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## The Coming of Age of the Flesh Machine\*

Over the past century, the two machines that comprise the general state apparatus have reached a level of sophistication which neither is likely to transcend. These complex mechanisms, the war machine and the sight machine, will go through many generations of refinement in the years to come; for the time being, however, the boundaries of their influence have stabilized.

The war machine is the apparatus of violence engineered to maintain the social, political, and economic relationships that support its continued existence in the world. The war machine consumes the assets of the world in

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classified rituals of uselessness (for example, missile systems that are designed never to be used, but rather to pull competing systems of violence into high-velocity cycles of war-tech production) and in spectacles of hopeless massacre (such as the Persian Gulf war). The history of the war machine has generally been perceived in the West as history itself (although some resistance to this belief began during the 19th century), and while the war machine has not followed a unilinear course of progress, due to disruptions by moments of inertia caused by natural disasters or cultural exhaustion, its engines have continued to creep toward realizing the historical construction of becoming the totality of social existence. Now it has reached an unsurpassable peak—a violence of such intensity that species annihilation is not only possible, but probable. Under these militarized conditions, the human condition becomes one of continuous alarm and preparation for the final moment of collective mortality.

The well-known counterpart of the war machine is the sight machine. It has two purposes: to mark the space of violent spectacle and sacrifice, and to control the symbolic order. The first task is accomplished through surveying and mapping all varieties of space, from the geographic to the social. Through the development of satellite-based imaging technologies, in combination with computer networks capable of sorting, storing, and retrieving vast amounts of visual information, a wholistic representation has been constructed of the social, political, economic, and geographical landscape(s) that allows for near-perfect surveillance of all areas, from the micro to the macro. Through such visualization techniques, any situation or

population deemed unsuitable for perpetuating the war machine can be targeted for sacrifice or for containment.

The second function of the sight machine, to control the symbolic order, means that the sight machine must generate representations that normalize the state of war in everyday life, and which socialize new generations of individuals into their machinic roles and identities. These representations are produced using all types of imaging technologies, from those as low-tech as a paint brush to ones as high-tech as supercomputers. The images are then distributed through the mass media in a ceaseless barrage of visual stimulation. To make sure that an individual cannot escape the imperatives of the sight machine for a single waking moment, ideological signatures are also deployed through the design and engineering of all artifacts and architectures. This latter strategy is ancient in its origins, but combined with the mass media's velocity and its absence of spatial restrictions, the sight machine now has the power to systematically encompass the globe in its spectacle. This is not to say that the world will be homogenized in any specific sense. The machinic sensibility understands that differentiation is both useful and necessary. However, the world will be homogenized in a general sense. Now that the machines are globally and specifically interlinked with the ideology and practices of pancapitalism, we can be certain that a hyper-rationalized cycle of production and consumption, under the authority of nomadic corporate-military control, will become the guiding dynamic of the day. How a given population or territory arrives at this principle is open to negotiation, and is measured by the extent to which

profit (tribute paid to the war machine) increases within a given area or among a given population.

In spite of the great maturity of these machines, a necessary element still seems to be missing. While representation has been globally and rationally encoded with the imperatives of pancapitalism, the flesh upon which these codings are further inscribed has been left to reproduce and develop in a less than instrumental manner. To be sure, the flesh machine has intersected both the sight and war machines since ancient times, but comparatively speaking, the flesh machine is truly the slowest to develop. This is particularly true in the West, where practices in health and medicine, genetic engineering, or recombinant organisms have thoroughly intersected nonrational practices (particularly those of the spirit). Even when they were secularized after the Renaissance, these practices have consistently been less successful, when compared to their counterparts, in insuring the continuance of a given regime of state power. Unlike the war machine and the sight machine, which have accomplished their supreme tasks—the potential for species annihilation for the former, and global mapping and mass distribution of ideologically coded representation for the latter—the flesh machine has utterly failed to concretize its imagined world of global eugenics.

The simple explanation for the flesh machine's startling lack of development is cultural lag. As the West shifted from a feudal to a capitalist economy, demonstrating the benefits of rationalizing production in regard to war was a relatively simple task. National wealth and border expansion were clearly marked and blended well with the trace

leftovers of feudal ideology. Manifest destiny, for example, did not stand in contradiction to Christian expansionism. War, economy, politics, and ideology (the slowest of social manifestations to change) were still working toward a common end (total domination). The rationalization of the flesh, however, could not find a point of connection with theologically informed ideology. Flesh ideology could only coexist as parallel rather than as intersecting tracks. For this reason it is no surprise that one of the fathers of flesh machine ideology was a man of God. The work of Thomas Malthus represents the ideological dilemma presented to the flesh machine on the cusp of the feudal/capitalist economic shift.

Malthus argued that the flesh did not have to be rationalized through secular engineering, since it was already rationalized by the divine order of the cosmos designed by God Himself. Although the nonrational motivation of original sin would guarantee replication of the work force, God had placed “natural checks” on the population, so only those who were needed would be produced. The uncivilized lower classes could be encouraged to have as many children as possible without fear that the population would overrun those in God’s grace, because God would sort the good from the bad through famine, disease, and other natural catastrophes. For this reason, the flesh could be left to its own means, free of human intervention, and human progress could focus on fruition through economic progress. Spencerian philosophy, arriving half a century later, complemented this notion by suggesting that those fit for survival would be naturally selected in the social realm. The most skillful, intelligent, beautiful, athletic, etc., would be naturally selected by the structure of the society itself—that of

“open” capitalist competition. Hence the flesh machine was still in no need of vigorous attention; however, Spencer did act as a hinge for the development of eugenic consciousness. Spencer constructed an ideological predisposition for conflating natural and social models of selection (the former arrived a decade or so after Spencer’s primary theses were published). This made it possible for genetic engineering to become a naturalized social function, intimately tied to social progress without being a perversion of nature—in fact, it was now a part of nature. At this point eugenic consciousness could continue to develop uninterrupted by feudal religious dogma until its traces evaporated out of capitalist economy, or until it could be better reconfigured to suit the needs of capitalism. While the idea of a eugenic world continued to flourish in all capitalist countries, and culminated in the Nazi flesh experiment of the 30s and early 40s, the research never materialized that would be necessary to elevate the flesh machine to a developmental level on a par with the war machine.

Perhaps there is an even simpler explanation. Machinic development can only occur at the pace of one machine at a time, since scarce resources allow for only so much indirect military research. After the war machine came to full fruition with the implementation of fully matured total war during World War II, along with the attendant economic expansion, it became possible to allocate a generous helping of excess capital for the expansion of the next machine. In this case, it was the sight machine which had proved its value during the war effort with the development of radar and sonar, and thereby jumped to the front of the line for maximum investment. It was also clearly understood at this point that global warfare required new attention

to logistic organization. The road between strategic and tactical weapons and logistical needs had leveled out, and this realization also pushed the sight machine to the front of the funding line. Conversely, the need of the Allied powers to separate themselves ideologically as far as possible from Nazi ideology pushed the desired development of the flesh machine back into the realm of nonhuman intervention. Consequently, the alliance between the war machine and the sight machine continued without interruption, delivering ever-increasingly sophisticated weapons of mass destruction. It also created an ever more enveloping visual/information apparatus—most notably satellite technology, television, video, computers, and the Net.

While the war machine reached relative completion in the 60s, the sight machine did not reach relative completion until the 80s (die-hard Web-users might want to argue for the 90s). Now a third machine can claim its share of excess capital, so the funds are flowing in increasing abundance to a long deferred dream. The flesh machine is here. It has been turned on, and like its siblings, the war machine and the sight machine, it cannot be turned off. As is to be expected, the flesh machine replicates elements of the sight and war machines in its construction. It is these moments of replication which are of interest in this essay.

### **A Brief Note on Scientific Imagination, Ethics, and the Flesh Machine**

In the best of all possible worlds, ethical positions relevant to the flesh machine would be primary to any discussion about it. In fact, to read the literature on the flesh machine (which

at this point is dominated by the medical and scientific establishments), one would think that ethics is of key concern to those in the midst of flesh machine development; however, nothing could be further from reality. The scientific establishment has long since demonstrated that when it comes to machinic development, ethics has no real place other than its ideological role as spectacle. Ethical discourse is not a point of blockage in regard to machinic development. Take the case of nuclear weapons development. The ethical argument that species annihilation is an unacceptable direction for scientific inquiry should certainly have been enough to block the production of such weaponry; however, the needs of the war machine rendered this discourse silent. In fact, the need of the war machine to overcome competing machinic systems moved nuclear weapons development along at top velocity. Handsome rewards and honors were paid to individuals and institutions participating in the nuclear initiative. In a word, ethical discourse was totally ignored. If big science can ignore nuclear holocaust and species annihilation, it seems very safe to assume that concerns about eugenics or any of the other possible flesh catastrophes are not going to be very meaningful in its deliberations about flesh machine policy and practice. Without question, it is in the interest of pancapitalism to rationalize the flesh, and consequently it is in the financial interest of big science to see that this desire manifests itself in the world.

Another problem with machinic development could be the institutionally-contained panglossian reification of the scientific imagination. Consider the following quote

from Eli Friedman, president of International Society for Artificial Organs, in regard to the development of artificial organs:

Each of us attempting to advance medical science—whether an engineer, chemist, theoretician, or physician—depends on personal enthusiasm to sustain our work. Optimistic, self-driven investigators succeed beyond the point where the pessimist, convinced that the project cannot be done, has given up. Commitment to the design, construction, and implanting of artificial internal organs requires a positive, romantic, and unrestrained view of what may be attainable. Members of our society share a bond gained by the belief that fantasy can be transformed into reality.

and:

ISAO convenes an extraordinary admixture of mavericks, “marchers to different drums,” and very smart scientists capable of converting “what if” into “why not.”

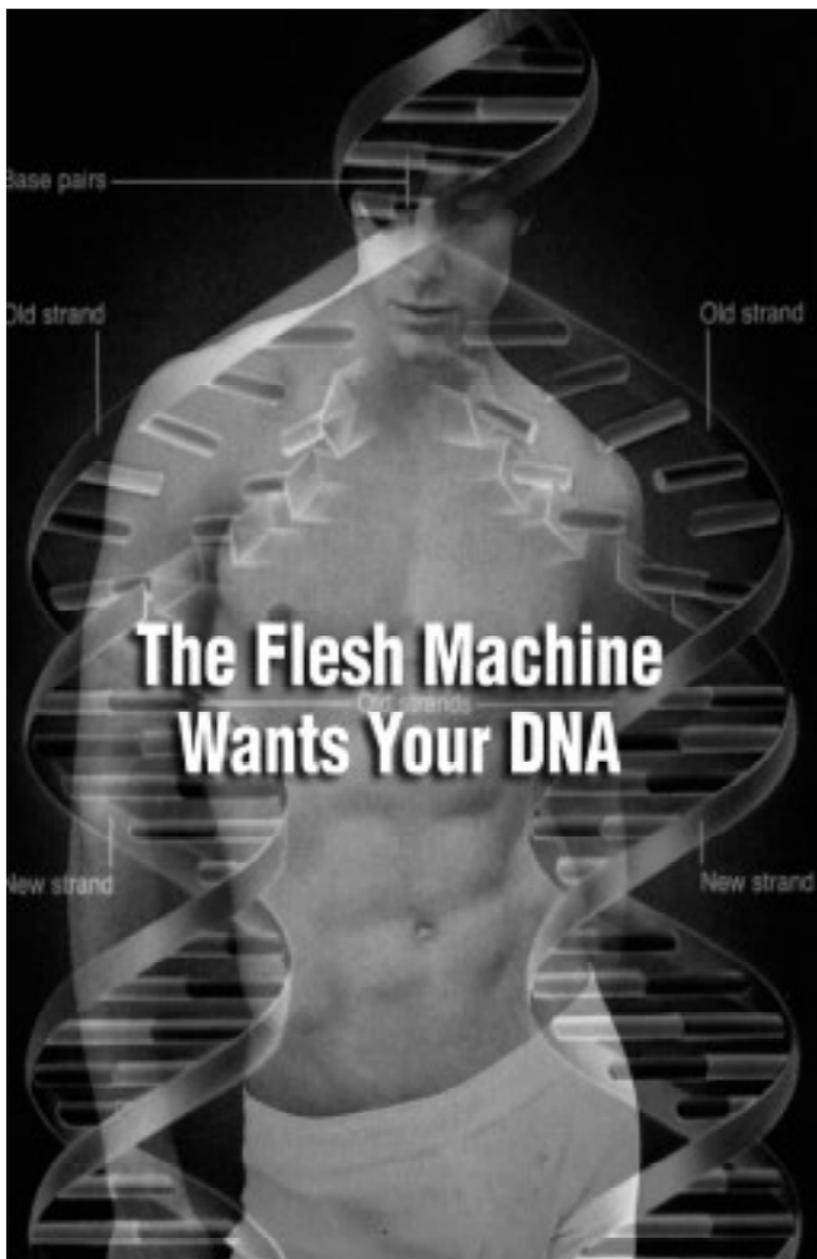
These lovely rhetorical flourishes primarily function to rally the troops in what will be a hard-fought battle for funding. It’s time to move fast (the less reflection the better) if the AO model is to dominate the market; after all, there is serious competition from those who believe that harvesting organs from animals (transgenic animals if need be) is the better path along which to proceed. But it

is the subtext of such thinking that is really of the greatest interest. From this perspective, science lives in a transcendental world beyond the social relationships of domination. If something is perceived as good in the lab, it will be good in the world, and the way a scientist imagines a concept/application to function in the world is the way it will in fact function. The most horrifying notion, however, is the idea (bred from a maniacal sense of entitlement) that “if you can imagine it, you may as well do it,” as if science is unconnected to any social structures or dynamics other than utopia and progress.

Perhaps the only hope is that the funding and the optimism becomes so excessive that it undermines machinic development. *Star Wars* is a perfect example of incidental resistance from the scientific establishment. During the Reagan-era big bonanza for war machine funding, the most ludicrous promises were made by big science in order to obtain research funds. The result was a series of contraptions that truly defines the comedy of science. Two of the finest examples are the rail gun that self-destructed upon launching its pellet projectile, and the deadly laser ray that had a range of only three feet. While the American taxpayers might see red over the excessive waste, a major section of the scientific establishment was apparently distracted enough by the blizzard of money that they failed to make any useful lethal devices.

### **If I Can See It, It's Already Dead**

The war machine and the sight machine intersect at two key points—in the visual targeting of enemy forces (military



sites, production sites, and population centers), and in visualizing logistical routes. Once sited and accurately placed within a detailed spatial grid, the enemy may be dispatched at the attacker's leisure, using the most efficient routes and means of attack. As long as the enemy can remain invisible, determining proper strategic action is difficult, if not impossible. Hence any successful offensive military action begins with visualization and representation. A strong defensive posture also requires proper visual intelligence. The better the vision, the more time available to configure a counterattack. The significant principle here—the one being replicated in the development of the flesh machine—is that vision equals control. Therefore the flesh machine, like its counterparts, is becoming increasingly photocentric.

Not surprisingly, much of the funding for the flesh machine is intended to develop maps of the body and to design imaging systems that will expedite this process. From the macro to the micro (the Human Genome Project being the best known), no stone can remain unturned. Every aspect of the body must be open to the vision of medical and scientific authority. Once the body is thoroughly mapped and its "mechanistic" splendor revealed, any body invader (organic or otherwise) can be eliminated, and the future of that body can be accurately predicted. While such developments sound like a boon to humanity, one need not be an expert in the field to be skeptical of such prospects.

While it is hard to doubt the success of the war machine in reducing military activity to the mechanized (that is, fully rationalized structures and dynamics), it is questionable

whether the body can be reduced to a similar state regardless of how well it is represented. One major problem is that the body cannot be separated from its environment, since so many of its processes are set in motion by environmental conditions. For example, a toxic environment can produce undesirable effects in the body. Visual representation alerts medicine to an invasion, so action can be taken to contain or eliminate the invader. In this situation, medicine is reactive rather than preventive, and treats only the effect and not the cause. In fact, it diverts causality away from ecological pathologies, and reinvests it back in the body. In this manner, medicine becomes an alibi for whatever created the toxic situation that infected the body in the first place, by acting as if the infectant emerged internally. The problem raised here is the limited frame of representation in regard to the body map, in conjunction with an emphasis on tactical solutions to physical pathologies. This situation is, of course, understandable, since strategic action would have an undermining effect on the medical market. The one exception to this rule is when the toxic body emerges due to behavioral factors. In this case, the scientific/medical establishment can expand its authority over the body by suggesting and often enforcing behavioral restrictions on patients. In this situation, the science and medical establishment functions as a benevolent police force deployed against individuals to better mold them to the needs of the state.

To complicate matters further, flesh machine science and medicine have the unfortunate but necessary habit of putting the cart before the horse. The flesh machine, unlike its counterparts, does not have the luxury of developing its visual and weapons systems simultaneously, nor

can weapons development precede advanced visual capabilities. The visual apparatus must come first. For example, antibiotics probably could not have been invented before the development of a microscope. Consequently, as in most research and development, a shotgun method is employed, whereby all varieties of vision machines are developed in the hopes that a few may be of some use. This leads to thrilling headlines like the following from Daniel Haney of the Associated Press: "Brain Imagery Exposes a Killer." What this headline refers to is a new medical map, acquired through the use of positron-emission tomography, which reveals the part of the brain affected by Alzheimer's disease, and the degree to which the brain has been eroded by the disease. This map can help physicians to diagnose Alzheimer's up to ten years before symptom onset. The comedy begins with the admission that there is no way to predict when symptoms will begin to appear, and that there is still no known treatment for the disease. All that medical science can do is tell the patient that s/he has the disease, and that s/he will be feeling its effect sometime in the future. The excitement over being able to visualize this disease comes from the belief that if the disease can be seen, then cure is near at hand. Or, in the words of the war machine, "If I can see it, it's already dead."

Since the process of visualization and representation in this case is at best only an indication of a far-off possibility for cure, and hence is of little use for the patient already diagnosed with the disease, it must be asked: Who could benefit from this information? Alzheimer's is in fact doubly problematic because it can be visualized before symptom onset, and because genetic mapping can also be used to indicate an individual's likelihood of developing it. The

flesh machine's intersection with the surveying function of the sight machine becomes dramatically clear in this situation. Those who would benefit most from this information are insurance companies and the employer of the person likely to be afflicted with the ailment. Such information would be a tremendous cost-cutting device for both. However, ethical discussions about collecting bio-data lead one to believe that such information would remain confidential in the doctor-patient relationship. Perhaps privacy will be maintained. However, it seems more likely that if the information is perceived to lead to significantly higher profits, resources will be allocated by corporate sources to acquire it. The most common strategy to watch for is legislative initiatives pursued under the spectacle of benevolence. Mandatory drug testing for some private and public employment, under the authority of employee and public security, is an example of the means by which privacy can be eroded.

Finally there is the problem of representation itself. As the war machine demonstrates, the greater the visualization of a frontier territory, the greater the degree of contestation at the visualized sight. In other words, the more that is seen, the more power realizes what needs to be controlled and how to control it. The brain is certainly going to be the key, but happily, at this point, the research is too immature to warrant strategic intervention on behalf of state power. There are, however, good indicators of how the coming battle will take shape. One need only think of the visualization of the body and its connection to varieties of smoking bans from the legalistic to the normative, or in terms of populist countersurveillance, the relationship of toxins (DDT, for example) in the environment to body

visualization, to understand the connection between vision, discipline, and contestation. The prizewinner, however, is the visualization of uterine space. Feminist critics have long shown how this point of ultra-violent contestation is but the beginning of the age of flesh machine violence. (This is also a point of great hope, as the discourse of the flesh machine has been appropriated from the experts. At the same time, this conflict has shown how fascist popular fronts are just as adept at appropriation). In regard to uterine space, feminist critics have consistently pointed out that this variety of representation loads the ideological dice by presenting the space as separate from the wholistic bio-system of the woman, thus reinforcing the notion of “fetal space.” This idea acts as a basis for “fetal rights,” which are then argued as taking precedence over the rights of women.

A new era of bio-marginality has surely begun. Certainly this situation will only be reinforced by the visualization of either diseases or abnormalities (actual or potential) in subjects soon to be classified under the sign of the unfit. The unfit will be defined in accordance with their utility in relationship to the machine world of pancapitalism. The mapped body is the quantified body. Its use is measured down to the penny. Without such a development, how could any consumer trust in the markets of the flesh machine?

### **Selling Flesh**

One of the oldest manifestations of the flesh machine is the idea of engineering the breeding of plants and livestock to

produce what are perceived to be the most functional products within a given cultural situation. Increased knowledge about this task has certainly contributed to the great abundance in the food supply in the first world, thus shifting an individual's relationship to food from one of need to one of desire. In light of this achievement, industrial food producers have been faced with the task of developing foods that meet the logistical demands of broad-based distribution, while still maintaining a product that the manufacturer can market as desirable. The most productive solution thus far is the manufacture of processed foods; however, the market for food cannot be limited to processed food. The desire for perishable foods is too deeply etched into the culture, and no amount of spectacle can root out this desire. Fortunately for the producers of perishable foods, the product and the market can be rationalized to a great extent. This particular market is of interest because it provides at this moment the best illustration of the market imperatives that are being replicated in the industrial production and distribution of human flesh products. (This is not to say that flesh production will not one day be more akin to processed food, it is only to argue that at present the means of production are still too immature).

To better illuminate this point, consider the case of apples. At the turn of the century, there were dozens of various types of apples available to the buying public. Now when a consumer cruises through a supermarket in search of apples, the choice has been limited to three (red, green, and yellow). Choice has become increasingly limited partly because of logistical considerations. Like most perishable fruits and vegetables these days, apples are bred to

have a long shelf life. In order to have apples all year round, they must be transported from locations that have the conditions to produce them when other locations cannot. Hence these apples must be able to survive an extended distribution process, and not all varieties of apples are capable of resisting rotting for long periods of time. However, logistics alone does not adequately explain choice limitations. Perhaps more important to the formula are market considerations.

Marketing agencies have understood for decades that desire is intensified most through visual appeal. How a product looks determines the probability of a consumer purchase more than any other variable. For apples, the consumer wants brightly colored surfaces, a rounded form, and white inner flesh. In other words, consumers want the perfect storybook apple that they have seen represented since they were children. Apples are bred to suit the cultural construction of “an apple,” and only a few varieties of apples can simulate this appearance and meet this desire. This situation is yet another case of Baudrillard’s universe of platonic madness, where consumers are caught in the tyranny of representation that passes as essence.

Along with the domination of vision, there comes the need of the producer to offer the consumer a reliable product, meaning that the apples one buys tomorrow will look and taste like the ones bought today. Consequently, there is an elimination of sense data other than the visual. If all that is needed to excite desire is a good visual, why bother to develop taste and smell? Especially when a good product can be guaranteed if it is completely tasteless (one can be sure that the apple purchased tomorrow will taste

like the one purchased today)? In this situation, the tyranny of the image becomes glaringly apparent; one would think that smell and taste would be the dominating senses when buying foods, since they would best articulate the pleasure of consumption. Not so, it is vision, and unfortunately many of the most tasty apples do not look very good because they have none of the necessary storybook appeal. Consequently various types of apples have been eliminated, or limited to distribution in localized markets.

If the principles of product reliability and visual appeal are applied to the production/consumption components (as opposed to those concerned with control) of the flesh machine, the reasons for some recent developments become a little clearer. The first problem that flesh producers must face is how to get a reliable product. At present too little is known about genetic processes to fulfill this necessary market imperative. Consequently, they have had to rely on fooling the naive consumer. For example, one characteristic commonly sought after by those in the techno-baby market is intelligence. Unfortunately this characteristic cannot be guaranteed; in fact, flesh producers haven't the slightest idea how to replicate intelligence. However, they can promise breeding materials from intelligent donors. While using the sperm of a Nobel Prize winner in no way guarantees a smart child, and doesn't even increase the probability (nor does it decrease the probability of having a below average child), flesh dealers are able to use false analogies to sell their product. (If two tall parents have a child, the probability of the child being tall is increased, so wouldn't it be correct to say that if two people of above average intelligence have a child, that it would increase the probability that the child will have

above average intelligence?) Many consumers believe this line of thought (the myth of hard genetic determinism has always been very seductive) and are therefore willing to pay higher prices for the sperm of an intelligent man than they are for the sperm of an average donor. Although this fraud will probably not continue indefinitely in the future, an important ideological seed is being sown. People are being taught to think eugenically. The perception is growing that in order to give a child every possible benefit in life, its conception should be engineered.

Another common strategy to better regulate flesh products is to take a genetic reading of the embryo while still in the petri dish. If a genetic characteristic is discovered that is deemed defective, the creature can be terminated before implantation. Again, parents-to-be can have their eugenic dreams come true within the limits of the genetic test. Even parents using the old-fashioned method of conception at least have the option of visualization (sonar) to make sure that the desired gender characteristic is realized. In each of these cases, better visualization and representation, along with an expanded range of genetic tests, will help to insure that desired characteristics are always a part of the flesh product, which leads to the conclusion that better vision machines are as important for profit as they are for control.

At the same time, remember that the marketing practices of postmodernity do not wholly apply to the flesh machine, and at present tend to function on an as-needed basis. Fertility clinics, for example, participate as much in the economy of scarcity (although it must be noted that these products and processes do not intersect the economy of

need) as they do in the economy of desire. While they may use the practices described above, they also have the luxury of being the only option for those who have been denied the ability to produce flesh materials. Those clinics that can boast a product success rate of over 20% (most notably the Center for Reproductive Medicines and Infertility at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, with a success rate of 34%) cannot meet the demand for their goods and services. Apparently, the market for flesh goods and services has been preconstructed in the bio-ideology of capitalism.

### **When Worlds Collide**

Assuming that the flesh machine is guided by the pancapitalist imperatives of control and profit, what will occur if these two principles come into conflict with one another? This has been known to happen as social machines march toward maturity. The sight machine is currently facing this very contradiction in the development of the Net. Currently the Net has some space that is relatively open to the virtual public. In these free zones, one can get information on anything, from radical politics to the latest in commodity development. As to be expected, a lot of information floating about is resistant to the causes and imperatives of pancapitalism, and from the perspective of the state is badly in need of censorship. However, the enforcement of limited speech on the Net would require measures that would be devastating to on-line services and phone service providers, and could seriously damage the market potential of this new tool. (The Net has an unbelievably high concentration of

wealthy literate consumers. It's a market pool that corporate authority does not want to annoy). The dominant choice at present is to let the disorder of the Net continue until the market mechanisms are fully in place, and the virtual public is socialized to their use; then more repressive measures may be considered. Social conservatism taking a back seat to fiscal conservatism seems fairly representative of pancapitalist conflict resolution. The question is, will this policy replicate itself in the flesh machine?

A good example to speculate on in regard to this issue is the ever-elusive "gay gene," always on the verge of discovery, isolation, and visualization. Many actually anxiously await this discovery to prove once and for all that gayness is an essential quality and not just a "lifestyle" choice. However, once placed in the eugenic matrix this discovery might elicit some less positive associations. In the typical alarmist view, if the gene comes under the control of the flesh machine, then it will be eliminated from the gene pool, thus giving compulsory heterosexuality a whole new meaning. Under the imperative of control this possibility seems likely; however, when the imperative of marketability is considered, a different scenario emerges. There may well be a sizable market population for whom the selection of a gay gene would be desirable. Why would a good capitalist turn his back on a population that represents so much profit, not to mention that gay individuals as a submarket (CAE is assuming that some heterosexuals would select the gay gene too) must submit to the flesh machine to reproduce? Again, market and social imperatives come into conflict, but it is unknown which imperative will be selected for enforcement.

Such an issue at least demonstrates the complexity of the flesh machine, and how difficult the task of analyzing this third leviathan will be. What is certain is that the flesh machine is interdependent with and interrelated to the war machine and the sight machine of pancapitalism, and that it is certainly going to intensify the violence and the repression of its predecessors through the rationalization of the final component (i.e., the flesh) of the production/consumption process. Until maps are produced for the purpose of resistance and are cross-referenced through the perspectives of numerous contestational voices, there will be no way, practical or strategic, to resist this new attack on liberationist visions, discourse, and practice.