background facility before I went to Guantanamo, I was subjected to the sounds of a woman screaming, I was led to believe that my wife was being tortured. So everybody in a sense is being tortured and the worst sort of torture is the psychological of course sort in which you are in solitary confinement torture unable to know what you have done for which you’re paying the ultimate price which is your freedom. RT: One prisoner claims that he and others have been sexually assaulted during searches. Have you ever witnessed anything like that? MB: Certainly, every prisoner will say that he has had invasive cavity searches. Across the board 779 men if you were to ask them, did this happen to them, they would say yes it happened to us at various junctures of detention. The particular prisoner, his name is Younous Chekkouri , he is from Morocco, is saying precisely this, but of course it is a violation of his dignity. I believe that the term rape has been used in a broader sense, meaning that objects have been inserted into a person which are extremely painful and degrading too. RT: We've heard an ex-military official say the prison's a recruiting ground for al-Qaeda. Would you agree? MB: It is bizarre, President Obama has recently visited Robben Island and he actually was in a cell where Nelson Mandela was. He actually wrote in the visitor’s book that nothing could break the strength of the human spirit, not even shackles or chains. But he forgot to add - unless you happened to be in our shackles and chains and in our cells. Of course, this is the sort of thing that will make people angry. But if you look at over 600 prisoners that have been released from Guantanamo, almost everybody has returned not to begin a life of terrorism or recidivism, as they call it, but actually stretch out their hands toward former Guantanamo soldiers, guards and interrogators. I had former Guantanamo guards coming to my house and meet the children that they prevented me from seeing when they were born. This is the sort of nature of the Guantanamo prisoners, we are extremely forgiving. RT: It seems that hunger strikers in Guantanamo are prepared to die. Did you think you'd die there? MB: I think many times that the administration there suggested to us, I was just once told that I had a thought about committing a suicide and they told me how I could commit suicide if I felt so down. Clearly the prisoners have moved along since that point, but clearly prisoners have died, nine people have died in Guantanamo. If the hunger strikes continue in the way that they are, then force-feeding is not the solution. The solution is to give them justice and that is the reason why they are doing it. They are not doing it because of all the abuses, those are peripheral, they are doing it because they have been held for almost 12 years now without charge or trial in any legal, normative system.

#### Begg’s experience is illustrative of Guantanamo’s existence at a unique intersection of contemporary American militarism and racism--- it should be rejected

Hudson 2013 (The Continuing US War on the Darker Skinned Tuesday, 06 August 2013 09:19 By Adam Hudson, “The Continuing US War on the Darker Skinned” on August 6th of this year, Truthout )

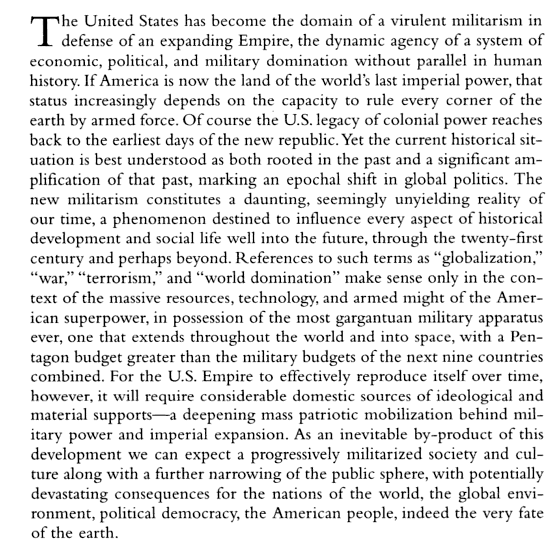
The notorious US military base and penal colony in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, serves as a stark example of militarized institutional racism. There, 166 people are indefinitely detained, but 2 might be returned to Algeria. Of those, 86 are cleared for release, but remain detained. While a few are being tried in military commissions (which are ineffective at upholding rights of the accused), the vast majority are held without charge or trial. According to Guantanamo chief prosecutor US Army Brigadier General Mark Martins, they are "detained until the end of hostilities" against al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and "associated forces," which could be decades from now. The majority of Guantanamo detainees are, thus, prisoners of war in an endless war. Indefinite detention violates international human rights law. Yet, along with military commissions, it's been supported by President Barack Obama. This indefinite detention, along with the squalid conditions of their confinement, has led around 70 detainees to engage in a hunger strike that has lasted nearly half a year, so far. Of those, around four dozen are being force-fed, a brutal procedure in which a tube is shoved up a person's nose and down into their stomachs to feed them a supplement. Force-feeding, according to many doctors and human rights advocates, violates medical ethics and amounts to torture. The vast majority of the detainees are Muslim, mostly from Yemen with others from places like Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. The detention center at Guantanamo is one chapter in the long saga of US militarism against the world's majority - non-white, non-European peoples. Racism is power and justifies war Racism is a system of power, hierarchy, inequality and oppression reinforced by racist ideology to keep it going. Its roots lie in slavery and the genocide of the native Americans. Its continuation is exemplified by current inequalities between blacks and whites in wealth, employment, and other areas of life - with blacks positioned far below whites in the socioeconomic ladder. Racist ideology is manifested by negative perceptions of nonwhite people. A 2008 study done by psychologists at Pennsylvania State University, Stanford University and University of California at Berkeley showed that many white Americans associate black people with apes. Coauthor Jennifer Eberhardt, a Stanford psychology professor, remarked, "African-Americans are still dehumanized; we're still associated with apes in this country. That association can lead people to endorse the beating of black suspects by police officers, and I think it has a lot of other consequences that we have yet to uncover." A related consequence lies in war, which racism ideologically justifies. To kill people in wars, the designated enemy must be dehumanized. Using racialized differences (culture, skin color, ancestry, etc.) is a very common way to dehumanize and subjugate a population. They are seen as "others" who are "not like us," thus, apt for killing. The War on Terror is a continuation of US wars against darker-skinned peoples. Today's "enemy" are Muslims, usually (though not always) darker-skinned people from the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia. Depicted as "terrorists" in popular discourse, these communities face continuing Islamophobia, marginalization and dehumanization. Since Guantanamo houses detainees who are mostly, if not all, Muslim and nonwhite, it is an example of institutional racism within the global war on terror. But it goes deeper than that. While Guantanamo is notorious for indefinite detention, military commissions, torture, and the hunger strike, what's commonly forgotten is that it is a US naval base that's been on Cuban soil for more than a hundred years. In addition to detaining people in dismal conditions, it also used as a refueling station for US ships and a base for counter-narcotics operations throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. Many of these operations are carried out by the Coast Guard stationed at Guantanamo. Foreign workers exploited in Guantanamo, other US bases On the 45-square-mile base, there are suburban-style homes for troops and military families, restaurants, bars, a supermarket, Subway,

McDonald's, a movie theater, occasional balls for soldiers on the base and other amenities of a typical city or military base. If you're there long enough, you wouldn't think there's a prison housing hundreds of "suspected terrorists" a few miles from where you're at. During my two weeks of reporting in Guantanamo, I noticed many of the workers on the base were Filipino and Afro-Caribbean. They worked as baggers, cashiers, restaurant servers, repair people (I remember seeing a few Filipino workers repair the air conditioning in the media operations center where journalists work), construction workers, grass mowers, sanitation workers and other service providers. In military jargon, these workers are known as "third-country nationals" or TCNs. In her book Guantánamo: A Working-Class History Between Empire and Revolution, Professor Jana K. Lipman explains that in the beginning, many of the workers at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station were local Cubans, some British West Indians, Puerto Ricans and Asians. But the 1959 Cuban revolution ended contact between the American naval base and the rest of Cuba. To replace those workers, the United States imported laborers from Jamaica and the Philippines. Columbia University researcher Darryl Li noted that "In the past decade, the Pentagon's privatization drives have dramatically increased its global reliance on TCN [third-country national] labor." At Guantanamo, many of these workers work for contractors like Bremcor and BDRC. In March of 2002, the recruitment firm Anglo-European Services, which is tied to Kellogg Brown & Root (KBR), formerly a subsidiary of the American oil corporation Halliburton Company (of which Dick Cheney was former chairman and CEO), "sent 250 Filipino construction workers to build additional detention cells for US-held terror suspects at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba," reported the Asia Times in July 2006. The workers "were allegedly slipped out of the Ninoy Quino International Airport without passing through standard immigration procedures" and left "on a chartered flight to Cuba." Both the United States and Philippine governments kept the recruitment "under wraps." But Guantanamo is not the only US military base to employ foreign workers. They're employed by several US government contractors like KBR and DynCorp International, through tertiary subcontractors (mainly from the Middle East), to do logistical work at many military bases, such as in Afghanistan. These workers hail from countries like the Philippines, Fiji, Nepal and Bangladesh. In a detailed June 2011 exposé, The New Yorker reported that they are "the Pentagon's invisible army: more than seventy thousand cooks, cleaners, construction workers, fast-food clerks, electricians, and beauticians from the world's poorest countries who service US military logistic contracts." While the "expansion of private-security contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan is well known," says journalist Sarah Stillman, who traveled to US bases in Iraq and Afghanistan to write the story, "armed security personnel account for only about 16 percent of the over-all contracting force. The vast majority - more than 60 percent of the total in Iraq - aren't hired guns but hired hands." According to Stillman, "These workers, primarily from South Asia and Africa, often live in barbed-wire compounds on US bases, eat at meager chow halls, and host dance parties featuring Nepalese romance ballads and Ugandan church songs. A large number are employed by fly-by-night subcontractors who are financed by the American taxpayer but who often operate outside the law." Labor protections in these environments are virtually nonexistent. Many workers interviewed for the report "recount having been robbed of wages, injured without compensation, subjected to sexual assault and held in conditions resembling indentured servitude by their subcontractor bosses." Most of the workers make a couple hundred dollars a month. Their abysmal treatment has led to many "food riots in Pentagon subcontractor camps, some involving more than a thousand workers." At bases in countries like Afghanistan, foreign workers face war-zone dangers, namely being killed or injured from explosions and attacks. Thousands of contractors have been killed and injured. According to the New Yorker report, "private contractor losses are now on a par with those of US troops in [Iraq and Afghanistan] war zones." However, since deaths and injuries of foreign workers are rarely counted, the actual toll could be higher. An ACLU report, released last year, highlighted that the system by which US contractors employ foreign workers amounts to trafficking and forced labor. The US government gives a contract to a primary contractor. Rather than hire directly, that contractor contracts subcontractors to do the job. Those subcontractors pay recruiters who recruit foreign workers in their home countries and make them pay exorbitant recruitment fees to get a job. Those workers are normally tricked into thinking they'll work at one (usually nicer) place with promises of a higher salary, only to wind up somewhere like Iraq or Afghanistan making low wages. According to the report, "the vast majority of TCNs ultimately earn between $150-$500 per month," close to $1,800-$6,000 annually. Such coercion, abuses, "deceptive hiring practices, exploitation, and abuse of power" amount to trafficking, thereby violating international and US antitrafficking laws, according to the ACLU. Moreover, it is an affront to basic human rights. This is where the forces of corporate globalization, institutional racism and militarism conjoin. Foreign workers are exploited by private companies to work on US military bases. The exploitation of foreign workers may not be racist by intent. However, it is institutionally racist in effect because of whom it impacts and exploits - black and brown people from poorer countries. Intersections between racism and war - at home and abroad Militarism is a system of projecting aggressive military power to promote state interests, such as national defense, countering adversaries, or control of vital resources and markets. It largely subjugates people of color around the world. Today's imperial landscape is marked by conventional wars in Iraq and Afghanistan - which are winding down - and the expansion of asymmetric wars through assassination, raids by special operations forces, air wars, proxy wars, private military contractors, and drone strikes. These asymmetric wars are occurring in Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, but expanding to other areas, particularly in Africa. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan killed hundreds of thousands to millions of people, along with displacing over four million, destroying infrastructure and leaving many Iraqis with birth defects and cancer thanks to depleted uranium used by US armed forces. US covert wars in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia have killed thousands with deaths continuing to rise. Many of them are civilians or unknown persons. Only 2 percent of those killed by drone strikes in Pakistan are high-level terrorist leaders. The rest are civilians and unidentified or low-level Afghan and Pakistani militants, according to McClatchy. As they inflict death and injury, US drone strikes have also terrorized and radicalized civilian populations in Pakistan. The victims of wars, occupations, bombings, proxy wars and militarized neoliberal exploitation are predominantly people from darker-skinned, non-European countries, who constitute the world's majority, but neither possess much of the world's wealth nor control the global economy (that power lies in Europe and North America). A list of US military interventions from 1890 to 2011 by Professor Zoltan Grossman of Evergreen State College shows that most US wars occurred in Latin America, the Arab World and many parts of Asia. They include the massacre at Wounded Knee, Spanish-American War, the Vietnam War, coups in Iran, Iraq, and Chile, backing the Contras in Nicaragua during the 1980s, and the 1976-92 proxy war in Angola. Because of whom it oppresses, militarism is systematically racist. Militarism also impacts people of color, especially black people, at home. According to a thorough report done by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, one black person is killed every 28 hours by law enforcement or armed vigilantes. Most of the time, the victims are unarmed and use of force was excessive. Police dehumanize black people by suspecting they are potential threats in the same way soldiers dehumanize "the enemy" overseas. Hence police typically say they "felt threatened" before they shot a black person. State and vigilante violence against African-Americans is not new. It dates back to slave catchers and lynchings of black people in the South. But this system has grown to new heights with the militarization of domestic police forces. Police are given military weapons, equipment, tactics, and training through grants, Pentagon giveaways, and, after 9/11, Department of Homeland Security grants. This started under the Reagan administration and has continued under Obama. Little mention in liberal media Many purportedly anti-racist liberal talking heads and media outlets tend to under-appreciate the connections between racism and militarism. One would expect them as people with knowledge about race relations to highlight this connection when national security stories come up. However, they tend to drop the ball. Melissa Harris-Perry, a political science professor at Tulane University and MSNBC show host, specializes in African-American politics and provides a liberal perspective on American race relations. She spoke out against the Zimmerman verdict and provides insightful coverage on issues like the infringement of voting rights in communities of color. But her views on Obama's militarism range from blasé to apologetic. Last November, when discussing drone strikes on her show, Harris-Perry asked journalist Allison Kilkenny and MSNBC host Chris Hayes, "Make a case to me about why they're problematic because I'm not sure that I agree." Harris-Perry brought up police shootings of black youth in the United States in response to Hayes criticizing the death of Abdulrahman al-Awlaki, a 16-year-old American citizen killed by a US drone strike in Yemen in 2011. Rather than seize the opportunity to make the connection between domestic institutionalized racist violence and American militarism, she used it to buttress her nonchalance on the issue of drone strikes. Touré, another MSNBC commentator, is also liberal on race issues. But he's hawkish when it comes to drone strikes and assassination. Touré regularly comes to the Obama administration's defense on their belligerent counterterrorism policies. Last February, on Twitter, Touré said "Obama as Commander in Chief is tasked with leading our war against Al Qaeda. He can and [sic] should kill [al-Qaeda] leaders whenever possible." On The Cycle, he expanded his argument, "But we are at war with al-Qaeda right now. And if you join al-Qaeda, you lose the right to be an American; you lose the right to due process; you declare yourself an enemy of this nation. And you are committing treason" - even though the Constitution grants due process for those who commit treason. Then again, this is pretty much normal for a network that functions as the Obama administration's Pravda. The Root and The Grio are two large black media outlets; The Root, is owned by The Washington Post; and The Grio is owned by NBC News. They provide neither substantial coverage of foreign policy issues nor deeper analysis of the intersections between racism and empire. What one does get, however, is a lot of support for Obama. Contrast this with Black Agenda Report - a black leftist news and analysis website - or Pambazuka News - a Pan-Africanist online weekly newsletter - and the coverage is far different. Along with substantive critiques of the Obama administration's transgressions, there's regular critical analysis of domestic politics, foreign affairs, and the connections between institutional racism and Western imperialism. However, sites like Black Agenda Report and Pambazuka News are independent and have less exposure than The Root, The Grio, or MSNBC, due to the latter's corporate ownership. This raises the issue of how corporate media dilute the wider discourse on race relations. That is a problem because it reveals a blind spot in understanding about issues of race and national security. It leaves certain realities in the dark, such as the plight of foreign workers on American military bases. Highlighting the connections can add deeper context to problems, such as the killing of Trayvon Martin. His death was the byproduct of a militarized system of racism that allows a neighborhood watchman to carry a gun and shoot anyone (especially black teenagers) he deems threatening, with impunity. Examining the real connections between racism and militarism provides better understanding of the issues at stake. Such analysis is more likely to be found in independent black journalistic outlets than corporate media.

#### Unchecked, US militarism causes endless violence and threatens the “very fate of the earth”

Boggs 2004 “Imperial Delusions: American Militarism and Endless War,” page 1, google books

PRINTER’S NOTE: IF YOU ARE READING THIS IN DRAFT VIEW, THERE IS A SCREENSHOT CARD HERE



#### In this context Jeff and I advocate the restriction of the President of the United States’ war powers authority to indefinitely detain.

#### Advocating against indefinite detention in college debate rounds, specifically by presenting Moazzam Begg’s story, is empowering and spurs real world change

English et al 2007 (Eric English, Stephen Llano, Gordon R. Mitchell, Catherine E. Morrison, John Rief & Carly Woods, June 2007, “Debate as a Weapon of Mass Destruction,” Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies 4:2, pp. 221–225)

The shadow of 1954 suggests that academic debating in a post-9/11 political environment could be hazardous. The New York City high school debaters described above cer- tainly had cause for alarm. But police confiscation of their speaking briefs was more ac- cident than trend. A closer look at contemporary academic debate reveals features that make it seem markedly less subversive than its 1954 version. This year’s intercollegiate policy debate topic calls on affirmative teams to overrule one of four Supreme Court decisions, including Ex parte Quirin, the precedent frequently invoked to justify homeland security policies such as military tribunals for Guantanamo detainees.8 In arguing to overturn Quirin, debaters employ a variety of approaches. Most teams contend that the Supreme Court’s 2006 Hamdan v. Rumsfeld decision, while help- ful, does not go far enough in limiting the scope of military commissions. In this view, leaving Quirin on the books enables a troubling expansion of presidential power, with the potential to destroy transatlantic relations and abrogate US obligations to the Geneva Convention. Others use testimony, narratives, and poetry from ex-detainees like Afghan poet Abdul Rahim Muslim Dost and British memoirist Moazzam Begg to highlight the human rights abuses and torture allegations at Guantanamo Bay. If this sounds radical, consider that such cases have been met with objections from negative opponents that piecemeal reforms are cosmetic drops in the bucket, with durable systemic change only likely to come from more revolutionary measures such as presidential impeachment, an- archy, or world government.¶ Today’s intercollegiate debaters find themselves in a political landscape resembling 1954 in several respects. Once again, we find prominent political figures attempting to define the contours of public debate by portraying critics as unpatriotic. Vice President Cheney says that ‘‘disagreement, argument and debate are the essentials of democracy,’’ yet stipulates that charges of pre-war intelligence manipulation are ‘‘dishonest and rep- rehensible.’’9 Such contortions are typical examples of how skillfully McCarthy’s ide- ological descendants attack the process of democracy in the name of democracy. The conservative punditry also does its part. While Ann Coulter accuses Iraq war critics of treason, David Horowitz revives fears of a liberal (and therefore ‘‘dangerous’’) academic elite poisoning the minds of America’s young adults. Despite these and countless other examples of McCarthyist tendencies, many directed specifically at academia, there has been no outcry about college students ‘‘taking the side of terrorists’’ in competitive de- bate tournaments. Why?¶ One answer is that intercollegiate policy debate has become remarkably isolated and esoteric. Competitive pressures have molded the activity into a highly technical art form, where students argue in jargon at breakneck speeds that regularly top 300 words per minute. Because so few people can participate in these debates, virtually no one observes them; untrained spectators are often baffled. The coin has two sides, for the isolation of this form of debate both protects it from criticism and prevents it from having a broader social effect. The result is an odd oasis of intellectual ferment bearing resemblance to the carefully demarcated ‘‘free speech zones’’ that dot the periphery of today’s controversial public events.¶ Second, while the pedagogical benefits of switch-side debating for participants are compelling,10 some worry that the technique may perversely and unwittingly serve the ends of an aggressively militaristic foreign policy. In the context of the 1954 contro- versy, Ronald Walter Greene and Darrin Hicks suggest that the articulation of the de- bate community as a zone of dissent against McCarthyist tendencies developed into a larger and somewhat uncritical affirmation of switch-side debate as a ‘‘technology’’ of liberal participatory democracy. This technology is part and parcel of the post-McCar- thy ethical citizen, prepared to discuss issues from multiple viewpoints. The problem for Greene and Hicks is that this notion of citizenship becomes tied to a normative con- ception of American democracy that justifies imperialism. They write, ‘‘The production and management of this field of governance allows liberalism to trade in cultural tech- nologies in the global cosmopolitan marketplace at the same time as it creates a field of intervention to transform and change the world one subject (regime) at a time.’’11 Here, Greene and Hicks argue that this new conception of liberal governance, which epito- mizes the ethical citizen as an individual trained in the switch-side technique, serves as a normative tool for judging other polities and justifying forcible regime change. One need look only to the Bush administration’s framing of war as an instrument of democ- racy promotion to grasp how the switch-side technique can be appropriated as a justifi- cation for violence.¶ It is our position, however, that rather than acting as a cultural technology expand- ing American exceptionalism, switch-side debating originates from a civic attitude that serves as a bulwark against fundamentalism of all stripes. Several prominent voices re- shaping the national dialogue on homeland security have come from the academic debate community and draw on its animating spirit of critical inquiry. For example, Georgetown University law professor Neal Katyal served as lead plaintiff ’s counsel in Hamdan, which challenged post-9/11 enemy combat definitions. 12 The foundation for Katyal’s winning argument in Hamdan was laid some four years before, when he collaborated with former intercollegiate debate champion Laurence Tribe on an influential Yale Law Journal addressing a similar topic.13¶ Tribe won the National Debate Tournament in 1961 while competing as an under- graduate debater for Harvard University. Thirty years later, Katyal represented Dart- mouth College at the same tournament and finished third. The imprint of this debate training is evident in Tribe and Katyal’s contemporary public interventions, which are characterized by meticulous research, sound argumentation, and a staunch com- mitment to democratic principles. Katyal’s reflection on his early days of debating at Loyola High School in Chicago’s North Shore provides a vivid illustration. ‘‘I came in as a shy freshman with dreams of going to medical school. Then Loyola’s debate team opened my eyes to a different world: one of argumentation and policy.’’ As Katyal re- counts, ‘‘the most important preparation for my career came from my experiences as a member of Loyola’s debate team.’’14¶ The success of former debaters like Katyal, Tribe, and others in challenging the dominant dialogue on homeland security points to the efficacy of academic debate as a training ground for future advocates of progressive change. Moreover, a robust understand- ing of the switch-side technique and the classical liberalism which underpins it would help prevent misappropriation of the technique to bolster suspect homeland security pol- icies. For buried within an inner-city debater’s files is a secret threat to absolutism: the re- fusal to be classified as ‘‘with us or against us,’’ the embracing of intellectual experimen- tation in an age of orthodoxy, and reflexivity in the face of fundamentalism. But by now, the irony of our story should be apparent\*the more effectively academic debating prac- tice can be focused toward these ends, the greater the proclivity of McCarthy’s ideological heirs to brand the activity as a ‘‘weapon of mass destruction.’’

#### And, in the context of our privilege as white, middle class, heterosexual males, advocating against instances of racism is vital to an interrogation and rehabilitation of white identity

Sullivan 2012 (Shannon Sullivan, Professor of Philosophy, Women's Studies, and African American Studies, Philosophy Department Head at Penn State University, “On the Need for a New Ethos of White Antiracism,” PhiloSOPHIA, Vol 2, Issue 1, Muse)

This is not something that most “good” white people want to hear. Wise recounts a story that underscores this point, as well as confirms Marcano’s insight into the lack of trust across race lines. When giving a presentation on whiteness to a predominantly white college audience, a young white woman asked Wise how his work was received by black people and admitted that she didn’t think she could do the same sort of work because black people wouldn’t trust her. Wise replied that while there occasionally was some mistrust, he never felt hated or resented once black people had seen him work and “walk the walk,” not just “talk the talk.” At that point, an extremely agitated black woman raised her hand and responded, “Make NO mistake . . . we do hate you and we don’t trust you, not for one minute!” (Wise 2005, 97). The young white woman was so distressed that she nearly fell apart. The black woman’s response apparently confirmed all her worst fears as a “good” white person. Wise, however, calmly replied to the black woman that he was sorry to hear this, but it was okay since he ultimately wasn’t fighting racism for the sake of nonwhite people. Upon hearing this, the entire audience snapped to attention as if a bomb had been dropped in the room, and even the agitated black woman looked puzzled. So Wise (2005, 98) continued, “I mean no disrespect by saying that. . . . It’s just that I don’t view it as my job to fight racism so as to save you from it. That would be paternalistic. . . . I fight [racism] because it’s a sickness in my community, and I’m trying to save myself from it.”¶ On a dominant understanding of morality, Wise’s reply appears to selfishly care for himself and his racial group more than he cares about the black woman and other black people. This is why his audience was shocked by his reply to the black woman’s mistrust. In addition to being uncaring and selfish, Wise doesn’t prioritize the establishment of close, trusting relationships between himself and other people of color as a goal, or even a means of his activist work. On a conventional understanding of how white antiracism should operate, the distance Wise allows between himself and people of color makes his activism ineffective at best, and scandalous at worst. But we can view Wise’s reply and his activist work through the lens of a different ethos, one that encourages white people’s “selfish” attention to their own race and understands the importance [End Page 34] of white self-love to their work for racial justice. Wise is fighting for white people’s racial health, rather than their racial goodness, and he sees that their improved health will make them better able to join with communities of color in a relationship of genuine respect, rather than paternalistic domination.¶ “Selfishly” cleaning up their own house is one of the best ways that white people today can contribute to racial justice and transform the meaning and effects of whiteness. In Lucius Outlaw’s (2004) terms, it is the way that whiteness can be “rehabilitated,” or returned to a condition of good health. I’m not sure that whiteness has ever been very healthy, as I think Outlaw would agree, so the return here is very much in question. But the sickness and need for better health are not. White people have been ill from white domination for centuries. If they are to recover, they need answers to the question of what a healthier whiteness might be, answers, in Outlaw’s (2004, 161) words, “that must be taken up and lived by folks who identify as ‘white.’” This is not work white people can ask or demand that people of color do for them, which is not to say that white people don’t have a great deal to learn about themselves from nonwhite people.14 While they cannot do it in a white solipsistic vacuum, white people need to develop a new ethos for their white identities. No one else can live their whiteness for them. So what will they—we, I—do with it? I think the best answers to this question will be ones that emerge apart from the dominance of white guilt and shame. By developing a bestowing self-love that helps transform whiteness, white people can make positive and ongoing contributions to struggles for racial justice.15

#### Our advocacy is an example of a positive affect approach to white antiracism--- it’s a prerequisite to transcending the history of white domination

Sullivan 2012 (Shannon Sullivan, Professor of Philosophy, Women's Studies, and African American Studies, Philosophy Department Head at Penn State University, “On the Need for a New Ethos of White Antiracism,” PhiloSOPHIA, Vol 2, Issue 1, Muse)

This description might make it sound as if interrupting negative affects with living attention always is warm, cuddly, and pleasant, but it isn’t. One reason is that giving living attention to a person is not necessarily the same thing as sympathizing with the affects that grip her (Brennan 2004, 121). A friend might be resentfully indignant and want you to share in her indignation when the best thing for her would be for you lovingly to refuse to become vengefully angry and instead to help her gain a different perspective on her situation. This refusal can bring about more anger, turning the experience into a brutal process in which the strong person is beaten by waves of negative affect when the angry friend does not lower her defensive shields. In those situations, the strong person rightly tries “not to continue the transmission of negative affect; to stop it before it can be passed on or back.” Stopping it, however, means “absorb[ing] and transmut[ing] that affect,” and doing that can “give rise to a conflict between mental health (do not allow yourself to be dumped on) and spiritual health (do not dump back)” (2004, 124–25). The dangers to the strong that concerned Nietzsche are real, given that the strong often are called upon to be the recycling centers for negative affects. Dump your negative affects here and they can be converted into positive ones! Or at least they will be defused by being dumped on someone who won’t return [End Page 29] them. But the question for the strong person then becomes how to be continually dumped on without turning into a cesspool of negative affects oneself. Absorbing and transmitting negative affects can help transform the world, as Brennan claims, but, “it requires subjecting oneself to eddies or even torrents of affects, while somehow maintaining equilibrium. Such is the practice of souls who, when assailed by envy or contempt or rage do not take it personally, for they know that these are forces that possess even the finest souls” (2004, 135). The person who understands the complex causes and situations that produce negative affects can avoid taking negative affects personally even when they are directed at her. This sort of understanding is not the mark of a powerful person, as if understanding were a sign that represented power. It is the power itself of a very strong person.7¶ White people need to develop this kind of strength—and it is not only white supremacists who are weak, but also so-called non- or antiracist white people, who tend to be part of a white middle class that sees themselves as the “good” whites. “Good” middle-class white people generally lack the strength to interrupt racialized cycles of negative affects and generate positive affects instead. As a result of their weakness, they often dump responsibility for racism on lower- and working-class white people, who are posited as the true source of ongoing racial injustice. Lower-class white people allegedly are the “bad” (= racist) white people who are too unintelligent or unenlightened to know that people of color aren’t inferior to white people. With their disdain, scorn, and even hatred of “white trash,” middle-class white people exploit class differences among whites to efface their own complicity in racism and white domination.

#### This isn’t just some white dudes’ vanity project--- re-forming the white identity is a necessary prerequisite to conquering white anti-blackness and other forms of racism

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So much the worse for white people, we might think. But although understandable, this response would be misguided since white people’s psychosomatic depletion has implications for the well-being of others. Put succinctly, white people’s unhealthiness helps fuel their abuse and domination of people of color. It thus matters to struggles for racial justice whether white people are psychosomatically healthy and strong. It matters which affects, emotions, and passions fund white people’s actions in general, and their work for racial justice in particular. In this paper, I will draw from Friedrich Nietzsche, Teresa Brennan, and other scholars to explain the ontological and power-full aspects of affect, touching briefly on the toxicity of white guilt and shame and focusing especially on the healthiness of what Nietzsche calls a bestowing self-love. I will argue that in the context of white people’s contributions to racial justice movements, a positive effect of their bestowing self-love is that white people will be more likely and better able to clean up their own house, to stop fleeing themselves through the use of people of color as a site of white racial redemption. The upshot of my paper is a call for an ethos for white antiracists that is not primarily grounded in enervating affects such as guilt and shame. An ethos of white antiracism based instead on vitalizing affects such as self-love will help white people make more effective and sustainable contributions to racial justice movements.

#### We’re obviously not saying that white people will be the saviors of the antiracist movement but we do have a unique, positive role to play

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One last comment before I turn to the relationship between affect, power, and political action. I do not think that racial justice movements are dependent [End Page 22] on white people for their success. Far more often than not, white people are part of the problem, not the solution, when it comes to ending white domination. The struggles, protests, and demands of people of color have been and most likely will continue to be the main motor driving racial justice movements. But white people can play a positive role in those movements as well. In fact, I think they have a small, but somewhat unique role to play given the persistence of de facto racial segregation in workplaces, neighborhoods, school systems, and so on. Just as feminist movements need men who are willing to speak out against sexism and male privilege (hooks 1984, 67–81; Katz 2006)—especially in all-male settings such as locker rooms, fraternity houses, and so on—racial justice movements need white people who are willing to speak and act against white racism when they encounter it in their families, neighborhoods, workplaces, etc. As important as women are to feminist change, eliminating sexism should not be reduced to “women’s work.” Likewise, white people who care about racial justice should not sit back and wait for people of color to clean up the mess that white people have made. White people need to make a positive contribution to racial justice and, as I will argue, their contribution needs to be something other than a short-lived gesture that ultimately serves to assuage white guilt rather than eliminate racial injustice. The question then becomes: How are white people more likely to engage in sustained political action that actually counters white domination? The answer lies, to a large extent, in the affects that constitute them.

#### Any state link is seriously grasping for straws--- Talking about a problem caused by the state does not legitimize the state

Frost 1996 (Mervyn Frost, Professor at the University of Kent, “Ethics In International Relations A Constitutive Theory,” pp. 90-91)

A first objection which seems inherent in Donelan's approach is that utilizing the modern state domain of discourse in effect sanctifies the state: it assumes that people will always live in states and that it is not possible within such a language to consider alternatives to the system. This objection is not well founded. By having recourse to the ordinary language of international relations I am not thereby committed to argue that the state system as it exists is the best mode of human political organization or that people ought always to live in states as we know them. As I have said, my argument is that whatever proposals for piecemeal or large-scale reform of the state system are made, they must of necessity be made in the language of the modern state. Whatever proposals are made, whether in justification or in criticism of the state system, will have to make use of concepts which are at present part and parcel of the theory of states. Thus, for example, any proposal for a new global institutional arrangement superseding the state system will itself have to be justified, and that justification will have to include within it reference to a new and good form of individual citizenship, reference to a new legislative machinery equipped with satisfactory checks and balances, reference to satisfactory law enforcement procedures, reference to a satisfactory arrangement for distributing the goods produced in the world, and so on. All of these notions are notions which have been developed and finely honed within the theory of the modern state. It is not possible to imagine a justification of a new world order succeeding which used, for example, feudal, or traditional/tribal, discourse. More generally there is no worldwide language of political morality which is not completely shot through with state-related notions such as citizenship, rights under law, representative government and so on.

# 2AC

### Proximate Violence

#### The uneven landscape of globalization requires those in a position of privilege to orient their ethics toward the suffering they don’t necessarily encounter face to face

Elfstrom 1998 (Gerald Elfstrom 1998, Contemporary Ethical Issues, International Ethics, pp. X)

We never see many of these people, and we are unaware of the existence of many thousands of others, but their actions affect our lives in many ways, and our actions affect them in turn. We are also able to affect the lives of people with whom we have no ties of commerce or friendship. For example, a century ago it would have been nearly impossible for people in the United States to become aware of the suffering of a child in Nepal, and vastly more difficult to do anything about it. Now, we are able to get information about suffering elsewhere, and we are also able to take measures to ease that suffering. One result of the changes prompted by globalization is that we are facing new issues of ethical responsibility. The common ethical beliefs we carry are based on the assumption that we will have face-to-face contact with those human beings who are morally important to us. Now we must ask whether we have moral obligations to those whom we may never see in person and whose personal ties with us are only fleeting. My aims in writing this book are to introduce readers to these new issues, explain how they have developed, and provide information on some of the people and organizations who have made an important impact in the ethics of international relations.

#### Exclusive focus on the local in politically debilitating – your evidence is methodologically flawed

Hinrichs 1998 (Clare Hinrichs et al, Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Park, 1998 “MOVING BEYOND "GLOBAL" AND "LOCAL”” http://www.ces.ncsu.edu/depts/sociology/ne185/global.html)

If this is so, why have we been so fixated on "local," "localness," and "locality?" There are several reasons. First, lots of people and big thinkers are doing the same thing. A wide variety of well known and very influential analysts (e.g., Barnet and Cavanagh 1994; Berry 1996; Brecher and Costello 1994; Korten 1995; Shuman 1998) are proffering various versions of "going local" as a premier means of confronting social and ecological problems. Too often, however, these paeans to the "local" are founded on axioms and assumptions rather than on good evidence. Second, this emphasis on the local as a solution is the flip side of a similar fixation on the "global." Globalization is THE issue of the day. Having defined the "global" as the problem, it is easy to look to the "local" for relief (Mander and GoldsmithÆs book The Case Against the Global Economy and for a Turn to the Local is a paradigmatic manifestation of this tendency). As suggested above, the "global/local" pivot is a false dichotomy, but dualistic thinking remains a difficult pitfall to avoid-- even when you know it is there. In fact, the local can be confining and oppressive and the global can be expansive and liberating û as well as vice versa (see Henwood 1996; Young 1996). Third, there is now a tremendous amount of interesting and inspiring activity going on at the local level, especially in the area of food systems. From the community kitchens of Lima to the CSAs of WisconsinÆs "driftless region," people in particular places are organizing what are often small scale initiatives that challenge and provide alternatives to conventional food systems. Those of us interested in working to realize a sustainable food system would be seriously remiss if we did not honor and engage these projects. But while it is important to understand why this opposition is appearing in particular (local) places, it is perhaps equally important to investigate the broader context in which such opposition is emerging, and and to explore possible connections between different local manifestations of "resistance." Fourth, locality is closely associated with traditional notions of community and the positive elements of intimate face to face human interaction. We suspect that those of us with an interest in farming and food are particularly susceptible to the strain of Jeffersonian idealism that has long been an integral feature of agricultural thought in the United States and that this gives "localization" a special appeal. A tendency to romanticize the local is not necessarily a bad thing - we do, after all, need to give meaning to what we do. Knowing what we want allows us to bring an energy to our work. But we need to be clear-eyed about our normative inclinations if we are to work effectively. Following romantic tendencies too far can ultimately have debilitating effects: a slide into reaction or utopianism, commitments to pasts that never were or futures that never can be.

### Authenticity

#### Authenticity tests shut down debate– it’s strategically a disaster

**SUBOTNIK 98**

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Having traced a major strand in the development of CRT, we turn now to the strands' effect on the relationships of CRATs with each other and with outsiders. As the foregoing material suggests, **the central** CRT **message is not simply that minorities are being treated unfairly**, or even that individuals out there are in pain - assertions for which there are data to serve as grist for the academic mill - **but that the minority scholar himself or herself hurts and hurts badly**.¶ An important problem that concerns the very definition of the scholarly enterprise now comes into focus. **What can an academic** trained to [\*694] question and to doubt n72 **possibly say to Patricia Williams when effectively she announces, "I hurt bad"?** n73 **"No, you don't hurt"? "You shouldn't hurt"?** "Other people hurt too"? Or, most dangerously - and perhaps most tellingly - "What do you expect when you keep shooting yourself in the foot?" If the majority were perceived as having the well- being of minority groups in mind, these responses might be acceptable, even welcomed. And they might lead to real conversation. But, **writes Williams, the failure by those "cushioned within the invisible privileges of race and power**... to incorporate a sense of precarious connection as a part of our **lives is... ultimately obliterating**." n74¶ "Precarious." "Obliterating." **These words will clearly invite responses only from fools and sociopaths; they will, by effectively precluding objection, disconcert and disunite others**. **"I hurt," in academic discourse, has three broad though interrelated effects**. First, **it demands priority from the reader's conscience. It is for this reason that law review editors, waiving usual standards, have privileged a long trail of undisciplined - even silly** n75 **- destructive and, above all, self-destructive arti** [\*695] **cles.** n76 **Second, by emphasizing the emotional bond between those who hurt in a similar way, "I hurt" discourages fellow sufferers from abstracting themselves from their pain in order to gain perspective on their condition**. n77¶ [\*696] **Last, as we have seen, it precludes the possibility of open and structured conversation with others**. n78¶ [\*697] **It is because of this conversation-stopping effect** of what they insensitively call "first-person agony stories" **that Farber and Sherry deplore their use.** "The norms of academic civility hamper readers from challenging the accuracy of the researcher's account; it would be rather difficult, for example, to criticize a law review article by questioning the author's emotional stability or veracity." n79 Perhaps, a better practice would be to put the scholar's experience on the table, along with other relevant material, but to subject that experience to the same level of scrutiny.¶ If **through the foregoing rhetorical strategies CRATs succeeded in limiting academic debate**, why do they not have greater influence on public policy? **Discouraging white legal scholars from entering the national conversation about race**, n80 I suggest, **has generated a kind of cynicism in white audiences** which, in turn, has had precisely the reverse effect of that ostensibly desired by CRATs. **It drives the American public to the right and ensures that anything CRT offers is reflexively rejected.**¶ In the absence of scholarly work by white males in the area of race, of course, it is difficult to be sure what reasons they would give for not having rallied behind CRT. Two things, however, are certain. First, **the kinds of issues** raised by Williams **are too important** in their implications  [\*698]  for American life **to be confined to communities of color.** If the lives of minorities are heavily constrained, if not fully defined, by the thoughts and actions of the majority elements in society, **it would seem to be of great importance that white thinkers and doers participate in open discourse** to bring about change. Second, given the lack of engagement of CRT by the community of legal scholars as a whole, the discourse that should be taking place at the highest scholarly levels has, by default, been displaced to faculty offices and, more generally, the streets and the airwaves.

# 1AR

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