# HSR

## No Spillover

#### Even major global powers won’t use HSR, China is failing

Washington Post 11 (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-politics-of-chinas-high-speed-train-wreck/2011/07/27/gIQAGedXdI_story.html>, July 27)

Too late: Last Saturday, China’s high-speed rail produced the long-feared catastrophe. [Two bullet trains collided](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia-pacific/chinese-state-media-say-bullet-train-derails-no-word-on-casualties/2011/07/23/gIQA7WM5UI_story.html) in the eastern province of Zhejiang, leaving more than three dozen people dead and scores more injured. The terrible collision is not only a human tragedy but also a major blow to the credibility of the communist government, which had hoped to sell its trains to other countries – including the United States. Authorities blamed a lightning strike for causing one train to stall out, after which a second train rear-ended it, causing four cars to plunge off a bridge. Unlikely on its face, this scenario does not explain why no fail-safe mechanism halted the second train after the first stopped. That’s what would have happened in Japan, where bullet trains have operated for half a century with zero fatalities.

#### China’s HSR fails because of its government, regardless of spillover

East Asia Forum 12 (Francis Broderick, July 20th, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/07/20/is-china-s-high-speed-rail-system-slowing-down/>)

Yet the ambitious growth plan has been implemented extremely quickly, which has led to corruption, faulty equipment and flawed procedures, all of which has have become evident in the past two years of construction and operation. By early 2012, the Chinese HSR system was beginning to struggle,[with 70 per cent of projects delayed or suspended](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/9095729/Chinas-high-speed-rail-project-runs-out-of-steam.html). The railways ministry is under a heavy cloud of debt and banks are reluctant to continue financing the expansion of HSR in China. The ministry has taken out loans of around US$37 billion and is failing to recoup money from passengers. The [disastrous slowdown can be taken into context](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/9095729/Chinas-high-speed-rail-project-runs-out-of-steam.html) by the fact that nine new railway projects will be commissioned in 2012, down from seventy in 2011. While the glory days of HSR construction might have come to an end, the Chinese can still boast a hugely advanced network of high-speed trains. Rail travel in China is now much faster, smoother and more efficient than ever before, in what amounts to an infrastructure revolution that is still a long way away for Western Europe and the US.

#### Russia is building HSR because of European interests, not because of American influence

Singh 12 (Timon, <http://inhabitat.com/russian-constructing-high-speed-rail-system-for-2018-world-cup/russianworldcup4/>,

Now if you are American, you may not be completely familiar with the [FIFA World Cup](http://footballs.fifa.com/Fussballfakten/Baelle-der-FIFA-Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft?gclid=CP_H74bVgKYCFcse4QodMlz2nQ) (despite the USA doing reasonably well in recent tournaments), but it is the world’s largest sporting event. This month, there was much chagrin here in the UK, when the country lost the bid for the 2018 World Cup to Russia, with [Qatar winning the right to host the tournament in 2022.](http://inhabitat.com/qatar-bids-for-2022-world-cup-with-stunning-solar-powered-stadiums/) (Of course, Qatar has planned to transform their infrastructure accordingly by then, including the completion of [the world’s longest bridge](http://www.menainfra.com/news/qatar-bahrain-causeway-in-doubt/).) In a press statement, Putin said, “[The tournament] will be a powerful incentive for the development of high speed rail services in the European part of Russia.” He made the announcement after he and Finnish President Tarja Halonen had embarked “an inaugural journey on the French-made high speed Allegro train linking Helsinki to St. Petersburg.” So with the U.S. planning [high-speed lines in Florida and California](http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CCQQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Finhabitat.com%2Fflorida-anticipated-as-winner-of-first-high-speed-rail-in-the-us%2F&rct=j&q=inhabitaT%20us%20high%20speed%20rail&ei=qVsSTcLQCYGBhQfJ5aG3Dg&usg=AFQjCNFf1w7a4oiRorn47mTeMrLcudj4Ew&sig2=s8-mojwhjf2V8VdtB63eZA&cad=rja), China increasing their own networks, Europe fully embracing the concept, and now Russia investing the same infrastructure for the World Cup, it would appear that the age of the high-speed rail has well arrived.

## More Defense

**High speed Rail wouldn’t make a dent in air pollution figures – airline usage would drop 2.5% in American ALONE – suburbanization proves that population density simply isn’t high enough to support cost-benefit tradeoff**

**Samuelson 2010**, Robert Samuelson is a column author and writer for both Newsweek and the Washington Post and he is the author of “The Great Inflation and Its Aftermath: The Past and Future of American Affluence” and “Untruth: Why the Conventional Wisdom Is (Almost Always) Wrong,” “High-Speed Pork: Why fast trains are a waste of money,” DA: 7/17/12, http://www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2010/10/29/why-high-speed-trains-don-t-make-sense.html

Somehow, **it has become fashionable to think that high-speed trains connecting major cities will help “save the planet**.” They won’t. They’re a perfect example of wasteful spending masquerading as a respectable social cause. They would further burden already-overburdened governments and drain dollars from worthier programs—schools, defense, research. Let’s suppose that the Obama administration gets its wish to build high-speed rail systems in 13 urban corridors. The administration has already committed $10.5 billion, and that’s just a token down payment. California wants about $19 billion for an 800-mile track from Anaheim to San Francisco. Constructing all 13 corridors could easily approach $200 billion. Most (or all) of that would have to come from government. What would we get for this huge investment? Not much. Here’s what we wouldn’t get: any meaningful reduction in traffic congestion, greenhouse-gas emissions, air travel, or oil consumption and imports. Nada, zip. If you can do fourth-grade math, you can understand why. **High-speed intercity trains** (not commuter lines) travel at up to 250 miles per hour and **are most competitive with planes and cars over distances of less than 500 miles**. In a report on high-speed rail, **the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service examined the 12 corridors of 500 miles or less with the most daily air traffic** in 2007. **Los Angeles to San Francisco led the list** with 13,838 passengers; **altogether**, daily air passengers in **these 12 corridors totaled 52,934. If all of them switched to trains, the number of airline passengers, about 2 million a day, would drop only 2.5 percent.** **Any fuel savings would be less than that; even trains need fuel. Indeed, intercity trains—at whatever speed—target such a small part of total travel that the effects on reduced oil use, traffic congestion, and greenhouse gases must be microscopic.** **Every day, about 140 million Americans go to work, with 85 percent driving an average of 25 minutes** (three quarters drive alone, 10 percent carpool). **Even with 250,000 high-speed rail passengers, there would be no visible effect on routine commuting, let alone personal driving**. In the Northeast Corridor, with about 45 million people, Amtrak’s daily ridership is 28,500. If its trains shut down tomorrow, no one except the affected passengers would notice. **We are prisoners of economic geography. Suburbanization** after World War II **made most rail travel impractical**. From 1950 to 2000, the share of the metropolitan population living in central cities fell from 56 percent to 32 percent, report UCLA economists Leah Platt Boustan and Allison Shertzer. Jobs moved too. **Trip origins and destinations are too dispersed to support most rail service. Only in places (Europe, Asia) with greater population densities is high-speed rail potentially attractive**.

### A2: Air Pollution Adv.

**Long term environmental effects of construction cut back against possible benefits in the future**

**Sheehan** 5/26/**2012**, Tim Sheehan is a writer for the Fresno Bee, “High-speed rail construction will give Valley's bad air a big bump before reductions take hold,” DA: 7/17/2012, http://www.fresnobee.com/2012/05/26/2851875\_p2/high-speed-rail-secret-construction.html

Some of that money could go to the air district's incentive programs, which include helping homeowners replace gas-powered lawnmowers with low-cost electric ones, and helping businesses, farmers and industries replace or upgrade trucks and machinery, said Samir Sheihk, the district's director of strategies and incentives. "Those programs are always oversubscribed -- there's always more demand than we have money for," Sheikh said. **In Spain, where high-speed trains have been running for 20 years, some experts said it can take decades for high-speed rail to make up for environmental damage from construction**. **High-speed trains "might be green, [but]** don't take it for granted," **said Germà Bel, a professor of political economics at the University of Barcelona** and a former deputy in the Spanish parliament. "**Because there is a lot of environmental damage while the construction is on. "The story does not begin the day that high-speed lines begin service: The story with the environment begins the day on which the first work began." Disregarding the construction effects "gives the environmental effects of high-speed rail a kind of mythological value," he said. To make up for construction impacts, a high-speed train line must attract enough people from cars and planes. "If you have a new line with huge demand, it might be environmentally friendly -- at a huge cost," Bel said. "If you have medium use of such a line, you take about 30 years to recover the environmental damage done because of construction**. If the usage is low, you actually have a very bad effect on the environment. "**The point with high-speed rail is whether you get dozens of millions of trips [per year]. It's very demanding, and it's not the case with any single line in Spain."** Rail officials **in California** say they'll do such a good job of offsetting pollution while the system is built**, there will be nothing to "make up or pay back" by the time the trains would start carrying passengers in 2022**.

## AFF

**Obama has previously endorsed a national high speed rail program, congressional Republicans ALREADY cut funding for the program, and Obama proceeded to re-allocate unspent funds for the project, this makes the DA inevitable in one of two ways:**

**Either**

**1) Obama’s political capital is already jack shit from the GOP hammering down his previous endorsement**

**OR**

**2) Political capital theory is just entirely false. Obama can still go beast-mode and do whatever the hell he wants to do**

**New York Times, July 9th, 2012**, “High Speed Rail,” DA: 7/20/12, http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/h/high\_speed\_rail\_projects/index.html

While high-speed trains have been zooming commuters across the continents of Europe and Asia for decades, the United States has yet to embrace the idea of the bullet train.**President Obama, in his 2011 State of the Union speech, called for a high-speed rail system over the next 25 years. However, Mr. Obama’s proposal to spend $53 billion on high-speed rail over the next six years, part of his budget deal in April, hit a roadblock when Congressional Republicans** [**eliminated money for that plan**](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/13/us/politics/13rail.html) **for the year.** The year before, newly elected Republican governors in Florida, Ohio and Wisconsin turned down federal money their Democratic predecessors had won for new rail routes, lest their states have to cover most of the costs for trains that would draw few riders. **The cuts will not halt the rail program since unspent money remains that can be used on new projects.** But they leave the future of high-speed rail in the United States unclear. **So far roughly $10 billion has been approved for high-speed rail**, but it has been spread to dozens of projects around the country. **California plans to build a 520-mile high-speed rail line linking Los Angeles to San Francisco, a project that would not be finished until 2033. And they are doing it in the face of what might seem like insurmountable political and fiscal obstacles. In July 2012, despite deepening doubts about the cost and feasibility of the $70 billion project, California’s State Senate narrowly approved legislation to spend $8 billion in federal and state money to begin construction**, starting with a 130-mile stretch through the rural Central Valley. The vote came as the federal government threatened to withdraw $3.3 billion in financing for the project if the Legislature did not approve the release of state bond money to begin construction. Democrats and Republicans expressed fear that the project could be remembered as a boondoggle passed when the state is struggling through a fiscal crisis. The vote was a major victory for Gov. Jerry Brown, a Democrat, who had strongly urged lawmakers to approve the project. He described it in keeping with the state’s tradition of grand projects and said it would pump money into the ailing economy. The California High-Speed Rail Authority has projected that the bullet train would create 100,000 jobs. The authority has proposed that the project be built in phases, and that no phase be started until all the financing was in place. Yet there is widespread skepticism that the train would ever attract the promised ridership, in no small part because unlike, say, the Amtrak Northeast Corridor, the bullet train would go into cities that do not have particularly extensive public transit networks, forcing people to rent cars once they arrive.

# Keystone

## US Canada Relations Frontline

#### US and Canada cooperating on other issues in the status quo- Keystone doesn’t matter.

**The Star Phoenix, 7-18**-12 (“In Spite of Keystone XL, U.S.-Canada Relations on track” http://www.thestarphoenix.com/news/Spite+Keystone+Canada+Relations+track/6955190/story.html)

Relations between Canada and the United States will remain on track regardless of who wins the upcoming presidential election, says Canada’s ambassador to the United States.

Gary Doer’s comments come despite some heated criticisms of U.S. policy that dominated much of the Pacific Northwest Economic Region’s (PNWER) annual summit in Saskatoon this week.

“(At the conference) you have three Democratic administrations and two Republican administrations and we are all working together,” Doer told reporters after his keynote speech at the summit Wednesday.

Doer did say there are still some minor “irritants” that the two countries need to work on. First and foremost is President Barack Obama’s delay of the Keystone XL pipeline, which would carry oilsands bitumen from Alberta through several states to Texas for refining.

“We are disappointed with the delay in both Nebraska and in the White House on Keystone (XL). We see that as disappointment, but a work in progress,” Doer said.

Doer did not go as far as Premier Brad Wall did earlier in the week at the summit in directly criticizing the Obama administration on the issue.

Obama has sided with the Nebraska legislature to delay sections of the Keystone XL pipeline project until 2013, while more research in done on the environmental impact of the pipeline.

Being focused the western portion of North America, it’s not a surprise much of the summit focused on energy security. But even with the delay of Keystone XL hanging heavy in the air at virtually every speech, organizers are calling the summit a victory for bilateral relations.

“Contrary to what you may hear from some people (PNWER) is all about co-operation and collaboration,” said Mike Schaufler, the outgoing president of the organization.

“As an American I am very supportive of the Keystone pipeline. I also very confident it will be built.”

After last year’s PNWER conference in Portland, Doer said he had a checklist of things related to U.S.-Canada relations that he wanted to see done before this year’s conference. Doer said Keystone was the only thing on his list that didn’t get done.

Doer said he has seen progress on Beyond the Border, an agreement aimed at aligning Canadian and U.S. regulations in order to facilitate the flow of cross-border goods and services.

Wednesday’s ruling that Canada did not circumvent the softwood lumber agreement by shipping large quantities of pine beetle-infested lumber to the U.S. was also a victory, Doer said.

Canada’s entrance into negotiations on the trans-Pacific Trade Partnership — a massive free-trade partnership that includes the United States, Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam — was another, he said.

Giving these issues, the ambassador said is not too disappointing Keystone didn’t make the list.

“Obviously we would have liked to see all six items completed. But I learned a long time ago that when you have a to-do list it doesn’t happen as fast you sometimes want,” Doer said.

The conference, which ended Wednesday, brought together 500 business and political leaders from across the region, including delegates from Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Alaska and the western Canadian provinces, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories.

#### Alt Causes- Trade policies are hurting relations, Keystone will be built inevitably.

**The Star Phoenix 7-16**-12 (“Wall rallies for better Canada-U.S. relations, decries policies of Obama administration” <http://www.thestarphoenix.com/business/Wall+rallies+better+Canada+relations+decries+policies+Obama/6942604/story.html>)

Premier Brad Wall has criticized U.S. President Barack Obama, saying recent American economic and energy policies are not good for Canada. “People think in this country, perhaps they do, that the Obama administration is good for Canada,” Wall told reporters Monday at the Pacific Northwest Economic Region’s (PNWER) annual summit in Saskatoon. “The facts say something else.” Wall used his keynote speech at the conference as a rallying cry for improved U.S. and Canada relations, while decrying U.S. policies he believes are hurting free trade. “When there is a recession, the sabres of protectionism start rattling and that’s what we’ve seen stateside,” Wall told reporters after the speech. Wall’s comments come weeks after an article in Foreign Affairs by Derek Burney, Canada’s former ambassador to the U.S., and Fen Hampson, a foreign policy expert at Carleton University, declared the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Canada has sunk to its worst level in decades. Wall didn’t go as far as Burney and Hampson, but he did not agree with David Jacobson, the U.S. ambassador to Canada, who responded to the article by saying U.S.-Canada relations have “never been better.” “I think somewhere in the middle, but I think it should be better,” Wall said. Like Hampson and Burney, Wall pointed to Buy American rules in the U.S. stimulus package, calling them “frustrating” because of the damage they are doing to trade among provinces, states and municipalities. Wall also cited a $5.50 tariff on passengers who enter the U.S. by air or sea as an “irritant.” As for the controversial Keystone XL pipeline, Wall believes it will go ahead regardless of who wins the U.S. presidential election.

#### US-Canada relations resilient, despite trade issues and Keystone. The Leader-Post, 7-18-12 (“Trade relations still in good shape, says minister” http://www.leaderpost.com/business/Trade+relations+still+good+shape/6949819/story.html)

Despite what Premier Brad Wall told the Pacific Northwest Economic Region (PNWER) conference in Saskatoon this week, Canada's trade relations with the U.S. are good and getting better, according to International Trade Minister Ed Fast.

"The U.S. is and always will be our biggest trading partner and our best trading partner,'' Fast said in an interview Tuesday with the Leader-Post.

Wall told PNWER delegates on Monday that protectionism by the U.S. government under President Barack Obama - in the form of the Buy American provisions in U.S. stimulus legislation - and irritants such as the $5.50 tariff on passengers entering the U.S by air or sea and Obama's decision to not approve the Keystone XL pipeline project last year, had strained relations between the two countries.

But Fast, who was visiting several Western Canadian cities this week in his capacity as minister for the Asia-Pacific Gateway, said the Canada-U.S. trade relationship is still the largest in the world, at $645 billion a year or $1.7 billion a day in twoway trade. "I spend more time in the U.S. because of that realization.''

Initiatives, such as the Smart Border and Beyond the Border strategy, which seek to streamline crossborder trade and traffic, while improving security perimeter around the two countries, will only enhance that relationship, said Fast, a B.C. commercial and corporate lawyer, who was first elected in 2006 and appointed to cabinet in May 2011.

### Ext. US-Canadian Relations High

#### US Canadian Relations High- Border Protection. Pacific Free Press, 7-19-12 (“Using Environmental Protection as a Tool for North American Deep Integration” http://www.pacificfreepress.com/opinion/12062-using-environmental-protection-as-a-tool-for-north-american-deep-integration.html)

Over the past several months, the U.S.-Canada Beyond the Border action plan has taken significant steps forward. This includes efforts to modernize and expand infrastructure at key land ports. In a move that went largely unnoticed, both countries also recently agreed on a statement of privacy principles that will guide information sharing across the border. Meanwhile, a separate joint initiative has been announced which addresses energy and environmental issues.

President Barack Obama and Prime Minister Stephen Harper launched the U.S.-Canada Clean Energy Dialogue (CED) in 2009 to promote new ways to reduce greenhouse gases and combat climate change. The CED Action Plan II released last month, outlines the next phase of activities both countries will undertake. This includes continued work on carbon capture and storage, as well as integrating the electricity grid. In a press statement, Canada’s Minister of the Environment Peter Kent explained that the CED, “strengthens our efforts to collaborate on innovative clean energy solutions that reduce greenhouse gas emissions.”

He also commented on how "It is our hope that the transformation of our economies and our joint work will identify clean energy solutions that will contribute to making sustainable energy a reality for all." Whether real or exaggerated, environmental issues are also advancing North American integration. If you look at some of the words being used and the goals being pushed, they are tied to Agenda 21. Under the guise of protecting the environment, many solutions being offered are in the form of more taxes and control over our lives.

In June, Canada reached an agreement with the State of Michigan to build a second bridge between Windsor and Detroit which is one of North America’s busiest land crossings. A press release described how, “The new Detroit River International Crossing will facilitate the movement of people and goods between Canada and the U.S. by ensuring that there is sufficient border crossing capacity to handle projected growth in cross-border trade and traffic.” It goes on to say that the, “announcement demonstrates that the Government of Canada is working to advance the goals of the Action Plan on Perimeter Security and Economic Competitiveness.” During a speech, Prime Minister Stephen Harper called the new bridge, “an investment in the future of the North American economy, of North American trade and of North American manufacturing.” With the existing Ambassador Bridge being privately owned, motivation for the project is largely based on being able to further control border trade and traffic in the region. It is also part of the necessary transportation infrastructure needed for a trade corridor that would span from Windsor, Ontario to southern Mexico.

The U.S. and Canada recently issued a Statement of Privacy Principles that will shape information sharing arrangements under the perimeter security deal. The charter covers areas such as oversight, accountability, redress, retention, data quality and information security. Attorney General Eric Holder acknowledged in a Department of Justice news release that “These privacy principles reflect the shared commitment of the United States and Canada to implement our Beyond the Border Action Plan.” The Freedom of Information and Privacy Association warned that, “What the government just announced will certainly provide more access to Canadians personal information to the U.S. and other governments.” The Canadian Civil Liberties Association have also voiced concerns on privacy safeguard provisions that were not included which, “may permit the lowest standard between the two countries to prevail.” Ever since the perimeter security action plan was first unveiled in November 2011, there have been fears associated with personal data collected and exchanged at the border. This latest announcement has done little to ease these worries with respect to privacy rights and civil liberties.

As part of their commitment under the Beyond the Border agreement, both countries have also announced the establishment of Joint Port Operations Committees at eight Canadian airports that offer U.S. pre-clearance service. The move is designed to, “help facilitate legitimate cross-border trade and travel and promote collaboration on overall port management.” In June, the Beyond the Border Executive Steering Committee met to oversee progress on the implementation of the action plan. They announced that in the interest of transparency and accountability, a joint public report will be issued in December. Public Safety Minister Vic Toews also recently gave an update on other aspects of the perimeter security deal. He stated, “We are making great progress. We have, for example, added NEXUS lanes, made air cargo screening programs mutually recognizable and installed new passenger screening machines to end duplicate screening in Canadian airports.” Toews added, “More work continues every day to fully implement this new shared vision that represents the most significant step forward in Canada-U.S. cooperation since the North American Free Trade Agreement."

Despite some minor setbacks with regards to bilateral relations, Canada has moved closer to its American partner under Prime Minister Harper. The Beyond the Border deal provides the essential framework for U.S.-Canada integration with the action plan being incrementally implemented. This piece by piece approach has allowed many different initiatives to go unnoticed and fly under the radar. Some of these individual steps may seem insignificant, but combined together they are further merging economic and security ties between both countries. This is paving the way for a North American security perimeter which would mean sacrificing what is left of our sovereignty and independence.

#### New border regs, the Detroit bridge, and polls prove relations high. Burney and Hampson have strong political motivations

Roland Paris; University Research Chair in International Security and Governance at the University of Ottawa, founding Director of the Centre for International Policy Studies, and Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. Previously, he was Director of Research at the Conference Board of Canada, this guy has a shitload of credentials, foreign policy advisor in the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Privy Council Office of the Canadian government; Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Colorado at Boulder; Visiting Researcher at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.; and constitutional policy advisor in the Federal-Provincial Relations Office of the Canadian government. He has won several awards for his research, graduate and undergraduate teaching, and public service; June 29, 2012 “Whither Canada-U.S. Relations?” Canadian International Council - <http://www.opencanada.org/features/blogs/roundtable/whither-canada-u-s-relations/> NCHO

The authors also downplay two of the most important recent accomplishments in the relationship: new frameworks for Canada-U.S. cooperation on border security and regulatory affairs; and the long-awaited agreement to build a second bridge between Windsor and Detroit, the busiest border crossing for Canada-US trade. The border cooperation framework is “good news,” they say, but quickly add: “there has been little evidence to suggest that Obama remains engaged.” Obama – again? Is he the source of all problems? Indeed, in the American political context, this article counts as a cheap shot. It appears during the U.S. presidential campaign season; it is built on dubious facts and judgements; and it hands the president’s political opponents an easy sound bite about Obama “losing Canada.”**¶** Worse, the article purports to speak on behalf of Canadians. In truth, Canadians like Obama considerably more than Americans do, according to opinion surveys. But how many U.S. readers will question Burney and Hampson’s assertions about what Canadians purport to believe?¶ Meanwhile, the Canadian media gobbles up the narrative of U.S. mistreatment of Canada, which fits effortlessly into our Rodney Dangerfield complex: “We get no respect.” Our leading newspaper trumpets the headline, “Obama ‘Jilted’ Canada, Leading U.S. Journal Says,” as though it were the editorial board of the journal itself, and not two Canadian contributors, making this claim. What’s going on here? We feel a lack of respect from the U.S., yet we automatically lend credence to judgments of Americans – even when we are, in fact, talking to ourselves.¶ These are all facets of our old national insecurity complex. Unfortunately, the article by Burney and Hampson feeds on this insecurity and encourages it by painting a false picture of Canada’s mistreatment at the hands of Barack Obama.¶ Here is a different picture that fits better with the facts: The state of the Canada-U.S. relationship today is sound. Yes, there are irritants, but they are no more challenging than the irritants of the past. Nor does only one country – or one leader – bear the fault for these irritants.¶ To observe that the state of the relationship is reasonably good is not, however, an excuse for complacency. Burney and Hampson are right to say that the bilateral relationship requires “constant care.” This is particularly true as both countries reorient their economic focus towards the emerging markets of Asia. We need to work hard on the partnership, which will sometimes require tough bargaining and mobilizing our allies across the U.S. political system to work towards Canadian objectives.¶ But it would be a mistake to indulge the fantasy that Canada will ever preoccupy the U.S. to the same degree that the U.S. preoccupies Canada. We need to move beyond such conceits, stop the misdirected blame game, and get on with business.

#### Political bias and Canada hasn’t taken actions indicative of strained relations

Blayne Haggart; PhD in philosophy, political science, and political economy; June 27, 2012 “Hubris and misdiagnosis in Burney and Hampson’s “How Obama Lost Canada”

<http://blaynehaggart.wordpress.com/2012/06/27/hubris-and-misdiagnosis-in-burney-and-hampsons-how-obama-lost-canada> NCHO

I see Derek Burney and Fen Osler Hampson, both of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, have an article in Foreign Affairs with the provocative title “How Obama Lost Canada” (h/t Michael Forbes). It takes the Obama Administration to task for its “mistreatment” of Canada on a number of issues, and ends with a prediction/threat that if the United States doesn’t shape up, Canada will take its oil to China.¶ It looks like I’m not the only one to find it a bit odd. Chris Sands finds their argument “overly defeatist” and wonders if their complaining may backfire come November, leading Obama or even a President Romney to wonder “if Canada can ever be satisfied, and whether it is worth devoting so much attention to the Harper government and its priorities.”¶ It does, however, gives us some insight into current Conservative attitudes toward the United States (Burney is tight with the Harper government). It seems more like a political shot across the bow of the Obama Administration, rather than a sound political-science analysis.¶ Commentary below. First, the Airing of Grievances:¶ The Obama Administration “caved to environmental activists” by postponing a decision on the Keystone XL pipeline for a year, a “triumph of campaign posturing over pragmatism and diplomacy.”¶ Obama has engaged in “protectionism,” violating “the substance and spirit of the North American Free Trade Agreement.”¶ “It [the Administration] failed to combat the Buy American provision in Congress’ stimulus bill, which inefficiently excluded Canadian participation in infrastructure spending.”¶ Canada has had to cover the initial cost of the new, and sorely needed, Detroit-Windsor bridge.¶ The Administration has failed to build on NAFTA to expand trade and economic integration in North America (which, for Burney and Hampson, doesn’t seem to include Mexico).¶ “When Canada ran for a nonpermanent seat on the UN Security Council in 2010, the United States offered little support.”¶ The United States rejects Canada’s claim to the Northwest Passage.¶ It has ignored the government’s attempts “to find consensus on climate change.”¶ Canada has received “no tangible dividend for its support on bilateral or multilateral issues of concern to it” – support that involved over 150 Canadian soldiers’ deaths (maybe the Americans were annoyed by the substance of Canada’s work in Kandahar?), and in Libya.¶ And so on.¶ That’s a pretty damning bill of goods, isn’t it? And yet somehow I find it hard to work up any righteous indignation. At all.¶ Much of it is the flipside of articles we saw during the Chrétien-Bush years: complaints that the one of the two countries isn’t adopting specific policies, and predictions that this would lead to a fraying of the North American relationship. Back then, the target was the Liberal government of Jean Chrétien, and people like Jack Granatstein were claiming that Canada’s economic interests would be harmed by Canadian refusal to sign on to ballistic missile defence. AFAIK, the Canadian economy is still standing. Readers are invited to contribute examples of how Canada was punished economically for not providing the United States with moral cover on BMD.¶ Some of the things on this list tell us more about what type of policies Burney and Hampson – and, I’m betting, the current Conservative government – like (Keystone, deeper economic integration) and don’t like (Buy American) than about the state of the relationship.¶ Others are just odd. If the Canadian government believes that the U.S. government is violating “the substance” of NAFTA, they should put their money where their mouth is and sue the United States at the WTO or under one of NAFTA’s dispute-resolution mechanisms.

### Ext. Alt Causes

#### US Canada relations low- our ev assumes Burney and Hampson and cites multiple other reasons besides Keystone. The Canadian Press, 6-26-12 (“Obama jilting Canada, says influential U.S. policy journal”http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2012/06/26/pol-cp-obama-canada-jilted.html)

Two-way trade between Canada and the U.S. totalled $681 billion last year, and supports eight million U.S. jobs.

"Yet the Obama administration has recently jeopardized this relationship," the essay says, through the Buy American provision in its stimulus bill that prevented Canadian companies from bidding on infrastructure projects in the U.S.

The U.S. recession and the rise of Asia have led to a decline of Canadian exports south in the last decade. About 85 per cent of Canadian exports went to the U.S. in 2000, compared with 68 per cent in 2010, the essay says.

The slights don't stop there.

The essay criticizes the U.S. for demanding concessions from Canada on agricultural subsidies as the price of entry into negotiations over the Trans-Pacific Partnership, "while preserving massive agricultural subsidies of its own."

It accuses the U.S. of sticking Canadian taxpayers with the bill for a new bridge between Detroit and Windsor, the choked crossing point for one-quarter of the trade between the two countries.

"The U.S. share is to be repaid over time by the tolls collected, but any shortfalls will rest with the Canadian taxpayer."

Beyond economics, "Washington has also failed to trust and respect its loyal ally," the essay argues.

"To name one small, but telling, example, when Canada ran for a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council in 2010, the United States offered little support. For whatever reason, Portugal was a more compelling choice."

Burney and Hampson argue that the Canadian military sacrifices in Afghanistan — including more than 150 lives lost and billions spent — as well as its major contribution to last year's NATO-led Libya air campaign have simply not won any enduring respect with U.S. leadership.

"Canada has no tangible interests of any kind in Afghanistan or Libya," their essay says. "Its participation in those countries, proportionately larger than any other ally, was intended primarily to strengthen the partnership with the United States on the theory that solid, multilateral commitments would engender more productive bilateral relations. That proved not to be the case."

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### Ext. US-Canadian Relations Resilient

#### Relations Resilient- Interdependence guarantees we bounce back. The National Post, 7-5-12 (“U.S.-Canada relationship ‘never been stronger,’ American ambassador says, despite paper saying otherwise”

http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/07/05/u-s-canada-relationship-never-been-stronger-american-ambassador-says-despite-paper-saying-otherwise/)

OTTAWA — The American ambassador to Canada has issued a reassuring statement about the state of relations between the two countries — insisting that while there have been “bumps in the road” and “strains,” the relationship has never been better. David Jacobson’s written message was issued this week to commemorate the national birthdays of both countries. Notably, it came just days after a controversial article by two Canadians who declared the bilateral relationship has sunk to its worst level in decades. The document, entitled “How Obama Lost Canada” appears in the online edition of Foreign Affairs and makes a detailed case for how U.S. President Barack Obama is “botching relations with the United States’ biggest trade partner.”But Jacobson, while not referring to that article directly, cited a long list of examples — from security co-operation and increased trade, to the Americans’ heavy reliance on Canadian energy exports — to conclude that things aren’t so bad. “I believe the relationship between the United States and Canada has never been stronger,” wrote Jacobson in the message posted on the embassy’s website. “On so many fronts we are working together to achieve our shared goals: managing our border for greater efficiency and greater security; expanding trade for greater prosperity; and enhancing peace and security around the world.” Jacobson wrote he is extending a clear message on behalf of Obama and the American people: “We are very lucky to have Canada as our neighbor.” “None of this is to say that everything is perfect or that we do not — on occasion — have some bumps in the road. The economic challenges we face, particularly in my country, have, at times, caused strains. “And it’s inconceivable that two sovereign nations with the largest economic relationship between two countries in the history of the world, two countries with the longest shared border in the world, would not have issues from time-to-time. But like the friends we are, we address those issues and we try to resolve them forthrightly.”

## Burney and Hampson Indict

#### Burney and Hampson are wrong

Roland Paris; University Research Chair in International Security and Governance at the University of Ottawa, founding Director of the Centre for International Policy Studies, and Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. Previously, he was Director of Research at the Conference Board of Canada, this guy has a shitload of credentials, foreign policy advisor in the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Privy Council Office of the Canadian government; Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Colorado at Boulder; Visiting Researcher at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.; and constitutional policy advisor in the Federal-Provincial Relations Office of the Canadian government. He has won several awards for his research, graduate and undergraduate teaching, and public service; June 29, 2012 “Whither Canada-U.S. Relations?” Canadian International Council - <http://www.opencanada.org/features/blogs/roundtable/whither-canada-u-s-relations/> NCHO

Derek Burney and Fen Osler Hampson have well-deserved reputations as level-headed observers of Canada-U.S. relations. How, then, did they come to write an article so full of misjudgments on this subject?¶ The article in question, “How Obama Lost Canada,” appeared on the website of Foreign Affairs magazine this week. As the title suggests, the authors argue that Canada-U.S. relations are suffering, and that the U.S. administration is to blame.¶ In fact, they go further. The bilateral relationship, they contend, reached its “lowest point in decades” last year, when the Obama administration postponed its decision on the Keystone XL pipeline, which is designed to ship Albertan bitumen to refineries in Texas. This is the first in a string of puzzling statements from the authors – statements that make for exciting reading (to the extent that Canada-U.S. relations are ever exciting) but that have little basis in fact.¶ Between 2003 and 2005, I had the privilege of serving as an advisor on Canada-U.S. relations in the Department of Foreign Affairs and in the Privy Council Office. Relations today are no worse, and probably better, than they were then. Jean Chrétien had just declined to send Canadian troops to Iraq – the right decision, but one that nevertheless angered officials in the George W. Bush administration, who were hoping at least for an expression of political support. (It didn’t help that Chrétien announced his decision in the House of Commons to a throng of cheering Liberal MPs.) Bush then cancelled a planned state visit to Canada.¶ Those were difficult days. Two years later, Canada chose not to participate in the U.S. ballistic missile defence system for North America. Once again, the announcement of Canada’s position was bungled, causing unnecessary irritation in the bilateral relationship. Those were also difficult days.¶ Are relations worse today? Burney and Hampson claim that Obama snubbed Canada when he chose to defer a decision on the Keystone pipeline until after this November’s presidential election. They further claim that approving Keystone should have been an “easy diplomatic and economic decision” for Obama.¶ In fact, Keystone was a very tough political call for the president, who faced strong domestic interests pulling in opposite directions, including a powerful environmental movement. Any politician worth his or her salt – perhaps even some in the Harper government – would have understood the political logic of Obama’s decision, and the fact that it was not intended to insult Canada. (What’s more, the pipeline permit application has been amended and resubmitted, and may be approved in early 2013, after the election.) Yet, Burney and Hampson portray this episode as a rebuff of historic proportions.

#### The title is an example of excessive rhetoric

Christopher Sands; Senior fellow, Hudson Institute; 06/26/2012 “Has Obama Really "Lost Canada"?”

<http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/christopher-sands/how-obama-lost-canada_b_1627876.html> NCHO

It took me a few minutes to wipe the coffee off my computer screen this morning after I'd read an article entitled, "How Obama Lost Canada" in the online edition of Foreign Affairs, the Council on Foreign Relations journal. Canada? Lost? Really?¶ The authors are two men I respect deeply: former Canadian Ambassador to the United States Derek Burney and the director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, Fen Osler Hampson. Both of them have been following the U.S.-Canadian relationship -- and in Burney's case, helping to shape it -- far longer than I have.¶ Still, their argument caught me by surprise. The article's title is a reference to the U.S. debates over "Who lost China?" in the 1950s when some American politicians sought to blame others for the Communist take-over in China that turned a second World War U.S. ally into a Cold War enemy. Granted that this is just a turn of phrase, but there has been no change of leadership or policy in Canada -- I checked -- that would compare to a Communist revolution.

#### Burney is biased – he’s the director of the company building the pipeline

Christopher Sands; Senior fellow, Hudson Institute; 06/26/2012 “Has Obama Really "Lost Canada"?”

<http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/christopher-sands/how-obama-lost-canada_b_1627876.html> NCHO

However, the central grievance for the authors is the failure of President Obama to grant a presidential permit for the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline. The pipeline is being built by Trans Canada Corporation, where Ambassador Burney has been a member of the board of directors since 2005 This criticism is likely to sting the Obama administration the most: the Keystone pipeline has become a partisan issue in the United States election, with Mitt Romney pledging to approve the Keystone pipeline on Day One of his administration; Obama has insisted that he may approve the pipeline in 2013 as well.

#### Turn – endorsement of their logic guarantees a total collapse of relations, they’re overly defeatist

Christopher Sands; Senior fellow, Hudson Institute; 06/26/2012 “Has Obama Really "Lost Canada"?”

<http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/christopher-sands/how-obama-lost-canada_b_1627876.html> NCHO

Even if the 2009 Burney-Hampson blueprint for better U.S.-Canadian relations has not achieved everything the authors hoped for, their 2012 view that the Obama administration has alienated Canada through its neglect of Canadian priorities seems overly defeatist. Relations between Canada and the United States are imperfect but not that bad, and the Obama administration's engagement of other friends around the world is natural. The fact that President Obama has occasionally let domestic considerations take precedence over diplomacy, even in the case of a friendly ally like Canada, is regrettable perhaps but also to be expected.¶ Both Burney and Hampson must know all this, yet did not let it temper their harsh judgment of the Obama administration in their Foreign Affairs article. Many U.S. policymakers will be hurt by their negative characterization of the U.S.-Canadian relationship. If Obama is re-elected in November, he may wonder if Canada can ever be satisfied, and whether it is worth devoting so much attention to the Harper government and its priorities. And a President Romney could end up asking the same question.¶ It may be then that a Canadian foreign policy journal will publish an article with the rhetorical title, "Who Lost the United States?"

## F-35s Frontline

#### F-35 causes arms race with Russia and China- turns Arctic conflict scenario

**O’neil 10** (Juilet, journalist for Vancouver Times. “F-35 buy could trigger Arctic arms race: Expert” 2010 AB)

OTTAWA — A government purchase of F-35 fighter jets could cause "angst in Russia" and trigger an Arctic arms race, Arctic sovereignty expert Michael Byers said Thursday.¶ "I don't want my country to be the country that starts an Arctic arms race," Byers said as debate over the government's plan to spend $16 billion on 65 of the F-35s raged on several fronts on Parliament Hill.¶ Byers is chair in global politics and international law at the University of British Columbia. He said there is no need for stealth "shock and awe" military aircraft in the North and senior U.S. military officials have contradicted Canadian government claims of threats from aging Russian bombers near Canadian airspace.¶ What is needed up North, he emphasized, is search-and-rescue planes.¶ Air force chief Lt.-Gen. Andre Deschamps told the House of Commons defence committee that Russia is already building a "fifth-generation" fighter — which is what the F-35 is — and that China is expected to build one too.¶ If the planned purchase is cancelled, he told MPs, Canada's air force would become "irrelevant" for defence missions with the United States and other countries in the NATO military alliance, many of whom are also buying the Lockheed-Martin aircraft.¶ Deschamps was responding to Conservative MPs' attempts to undermine Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff's announcement Wednesday that he would cancel the project and hold a competition for a jet to replace Canada's aging CF-18 fleet.¶ Opposition MPs repeatedly sought assurances from Deschamps and Col. Dave Burt, acting project manager for the F-35, that there are strong controls in place to prevent a repeat of the cost overruns, significant delivery delays and lack of oversight found by the auditor general in the government's $11-billion purchase of Chinook and Cyclone helicopters and associated operating and maintenance contracts.¶

#### With DoD budget cuts, F-35 will not happen

**Clark 11** (Colin, writer for DoD, “Good Government Groups Detail $429B in DoD Cuts; Kill F-35, MEADS” <http://defense.aol.com/2011/09/15/good-government-groups-detail-429b-in-dod-cuts-kill-f-35-mead/> AB)

Washington: Two of Washington's better known taxpayer groups today offered a salad of Pentagon cuts, including recommendations to kill the entire F-35 program.¶  Recommended for you.X

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The National Taxpayers Union (NTU) and the U.S. Public Interest Research Group (PIRG) -- who occupy very different parts of the political spectrum -- issued the recommendations to the congressional Super Committee to cut what they called "outdated or ineffective military programs." "While the need for a strong national defense is clear, it is equally clear that the Department of Defense (DoD) has a number of programs that do not advance those goals and instead waste vital resources," the two groups said in their report. "Due to the delicate nature of decisions relating to national security, we have relied on authoritative recommendations from officials and independent experts from across the political spectrum to guide this report." Following these 12 recommendations to [carefully reform or eliminate weapons programs](http://defense.aol.com/2011/09/14/defense-industry-comes-out-swinging-dont-cut-us/) and make other procedural improvements could save taxpayers as much as $428.8 billion over the next decade. But some of their recommendations simply fly in the face of reason and experience. There is no way the Pentagon or Congress will cut the entire F-35 program to save $78 billion. It is the only new fighter program in the United States. We have very close allies who have committed large amounts of their national treasure to the program. And the F-16s and F/A-18 E/Fs just cannot do what the F-35 will. Having said that, the F-35B looks much more vulnerable than it should, because it is the most expensive and complex version of the plane. Flying those older aircraft would quickly grow prohibitively expensive in both lives and maintenance. Their other major recommendation, to "implement acquisition reforms identified by the bipartisan defense acquisition panel" to save $135 billion over the next 10 years flies in the face of almost all experience with acquisition reform over the last decade. Both the Pentagon and Congress have created dozens of laws, rules and regulations to improve acquisition over the last decade. Few have had any measurable impact on improved weapons acquisition. If they had, would we all have suffered through the JSF, SBIRS, Expeditionary Fighting Vehicle, Future Combat System and on and on?

#### F-35 kills the economy; kills jobs and increases deficit

**Rosen 12** (James, Senior Editor for Idaho Statesman, “F-35: a lesson in why it’s hard to kill a federal program” <http://www.idahostatesman.com/2012/02/02/1977606/f-35-a-lesson-in-why-its-hard.html> Feb 2012 AB)

Conceived in the heady post-Cold War 1990s, the futuristic fifth-generation jet fighter was to be a technological marvel built in a rush and paid for with “peace dividend” dollars.¶ Now, the economy is struggling out of recession and the fighter is billions over budget and years behind schedule.¶ Part of the problem: Axing the F-35 would eliminate tens of thousands of jobs in 47 states. Few members of Congress are willing to go along.¶ Another part: The jet fighter is needed to replace aging U.S. planes, but — as the most costly weapons system ever, at $385 billion and rising — it might be more expensive than the nation can afford.¶ Despite criticism from defense secretaries, government investigators and powerful senators, the Pentagon still wants the Joint Strike Fighter. But the Defense Department might want more plane than it needs.¶ “A lot of times, the Pentagon just wants to sexy these things up and make them do wow stuff when wow is not required,” said Sen. Lindsey Graham, R-S.C., who sits on the Senate Armed Services Committee.¶ With the Pentagon facing $1 trillion in possible cuts, the F-35’s high price tag makes it a prime target. But thanks in part to campaign contributions from its main contractors and their jobs spread across the country, the fighter plane has its own congressional caucus of 48 lawmakers dedicated to saving it at all costs. None of the caucus members hail from Idaho.¶ When Defense Secretary Leon Panetta announced Jan. 20 that he wouldn’t kill the F-35 outright, there were sighs of relief across the country from subcontractors and parts suppliers.

## Arctic Frontline

#### Relations aren’t strained over the Artic

Blayne Haggart; PhD in philosophy, political science, and political economy; June 27, 2012 “Hubris and misdiagnosis in Burney and Hampson’s “How Obama Lost Canada”

<http://blaynehaggart.wordpress.com/2012/06/27/hubris-and-misdiagnosis-in-burney-and-hampsons-how-obama-lost-canada> NCHO

Oh, and should anyone – anyone – be surprised that the United States would be critical of Canada’s “long-standing claims to the waters of the Arctic archipelago, including the Northwest Passage”? Really? Especially considering that the United States is not alone in arguing that it’s an international strait? Not only is this dispute a pure example of what we mean when we talk about national interests, but Canada’s actions here suggest that maybe – just maybe – disagreement is a two-way street. It takes two not to tango.

## China Frontline

#### Even if Canada sells to China, they will inevitably crawl back to us

Blayne Haggart; PhD in philosophy, political science, and political economy; June 27, 2012 “Hubris and misdiagnosis in Burney and Hampson’s “How Obama Lost Canada”

<http://blaynehaggart.wordpress.com/2012/06/27/hubris-and-misdiagnosis-in-burney-and-hampsons-how-obama-lost-canada> NCHO

And a bit of perspective, please: When it comes to the Canada-U.S. relationship, this is essentially an argument about rounding errors.¶ Anyway, the threat. It relies on the assumption that Canada has been an “obliging” partner in the past. Well, if by “obliging,” you mean “following the U.S. lead when it is seen to be in Canada’s interest,” then, sure. But, as International Relations scholars of the realist persuasion will remind us, governments don’t go along with each other just to be nice, and Canada is no exception. When Canada decides something isn’t in its interest, it won’t play ball, even with the United States (see: Northwest Passage). To put it charitably, threatening to be a “less obliging partner to the north” is an empty threat based on a false dichotomy.¶ But what about the policy response? The government’s newfound interest in foreign markets isn’t necessarily a bad one: creating new, non-U.S. markets is an interesting and potentially useful Third Option (minus the industrial policy and cultural support). Diversifying the Canadian economy could lead to more situations where Canadian and American interests do not line up, which might count as being “less obliging.”¶ The problem is with the thin legs of the Conservatives’ Third Option, which is linked to the hubris that permeates the piece. First, I’m not sure that I’d accept “lack of self confidence” as an answer to an essay question asking: “Why did the Trudeau government fail to diversify exports away from the United States in the 1970s and 80s, and why did the Mulroney and Chrétien governments negotiate and implement the FTA and NAFTA?” Maybe there are limits to Canadian trade diversification?¶ Canada’s “respectable platform of self-confidence” is built on sound regulation of its financial sector (itself closed off from continental integration) and high oil and commodity prices. But (and here’s where the hubris comes in): prices rise and fall. Resources boom, they bust. Demand can collapse, even in markets like China (this might be happening right now). My greatest concern with Burney and Hampson’s ultimate policy response/rationale is that, absent an industrial policy and focus on maintaining and increasing the diversity of the economy, Canada’s status as a “less obliging partner to the north” will last exactly as long as the commodity boom doesn’t go bust.¶ Burney and Hampson remark that “the Keystone XL pipeline will probably be approved eventually” – but that “it will take a long time to undo the damage its delay has done to U.S.-Canadian relations.” I’m betting that it will take as long as a commodity slump and Chinese recession, or until Canada needs something from the United States. Then we’ll be back to plan A – the need for good, productive economic relations with the United States – and nothing but hard feelings to show for the detour.¶ If the audience for “How Obama Lost America” is Washington policy makers, and its goal is to signal that the current Canadian government is not happy with how it is being treated on the Keystone XL file, then mission accomplished, I guess. Though I am skeptical that its implied threats will convince anyone in DC to override domestic partisanship and interests to support Canadian interests as they’re presented here.¶ As a piece of analysis, however, it fails to come to terms with the nature of the problem: it’s the political structure, not the president, that’s driving things. And while diversifying markets is all well and good, so much of their response seems predicated on the assumption that boom times will last forever that it makes me wonder whether Canada actually holds a straight flush or whether Burney and Hampson have misread their cards.

#### Canada sale to China doesn’t matter

Michael A. Levi; David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change, Washington Post; January 18, 2012 “Five Myths About the Keystone XL Pipeline” <http://www.cfr.org/energyenvironment/five-myths-keystone-xl-pipeline/p27099> NCHO

5. If we don't build the pipeline and buy their oil, Canada will sell it to China.¶ So what? World oil prices depend on how much oil is produced — not who sells what to whom. Whether the United States or China buys oil at the world price from Canada or Brazil or Saudi Arabia or Nigeria won't affect U.S. economic fortunes. Some argue that buying oil from Canada rather than elsewhere would shrink the yawning U.S. trade deficit, since Canadians are more likely than others to spend their petro-profits in the United States. But Canada gets richer no matter whether it sells its oil to American or Chinese consumers, and its newfound wealth spills over to the U.S. economy regardless. What ultimately matters to our economy is not whether the United States or China buys oil from Canada — it's whether Canada produces and sells that oil at all.

#### Turn – Keystone allows for Canada to sell to China – multiple warrants

By Steve Hargreaves; CNNMoney; January 23, 2012 “The Keystone - China connection is overblown”

<http://money.cnn.com/2012/01/23/news/economy/keystone_china/index.htm2> NCHO

NEW YORK (CNNMoney) -- When President Obama rejected the Keystone oil sands pipeline expansion last week, critics immediately sounded the China alarm.¶ "If we don't build this pipeline ... that oil is going to get shipped out to the Pacific Ocean and will be sold to the Chinese," said House Speaker John Boehner, echoing statements from pipeline supporters on both ides of the isle.¶ Yet experts say the situation is more complicated than that.¶ In an effort to diversify its export base and sell to growing markets, Canada has been looking to build a pipeline to its West Coast long before the Keystone controversy even began.¶ And actually laying a pipeline to the West Coast will be just as hard as building one through the United States.¶ "It's not a question of either or," said Sarah Ladislaw, an energy analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "That [talk] is just politically convenient."¶ The Northern Gateway: While Keystone's builder TransCanada (TRP) has been dominating the headlines in the United States, its competitor Enbridge (ENB) has been getting lots of ink in Canada with plans to build a pipeline of its own.¶ Known as Northern Gateway, the pipeline is a $5 billion project to carry crude from the oil sands region in Alberta to Kitimat, a deepwater port on Canada's West Coast about halfway between Seattle and the Alaska border. From there it would likely be loaded onto tankers and sent to Asia.¶ Keystone oil sands pipeline rejected, for now¶ The desire to build a pipeline to the West Coast was there long before Keystone ran into trouble this summer.¶ Production from Canada's oil sands currently stands at about 1.6 million barrels per day. But that's slated to grow to between 3 to 5 million barrels per day over the next couple of decades.¶ Canada wants to sell this oil to growing markets in Asia, not simply rely on the Untied States, where oil demand is stagnant or declining.¶ With last week's rejection of Keystone, which was slated to carry oil from the oil sands to refineries and deepwater ports on the U.S. Gulf Coast, analysts say there's even more pressure to get Gateway built.¶ "There's no question that momentum for market diversification is building," said Peter Tertzakian, chief energy economist at ARC Financial, a Calgary-based private equity firm. "You'll see a faster track for the approval of this thing."¶ The desire to fast track Gateway may indeed be there, but environmentalists say it won't happen.¶ Canada has a stringent process for environmental permitting, and thousands of people have already signed up to protest the Gateway project, said Susan Casey-Lefkowitz, director of international programs at the Natural Resources Defense Council.¶ "Plus, in order to reach the Pacific the pipeline has to cross over tribal lands controlled by the First Nation people.¶ "First Nation people all along the proposed path are pretty united in their opposition," said Casey-Lefkowitz. "I don't see Northern Gateway being built."¶ Room for both? TransCanada, Keystone's builder, indicated there's plenty of oil to be sent both to the United States and China.¶ The company's head of pipeline operations, Alex Pourbaix, told CNNMoney the firm has no intentions of redirecting its resources away from a U.S. pipeline and towards one to the Pacific.¶ "We do expect that as production volumes grow there will be opportunities for Canadian producers to move their oil offshore to other markets than the U.S.," said Pourbaix. "But under almost any scenario, we believe [Keystone] can be in service far before any project to the West Coast."¶ Keystone pipeline: How many jobs it would really create¶ Despite last week's rejection, TransCanada said they will resubmit their application, as the Obama administration invited them to do, and hope to have Keystone up and running by 2014.¶ Gateway, meanwhile, isn't slated to be operational until 2017.¶ Both the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Ladislaw and ARC's Tertzakian think that growing worldwide demand for oil means eventually both pipelines, and probably several others, will be built, even though oil from the oil sands carries a heavier environmental footprint than traditional crude.

#### Canada will inevitably sell to Asia; fastest growing market, high demand, and extremely efficient refineries

Pete Evans, CBC News; Apr 20, 2012 “Why Canada just pumps out cheap oil” <http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/story/2012/04/20/oil-refining-canada.html> NCHO

A recent report by the Conference Board of Canada concluded it would cost about $7 billion to build a single new refinery. With almost 60 refineries sitting largely idle on the U.S. Gulf coast, it’s a tough sell to make that sort of investment in a project destined to have diminishing returns.¶ Never mind having to compete with some of the super-refineries in Asia. India recently built a single refinery whose output is 60 per cent of that of all of Canada’s, for example.¶ "Our findings suggest that even if development and production of oil resources continue to grow strongly in Canada, the future economic benefits, job creation, and profits from oil refining and processing are much less assured," Crawford found in his report.¶ Brian Lee Crowley of the Macdonald-Laurier Institute agrees that the economics of refining are tricky. “Anything below 200,000 barrels per day isn’t economical anymore,” he notes.¶ Refineries on the U.S. Gulf coast are running well below capacity as it is (capacity is at just under 18 million barrels per day, while demand sits at under 15 million) which makes the business case for a new, Canadian refinery even more flimsy. And gulf refineries are already calibrated to process Venezuelan oil, which is chemically very similar to Canadian oil.¶ “It’s a hugely complicated issue but at the moment, increasing Canadian refining capacity isn’t the best way to get top dollar for Canadian oil,” Crowley says. “Pipelines make more sense.”¶ Beyond the Gulf coast, Crowley notes that expanded pipeline access to the B.C. coast to ship to Asia, where crude is very much in demand.¶ “The reality is we are starting to produce more oil than we need,” Ollenberger says. ”So sending it over to Asia which is the fastest growing market in the world would make a lot of sense.”

#### The Northern Gateway is a political firestorm and will only be built if Keystone is

Donald Barry; professor of political science at the University of Calgary, holds a B.A. from St. Francis Xavier University, an M.A. from Dalhousie University, and a Ph.D. from the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; Jul 5, 2012 “Has decision on Keystone XL poisoned Canada-U.S. relations?” <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2012/07/05/donald-barry-has-obamas-decision-on-keystone-pipeline-poisoned-canada-u-s-relations/> NCHO

Has Obama’s Keystone decision prompted Canada to turn to Asia “for more reliable economic partners?” The Canadian government encourages such thinking to pressure President Obama to approve the project. But a proposed Northern Gateway pipeline to bring oil sands crude to a marine terminal in British Columbia for shipment to China and other Asian countries has been under consideration since 2006. It has always been seen as a complement to Keystone. Access to the U.S. market remains the prime goal for Canadian producers.¶ The Gateway project, moreover, faces determined opposition and legal challenges from environmental groups and First Nations communities along the route. There is also stiff resistance to increased oil tanker traffic in British Columbia’s coastal waters. Neither issue will be settled any time soon.

#### Current oil sands production is at 1.25 million barrels per day

Alberta Energy and Utilities Board June 2007 “Alberta’s Energy Reserves 2006 and Supply/Demand Outlook 2007-2016” <http://www.ercb.ca/sts/ST98/st98-2007.pdf> NCHO

In 2006, Alberta produced 44.1 million m¶ (278 million barrels) from the mineable area ¶ and 28.7 million m¶ (180 million barrels) from the in situ area, totalling 72.8 million m¶ (458 million barrels). This is equivalent to199 thousand m¶ /day (1.25 million barrels per ¶ day). Bitumen produced from mining was upgraded, yielding 38.1 million m¶ (240 ¶ million barrels) of SCO. In situ production was mainly marketed as nonupgraded crude ¶ bitumen.

#### Canada exports 2.5 million barrels of all oil and refined sands per day

Government of Canada; Lamest government on earth, communist AND socialist; Dec 5 2011“Canada–U.S. energy relations” <http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/detroit/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/energy-energie.aspx?lang=eng&view=d> NCHO

Canadians and Americans share the closest energy relationship in the world. Energy infrastructure—including oil and gas pipeline networks and electricity grids—is tightly integrated. Canada is the United States’ largest and most secure supplier of oil, natural gas, electricity and uranium.¶ In 2009: ¶ Canada provided energy exports to the U.S. valued at $76.27 billion, while Canada’s energy imports from the U.S. totalled almost $11.5 billion.¶ Recent data indicates that Canada supplies the U.S. with 9% of its total energy demand.¶ Canada exported almost 2.5 million barrels per day of crude oil and refined products to the United States.¶ Canada provided 87% of all U.S. natural gas imports, representing 12% of U.S. consumption.¶ Canada and the United States share an integrated electricity grid and supply almost all of each other’s electricity imports.¶ Hydroelectric power, a clean, renewable source, accounts for nearly two-thirds of Canada’s electricity generation, and is a significant component of Canada’s electricity exports to the United States.¶ Canada supplied approximately one-third of the uranium used in U.S. nuclear power plants.

#### Canada oil sands ALONE will make 4.7 million barrels per day

Brian Wang; huge Wang; JUNE 04, 2011 “Canadian oil sands projected to produce 3.7 million barrels per day by 2025” NCHO

Oil sands growth and new production from existing conventional oil reserves will drive Canadian crude oil production to about 4.7 million barrels per day by 2025 according to the latest forecast from the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. (40 pages) This is about 401,000 b/d higher than previously forecast, due primarily to the higher conventional production and the inclusion of some additional in situ projects that were previously put on hold.

#### Keystone brings about 800,000 barrels/day – not enough to transfer total Canadian oil production

Sarah O. Ladislaw; senior fellow with the Energy and National Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; January 19th, 2012 “Keystone XL Pipeline blown way out of proportion” NCHO

On Wednesday, the Obama administration officially denied the TransCanada application for a Presidential Permit for a 1,700-mile-long pipeline, known as Keystone XL, which would bring approximately 800,000 barrels of oil per day from the Canadian oil sands to the U.S. Gulf Coast.

The White House and Department of State press releases and statements make it clear that from their vantage point the decision to deny the permit was not based on the merits of the project but was forced on them by “the rushed and arbitrary deadline insisted on by Congressional Republicans,” which “prevented a full assessment of the pipeline’s impact, especially the health and safety of the American people, as well as our environment.” Proponents of the project reject this line of reasoning citing the nearly three years of investigation into the environmental and economic consequences of the pipeline that preceded this decision.

## Economy Frontline

#### Economic improvements from Keystone are exaggerated and are ultimately expected to be much lower. No way to predict the ultimate impact.

**Parfomak, et. Al, 5-9**-12 (Paul, Specialist in Energy and Infrastructure Policy, Neelesh Nerurkar, Specialist in Energy Policy, Linda Luther, Analyst in Environmental Policy, Adam Vann,Legislative Attorney, “Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues” CRS, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41668.pdf)

In addition to supply diversity arguments, some Keystone XL pipeline proponents support the project based on economic benefits associated with expanding U.S. pipeline infrastructure. A recent study by the Energy Policy Research Foundation, for example, concludes that “the Keystone expansion would provide net economic benefits from improved efficiencies in both the transportation and processing of crude oil of $100 million-$600 million annually, in addition to an immediate boost in construction employment.”96 A 2009 report from the Canadian Energy Research Institute (CERI) commissioned by the American Petroleum Institute similarly concludes that

As investment and production in oil sands ramps up in Canada, the pace of economic activity quickens and demand for US goods and services increase rapidly, resulting in an estimated 343 thousand new US jobs between 2011 and 2015. Demand for U.S. goods and services continues to climb throughout the period, adding an estimated $34 billion to US GDP in 2015, $40.4 billion in 2020, and $42.2 billion in 2025.97

These CERI estimates apply to the entire oil sands industry, however, not only the Keystone XL project, and they are derived from a proprietary economic analysis which has not been subject to external review. Some stakeholders point to State Department and other studies reporting much lower anticipated economic benefit**s**.98 Consequently, it is difficult to determine what specific economic and employment impacts may ultimately be attributable to the Keystone XL pipeline. Nonetheless, given the physical scale of the project, it could be expected to increase employment and investment at least during construction.

#### No Jobs Claims CNN News, 2-24-12 (“Stop Keystone pipeline before it's too late” http://www.cnn.com/2012/02/22/opinion/turner-keystone-pipeline/index.html)

Meanwhile, the pro-pipeline lobby is pushing the public to accept Keystone XL with [fuzzy promises about jobs](http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/fact-checker/post/keystone-pipeline-jobs-claims-a-bipartisan-fumble/2011/12/13/gIQAwxFisO_blog.html) and security. But [TransCanada's jobs claims have been widely discredited,](http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/globallaborinstitute/research/Keystonexl.html) and there is no guarantee the oil transported by the pipeline would remain in the United States for sale. An attempt in Congress to require the oil to be consumed in the United States was rejected just last week, and it has been widely detailed that Gulf Coast refineries plan to export the finished product to Europe and Latin America. How do we become more energy secure under that scenario?

Now Congress, [by means of an amendment to the highway bill,](http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/senate-gop-tries-to-restore-keystone-pipeline/2012/02/13/gIQAlje2BR_story.html) is pushing to wrest decision-making control over the project from the administration, bypass final environmental review, and force approval of the pipeline before the final route has even been determined.

#### Keystone kills more jobs than it creates and destroys Economy- studies prove

**NRDC 12,** (National Defense Recourses Council, “Stop the Keystone XL pipeline” http://www.nrdc.org/energy/keystone-pipeline/?gclid=CMG6h-SqobECFQ8CQAody2v2bg March 2012 AB)

According to the U.S. State Department the pipeline would create at most 6,500 temporary construction jobs, and would leave only "hundreds" of permanent jobs, according to TransCanada, the Canadian company that wants to build the pipeline. Claims that the pipeline would employ tens or even hundreds of thousands of people are simply not true. A Cornell University study concludes the pipeline would kill more jobs than it would create, by reducing investment in the clean energy economy.

#### Keystone Pipeline increases gas prices- hurts economy

**Swift 12** (Anthony, NRDC writer, “Keystone XL tar sands pipeline will increase U.S. gas prices” <http://switchboard.nrdc.org/blogs/aswift/new_report_keystone_xl_will_in.html>, 2012 AB)

One of the most misunderstood issues surrounding the proposed Keystone XL tar sands pipeline is its impact on U.S. gasoline prices. NRDC, Oil Change International and ForestEthics Advocacy released a report, [Keystone XL: A Tar Sands PIpeline to Increase Oil Prices](http://www.nrdc.org/energy/keystone-pipeline/higher-oil-prices.asp), today that take a close look at this complicated issue and evaluates Keystone XL’s impact on U.S. gasoline prices and supply. The study finds that Keystone XL is likely to both reduce the amount of gasoline produced in U.S. refineries for domestic markets and increase the cost of producing it, leading to even higher prices at the pump. Keystone XL’s supporters in the United States cite high gasoline prices as a reason to overlook the project’s tremendous environmental impacts and build the project. There are plenty of compelling reasons not to build the Keystone XL tar sands pipeline – it will expand a destructive extraction process, put our rivers, aquifers and lands at risk of tar sands oil spills, and would increase our dependence on tar sands – worsening climate change and undermining efforts to move to clean energy. In addition to this litany of problems, rather than decreasing U.S. oil and gasoline prices, the Keystone XL tar sands pipeline will lead to even more pain at the pump for American consumers.

## Venezuela

#### Oil is key to Venezuelan economy

CIA; Central Intelligence Agency, watching you now; 6-28-2012 “CIA World Factbook – Venezuela” <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ve.html> NCHO

Venezuela remains highly dependent on oil revenues, which account for roughly 95% of export earnings, about 40% of federal budget revenues, and around 12% of GDP. Fueled by high oil prices, record government spending helped to boost GDP growth by 4.2% in 2011, after a sharp drop in oil prices caused an economic contraction in 2009-10. Government spending, minimum wage hikes, and improved access to domestic credit created an increase in consumption which combined with supply problems to cause higher inflation - roughly 28% in 2011.

#### Venezuelan economic collapse is on the brink – oil prices are the only thing holding it up

Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey K. Wilson; United States Army War College Strategy; March 18, 2005 “PROMOTING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN VENEZUELA” <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA431740> NCHO

The U.S. has many ongoing initiatives to increase the economic prosperity of Latin

America. The U.S. is currently leading the effort to establish a Free Trade Area of the Americas

(FTAA) to encourage trade and economic growth in this hemisphere, but this effort has been long and difficult, with no firm schedule for completion. Although the U.S. supports many of the specific objectives of the GOV, such as raising the prosperity and standard of living of the Venezuelan poor, the Bush administration is certainly at odds with many of the left-wing, authoritarian and fiscally irresponsible methods that President Chavez has used to try to meet those objectives. Examples include restricting the media and free speech and spending excessively on social programs to retain the political support of the country’s poor. Although Chavez’s fiscal policies will eventually put a significant strain on the Venezuelan economy, recent increases in the price of oil to $40-$50 per barrel have provided enough government revenue to avoid an economic collapse in the short term.

#### Turn – the advantage relies on a stable Venezuelan economy – a downturn would collapse the region, consolidate Chavez’s power, and increase terrorism

Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey K. Wilson; United States Army War College Strategy; March 18, 2005 “PROMOTING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN VENEZUELA” <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA431740> NCHO

U.S. policy with respect to Venezuela is aligned with national interests and is fairly well¶ balanced between the various elements of national power – diplomatic, economic, military and¶ informational, but it has not been effective in improving the situation in Venezuela. Over the¶ past two decades, the U.S. has spent billions of dollars and significant manpower in the Andean¶ region to stop the flow of drugs into the U.S. and promote regional security, stability, free¶ markets and human rights. Yet, the region remains on the brink of collapse.¶ In Venezuela¶ specifically, a country with more than 40 years of democracy is in crisis and the situation seems¶ to be worsening rather than improving. Any down-turn in Venezuela’s economic health could¶ trigger a series of events that might lead to the end of democratic government. President¶ Chavez has already shown that he is willing to move away from democratic processes to¶ consolidate his power in the executive branch. So, what is the path forward that the U.S. needs¶ to follow to promote freedom, stability, security and economic prosperity in Venezuela?¶ There are several possible alternative courses of action, including: staying on the current¶ course (status quo); pulling back and letting the Chavez regime crumble from its own corruption¶ and flawed policies; taking unilateral action to cause regime change; or finding new, more¶ effective ways to work multilaterally to support security, democratic processes and economic¶ growth in Venezuela.¶ Staying on the current course is not feasible because, as stated above, current policy is¶ not working and the possible consequences of failure in Venezuela are too great. If democracy¶ in Venezuela collapses, it will probably become a failed state. This will mean loss of freedom¶ and democracy, increased poverty, increased drug trafficking, increased terror activity in¶ ungoverned areas of the country, regional instability and loss of oil imports to the U.S.¶ This is also the wrong time for the U.S. to disengage from a leadership role in guiding¶ Venezuela back onto the path of freedom and liberty. The U.S. government cannot risk the¶ implosion of Venezuela simply because it does not want to support the Chavez regime. The¶ disadvantages of this course of action include loss of international respect and loss of the¶ opportunity to influence the future in Venezuela and the region. Some would argue that an¶ advantage of this course of action would be a short term savings in resources, but this is a false¶ economy since this is more likely to result in the failure of Democracy in Venezuela and the U.S.¶ would have to invest much more to repair a failed state than to prevent such a failure.

#### Plans unilateral justifications guarantee Chavez can rally the public to support him

Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey K. Wilson; United States Army War College Strategy; March 18, 2005 “PROMOTING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN VENEZUELA” <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA431740> NCHO

During the height of the Cold War, a U.S. administration may have chosen to take¶ unilateral action to oust Chavez covertly and try to replace him with a leader that would support¶ U.S. policies. As an example, the U.S. government supported a coup in Chile in 1973 that¶ toppled the leftist regime of President Salvador Allende.¶ The U.S. must avoid these kinds of¶ tactics for several reasons. First, it is against U.S. values to overthrow a democratically elected¶ leader of a sovereign nation that does not directly threaten the security of the U.S. Second,¶ history shows that such actions always come back to haunt the U.S. in the long term. Any sign¶ of such actions on the part of the U.S. will result in the loss of credibility and respect both for the¶ U.S. and any Venezuelan opposition leader that the U.S. supported. If such a plot were¶ discovered, President Chavez would use it to his extreme advantage to further consolidate his¶ power and strip away more freedoms from the people of Venezuela in the name of protecting¶ them from the U.S.

#### Anti-Americanism is the ONLY motive behind the Iran-Venezuela relationship

Tyler Bridges; CSM Christian Science Monitor; June 18, 2009 “Ahmadinejad's new best friend: Hugo Chávez?” <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2009/0618/p06s10-woam.html> NCHO

Mr. Chávez belongs to a small circle of political oddfellows who support Mr. Ahmadinejad, including the King of Swaziland; Hamas, the militant Palestinian organization; and Hezbollah, the radical Lebanese group.¶ The Venezuelan government, "in the name of the people," hailed the "extraordinary democratic development" that resulted in Ahmadinejad's victory Friday, according to a foreign ministry statement.¶ "The Bolivarian government of Venezuela expresses its firm rejection of the ferocious and unfounded campaign to discredit, from abroad, that has been unleashed against Iran, with the objective of muddying the political climate of this brother country," said the statement issued late Tuesday. "We demand the immediate end to maneuvers to intimidate and destabilize the Islamic Revolution."¶ Chávez's support for Iran's beleaguered leader is no surprise. The two leaders have developed warm ties in recent years, based on their mutual antipathy for the US. Other than the fact they're both major oil producers and oppose US foreign policy, the countries have little in common.

#### Heg bad and economy good for Venezuela

Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey K. Wilson; United States Army War College Strategy; March 18, 2005 “PROMOTING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN VENEZUELA” <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA431740> NCHO

The only viable option for the U.S. in Venezuela is to find new, more effective ways to¶ work multilaterally to support security, economic growth and democratic processes. The¶ foundation of the current U.S. policy is sound but it needs to be strengthened and expanded to¶ work more in concert with allies and international organizations with similar interests in the¶ region. Our policy must start with common national interests that exist between the U.S. and¶ Venezuela – peace, security, freedom, democracy, and a strong and stable Venezuelan¶ economy. On issues where the GOV is straying from these common objectives, U.S. policy¶ must use an integrated approach with strong unity of effort to work for improvement.

#### US action destroying the Venezuelan economy boosts Chavez’s power

Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey K. Wilson; United States Army War College Strategy; March 18, 2005 “PROMOTING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN VENEZUELA” <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA431740> NCHO

The U.S. government must take away President Chavez’s ability to use distrust and hate¶ of the U.S. as a rallying point for his regime. The U.S. government should institute an¶ information campaign aimed at reassuring the people of Venezuela (especially the poor) that¶ the U.S. supports Venezuela’s constitutional processes and wants a stronger, more stable and¶ economically viable Venezuela. This must be done multilaterally, through regional¶ organizations (both governmental and non-governmental), in order to succeed.

#### Plan results in Chavez reelection and radicalism

Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey K. Wilson; United States Army War College Strategy; March 18, 2005 “PROMOTING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN VENEZUELA” <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA431740> NCHO

The U.S. must not be perceived as acting¶ unilaterally to influence these elections to elect someone more favorable for the U.S. The U.S.¶ government must be part of an effective multilateral diplomatic and information campaign¶ combined with international monitoring of these elections. This should help counter recent¶ attempts in the Venezuelan legislature to silence the opposition by passing laws restricting¶ media content.¶ This will also give a competent opposition the chance it needs to present a¶ viable alternative to the Venezuelan people. If faced with an effective opposition in an¶ environment of stability and security, Chavez might have to moderate his authoritarian approach¶ if he hopes to win another term in the 2006 presidential elections.

#### No solvency – Canada will have to import from Venezeula

Donald Barry; professor of political science at the University of Calgary. He holds a B.A. from St. Francis Xavier University, an M.A. from Dalhousie University, and a Ph.D. from the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; Jul 5, 2012 “Has decision on Keystone XL poisoned Canada-U.S. relations?” <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2012/07/05/donald-barry-has-obamas-decision-on-keystone-pipeline-poisoned-canada-u-s-relations/> NCHO

The pipeline could help lower U.S. dependence on interruptible foreign oil supplies from “Venezuela or countries in the Middle East,” though the case becomes less compelling as the United States moves closer to self-sufficiency. But with most of Alberta’s oil exported to the American market, Canada would continue to import more than 50 percent of the oil it uses for domestic consumption from the same offshore sources the United States depends upon.

## Keystone Won’t Affect US Oil Prices

#### International Events on Oil Outweigh Keystone.

**Parfomak, et. Al, 5-9**-12 (Paul, Specialist in Energy and Infrastructure Policy, Neelesh Nerurkar, Specialist in Energy Policy, Linda Luther, Analyst in Environmental Policy, Adam Vann,Legislative Attorney, “Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues” CRS, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41668.pdf)

Energy security arguments have taken on additional weight in light of the recent geopolitical tensions in the Middle East and North Africa. However, it is worth noting that even if Keystone XL is built, prices for the crude oil it carries as well as for domestically produced oil from elsewhere will continue to be affected by international events. The oil market is globally integrated and events in major producer and consumer countries can affect prices everywhere.59 For example, the disruption of Libyan supply in early 2011 contributed to higher crude oil prices in the United States, even though the United States imported almost no oil from Libya before the unrest broke out.60

#### If Canada selling oil is inevitable, it doesn’t matter who they sell it to

Michael A. Levi; David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change, Washington Post; January 18, 2012 “Five Myths About the Keystone XL Pipeline” <http://www.cfr.org/energyenvironment/five-myths-keystone-xl-pipeline/p27099> NCHO

2. The pipeline would have reduced U.S. reliance on oil from the Middle East.¶ Worries about dependence on Middle Eastern oil have long animated U.S. energy policy — and the Keystone XL pipeline would have transported almost as much oil each year as the United States currently imports annually from Saudi Arabia.¶ But U.S. vulnerability to turmoil in the Middle East is linked to how much oil we consume, not where we buy it from. The price of oil is set on world markets: When convulsions in Libya sent the price of crude up 30 percent last year, prices for Canadian heavy oil (similar to what is produced from oil sands) rose by nearly 55 percent.¶ Some pipeline proponents also pointed out that Canadian oil currently sells at a discount compared with oil supplies from the rest of the world. Keystone XL, however, wouldn't have led Canada to start offering greater amounts of crude at deep discounts — instead, Canadian producers would have gained more leverage and would have been able to sell their oil at the world price.

#### Rejecting keystone wont raise oil prices

Michael A. Levi; David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change, Washington Post; January 18, 2012 “Five Myths About the Keystone XL Pipeline” <http://www.cfr.org/energyenvironment/five-myths-keystone-xl-pipeline/p27099> NCHO

3. The pipeline would have created hundreds of thousands of American jobs.¶ During the debate over the Keystone project, the oil industry rolled out a series of studies claiming that pipeline construction would create 20,000 temporary jobs in the United States and that lower oil prices (they didn't say exactly how much lower) resulting from the new crude supplies would create as many as 250,000 more jobs across the country over the long term. These numbers were cited repeatedly by politicians who supported the pipeline.¶ However, the first number refers to "person-years" of employment — a single job that lasts two years is counted twice; and in any case, it pales compared with the overall U.S. employment challenge. The second number is more impressive but relies on an overly optimistic estimate of how much the pipeline would have reduced global oil prices. The administration's rejection of the pipeline will probably add less than a dollar a barrel to the long-term price of oil, hardly a decisive factor when prices are already around $100 per barrel.¶ Of course, there's little question that more Canadian oil production would trim world oil prices slightly and thus help the U.S. economy. But the net impact of the Keystone XL pipeline would have been smaller than its proponents claim.

### High Oil Prices Link

#### Keystone increases supply, decreases prices.

**Parfomak, et. Al, 5-9**-12 (Paul, Specialist in Energy and Infrastructure Policy, Neelesh Nerurkar, Specialist in Energy Policy, Linda Luther, Analyst in Environmental Policy, Adam Vann,Legislative Attorney, “Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues” CRS, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41668.pdf)

Oil sands producers are interested in Keystone XL because it would expand their market reach into the Gulf Coast. The Gulf Coast region holds half of U.S. refining capacity, including a substantial amount of technologically advanced capacity capable of processing heavy sour crudes in large volumes. Reaching a larger market and one with more advanced refining capacity could increase the price these producers receive for their crude. For their part, Gulf Coast refiners are interested in the Keystone XL pipeline because it increases the supply of heavy sour crude in the Gulf region, potentially bringing down their input costs relative to the options they currently have available. Canadian Natural Resources Limited, an oil sands producer, and Valero Energy Corporation, a large U.S. refiner, are among those that contracted for shipping capacity on the Keystone XL pipeline.

## Oil Spill Turn 1NC

#### Cornell Studies prove- Spill WILL happen that kills economy, jobs, and relations with Canada-turns the case

[**Battistoni**](http://www.salon.com/writer/alyssa_battistoni/)12 (Alyssa, NY times writer, “[Keystone pipeline will spill, study predicts”](http://www.salon.com/2012/03/19/keystone_pipeline_will_spill_study_predicts/)  <http://www.salon.com/2012/03/19/keystone_pipeline_will_spill_study_predicts/> 2012 AB)

Republicans have sought to frame the Keystone XL pipeline as a job-creating project being thwarted by “radical environmentalists.” Is it? A new [Cornell University study](http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/globallaborinstitute/research/TarsandsPipelineSpill.html) claims that the pipeline could actually have a negative impact on the economies of the states it would pass through.¶ “In the national debate, job creation has been set alongside environmental concerns in a rigid either-or fashion,” says Sean Sweeney, one of the study’s authors, “But oil spills also kill jobs, they consume resources, they have an impact on health, and can also lead to a lower quality of life.”¶ The range of estimates of jobs vary widely. TransCanada claims the pipeline will create 20,000 jobs. A State Department report estimates that only 20 permanent operating jobs would be created in the six states along the pipeline route. By comparison, those same states are home to robust agricultural, ranching and tourist industries that are dependent on water and vulnerable to environmental contamination. Across the six states agriculture employs 571,000 workers and tourism 780,000; the total revenue from those sectors, respectively, is $76.3 billion and $67 billion.¶ Sludge not crude¶ Tar sands oil — known in energy circles as diluted bitumen — may be more damaging to environments and communities than regular crude. Said Sweeney, “Diluted bitumen is an irregular substance — it runs thick and thin, hot and cold. It’s basically a sludge, not like regular crude — it behaves differently.” Tar sands also seem more likely to spill than conventional crude: The spill rate for diluted bitumen in the northern Midwest between 2007-2010 was three times the national average for conventional oil. This may be because the heavy, corrosive material puts greater stress on pipelines.¶ The already existing Keystone I pipeline, which runs 2,100 miles from Alberta to Illinois, began operating in 2010; in the two years since, 35 spills have occurred. In the pipeline’s first year of operation alone, its spill rate was 100 times TransCanada’s projection. All told the amount of tar sands oil being transported through the United States has more than tripled in the past decade to 600,000 barrels in 2010. Keystone XL, if built, would add another 830,000 barrels per day.¶ John Stansbury, a professor of civil engineering at the University of Nebraska, [analyzed](http://www.engineering.unl.edu/publications/ENonline/Summer11/pipeline.html) spill data from the Keystone I pipeline to estimate that 91 spills would occur over the course of 50 years of

### Ext. Oil Spill Turn

#### Oil spill WILL happen empirics prove it’s not a “When” not “if” statement

**Berry 12** (Liz, Freelance writer, “[President Obama and Governor Perry–Twins separated at birth?](http://my.firedoglake.com/iflizwerequeen/2011/08/28/president-obama-and-governor-perry-twins-separated-at-birth/)” 2012 AB)

You might think that the President and the Governor are twins separated at birth if you look a little more closely at their ties to the Keystone Pipeline and how willing both of them seem to be to put a huge source of our nation’s water supply at risk for the benefit of billionaires. It looks to me like the Pres. and the Gov. have it covered from both ends when it comes to risking our nation’s water supply so that two billionaires can make even more billions of dollars.¶ From all appearances (based on reports from the State Department that seem to pave the way) it looks like President Obama is poised to make David Koch even richer than he already is by approving the Keystone Pipeline. This pipeline would pass through Nebraska. As you can see in the map below, the High Plains Aquifer is located in Nebraska. The Ogallala Aquifer, also known as the High Plains Aquifer, is a vast yet shallow underground water table aquifer located beneath the Great Plains in the United States. It extends from Nebraska all the way down into Texas. About 27 percent of the irrigated land in the United States overlies this aquifer system, which yields about 30 percent of the nation’s ground water used for irrigation. In addition, the aquifer system provides drinking water to 82 percent of the people who live within the aquifer boundary–millions of Americans.¶ Because the aquifer is shallow, it is especially susceptible to pollution from oil leaks from pipelines. In case you wonder about the odds of an oil leak happening from the Keystone pipeline, you can know that, based on extensive historical evidence, that the question is not “if” but “when.”

#### Finished pipeline flows dirty oil through natural wonders- any spill destroys relations turning case

**NRDC 12** (National Defense Resources Council, “Going in Reverse: The Tar Sands Oil Threat to Central Canada and New England,” 2012 AB)

Canadian pipeline company Enbridge Inc. appears to be reviving a previous pipeline plan that would take tar sands oil to central Canada and New England. The long-term plan would reverse the direction of oil flowing through two major pipelines -- Line 9 and the Portland-Montreal Pipe Line -- along an approximately 750-mile route, running through central Canada and down to the New England seacoast for export. Under the plan, the pipeline would carry Canadian tar sands oil, the dirtiest oil on the planet, through some of the most important natural and cultural places in Ontario, Quebec, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. Any tar sands spill in these areas could devastate wildlife, pollute water, and compromise the health of local residents especially since tar sands spills cause much more harm than conventional oil spills. Transporting tar sands on this new route would only bring risks to central Canada and New England. Reversing existing pipelines is not necessary and should not be put into operation.

## Environment Turn 1NC

#### Keystone is TERRIBLE for North American ecosystems, public health, global warming, and water supply. CNN News, 2-24-12 (“Stop Keystone pipeline before it's too late” http://www.cnn.com/2012/02/22/opinion/turner-keystone-pipeline/index.html)

The purpose of Keystone XL is to bring tar sands crude oil through the United States to Gulf Coast refineries. The route through the United States is actually the oil industry's second choice: Transporting the oil west from Alberta to the Pacific Coast would be shorter and much cheaper, but Canadians concerned about environmental impacts and threats to native people's lands are challenging that route, and with good reason. The existing and potential environmental impacts along the 2,000-mile pipeline route are profound.

In Canada, extraction of tar sands crude requires [clear-cutting thousands of acres](http://pubs.pembina.org/reports/1000-cuts.pdf) of boreal forests, [diverting rivers, strip-mining, and destroying critical habitat](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1272/is_2751_136/ai_n24258623/) for some of the largest populations of woodland caribou left in the world. [Thirty percent of North America's songbirds and 40% of its waterfowl](http://www.worldwatch.org/node/5287) rely on the wetlands and waterways of the boreal forest.

[Tar sands oil production](http://www.calproject.org/factsheet-ibcc-tarsands.pdf) has already created more than 50 square miles of toxic waste ponds so massive they are visible from space. Even more important, tar sands oil extraction produces three times more greenhouse gas emissions than conventional oil and gas, putting even greater strain on our atmosphere and oceans, which have little absorptive capacity left.

Closer to home, the pipeline presents an immediate threat to drinking water for millions and to the livelihood of farmers and ranchers. To transport via pipeline, the thick tar sands crude must be mixed with toxic chemicals and then pumped at extreme temperature and pressure. This sets the stage for more pipeline failures and spills that create a highly toxic mess.

The existing Keystone 1 tar sands pipeline has spilled more than 12 times in its first 12 months of operation. In July 2010, a spill of more than 800,000 gallons of toxic tar sands crude from the Enbridge pipeline contaminated more than 30 miles of water and shoreline along the Kalamazoo River in Michigan. This created public health problems, threats to groundwater, widespread fish kills, and destruction of wildlife habitat, contamination that is still being cleaned up at a cost exceeding $700 million. Downstream landowners like me are thinking this is a preview of coming attractions if Keystone XL is built.

The potential for pollution of vital groundwater from the Keystone XL pipeline is even more frightening. Depending on the final route of the pipeline, spills would threaten the Ogallala Aquifer, the largest aquifer in the western North American region, upon which millions of people and agricultural businesses depend for drinking water, irrigation and livestock watering.

But spills anywhere along the route would threaten crucial drinking water supplies, from local and municipal drinking water wells to the Carrizo-Wilcox Aquifer in Texas, a critical water supply for drought-stricken East Texas and Houston. Anyone with even a passing familiarity with the water scarcity problems in that region should understand how a sizable pipeline failure could have catastrophic consequences.

### Overview

#### Bad for the environment- US rivers, increased refinery, and greenhouse gas emissions. ABC News, 5-4-12 (“Keystone XL pipeline issues gush again” http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/OTUS/keystone-xl-pipeline-issues-gush/story?id=16280542#.UAghM83VoSg)

"At a moment when tensions are rising in the Middle East, millions of Americans are struggling to find work and millions more are struggling with the rising cost of gas, the Obama administration's opposition to the Keystone XL pipeline shows how deeply out of touch they are with the concerns of middle-class Americans," Republican Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell said in a statement.

"When it comes to delays over Keystone, anyone looking for a culprit should look no further than the Oval Office," McConnell charged.

But the project [faced fresh criticism from environmentalists](http://switchboard.nrdc.org/blogs/aswift/a_new_application_for_the_keys.html).

"Keystone XL would have tremendous environmental impacts—from the expansion of destructive tar sands extraction, the risk of tar sands spills across U.S. rivers and aquifers and increased refinery and greenhouse gas emissions," said Anthony Swift, an attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council.

### Ext. Hurts Environment - GHG

#### Environmental Impacts from Pipeline.

**Parfomak, et. Al, 5-9**-12 (Paul, Specialist in Energy and Infrastructure Policy, Neelesh Nerurkar, Specialist in Energy Policy, Linda Luther, Analyst in Environmental Policy, Adam Vann,Legislative Attorney, “Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues” CRS, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41668.pdf)

Proponents of the Keystone XL pipeline, including Canadian agencies and U.S. and Canadian petroleum industry stakeholders, base their arguments supporting the pipeline primarily on increasing the diversity of the U.S. petroleum supply and economic benefits to the United States, especially job creation. Opponents to the pipeline are generally environmental organizations and community groups. Their concerns stem from issues that can be broadly categorized as the pipeline’s global or domestic impacts. “Global” impacts stem primarily from concern regarding the lifecycle greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions associated with the development and extraction of Canadian oil sands, compared to conventional oil or renewable fuels. Although the concern regarding GHG emissions is focused primarily on the extraction process, opponents also argue that use of the oil sands crude promotes continued U.S. dependency on fossil fuels. Concern over adverse domestic impacts of the pipeline stem primarily from impacts associated with the pipeline’s construction and long-term use on private land—particularly its potential to affect agricultural uses and cattle grazing. Communities along the pipeline route are also concerned about the risk of a potential release of heavy crude and the operators’ ability to respond to a release, particularly in remote areas.

#### Keystone’s oil Exacerbates Global Warming

**NRDC 12,** (National Defense Recourses Council, “Stop the Keystone XL pipeline” http://www.nrdc.org/energy/keystone-pipeline/?gclid=CMG6h-SqobECFQ8CQAody2v2bg March 2012 AB)

Producing synthetic crude oil from tar sands generates three times the global warming pollution of conventional crude production. Extracting tar sands bitumen – a low-grade, high-sulfur crude oil that must be extensively refined to be turned into fuel – uses vast amounts of energy and water.

#### Extinction – Keystone is the key link

Brecher AND Smith 12

[“Pipeline Climate Disaster: The Keystone XL Pipeline and Labor” [by Jeremy Brecher (winner of 5 regional emmys for documentary work and Brendan Smith (cofounder of the labor network for sustainability)]

<http://www.labor4sustainability.org/articles/pipeline-climate-disaster-the-keystone-xl-pipeline-and-labor/> NCHO

Does the Keystone XL hold a hidden threat? The Keystone XL pipeline is a key link in an energy path that will lead to devastation for the American working families we are told it will provide “better days.” Here’s why. We’ve all heard about global warming caused by the emission of carbon and other “greenhouse gasses” into the atmosphere. Despite the claims of a political faction that it is a myth, there is a near-total consensus among climate scientists that it is real and that and that it will cause devastating climate change. That means rising sea levels, an ever-increasing number of extreme weather events like droughts, floods, and heat waves, and consequences like forest fires and species extinction. We can see these effects emerging right now. 2010 was tied with 2005 as the hottest year on record. Rising sea levels, heat waves, forest fires, tornadoes, floods - their rising frequency and destructiveness are not in some distant future, but right now. As Scientific American recently noted, In this year alone massive blizzards have struck the U.S. Northeast, tornadoes have ripped through the nation, mighty rivers like the Mississippi and Missouri have flowed over their banks, and floodwaters have covered huge swaths of Australia as well as displaced more than five million people in China and devastated Colombia. And this year’s natural disasters follow on the heels of a staggering litany of extreme weather in 2010, from record floods in Nashville, Tenn., and Pakistan, to Russia’s crippling heat wave. Scientists calculate that the safe level for carbon in the atmosphere is 350 parts per millions. But we are already significantly over that level — which is why we are already facing devastating climate change. Only by drastically limiting our carbon emissions can we limit still greater devastation. Why is a single pipeline — the Keystone XL — so important to this story? Because it is the key link in an energy strategy that will radically escalate carbon emissions still further. The energy strategy is to introduce large quantities of oil from Canadian tar sands. According to the US Department of Environmental Protection, the greenhouse gas emissions from Canadian oil sands crude oil will be more than 80% greater than oil refined in the US. Independent estimates run up to three times more global warming pollution than conventional oil. Once the Keystone XL is in place, a wide area of the US will become dependent on oil from Canadian tar sands. With no available alternative, pressure will grow to import more and more of it. Even more dangerous, the pipeline will lock in dependence on fossil fuels for decades to come and remove the pressure to convert to renewable alternatives. The Alberta tar sands are estimated to contain enough carbon to raise carbon emissions in the atmosphere by 200 parts per million. That would increase the current level of greenhouse gasses in the atmosphere by more than half. It would be more than enough to create more climate change than in the entire history of humanity on earth. It would also render pointless all other efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. As leading climate scientist James Hanson put it, “If the tar sands are thrown into the mix, it is essentially game over. There is no practical way to capture the co2 while burning oil.” We “cannot get back to a safe CO2 level” if “unconventional fossil fuels, like tar sands are exploited.” There are also a multitude of other problems with the project. Tar sands extraction is already devastating native lands in Alberta. Other recently built pipelines are already leaking and spilling large quantities of oil into the US environment. The pipeline threatens the aquifer that is critical for Midwestern agriculture and drinking water. The tar sand oil carry some of the deadliest chemicals, including nickel, vanadium, lead, chromium, mercury, arsenic, selenium, and benzene.

#### More evidence; Keystone causes warming extinction

JAMES HANSEN; directs the NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies; May 9, 20**12** “Game Over for the Climate” NCHO

GLOBAL warming isn’t a prediction. It is happening. That is why I was so troubled to read a recent interview with President Obama in Rolling Stone in which he said that Canada would exploit the oil in its vast tar sands reserves “regardless of what we do.”¶ If Canada proceeds, and we do nothing, it will be game over for the climate.¶ Canada’s tar sands, deposits of sand saturated with bitumen, contain twice the amount of carbon dioxide emitted by global oil use in our entire history. If we were to fully exploit this new oil source, and continue to burn our conventional oil, gas and coal supplies, concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere eventually would reach levels higher than in the Pliocene era, more than 2.5 million years ago, when sea level was at least 50 feet higher than it is now. That level of heat-trapping gases would assure that the disintegration of the ice sheets would accelerate out of control. Sea levels would rise and destroy coastal cities. Global temperatures would become intolerable. Twenty to 50 percent of the planet’s species would be driven to extinction. Civilization would be at risk.¶ That is the long-term outlook. But near-term, things will be bad enough. Over the next several decades, the Western United States and the semi-arid region from North Dakota to Texas will develop semi-permanent drought, with rain, when it does come, occurring in extreme events with heavy flooding. Economic losses would be incalculable. More and more of the Midwest would be a dust bowl. California’s Central Valley could no longer be irrigated. Food prices would rise to unprecedented levels.¶ If this sounds apocalyptic, it is. This is why we need to reduce emissions dramatically. President Obama has the power not only to deny tar sands oil additional access to Gulf Coast refining, which Canada desires in part for export markets, but also to encourage economic incentives to leave tar sands and other dirty fuels in the ground.¶ The global warming signal is now louder than the noise of random weather, as I predicted would happen by now in the journal Science in 1981. Extremely hot summers have increased noticeably. We can say with high confidence that the recent heat waves in Texas and Russia, and the one in Europe in 2003, which killed tens of thousands, were not natural events — they were caused by human-induced climate change.¶ We have known since the 1800s that carbon dioxide traps heat in the atmosphere. The right amount keeps the climate conducive to human life. But add too much, as we are doing now, and temperatures will inevitably rise too high. This is not the result of natural variability, as some argue. The earth is currently in the part of its long-term orbit cycle where temperatures would normally be cooling. But they are rising — and it’s because we are forcing them higher with fossil fuel emissions.¶ The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen from 280 parts per million to 393 p.p.m. over the last 150 years. The tar sands contain enough carbon — 240 gigatons — to add 120 p.p.m. Tar shale, a close cousin of tar sands found mainly in the United States, contains at least an additional 300 gigatons of carbon. If we turn to these dirtiest of fuels, instead of finding ways to phase out our addiction to fossil fuels, there is no hope of keeping carbon concentrations below 500 p.p.m. — a level that would, as earth’s history shows, leave our children a climate system that is out of their control.¶ We need to start reducing emissions significantly, not create new ways to increase them.

### Ext. Hurts Environment- Oil Spills

#### Oil Spills are a big risk factor to the environment.

**Parfomak, et. Al, 5-9**-12 (Paul, Specialist in Energy and Infrastructure Policy, Neelesh Nerurkar, Specialist in Energy Policy, Linda Luther, Analyst in Environmental Policy, Adam Vann,Legislative Attorney, “Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues” CRS, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41668.pdf)

The pipeline’s construction and continued operation would involve a 50-foot-wide permanent right-of-way along the length of the pipeline. Keystone agreed to compensate landowners for losses on a case-by-case basis. However, a concern among landowners and communities along the route is the potential for their land or water (used for drinking, irrigation, or recreation) to be contaminated by an accidental release (spill) of oil. That concern is heightened in areas where the pipeline will be located near or would cross water or is in a remote location.

A primary environmental concern of any oil pipeline is the risk of a spill. In estimating the possible impacts of an oil spill, location is generally considered the most important factor— particularly the potential for the spill to reach surface or groundwater. For example, the potential impacts of a spill to water is highlighted in the Keystone XL final EIS, as follows:

The greatest concern would be a spill in environmentally sensitive areas, such as wetlands, flowing streams and rivers, shallow groundwater areas, areas near water intakes for drinking water or for commercial/industrial uses, and areas with populations of sensitive wildlife or plant species.108

### Ext. Hurts Environment- Nebraskan Sandhils

#### Keystone affects the Nebraska sandhills

**Parfomak, et. Al, 5-9**-12 (Paul, Specialist in Energy and Infrastructure Policy, Neelesh Nerurkar, Specialist in Energy Policy, Linda Luther, Analyst in Environmental Policy, Adam Vann,Legislative Attorney, “Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues” CRS, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41668.pdf)

In the process of examining factors necessary to determine whether the Presidential Permit for the original Keystone XL pipeline route was in the national interest, the State Department decided that it needed to assess potential alternative pipeline routes that would avoid the Sand Hills region of Nebraska. Unique characteristics of the Sand Hills, including its high concentration of wetlands, extensive areas of very shallow groundwater, and its sensitive ecosystem, were identified as factors that resulted in increasing public concern over the proposed pipeline location. For these reasons, TransCanada announced it would work with the Nebraska Department of Environmental Quality to identify a potential pipeline route that would avoid the Sand Hills.

To understand the concerns associated with potential environmental impacts of the construction and operation of a pipeline that crosses the Sand Hills (also referred to as the Sandhills), an understanding of the unique size and structure of the region is useful. The Sand Hills region is a 19,600 square mile sand dune formation stabilized by native grasslands that cover 95% of its surface. The surface is highly susceptible to wind erosion if the grassland is disturbed.54 Below its surface lie hundreds of feet of course sand and gravel. Essentially, the porous soil acts like a giant sponge that quickly absorbs precipitation, allowing very little to run off. In some areas, the water table reaches the land surface—a characteristic that creates lakes that dot the region as well as 1.3 million acres of wetlands. The loose, porous soil and sensitivity to wind erosion have been factors contributing to a lack of development on the Sand Hills. As a result, the region contains the most intact natural habitat of the Great Plains of the United States. The porosity of the soil is also relevant because the Sand Hills sits atop the Ogallala Aquifer—one of the largest aquifer systems in the world.55

The highly porous soil of the Sand Hills make it a significant recharge zone in the northern region of the Ogallala Aquifer system. That is, the sandy, porous soil of the Sand Hills allows a significant amount of surface water to enter (recharge) the aquifer system. Water from the aquifer also accounts for a significant amount of water use—78% of the region’s public water, 83% of irrigation water in Nebraska, and 30% of water used in the United States for irrigation and agriculture.

Potential impacts to the Ogallala Aquifer and the Sand Hills identified in the final EIS for TransCanada’s original permit application included potential groundwater contamination after a release (e.g., a spill or leak from a hole or damaged portion of the pipeline) of crude oil during the construction or operation of the proposed pipeline. Along the preferred route of the originally proposed pipeline configuration, areas in the Sand Hills region were identified as locations where the water table may be close to the surface. The depth to groundwater was less than 10 feet for approximately 65 miles of the preferred pipeline route in Nebraska. Both the soil porosity and the close proximity of groundwater to the surface increase the potential that a release of oil from the pipeline could contaminate groundwater in the region.56

### Ext. Hurts Environment- EPA

#### EPA hates keystone- kills environment

**AP 5/31** 2012 (Associated press, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/feedarticle/10267546> May 31, 2012 AB)

Associated Press=HOUSTON — The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is concerned that permitting for the southern segment of the proposed Keystone XL pipeline could be insufficient and has asked for a more extensive review. An official in the EPA's region that oversees Texas wrote a letter to the Army Corps of Engineers saying 61 water crossings near Galveston are too large for the broad permits being pursued. The official wants an environmental review that includes a public comment period. The letter, written in November, was released Thursday. The corps said it's reviewing TransCanada's permit request. This is the latest obstacle for a controversial pipeline project that has created tensions between the U.S. and Canada. The pipeline is designed to transport Canadian crude oil across the Midwest to Texas Gulf Coast refineries.

## Trade Advantage CP

#### Trade and Tariff Policies key to reversing relations- Keystone doesn’t actually matter.

**The Vancouver Sun, 7-16-**12 (“Wall rallies for better Canada-U.S. relations, decries policies of Obama administration” <http://www.vancouversun.com/business/Wall+rallies+better+Canada+relations+decries+policies+Obama/6942604/story.html>)

Premier Brad Wall has criticized U.S. President Barack Obama, saying recent American economic and energy policies are not good for Canada.

“People think in this country, perhaps they do, that the Obama administration is good for Canada,” Wall told reporters Monday at the Pacific Northwest Economic Region’s (PNWER) annual summit in Saskatoon. “The facts say something else.”

Wall used his keynote speech at the conference as a rallying cry for improved U.S. and Canada relations, while decrying U.S. policies he believes are hurting free trade.

“When there is a recession, the sabres of protectionism start rattling and that’s what we’ve seen stateside,” Wall told reporters after the speech.

Wall’s comments come weeks after an article in Foreign Affairs by Derek Burney, Canada’s former ambassador to the U.S., and Fen Hampson, a foreign policy expert at Carleton University, declared the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Canada has sunk to its worst level in decades.

Wall didn’t go as far as Burney and Hampson, but he did not agree with David Jacobson, the U.S. ambassador to Canada, who responded to the article by saying U.S.-Canada relations have “never been better.”

“I think somewhere in the middle, but I think it should be better,” Wall said.

Like Hampson and Burney, Wall pointed to Buy American rules in the U.S. stimulus package, calling them “frustrating” because of the damage they are doing to trade among provinces, states and municipalities.

Wall also cited a $5.50 tariff on passengers who enter the U.S. by air or sea as an “irritant.”

As for the controversial Keystone XL pipeline, Wall believes it will go ahead regardless of who wins the U.S. presidential election.

### Overview

#### Buy American Provision could have serious implications on the economy.

**Canadian Manufactures and Exporters, 6-25**-12 (“Canada cannot tolerate new 'Buy American' amendment in Congress: CME”

http://www.cme-mec.ca/?action=show&lid=JCKNC-E742G-1W6JA&comaction=show&cid=M9D4U-BK1VE-UI6R6)

The Government of Canada must take immediate action to derail a new Buy American amendment expected to be introduced later this week in the United States Congress, and work towards a joint content rule for all future procurement spending, according to Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters (CME).   The provision will be attached to the 2013 funding bill for the US Environmental Protection Agency and, if passed, would apply to all water and wastewater projects encompassed under the bill, including those at the state level. More than $100 billion is currently available for related infrastructure initiatives; however, the amendment would require all projects use only US-made steel, iron and manufactured goods in the construction or maintenance process.   “This protectionist legislation sets a dangerous precedent at a time when neither country can afford it,” explains CME President & CEO, Jayson Myers. “We’ve been down this road before and know how dire the economic consequences can be on both sides of the border. Ottawa must take prompt and aggressive steps to deter the US from pursuing such harmful policy, and be ready to respond with reciprocal provisions for Canadian procurement opportunities.”   In 2009, US lawmakers passed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), which contained a similar, sweeping Buy American provision. Although the goal was to spur growth, many US companies actually lost much-needed business, because they were unable to sell component parts to Canadian manufacturers shut out of ARRA-funded projects.   The latest amendment, meanwhile, is being proposed by Congressman Robert Anderholt of Alabama’s Fourth District. By contrast, Canada remains Alabama’s largest buyer of goods – comprised largely of manufacturing components.   “The US is our largest marketplace and business partner, and our relationship is unlike any other two nations in the world,” says Myers. “We don’t simply trade with one another; we build things together. And while our supply chains have created good-paying jobs and high-standard products on both sides of the 49th parallel, this new Buy American provision is putting our integrated economies at serious, unnecessary risk.”

### Solves Relations

#### **Their 1ac evidence concludes that repealing the Buy America provision solves relations**

Burney and Hampson, 12 (Derek H., and Fen Olser, Burney was Senior Strategic Advisor of Norton Rose, former Chief of Staff in the Office of the Prime Minister, and Canadian Ambassador to the US, Fen is the Chancellor’s Professor & Director of NPSIA, Professor of International Affairs , “How Obama Lost Canada,” Foreign Affairs, 6-21, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/137744/derek-h-burney-and-fen-osler-hampson/how-obama-lost-canada>)

Permitting the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline should have been an easy diplomatic and economic decisionfor U.S. President Barack Obama. The completed project would have shipped more than 700,000 barrels a day of Albertan oil to refineries in the Gulf Coast, generated tens of thousands of jobs for U.S. workers, and met the needs of refineries in Texas that are desperately seeking oil from Canada, a more reliable supplier than Venezuela or countries in the Middle East. The project posed little risk to the landscape it traversed. But instead of acting on economic logic, the Obama administration caved to environmental activists in November 2011, postponing until 2013 the decision on whether to allow the pipeline.¶ Obama’s choice marked a triumph of campaign posturing over pragmatism and diplomacy, and it brought U.S.-Canadian relations to their lowest point in decades. It was hardly the first time that the administration has fumbled issues with Ottawa. Although relations have been civil, they have rarely been productive. Whether on trade, the environment, or Canada’s shared contribution in places such as Afghanistan, time and again the United States has jilted its northern neighbor. If the pattern of neglect continues, Ottawa will get less interested in cooperating with Washington. Already, Canada has reacted by turning elsewhere -- namely, toward Asia -- for more reliable economic partners.¶ The United States' mistreatment of Canada extends beyond economic issues.¶ Economically, Canada and the United States are joined at the hip. Each country is the other’s number-one trading partner -- in 2011, the two-way trade in goods and services totaled $681 billion, more than U.S. trade with Mexico or China -- and trade with Canada supports more than eight million U.S. jobs. Yet the Obama administration has recently jeopardized this important relationship. It failed to combat the Buy American provision in Congress’ stimulus bill, which inefficiently excluded Canadian participation in infrastructure spending.

### Ext. Hurts the Economy

#### Buy American provision has the potential to destroy eight million jobs and MAJOR trade between the US and Canada. The Canadian Press, 6-26-12 (“Obama jilting Canada, says influential U.S. policy journal”http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2012/06/26/pol-cp-obama-canada-jilted.html)

Two-way trade between Canada and the U.S. totalled $681 billion last year, and supports eight million U.S. jobs.

"Yet the Obama administration has recently jeopardized this relationship," the essay says, through the Buy American provision in its stimulus bill that prevented Canadian companies from bidding on infrastructure projects in the U.S.

#### Canadian economy key to global economy- multiple warrants

**The Council of the federation 11**(It is a new institution for a new era in collaborative intergovernmental relations. The Council of the Federation was created by Premiers because they believe it is important for provinces and territories to play a leadership role in revitalizing the Canadian federation and building a more constructive and cooperative federal system. “Canada in the global economy” <http://www.councilofthefederation.ca/pdfs/COF_Canada_Global_Economy_Eng_final.pdf> AB)

Premiers are working to build on Canada’s strong relative position coming out of the global recession. Provinces and territories are an integral part of Canada’s presence, activities and public image on the global stage, and Premiers are committed to advancing Canada’s trade and global interests through their international activities. Provinces and territories bring numerous strengths to the table. Premiers, Ministers, officials, businesses, and citizens from all provinces and territories are plugged into extensive global networks of decision-makers, business leaders, and innovators. These connections are crucial to developing partnerships for the future. Provinces and territories work closely with their business communities to help them compete effectively in global markets and build partnerships abroad through trade assistance and development programs, international offices, and international business missions. Provinces and territories also have a strong record of working bilaterally and multilaterally with sub-national governments, national governments, and international organizations around the world. This strategy is the latest example of the active role Premiers are taking through the Council of the Federation to promote Canada on the world stage. The Council of the Federation has consistently advocated free and fair global market access and improved trade opportunities in key markets for Canadian goods and services. Premiers have also worked to develop partnerships with the National Governors’ Association, the Council for the Australian Federation and through trade missions such as the Council of the Federation mission to China in 2008. Ongoing collaboration between provinces, territories, and the federal government on a shared strategic approach to the global economy is critical, and provinces and territories have numerous international strengths that can facilitate development of international trade and investment linkages. Provinces and territories are also taking on a more direct role with the federal government in negotiating international agreements, including a prominent position in the ongoing Canada-European Union negotiations towards a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (Canada-EU CETA) and in helping Canada conclude a Canada-United States Procurement Agreement. These developments are positive and strengthen Canada’s global economic competitiveness. Canada’s Premiers intend to build on this positive development by modernizing the intergovernmental cooperation process and establishing mechanisms that will strengthen the voice of the Canadian federation on the international scene. Premiers have committed to develop a framework agreement with the federal government concerning the role of provinces and territories in the negotiation of international trade agreements that concern matters under their jurisdiction. This framework would describe the opportunities for full provincial and territorial participation and include provisions concerning their involvement in the negotiation, implementation and governance of international trade agreements, as well as the conditions related to provincial and territorial commitment to support those agreements prior to their signing. Provinces and territories are willing to continue to do their part to create an environment that facilitates further development of trade and investment linkages around the world. With a large proportion of Canada’s gross domestic product linked to trade, international trade and investment are critical to the continued growth and success of the Canadian economy. Canada is fortunate to have strong connections and relationships throughout the world on which to build: • The United States and Canada share one of the most extensive bilateral relationships in the world and have successfully negotiated and implemented comprehensive trade and intergovernmental agreements to facilitate the movement of goods, services, investment, and people. Canada and the US have a number of highly integrated sectors and move over $1.3 billion worth of goods across the border daily. Canada’s exports to the US are equivalent to approximately one-quarter of Canadian GDP and the US receives roughly 75% of our exports and supplies more than 50% of our imports. It is estimated that one in seven Canadian jobs is related to trade with the US1. Direct investment flows between Canada and the US are also extensive. However, trade and direct investment figures do not fully capture the integrated nature of supply chains between Canada and the United States as it is estimated that over one half of manufactured products imported from Canada by the US are intermediate inputs used by US companies to produce other goods and provide services. Canada also has long-established and growing relationship with Mexico and with emerging economies throughout the Americas • Canadians have deep historical connections with Europe, and the ongoing federal, provincial and territorial work to develop a Canada-EU CETA paves the way to an expanded relationship in the future. A successful agreement would be the first of its kind, as it encompasses more sectors than a traditional free trade accord, and could greatly enhance the relationship. The EU is currently the largest single market in the world, with just over 500 million consumers. It is also the second largest source of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Canada, with the stock of FDI from the EU amounting to $164 billion at the end of 2009. In 2009, the stock of Canada’s direct investment in the EU totalled $149 billion. The EU is the destination of 25% of Canadian direct investment abroad. A joint Canada-EU study estimates that by 2014 there will be a $12 billion positive economic impact for Canada and $18 billion for the EU. • Canada and Asia also have strong and growing connections to build upon. These include expanding economic connections reflected by trade and investment flows and vibrant and diversified gateway infrastructure building out from world-class airports, ports and transportation networks with the capacity to move people and goods to and from Asian markets. Canada has strong “people connections” through Canada’s extensive student, skilled-worker and immigration flows from Asia and through its diverse, globallyconnected population, including up to a half million Canadians living, studying and working in Asia. For a trade- and investment-dependent country like Canada, Asia represents an enormous opportunity to enhance its future prosperity. There is a significant shift in the global economic “centre of gravity.” China has now surpassed Japan as the second-largest economy in the world. The International Monetary Fund has projected that within five years China may overtake the US in real purchasing power. Underlying this economic shift are changing trends in population growth. Europe and North America had 17% of the world’s population in 2000, but are projected to have only 13% in 20502 due to slower population growth

## Privatization CP Solvency

#### Private companies can build Keystone best

**Oberg 12** (Ted, Eyewitness News Reporter, “Liberty Co. resident battles over proposed Keystone Pipeline land grab”, <http://abclocal.go.com/ktrk/story?section=news/in_focus&id=8557072> feb 24 2012 AB)

The proposed Keystone Pipeline XL would carry oil from Canada to refineries here in Houston and Port Arthur. And while its future right now is uncertain, oil companies aren't waiting for politicians to battle it out ¶ All this may seem a little premature since the president said Keystone can't build this pipeline. But over the last several years, the Canadian company behind it has been buying land all over the state and what they can't buy, they're taking -- and it's all legal. ¶ This is the spot where controversy meets the country just off State Highway 326 in Liberty County. ¶ From Canada, it's a speck on a map underneath a line drawn to plot a pipeline. But to Raymond Hill, it's far more. ¶ Hill owns 135 acres of this east Texas land; his family's had it more than 100 years. ¶ "You can't see the boundaries and you can't feel the presence of neighbors," Hill said. ¶ And while he'll get to keep most of it, the Canadian company behind the controversial Keystone pipeline wants three acres of it. They came to Hill two years ago and still can't make a deal. ¶ When we asked Hill why he's standing in their way, he replied, "I don't think I am. I've been willing to make a deal with a reasonable person, they just haven't shown me that person yet." ¶ So the pipeline company took it and the county set a price -- all before Hill said yes, just as Texas law allows. ¶ Once pipeline companies pick their route through Texas they have to buy rights to use the land. But if they can't reach a deal, Texas law allows pipeline companies to seize it using eminent domain. It isn't the government doing it -- they don't even need government permission -- it's a private company seizing someone else's private land to make private profits. ¶

#### Private companies can do keystone best now, create over 10,000 jobs, not spend a single dollar of the governments money, and strengthen the economy

**House of Energy and Commerce 11,** **“**Waiting for the Keystone XL Pipeline” December 23 2011 AB)

The privately-financed Keystone XL pipeline project is projected to create tens of thousands of U.S. jobs in construction and manufacturing, and without one single dollar of government assistance. There is also an economic multiplier effect associated with this project, as the economic impact spreads to other industries where demand and expenditures for goods and services within and around the vicinity of the pipeline's construction are expected to increase significantly. …¶ In total, the Keystone XL pipeline project has been subjected to tremendous amounts of scrutiny through the National Environmental Policy Act, which includes review by ten federal agencies, as well as numerous state and local agency reviews. The State Department [Supplemental Draft Environmental Impact Statement] has concluded that the proposed Keystone XL pipeline would have "limited adverse environmental impact during construction and operation" and that it would significantly strengthen U.S. economic security.¶ But most importantly, it is America's workers who are clamoring for the expedited approval of this important project.¶ As President Obama has rightfully declared when it comes to the creation of jobs, "WE CAN'T WAIT."¶ The urgent calls for action are nothing new. An [October 2010 letter](http://www.teamster.org/content/labor-keystone-xl-jobs-and-economic-game-changer) to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton from the General Presidents of four international unions made the case for approval of the project more than a year before the Obama administration announced its plans to delay a final decision until after the next election:¶ Each week that goes by in the State Department’s permitting process of the Keystone XL, a process that has gone on for more than two years, is lost ground for thousands of workers who are sitting on the sidelines of our ailing national economy.¶ All four of our International Unions - the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters, the International Union of Operating Engineers, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Laborers’ International Union of North America - have executed a project labor agreement to build the Keystone XL Pipeline. We are committed to making Keystone XL a reality for our nation and we are prepared to begin work as soon as the Presidential Permit for the $7 billion privately funded Keystone XL pipeline is approved.

## Politics

#### Politically controversial

Sarah O. Ladislaw; senior fellow with the Energy and National Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; January 19th, 2012 “Keystone XL Pipeline blown way out of proportion” NCHO

In November 2011, coming into the final phases of the Presidential Permit process and ostensibly on the cusp of making a decision, the Obama administration extended its timeline for considering the permit application until 2013, when questions arose about the environmental integrity of the pipeline through the environmentally sensitive region of the Nebraska Sand Hills, causing the Nebraska state legislature and governor to insist on an alternative pipeline route.¶ The Obama administration announcement to delay its decision was construed at least partially as politically motivated given the intense opposition to the pipeline from environmental groups. In response, congressional Republicans sought and passed legislative measures (then signed into law in December as part of the payroll tax cut extension) to force the administration to make a decision in 60 days’ time, in an effort to move the pipeline project forward or risk the political backlash from pro-pipeline labor unions of denying the project.¶ True to its word, yesterday the administration denied the permit based on the assertion that the 60-day deadline did not provide enough time to adequately review the project. In response to the decision, congressional Republicans accused the administration of killing tens if not thousands of U.S. jobs and sending secure Canadian oil to China (a presumed alternate market destination for oil sands). TransCanada pledged to resubmit an application for the pipeline and keep the production schedule on track, citing the hope for an expedited permit process on the next application. Environmental groups applauded the administration’s decision, while sounding a cautionary note of opposition to any future efforts to resurrect the pipeline project.

#### Keystone popular- surveys prove

**Duclos 12** (Susan, wake up America writer, “[Surveys Show Americans Support Keystone Pipeline Rejected by Obama by 40+ Point Margins](http://wwwwakeupamericans-spree.blogspot.com/2012/02/surveys-show-americans-support-keystone.html)” AB)

Two new surveys out this week show that – with gas prices rising [higher and faster](http://www.usatoday.com/money/industries/energy/story/2012-02-18/US-Gas-Prices/53141866/1) than ever – Americans continue to overwhelmingly support the Keystone XL pipeline President Obama rejected last month. The Keystone pipeline would not only create 20,000 new American jobs, but would bring an additional [830,000](http://energycommerce.house.gov/news/PRArticle.aspx?NewsID=9258) barrels of oil per day to U.S. refineries. With gas prices [threatening](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/?postid=281329) the already-struggling economic recovery and making it [harder to create jobs](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/?postid=280738), Americans’ support for the Keystone pipeline is as strong as ever: ¶ According to a [Pew Research Center](http://www.people-press.org/2012/02/23/auto-bailout-now-backed-stimulus-divisive/) survey released today, 66% of Americans “say the government should approve the pipeline, while just 23% say it should not.” ¶ A [Quinnipiac](http://www.quinnipiac.edu/institutes-and-centers/polling-institute/national/release-detail?ReleaseID=1709) survey released earlier this week found that voters support the Keystone pipeline by a margin of 64-23 percent. ¶ In an effort to “[deflect blame](http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/21/usa-whitehouse-gasoline-idUSL2E8DLAE420120221)” for surging gas prices, President Obama is [falsely claiming credit](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/?postid=281672) for an increase in American energy production that has occurred despite his harmful policies, not because of them. In fact, gas prices have doubled on President Obama’s watch because he has chosen – time and again – to [thwart more American energy](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/?postid=281631) while steering taxpayer dollars to failed enterprises, like Solyndra, that he deemed worthwhile. Now Americans are paying for the president’s disastrous policies every time they fill up. ¶ President Obama is out of excuses when it comes to blocking the Keystone pipeline and the thousands of jobs that come with it. The pipeline is supported by an overwhelming [majority of Americans](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/default.aspx?postid=279874), as well as [labor unions](http://www.speaker.gov/Blog/?postid=275377), [governors](http://www.speaker.gov/Blog/?postid=275434), and even [members](http://www.speaker.gov/Blog/?postid=275447) of the president’s own party. The House [has passed](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/?postid=281182) bipartisan legislation requiring the project to move forward - just one of several steps House Republicans have taken under the [*American Energy Initiative*](http://www.facebook.com/americanenergy) to help address rising gas prices. It is time for President Obama to stop putting politics ahead of struggling [families](http://www.speaker.gov/blog/?postid=281182) and [small businesses](http://smallbusiness.foxbusiness.com/finance-accounting/2012/02/21/rising-gas-prices-put-small-businesses-in-tough-spot-increase-costs-or-eat/) and approve the Keystone XL pipeline.

## AFF – Warming

#### Warming from keystone would take too long

Michael A. Levi; David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change, Washington Post; January 18, 2012 “Five Myths About the Keystone XL Pipeline” <http://www.cfr.org/energyenvironment/five-myths-keystone-xl-pipeline/p27099> NCHO

1. The pipeline would have been catastrophic for global climate change.¶ For opponents of the Keystone XL pipeline, the issue was one of simple math: The project would have facilitated increased production of Canadian oil sands, and a gallon of gasoline derived from oil sands produces 5 to 15 percent greater greenhouse gas emissions than a gallon of gasoline made from a typical barrel of conventional oil. Also, they noted, Canada's oil sands are the second-largest petroleum deposit in the world, and if burned completely, it would have been "game over" for the planet's fight against climate change, in the words of NASA scientist James Hansen, a leading climate specialist.¶ That is all technically true — but it misses the point. The additional emissions generated by replacing conventional oil with the crude that the pipeline could have carried would have been no more than a small fraction of 1 percent of total annual U.S. greenhouse gas pollution. Meanwhile, it would take more than 1,000 years to burn all the oil sands, even if extraction were ramped up threefold from its current pace. The fate of the climate will be determined long before that.

### Clean Energy

#### Keystone doesn’t trade off with clean energy

Michael A. Levi; David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change, Washington Post; January 18, 2012 “Five Myths About the Keystone XL Pipeline” <http://www.cfr.org/energyenvironment/five-myths-keystone-xl-pipeline/p27099> NCHO

4. The pipeline would have set back the green economy.¶ The Natural Resources Defense Council, a key group opposing the Keystone XL project, claimed that the pipeline "is at odds with millions of clean energy jobs." Others have advanced more subtle variations: Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.), writing to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton late last year, pitted pipeline construction against clean energy, asserting that "proponents of this pipeline would be wiser to invest instead in job-creating clean energy projects, like renewable power, energy efficiency or advanced vehicles and fuels."¶ Clean energy is important, but these claims are unjustified. Entrepreneurs weren't waiting on the sidelines to see what happened with Keystone XL before pouring money into new technologies for biofuels or solar power. Nor were motorists putting off the choice between a Prius and a Hummer until the State Department weighed in. The future of the green economy will depend on whether the U.S. government can consistently penalize dirty energy across the economy — rather than in isolated spots such as this pipeline — as well as promote greater energy efficiency through regulation and offer direct support to sustainable-energy innovation.

# Waterways Negative

(some cards are compiled from the other file--- 2NC extensions and case blocks)

## \*\*Politics Links\*\*

### Plan Unpopular

#### Congress and the public hate the plan—taxpayers and environmental advocators.

Charles V. Stern, “Inland Waterways: Recent Proposals and Issues for Congress.” April 12, 2012. Charles V. Stern- Analyst in Natural Resources Policy. Congressional Research Service. Federation of American Scientists. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41430.pdf¶

The aforementioned proposals differ in important ways and bring up a number of issues for Congress. These proposals claim to resolve ongoing issues associated with the IWTF by proposing new investment levels and revenue sources that would fundamentally depart from the current financing system. In addition to new financing sources, some of these proposals would also alter the balance of cost-sharing between commercial users of the IWUB and general taxpayers.¶ An overarching question for Congress is what level of new and ongoing investment is warranted (or desired) for the inland waterway system. Once such an investment level is defined, Congress may also need to decide whether changes to the current user fee (either changing the level of the fuel tax or incorporating a new fee) and cost-share arrangement are warranted to achieve this investment level. New legislation would be required to address these and other related issues.¶ Congressional Research Service 17¶ Inland Waterways: Recent Proposals and Issues For Congress¶ Competing Views on Inland Waterway Navigation Investments¶ A central issue for Congress is the level and urgency of infrastructure investments on federal waterways. Commercial users, including shippers and some agricultural interests, have argued that additional investment is justified because of aging infrastructure, the need for expanded capacity, and positive environmental externalities associated with inland waterway shipping compared to other forms of shipping. These users argue that the benefits of inland waterways are widespread. Their claims are countered by a number of other groups, including taxpayer and environmental advocacy groups, who argue against increased federal funding for inland waterways. These groups contend that the shipping industry often misrepresents or overstates the benefits of these investments and that major funding increases for inland waterway projects are not warranted.48¶ Despite these disagreements, most entities agree that the current system of financing inland waterways is inadequate to address future needs (regardless of the precise level of those needs). As a result of the recent funding drawdown, the Corps is expected to have appropriations for just one ongoing lock replacement project (Olmstead Lock on the Ohio River) through FY2016 under its current baseline for IWTF revenues.49 Barring a new source of revenue or supplemental federal appropriations by Congress, new or ongoing IWTF construction projects may be put on hold by the Corps, regardless of their urgency.

**Plan sparks political backlash—funding and the barge industry**

**Glass 11**P. Glass, The Maritime Domain Awareness Information Exchange, MDA.com, “Inland infrastructure funding remains elusive”, December 20, 2011 http://www.mda.gov/2011/12/20/top-ten-news-stories-of-2011/

Inland infrastructure funding remains elusive A long-term funding solution for the nation’s aging inland infrastructure remains elusive, as Congress, skittish about increasing taxes and federal spending, considers two funding proposals that would do just that. The difficulty is that neither of the plans — one offered by the Obama administration, the other by a joint industry-federal advisory board — makes lawmakers feel politically comfortable in an environment dominated by partisan politics and intense pressure to cut spending and the federal deficit. The first, floated more than a year ago by the Inland Waterways Users Board (IWUB), envisions more federal spending on lock-and-dam construction while proposing an increase in the diesel fuel tax now paid by the barge industry into the Inland Waterways Trust Fund. The Capital Development Plan (CDP) also calls for significant reforms in how water projects are evaluated and prioritized for funding. The industry plan “is a place to start the discussion,” Rep. Bob Gibbs, R-Ohio, chairman of the House Water Resources and Environment subcommittee, said after a September hearing. “I don’t think it will go forward with a tax increase.” Added Rep. Timothy Bishop, D-N.Y., the panel’s ranking minority member: “I don’t see how this plan can fly unless there is an increase in the Corps budget, and I don’t see that happening.” The second plan, proposed recently by the Obama administration, would collect more funds for inland waterways infrastructure by imposing new fees on commercial vessels that use the nation’s rivers. The plan is expected to raise $1 billion over the next 10 years by using a two-tier fee system — one for all inland waterways operators and a second for those transiting locks — and would supplement the current 20-cent-per-gallon fuel tax. The plan would also expand the definition of inland waterways from 27 to 67 segments that would be subject to the new fees. These differing proposals have set up a perfect storm for a stalemate. The barge industry opposes the Obama plan, saying it is unworkable and unfairly doubles the taxes and fees on commercial shippers**.** The Obama administration opposes the industry plan, preferring instead its solution that would make commercial users pay more for using inland rivers. Meanwhile, Congress hasn’t shown much enthusiasm for either. No lawmaker has yet come forward to offer legislation on the industry’s plan, only one hearing on Capitol Hill has been held, and several lawmakers have said that any plan that shifts more costs to U.S. taxpayers or increases taxes will not pass Congress. User fees are equally unpopular, with previous proposals being ignored by Congress. But industry representatives, acknowledging tight budgets and challenges of educating lawmakers about the importance of waterways, remain optimistic that a solution can be found. The Waterways Council Inc., an industry-funded group, has taken a different track on convincing Congress that the industry plan merits approval. Newly appointed WCI president and CEO Michael J. Toohey pointed to some positive signs of late, including the willingness of Rep. Ed Whitfield, R-Ky., to offer the CDP legislation, and the inclusion of waterways infrastructure improvements in the president’s jobs plan. “We have a moment in time where the stars are aligned, and we must take advantage of it,” he said. “We will continue to have an opportunity if the economy remains stagnant, and we have high unemployment before the elections.”

#### The plan costs capital- funding concerns.

Cochran, 2009 Bipartisan Senate Group Outlines Case Against Plan to Fund Inland Waterways Trust Fund

Chris Gallegos, September 22, 2009, http://www.cochran.senate.gov/press/pr092209a.html

U.S. Senators Thad Cochran and Roger Wicker, both R-Miss., today reiterated their opposition to a proposed lock usage fee sought by the Obama Administration to raise revenue for the Inland Waterways Trust Fund. The Mississippi Senators are among a bipartisan group of 20 Senators who object to the proposed fee and who issued letters to the leadership of the Senate Finance Committee, as well as the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, asking them not to move forward with legislation to implement the lock usage fee. “There is a clear recognition that the Inland Waterways Trust Fund cannot keep up with the demands placed on it. The lock usage fee, which Congress has rejected in the past, is not a fair or efficient tool for fixing the financial problems facing the Trust Fund,” Cochran said. “I think the Congress should work to find a more suitable solution that will keep the Trust Fund solvent and enable the Army Corps of Engineers to address the backlog of improvement projects on our waterways, ”Cochran continued. “The Inland Waterways Trust Fund’s solvency must be addressed, but proposing a solution that has been rejected by Congress in the past is not the way to go,” Wicker said. “Lockage fees represent a highly inequitable fix to this problem. The lockage fee idea should be abandoned and Congress should be allowed to continue working toward a better solution.”

## \*\*Disad Links\*\*

### Spending Links

#### The plan is immensely costly - each lock alone cost $50 million dollars.

ASCE 06’ [American Society of Civil Engineers, 140,000 members of the civil engineering profession worldwide and America's oldest national engineering society, “Inland Waterways”, Report Card for America’s Infrastructure, April 10th <http://www.infrastructurereportcard.org/fact-sheet/inland-waterways>]

Currently, the Corps has $180 million per year available for lock repairs—half comes from the IWTF revenues and half comes from congressional appropriations. With an average rehabilitation cost of $50 million per lock, the current level allows the Corps to fully fund only two or three lock projects each year

#### Inland waterways is the most expensive form of transportation

Nicollet Island Coalition 10

Brad Walker, UMR Coordinator at Izaak Walton League Wetlands & Floodplain Director at Missouri Coalition for the Environment, “Big Price – Little Benefit,” February 2010, http://www.iwla.org/index.php?ht=a/GetDocumentAction/i/2079

Barge Industry contributions are inadequate to properly fund the Inland Waterways Trust Fund’s projects backlog, yet the industry wants to restore IWTF solvency and increase inland waterways navigation investment primarily by increasing the burden on all other taxpayers. • The barge industry touts itself as the cheapest form of commodity transportation. Unfortunately, the equation used to derive that designation excludes over 90 percent of the costs to support the inland waterways system. According to the National Academy of Sciences,1 U.S. taxpayers pay 92 percent of the inland waterway system (IWS) costs of constructing, operating and maintaining barge navigation infrastructure. This is compared to virtually no taxpayer support for rail system users and only 20 percent for highway system users. The general public does receive some benefits from the current dams on the rivers, though it can be argued that the costs, both financial and to the environment, have far exceeded these benefits. The barge industry paid nothing for the original lock and dam system and do not contribute to repairing and restoring degraded riverine ecosystems, which the inland waterways navigation system is largely responsible for causing. The taxpayers have been totally responsible for these costs, and as mentioned above all of the O&M costs and 50 percent of the construction and rehabilitation costs. • When all costs are accounted for, the inland waterways system is by far the most expensive shipping system in the country. What the 1986 Inland Waterways Trust Fund Legislation Requires: • Funding of the IWTF comes from a diesel fuel tax per gallon paid by commercial transportation on inland waterways. The tax increased incrementally from 1986 at $0.10 to 1995 at $0.20. The tax from this legislation has not increased since 1995.2 • The legislation requires 50 percent of the cost of construction3 of new inland waterways navigation facilities to be funded from the IWTF.

#### **Waterway investment is expensive- and could further exasperate fiscal issues.** Leach, Editor of the Journal of Commerce, 6-22-12 (Peter, “Congress Hears Calls for New Approach on Port Funding” http://www.joc.com/infrastructure/congress-hears-calls-new-approach-port-funding)

Ports in the U.S. Southeast and the Gulf, the regions that will be most heavily impacted by the expansion of the Panama Canal, lack the capacity to handle post-Panamax ships, the Army Corps of Engineers said Thursday in a report to Congress.

The report, “U.S. Port and Inland Waterways Modernization: Preparing for Post-Panamax Vessels,” said the U.S. will have to find a way to fund the deepening of harbors at some Southeast and Gulf ports to remain competitive in global trade.

But it raised concerns about finding the funds necessary for the dredging projects “due to overall economic and fiscal conditions and concerns about the deficit.” It called for a new approach to the public and private financing of such strategically critical maritime infrastructure projects.

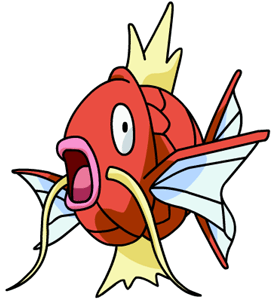
### Air Pollution Turn

#### Increase in waterway infrastructure could lead to more air pollution. Environmental Defense Fund, 7-3-12 (“USACE Releases Report On U.S. Port And Inland Waterways Modernization To Prepare For Panama Canal Expansion” http://blogs.edf.org/texascleanairmatters/2012/07/03/usace-releases-report-on-u-s-port-and-inland-waterways-modernization-to-prepare-for-panama-canal-expansion/)

On June 20, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) submitted a vision and strategy document to Congress for the development of port and inland waterway infrastructure related to Panama Canal expansion. Expected to be completed in late 2014 or early 2015, the expansion will double the capacity of the Canal by allowing larger container ships to travel through the channel. U.S. ports seek to capture much of that traffic and are engaged in numerous projects to increase their capacity, primarily by dredging (the removal of sediment from a waterway) the areas leading to their terminals.

The Panama Canal expansion, U.S. port modernization and subsequent expected rise in container volumes at U.S. ports may have adverse environmental effects if proactive mitigation steps are not undertaken. With respect to air pollution, many ports are located in areas already burdened by unhealthy air and the potential rise in emissions from increased traffic would further deteriorate local air quality. EDF has worked with a number of ports on air quality mitigation programs and the USACE report indicates that further measures may be needed to ensure the well-being of the local population and environment.

## Asian Carp DA



### 1NC

#### 1. Asian Carp are threatening the Great Lakes—that kills surrounding ecosystems.

Trevor Quirk, February 27, 2012. “Why Asian carp are such a threat.” The Christian Science Monitor. Trevor Quirk is a CSM Contributor. http://www.csmonitor.com/Science/2012/0227/Why-Asian-carp-are-such-a-threat

The EPA currently classifies the Asian Carp as an invasive species. The Corps and the concerned states agree that the carp are a serious threat to the ecology of the Great Lakes area, as well as its $7-billion sport-fishing market. The disagreement pivots around whether the current schemes in place are enough.¶ In 2002, The Army Corps of Engineers installed an electric-current barrier in the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, the only navigable link between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River drainage basins. The Great Lake states, evidently unsatisfied, have proposed that this link be permanently destroyed. ¶ More recently, in early 2009, when the electric barriers were deactivated for maintenance, the Illinois Department of Natural Resources dumped 2,200 gallons of rotenone – a toxin to fish that is said to be harmless to humans – into the canal. The $3 million action produced 90 tons of dead fish, among which only one Asian carp was found.¶ Given the extreme measures being taken, you might wonder what it is about these carp that makes them so terrifying?¶ First, let's define the fish in question. 'Asian carp' is a catchall for four distinct species: the Bighead, Silver, Grass, and Black carp. Though their names might signify otherwise, these species do closely resemble each other, tending to have the same lurid tarnished-silver scales. The four species vary in size, but are large compared to native American freshwater fish. They can weigh anywhere from 60 to 110 pounds, and range from 40 to 60 inches in length. All four are known to inhabit the Mississippi River Basin, which eventually connects to the Great Lakes.¶ In the Mississippi and other American waterways, Asian carp "have left a trail of tremendous destruction," says Charlie Wooley, deputy regional director for the Fish and Wildlife Service, Minneapolis. Wooley says the carp's previous activity in other environments demonstrates its ability to "literally take over an ecosystem." ¶ Wooley told the Monitor of the carp's two major threats. The first is a food problem. Asian carp don't eat other fish, but because of their voracious appetites (consuming up to a third of their body weight per day) they could easily out-compete native fish that rely on specific sources of food. Each type of carp prefers a different food – varying from grass to plankton to snails and mussels –making their attack on the ecosystem somewhat multi-pronged. Moreover, these sources lie at the bottom of Great Lakes' food chain. Changes at the foundation tend to reverberate through the entire ecosystem.¶ Then there's the Asian carp's fecundity. Female Bighead carp, for example, can carry up to 1 million eggs in a lifetime, much more than most native fish. They also reproduce rapidly, says Wooley. Once introduced, the Asian carp is difficult to stop.

#### 2. More waterways only increase the risk of carp invasion.

Trevor Quirk, February 27, 2012. “Why Asian carp are such a threat.” The Christian Science Monitor. Trevor Quirk is a CSM Contributor. http://www.csmonitor.com/Science/2012/0227/Why-Asian-carp-are-such-a-threat

The US Supreme Court has refused to hear the Great Lakes states' appeal to close shipping locks to stymie the on-going incursion of Asian carp.¶ Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin are suing the Army Corps of Engineers to provide greater protection to prevent the fish from entering the Great Lakes. While this suit continued, the five states sought an injunction to have the Corps close locks on waterways that connect the Mississippi River with Lake Michigan.¶ The federal government said that the efforts proposed by these states would detract from the long-term strategy of the Corps.

#### 3. Invasive species cause massive loss of biodiversity and can adapt easily—this wipes out existing species.

Stephen Leahy, May 21, 2009. “Biodiversity: Alien Species Eroding Ecosystems and Livelihoods.” Inter Press City News, Stephen Leahy is a correspondent. http://www.ipsnews.net/2009/05/biodiversity-alien-species-eroding-ecosystems-and-livelihoods/]  
However. this mass movement of species is reducing overall biodiversity. When the Nile Perch was introduced into Africa’s Lake Victoria, 100 to 150 endemic fish species were wiped out. There are many similar instances but most often the invaders do not directly cause extinctions. Instead they compete for food, habitat and other resources, reducing local species numbers to low levels. And then a bad weather event, disease or some other stress comes along and suddenly the native species is gone, Ricciardi said. “Every invasive species has an impact but most go undocumented. They are insidious and often subtle in terms of impacts,” he said. Unnoticed, some invaders spread far and wide, adapt to local conditions and then years afterwards become a major problem by degrading or dramatically altering the ecosystems they are in. “Invasives are a form of biological pollution, but one that can change and adapt,” Ricciardi said. Local species are vulnerable to these invaders because they do not have any evolutionary experience to cope with them. There many examples of large numbers of species on isolated islands decimated by goats, cats and rats simply because those species never lived there until someone introduced them. And that is the key – invasions are tightly connected to human behaviour.

#### 4. Species and biodiversity loss causes collapse and human extinction

**Major** David **Diner**, JAG Corps, United States Army, Winter 19**94**, Military Law Review, 143 Mil. L. Rev. 161, p. 170-173

1. Why Do We Care? -- No species has ever dominated its fellow species as man has. In most cases, people have assumed the God-like power of life and death -- extinction or survival -- over the plants and animals of the world. For most of history, mankind pursued this domination with a single-minded determination to master the world, tame the wilderness, and exploit nature for the maximum benefit of the human race. In past mass extinction episodes, as many as ninety percent of the existing species perished, and yet the world moved forward, and new species replaced the old. So why should the world be concerned now? The prime reason is the world’s survival. Like all animal life, humans live off of other species. At some point, the number of species could decline to the point at which the ecosystem fails, and then humans also would become extinct. No one knows how many species the world needs to support human life, and to find out -- by allowing certain species to become extinct -- would not be sound policy. In addition to food, species offer many direct and indirect benefits to mankind. 2. Ecological Value. -- Ecological value is the value that species have in maintaining the environment. Pest, erosion, and flood control are prime benefits certain species provide to man. Plants and animals also provide additional ecological services -- pollution control, oxygen production, sewage treatment, and biodegradation. 3. Scientific and Utilitarian Value. -- Scientific value is the use of species for research into the physical processes of the world. Without plants and animals, a large portion of basic scientific research would be impossible. Utilitarian value is the direct utility humans draw from plants and animals. Only a fraction of the earth’s species have been examined, and mankind may someday desperately need the species that it is exterminating today. To accept that the snail darter, harelip sucker, or Dismal Swamp southeastern shrew could save mankind may be difficult for some. Many, if not most, species are useless to man in a direct utilitarian sense. Nonetheless, they may be critical in an indirect role, because their extirpations could affect a directly useful species negatively. In a closely interconnected ecosystem, the loss of a species affects other species dependent on it. Moreover, as the number of species decline, the effect of each new extinction on the remaining species increases dramatically. 4. Biological Diversity. -- The main premise of species preservation is that diversity is better than simplicity. As the current mass extinction has progressed, the world’s biological diversity generally has decreased. This trend occurs within ecosystems by reducing the number of species, and within species by reducing the number of individuals. Both trends carry serious future implications. Biologically diverse ecosystems are characterized by a large number of specialist species, filling narrow ecological niches. These ecosystems inherently are more stable than less diverse systems. “The more complex the ecosystem, the more successfully it can resist a stress. . . . [l]ike a net, in which each knot is connected to others by several strands, such a fabric can resist collapse better than a simple, unbranched circle of threads -- which if cut anywhere breaks down as a whole.” By causing widespread extinctions, humans have artificially simplified many ecosystems. As biologic simplicity increases, so does the risk of ecosystem failure. The spreading Sahara Desert in Africa, and the dustbowl conditions of the 1930s in the United States are relatively mild examples of what might be expected if this trend continues. Theoretically, each new animal or plant extinction, with all its dimly perceived and intertwined affects, could cause total ecosystem collapse and human extinction. Each new extinction increases the risk of disaster. Like a mechanic removing, one by one, the rivets from an aircraft’s wings, mankind [humankind] may be edging closer to the abyss.

## UAVs CP

#### Text: The United States Federal Government and the United States Air Force should reinstitute funding and procurement for the Global Hawk RQ-4 Unmanned Aerial Vehicle.

#### First, the UAV works

Northrop Grumman 12 (Publication: Northrop Grumman Website. “High-Altitute, Long-Endurance Unmanned Air-Craft Systems..” Northrop Grumman is a premier developer, integrator, producer and supporter of manned and unmanned aircraft, spacecraft, high-energy laser systems, microelectronics, and other systems and subsystems critical to maintaining the nation’s security and leadership in science and technology. http://www.as.northropgrumman.com/products/globalhawk/index.html)

The family of high-flying HALE Unmanned Systems builds on the common RQ-4 Global Hawk airframe. When equipped with a variety of available mission-specific sensors, they provide intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) information over a vast geographic area without putting anyone in harm's way. Global Hawk missions are to provide a broad spectrum of ISR collection capability to support joint combatant forces in worldwide peacetime, contingency and wartime operations. The systems can also be used for various civil and commercial missions such as border patrol, port surveillance, hurricane monitoring, disaster relief support, and high-altitude scientific research. The systems complement manned and space reconnaissance systems by providing near-real-time coverage using radar, imagery intelligence (IMINT) sensors, signals intelligence (SIGINT), and communications relay capability.

#### (insert advantage-specific solvency evidence)

### CP Solvency—Heg

#### **The UAV solves Heg—provides ISR to the military.**

Northrop Grumman 2012 “Support: Global Hawk.” Northrop Grumman is a premier developer, integrator, producer and supporter of manned and unmanned aircraft, spacecraft, high-energy laser systems, microelectronics, and other systems and subsystems critical to maintaining the nation’s security and leadership in science and technology. <http://www.northropgrumman.com/supportglobalhawk/>

Protect Our Troops by Protecting the Block 30 Global Hawk Program.  Your recent response to Northrop Grumman's call to action has been overwhelming with nearly 3,000 letters sent to the White House and 186 offices in Congress in the first three days! Thank you for your support to date to help our troops continue to receive this much needed capability, unmatched by any other airborne platform providing intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance to our warfighters and allies today. For the time being, we are suspending our call to action while we work with the Pentagon to assess alternatives to Block 30 termination.   The combat-proven Global Hawk unmanned aircraft is the most affordable and capable ISR system available to our warfighters on the ground, in the air and at sea. Global Hawk has the most modern ISR capability in the air today. From providing critical real-time data in Iraq, Afghanistan and to NATO in Libya, to using advanced sensors to monitor damage after Japan's earthquake and tsunami, Global Hawk enables our military and our allies around the world to act decisively in times of conflict and crisis.    Built by Northrop Grumman and its 248 suppliers across America from 42 states, the high-flying aircraft are in high demand by forces that deploy them. Explore this site to learn more about the facts and myths regarding the Global Hawk program. Share news updates with your friends, family, and community.

### CP Solvency—Heg Navy Specific

#### The Global Hawk UAV is designed to sustain the navy.

Northrop Grumman 2012 (Publication: Northrop Grumman Website. “Global Hawk and Persistent Awareness: Sizing the Global Hawk Fleet” Northrop Grumman is a premier developer, integrator, producer and supporter of manned and unmanned aircraft, spacecraft, high-energy laser systems, microelectronics, and other systems and subsystems critical to maintaining the nation’s security and leadership in science and technology, http://www.northropgrumman.com/analysis-center/paper/assets/Global\_Hawk\_Sizing\_the\_fleet.pdf)

Just as land forces require layered ISR to gain awareness of the battlespace, maritime forces have a similar requirement for the Open Ocean and littoral areas. The evolving security challenges of the 21st century have prompted the U.S. Navy to improve its maritime persistent awareness for multiple reasons. First, it needs persistent awareness for its common operating picture to support fleet operations. Second, such awareness is critical for the fleet to function as a “trip wire” force for the theater across the maritime commons. Third, it can support freedom of the seas activities while helping deter piracy. Finally, persistent awareness is critical to interdicting trans-national terrorists, including any attempt at transporting of WMD. Denying terrorists access to maritime transporta- tion and preventing the movement of WMD has been a U.S. priority for the past several years. In May 2003, the U.S. launched the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) with a host of global part- ners to deter and intercept WMD components moving along maritime routes. PSI’s centerpiece was improved situational awareness and intelligence of the maritime commons.21 In October 2005, the U.S. published its “National Plan to Achieve Maritime Domain Awareness” (MDA) to reinforce the PSI effort. This MDA plan articulated an ambitious goal to increase the ability to collect, fuse, analyze, disseminate and archive information on oceangoing ships, cargoes, crews and passengers. The core of the program will be a near real-time maritime common operating picture linking multi- ple sensors and databases to military command centers plus federal, state and local agencies.22 Given the nature of the maritime environment, a single maritime ISR sortie can contribute data to all of these tasks—fleet protection, trip-wire, anti- piracy, GWOT and preventing WMD prolifera- tion. The U.S. Navy relies on its maritime patrol aircraft as critical to its ability to conduct such overlapping tasks. Since its P-3 and EP-3 aircraft have decades of service, the Navy has launched a Maritime Patrol Reconnaissance Force Recapitalization plan. The Navy anticipates that its recapitalization plan will allow for open-ocean and littoral support 365 days a year.23…. A modified Global Hawk offers a solution for this requirement. The Block 30 Global Hawk will be based on experience gained from the existing Global Hawk program and platform, but can be engineered for the maritime environment and mission. As such, Global Hawk is a low risk solution. It will allow for operations at all flight altitudes with improved corrosion, fatigue and anti-icing capability. The aircraft will provide the key sensors naval forces need to meet the national MDA objec- tive, including the onboard Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR). With an operating radius of 3,000 miles, it will provide wide area surveillance and specific, detailed data simultaneously. For surveillance, the LR-100 Electronic Support Measure (ESM) system will alert U.S. forces to key communications and other signals in a 360 degree circle out to 300 miles—covering nearly 7 million square miles during a 24 hour mission. The radar can search, detect, track and even classify vessels in all weather conditions. While its EO/IR sensors can cover 40,000 square miles each mission with 1 meter res- olution, they can also discriminate targets out to at least 90 miles from the aircraft as shown in Figure 4-1. Thus, like its Joint Force Air Component Commander ( JFACC) counter-part, the Global Hawk will give the Joint Force Maritime Component Commander ( JFMCC) the dual ability to monitor a wide area while providing discrete data on specific locations or forces, as well as mapping vessels around the globe.

### CP Solvency—Terrorism

#### Global Hawk surveillance is key to detect terrorism.

Dillman ’11 (Publication: Veterans News Now- Independent Media for US Military Veterans. “Terrorism and Today’s Global Hawk.” By Tom Dillman—US Army Veteran from Korea War. Post-Military degree of Electrical Engineering. His security clearance led to classified work in missile defense, anti-submarine warfare, the space program, and alternate energy. Also, a retired DOD security advisor. http://www.veteransnewsnow.com/2011/07/15/terrorism-and-todays-global-hawk/)

The Global Hawk has a nautical range of over 12,500 miles—or, halfway around the world. It can stay or loiter in the air at greater than 60,000 feet for almost two days, all under remote control from the other side of the world. Try to imagine the technology as well as the required quality of the data link to fly it remotely from a source thousands of miles away. Not only that, but the “pilot” controls it from a warm control panel

at Edwards AFB, CA. with on-the-ground visual feedback and ensuing commands traveling at the speed of light. The Global Hawk wireless network is controlled via satellite. This pictured unit just finished it 250th mission, many that went from Edwards AFB to Afghanistan or Iraq and back, nonstop. It can taxi out, take off, fly a mission, return, land and taxi back on its own. Basically, they come into the fight at a high mach # using military thrust power, fire their AMRAAMS, and no one ever sees them or paints with radar. There is practically no radio chatter because all the guys or gals involved in the flight of simultaneous flights by other Global Hawks are tied together electronically and can see who is targeting who, and they have AWACS (Airborne Early Warning and Control Systems) direct input with a circular 360 situational awareness from that and other sensors. Unlike the beautiful, short range B-17, there are no blackouts, pilot fatigue, relief tubes, ejection seats, and best of all, no dead pilots, and no POWs. The enemy has a definite morale problem after being pounced on by a previously unseen, unheard Global Hawk with its radar undetectability and variety of weapons systems. It is to air superiority today to what the jet engine was to propeller aviation. I can understand much of the frustration of people who choose to be fanatical terrorists. But there has to be a better way for them to realize their potentials in this life. Forcing America and others theo terrorists perceive as mortal enemies (mostly from confusing religious differences) only leads the world’s technological brain powers to develop Global Hawks and their even more powerful successors that are sure to come down the road. Imagine a Global Hawk loitering out of sight above your city with one to five nuclear bombs much more powerful than Hiroshima or Nagasaki. There will be no place to hide Mr. or Mrs. Terrorist.

### **CP Solvency—Relations**

#### Global Hawk UAV creates relations.

Erwin 2006 (Publication: National Defense Magazine. “Air Force to Expand Pacific Region Surveillance, Multinational Training.” November 1, 2006. Sandra I. Erwin- writer for NDM and has won many awards for writing of national defense issues. http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Air+Force+to+expand+Pacific+region+surveillance,+multinational...-a0154330650)

The Air Force wants to extend the reach of its surveillance drones over the Pacific region by setting up refueling stations in several friendly countries in the area. These refueling hubs would make it easier for the Air Force to operate its new fleet of Global Hawk high-altitude unmanned surveillance and reconnaissance aircraft, said Gen. Paul V. Hester, commander of Pacific Air Forces, at Hickam Air Force Base, Hawaii.

"We are in discussions with several nations," Hester told reporters at the recent Air Force Association annual convention in Washington, D.C. Among the candidate nations considering proposals to host Global Hawk bases are Japan, Singapore, Australia and South Korea. These would not be major military bases, but rather modest "gas and go" refueling stations, Hester said. They would help extend the range of Global Hawk, which is the Air Force's most advanced surveillance drone. Up to seven Global Hawks could be delivered in the coming years to Andersen Air Force Base, Guam. Andersen is expected to also become a permanent home for U.S. Navy units in the near future. Other countries in the Pacific region are being encouraged to acquire Global Hawks, but it's too early to tell what countries will buy the costly aircraft, whose price tag ranges from $55 million to $130 million, depending on the sensor package. "If countries can't afford Global Hawk, maybe they can provide basing and refueling" as part of a cooperative security agreement, Hester said. The desire of many nations to gain access to regional intelligence make surveillance tools such as Global Hawk a valuable "opportunity for multilateral discussions with allies," Hester said. The absence of a formal regional alliance comparable to NATO in the Pacific area has severely hindered multilateral relations. "We do business bilaterally," Hester said. "There is no multilateralism in the Pacific. We are looking for opportunities to do business together." Multilateral collaboration in Asia is "extremely difficult," said Navy Adm. William Fallon, head of U.S. Pacific Command. "They all want to go one-on-one, bilaterally. The United States would like to engage in trilateral talks with Japan and South Korea, for instance. But that is not likely to happen any time soon due to long-standing tensions between the two Asian powers. One area that is ripe for multinational collaboration is training, Hester said. "We are re-scoping our exercise program with our allies. We are trying to transition away from bilateral to multilateral training." The aftermath of the 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia convinced several countries that they needed to step up their preparations for disaster recovery and humanitarian relief. Training exercises that are tailored to these operations tend to get more attention and increased participation in a region that is considered the world's "ring of fire" due to earthquakes and volcanic activities. "Humanitarian relief is a good place to build on. Maybe if they do humanitarian relief together they won't want to shoot each other," Hester noted. "We have earthquakes, volcanoes, monsoons and we saw the effects of the tsunami in late 2004 and 2005. Those are situations that will most likely bring everyone together into international waters." An example of this shift toward non-traditional training is the Cobra Gold military exercise, which is co sponsored by the United States and Thailand. "It used to be just a few countries focused on combat," Hester said. "Now it has transitioned to humanitarian and disaster relief, so more countries want to participate." Search-and-rescue drills at sea off the coast of California last month, meanwhile, saw U.S. and Chinese naval forces train together for the first time. This was an "easy first step" toward improving military-to-military relations with China, although much remains to be done, Hester said. ¶ "We've often used rescue at sea as an opportunity" to work with other nations, he said. "It's an easy-to-write scenario." Combat rescue is one of those military missions that helps to build ties among forces from different countries. Although the search-and-rescue exercise is a positive development in U.S.-China military affairs, the nations are nowhere close to planning any joint war games. The likelihood that China could one day participate in one of the U.S. Air Force's major exercises such as Red Flag is remote, at best. "Maybe in decades to come," Hester said. Fallon said China is the "biggest issue" for military leaders in that area. During the past five years, he said, military-to-military exchanges with China have lagged and this lack of interaction contributes to a chilly relationship between both countries, particularly since the 2000 incident in which a U.S. Navy patrol aircraft collided with a Chinese fighter jet off the coast of China. ¶ "I'm amazed at how few people have had any interaction with our folks," Fallon said. Most one-star and two-star Chinese officers rarely ever have personal contacts with U.S. military representatives. "Their impression of us is based on assumptions and what they are told" by their senior commanders, Fallon said. ¶ Unlike what many Americans might believe, China is "not a clone of the Soviet Union." It is unfortunate, Fallon said, that the U.S. government sometimes treats China as if it were the evil empire. There is a lack of "fundamental understanding" from both sides, said Fallon. "From the military side, frankly, we haven't been very engaged with them in the past five years. There's a long way to go." The recent search-and-rescue exercise will be followed by a similar drill in November, off the coast of China.

### CP Solvency—Maritime Economy

#### Information is key to enhance port security

Packard 2011 (HP- Hewlett- Packard Development Company. “Secure the maritime domain with real time data for critical decisions: HP Solution for Maritime Domain Awareness and Port Security & Operations Effectiveness” 2011. )

Government agencies and commercial enterprises face important challenges in day-to-day operations and security within the maritime domain and ports. Specifically, the ports are vital and complex environments exposed to security, terrorism, emergency, disaster and operational events.. As a stakeholder in port administration, you handle important critical supplies daily, such as bulk energy, food and hazardous materials. You need to manage known or declared hazardous cargo and detect and manage high-risk elements in normal shipments. These highly critical operations can have significant exposure related to security, emergency and normal operating events, with the potential for severe economic and societal consequences. Exposures exist not just as ships approach a port, but also during the handling and movement of land cargo to, from and within a port. Today’s ports also face tremendous pressure to balance national security while attracting new global trade – and to operate efficiently to stay competitive. You need to be agile when responding to natural disasters, large-scale industrial accidents and terrorist incidents. This requires the ability to anticipate and detect events and provide real-time information exchange and transparency. Finally, ports must modernise systems and procedures, maximise available resources – all while enhancing limited physical infrastructure. Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) is a critical operation that requires clear understanding of anything associated with the global maritime domain that could impact the security, safety, economy or environment of any nation. The HP Solution for Maritime Domain Awareness and Port Security & Operations Effectiveness can help you achieve a ‘fusion centre’ – an integrated, comprehensive command and control capability to provide a single view of operations that is tailored to each participant.

#### C. Even a small attack would shut down ports and crush the economy and our ability to trade

Allen 2008 (Admiral Thad Allen, Commander in the U.S. Coast Guard, 2008, “Friend or Foe? Tough to Tell”, Proceedings, U.S. Naval Institute, Annapolis, Maryland (410) 268-6110, [www.pacnwest.org/docs/friendorfoe.pdf](http://www.pacnwest.org/docs/friendorfoe.pdf), ACC: 9.25.11, p. online)

Some Americans take for granted how the shelves remain stocked at Target, Wal-Mart, and their local grocery store. More than 80 percent of the world’s trade is transported by merchant vessels.2 The United States Marine Transporta- tion System (MTS), a complex combination of waterways, ports, terminals, inter-modal connec- tions, vessels, people, and support ser- vices that intertwines the public and private sectors is the lifeblood of our national economy. Since the United States is the world’s leading maritime trading nation, accounting for nearly 20 percent of the annual ocean-borne overseas trade, our MTS also fuels the global economy.3 As the MTS has grown in global importance, its inherent vulnerabili- ties have also increased. Nearly 700 ships arrive in U.S. ports each day, and nearly 8,000 foreign flag ships, manned by 200,000 foreign mariners, enter U.S. ports every year.4 Annually, the nation’s 326 ports handle more than $700 billion in merchandise while the cruise line industry and its passen- gers contribute another $35 billion inspending.5 Overall, the MTS supports a global chain of economic activity that contributes more than $700 billion to our national economy each year.6 This enormous level of activity results in the MTS operating within extremely tight tolerances, and with limited ability to deal with dis- ruptions. When the port of Los Angeles/Long Beach closed because of a labor dispute in 2003, the cost to the American economy was approximately $1 billion per day for the first five days with the price tag rising sharply thereafter.7 To safeguard the MTS, the Coast Guard has worked with other Department of Homeland Security (DHS) components to produce the Small Vessel Security Strategy (SVSS).

### CP Politics Link—Popular

#### The CP is popular

Jeremy Herb, 4/26/12, “House panel blocking Pentagon’s retirement of Global Hawk Drones.” The hill.

http://thehill.com/blogs/defcon-hill/air-force/223973-house-panel-blocking-pentagons-retirement-of-global-hawk-drones/

The House Armed Services Committee is looking to block the Pentagon’s plan to retire one version of the Global Hawk drone.¶ The Tactical Air and Land Forces subcommittee’s portion of the defense authorization bill would “require the Secretary of the Air Force to take all actions necessary” to keep the RQ-4 Global Hawk Block 30 unmanned aircraft operational through the end of 2014, according to documents released Thursday by House Armed Services Chairman Buck McKeon (R-Calif.).¶ The bill would also “limit the use of funds” for the Pentagon to retire the Block 30s, which it had proposed in its 2013 budget. It says no funds could be used in 2013 to “retire, prepare to retire, or place in storage an RQ–4 Block 30 Global Hawk unmanned aircraft system.”¶ The Pentagon proposed retiring 18 of Northrop Grumman’s Global Hawk Block 30 drones, one variant of the unmanned aircraft, which the Air Force said would save $2.5 billion over the next five years.¶ The Air Force would instead rely on the manned U-2 aircraft as a replacement, even though the Block 30 drones were supposed to be a less expensive alternative drone.¶ Air Force Secretary Michael Donley said at a congressional hearing on the budget that the Block 30 drones were being retired because the service “couldn't justify the costs to improve the Block 30's sensors to achieve capability that already exists in the U-2.”¶ But the plan faced resistance in Congress, including in the House Appropriations Defense subcommittee, where ranking member Norm Dicks (D-Wash.) came to the aircraft's defense.¶ “I must tell you, putting the Global Hawk in a hangar is not acceptable to this member,” Dicks said at a March Air Force budget hearing. “I think we've got to find somewhere, whether it's NATO, SOCOM, the Navy, or somewhere, to use these Global Hawks.”¶ McKeon, during a hearing last month, also questioned the Pentagon's rationale for killing the Global Hawks, asking why the Air Force was going with the U-2 when a report had been released last year that said the program cost $220 million more per year to operate. ¶ He asked Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Norton Schwartz to explain why the service "chose to retain a plane that was flown by the grandparents of today's U-2 pilots, especially given that eight months ago, the undersecretary of defense for acquisition technology and logistics certified to Congress that the continuation of the Global Hawk program was essential to national security."

## Case

### \*\*Terrorism F/L\*\*

**Terror on transportation is inevitable:**

#### First, ports.

**Port Strategy** September **2011** “Can US Port Security Stand up to the Cuts?” http://www.portstrategy.com/news101/americas/can-us-port-security-stand-up-to-the-cuts

The American Association of Port Authorities (AAPA) points out that in the decade since the World Trade Centre attack there have been substantial security gains. However, **among the materials** Navy **SEALS found in Osama Bin Laden's** Pakistan **hideout were plans showing the maritime industry is still a key Al-Qaida target**. Kurt Nagle, AAPA president and CEO said, “Clearly, America’s ports have become much more secure since 9/11. In addition to guarding against cargo theft, drug smuggling, human trafficking and stowaways, ports and their law enforcement partners have added the protection of people and facilities from terrorism to their security plate.” Mr. Nagle added, “T**here’s no question that more investment in** [**security equipment**](http://www.portstrategy.com/news101/americas/can-us-port-security-stand-up-to-the-cuts)**,** infrastructure, technology, personnel and training **will be needed**.” Given ongoing threats such as these, the seaport industry is asking US congress and administration make port security a top funding priority in current and future appropriations rather than considering it for funding cuts. Mr. Nagle said, “Regrettably, the more than 50% **funding level cut** recommended for FEMA’s State and Local Program grants, which includes the Port Security Grant Program, **could impact the current security capabilities of many US ports** as well as hamper their ability to carry out their five-year port protection plans.”

**Second, the aviation sector.**

Ben Brandt, November 30 2011. “Terrorist Threats to Commercial Aviation: A Contemporary Assessment.” Ben Brandt is a senior fellow at the Combating Terrorism Center (CTC) – prepares Americans with news on recent security measures. http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/terrorist-threats-to-commercial-aviation-a-contemporary-assessment

One aspect of aviation security that is not frequently addressed is the potential for terrorists to strike other aspects of aviation infrastructure beyond aircraft. **Commercial airlines are highly reliant upon information technology systems** to handle critical functions such as reservations and crew check-in, a fact not lost upon Rajib Karim when he suggested in correspondence with Anwar al-`Awlaqi that he could erase data from British Airways’ servers, thus disabling the airline’s website.[15] **Such an approach would mesh closely with al-Qa`ida core’s and AQAP’s stated aims of waging economic jihad against the West. The** operational control centers operated by **air carriers are another significant point of vulnerability, which conduct the airlines’ flight control, meteorology, and emergency management functions**. Despite their criticality to flight operations, these control centers are rarely heavily guarded, meaning that a team of attackers equipped with inside knowledge could temporarily shut down the global operations of a major air carrier, particularly if backup facilities were to be targeted as well. Another threat to commercial aviation is the increasing number of plots and attacks targeting airports themselves rather than aircraft. There have been two significant attacks staged at international airports thus far in 2011 in Frankfurt and Moscow. Attacks against airports have been planned or executed using a variety of tactics, such as firearms, car bombs, suicide bombers, and hijacked aircraft. The targets have included airport facilities such as fuel lines, arrival halls, and curbside drop-off points. Terrorists could also breach perimeter fencing and assault aircraft on runways, taxiing areas, and at gates. This tactic was used during the 2001 Bandaranaike airport attack in Sri Lanka, when a team of Black Tigers[16] used rocket-propelled grenades and antitank weapons to destroy half of Sri Lankan Airlines’ fleet of aircraft.[17] More recently, Afghan authorities announced the discovery of arms caches belonging to the Haqqani network near Kabul Airport and claimed that the group had planned to use the caches to stage an assault on the airport.[18] The actions of activist groups—such as Plane Stupid, which has breached perimeter fencing at UK airports so that activists could handcuff themselves to aircraft in a protest against the airline industry’s carbon emissions[19]—demonstrate the viability of such an attack in the West as well.[20]¶ The trend toward attacking airports rather than aircraft has likely been driven by a number of factors, particularly increased checkpoint screening measures and terrorists’ growing emphasis on decentralized, small-scale attacks on targets of opportunity. Firearms will likely prove to be a key component of future attacks, given their relative ease of use compared to explosives, as well as their wide availability in the United States and many other countries. This trend was exemplified by the 2011 Frankfurt attack, which was conducted by Arid Uka, an employee at the airport’s postal facility, who shot and killed two U.S. soldiers at a bus at the terminal. Although deployment of plainclothes security personnel and quick reaction teams can help ameliorate the impact of attacks on airports, their ease of execution and the impossibility of eliminating all airport queues (be they for drop-off, check-in, security screening, baggage claim, or car rentals) make this tactic a persistent threat.¶ Required Steps to Improve Aviation Security¶ Given the breadth and complexity of threats to commercial aviation, those who criticize the TSA and other aviation security regulatory agencies for reactive policies and overly narrow focus appear to have substantial grounding. Three particularly serious charges can be levied against the TSA: it overemphasizes defending against specific attack vectors (such as hijackings or passenger-borne IEDs) at the expense of others (such as insider threats or attacks on airports); it overemphasizes securing U.S. airports while failing to acknowledge the significantly greater threat posed to flights arriving or departing from foreign airports; and it has failed to be transparent with the American people that certain threats are either extremely difficult or beyond the TSA’s ability to control. Furthermore, the adoption of cumbersome aviation security measures in the wake of failed attacks entails a financial burden on both governments and the airline industry, which has not gone unnoticed by jihadist propagandists and strategists. While the U.S. government has spent some $56 billion on aviation security measures since 9/11, AQAP prominently noted that its 2010 cargo plot cost a total of $4,900.[21]¶ With this in mind, there are several measures that could be undertaken to improve U.S. aviation security. First, policymakers must recognize the timely collection and exploitation of intelligence will always be the most effective means of interdicting terrorist threats to aviation, whether by disrupting terrorist leadership in safe havens, breaking up nascent plots, or preventing would-be terrorists from boarding aircraft. The successful exploitation of intelligence gathered from the Bin Ladin raid in May 2011 has likely done far more to defend commercial aviation from al-Qa`ida than the use of advanced imaging equipment and patdowns.¶ Second, the TSA and other aviation security regulators must increase their liaison with the airline industry regarding the development of risk mitigation strategies, as airlines are far more aware of the vulnerabilities inherent to commercial aviation, as well as the practical constraints on proposed security measures.¶ Third, rather than increasing spending on screening equipment and employees deployed in the United States, the TSA and other regulators should instead provide financial support for airlines attempting to improve security for their overseas operations. This could include subsidizing background checks on airlines’ international employees and vendors, paying for armed guards at ticket counters, helping upgrade security for airlines’ computer networks and control centers, and paying for the deployment of ETD screening equipment. Aviation security regulators should also work to improve the quality of threat information shared with airlines, which is frequently dated, irrelevant, or inaccurate.¶

#### It’s not visible enough – no motivation.

Catherine Z. Raymond, 2-9-2006, Associate Research Fellow at the Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, "The Threat of Maritime Terrorism in the Malacca Straits," Global Terrorism Analysis, Vol. 4 Issue 3, <http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2369896>

ASG and MILF traditionally operate within their locality of the Philippines and its surrounding archipelagic waters; it would be uncharacteristic of them to carry out an attack on shipping in the Malacca Straits. This is related to the fact that they are both separatist groups, with the aim of establishing an independent Islamic state in the Philippines. Therefore, their targets tend to be either located within the country, or closely associated with it. GAM is also a separatist group and while there may be some overlap in terms of its area of operations and the Malacca Straits, its targets have traditionally included the Indonesian military and security forces. In addition, GAM has just signed a peace agreement with the Indonesian government, which includes the disarmament and demobilization of its 3000 fighters (PNG Post-Courier, August 23, 2005). Through this process of elimination, the group that would appear to be the only real threat to shipping in the Malacca Straits is JI. The group has shown an interest in attacking shipping in the Straits and vessels visiting Changi Naval Base in Singapore and is suspected of developing more expertise in this area. Its maritime capability, however, remains underdeveloped when compared to its land capability. Attacks against targets in the maritime domain would require specialized equipment and skills; depending on the target, they may also require knowledge of shipping patterns, boat operation and maintenance, and boarding techniques. This explains the predictions of a piracy-terrorism nexus, of which there is still no evidence. Various explanations have been proffered as to why there is still no sign of any cooperation between pirates and terrorists. One explanation is that the majority of those committing acts of piracy in the Malacca Straits are largely un-organized petty-criminals who use piracy as a way of supplementing their inadequate income. These small groups and individuals may not be willing to cooperate with terrorists who, through their high-profile activities, may trigger a complete crackdown on all maritime crime. Carrying out an attack in the maritime domain also presents a number of difficulties that are not encountered on land. First, if the aftermath of an attack is to be captured by the media, which is often the wish of a terrorist group, then the attack needs to be carried out close to land. This then considerably compresses the theater of operations, as only coastal areas and ports would be suitable. Second, surveillance at sea of potential targets offers less cover and concealment than on land and entails the same environmental challenges as any maritime activity.

#### Underwater surveillance successful now – deters a terror attack, this postdates

Winslow, ‘11 [Lance, Business Consultant, has written a series of books on Future of education and runs a think tank. ”Underwater Robotics and Policing Tech Considered”, <http://ezinearticles.com/?Underwater-Robotics-and-Policing-Tech-Considered&id=6736445>]

After 9/11, think tanks around the country got together to figure out how to protect our infrastructure and our country from future attacks. We tried to consider where the terrorists might try to hit us, and what methods they might use to attack. Indeed, I happen to run a think tank which operates online, and one of the thing\ we were worried about is the incredible number of waterways that terrorists might have access to in order to get close to their destination to create a terrorist act.¶ There was an interesting article recently in the New York Times on December 5, 2011 titled; "Underwater Drones Giving More Eyes to Police Harbor Unit as Searches Grow," by Al Baker, which stated that when President Obama was recently visiting:¶ "The NYC Police Harbor Unit & Secret Service went over locations sweeping for bombs, then cleared, and guarded. This underwater security shows an increasing reliance on a new tactical weapon for the police: an unmanned submersible drone, remote-operated vehicle, or ROV. The Police Harbor Unit has 6 of these underwater drones, similar to those in use by the United States military and by oil companies with offshore operations."¶ It is very smart and wise for police forces, and the federal government be thinking here. Our US Coast Guard, and U.S. Navy also work very hard to protect our ports and military bases, as well they should. Being able to know what is under the water is of supreme value. It will also help us find polluters, and potential sources of environmental contamination which might cause dead zones, and hurt aquatic life, and our ability to fish for food.¶ Being able to study underwater currents, check out underwater volcanoes, and keep surveillance on underwater pipelines, communication lines, and cooling systems for generation plants is extremely important. We need to protect our ports, our docks, and our cruise ship industry. Having pervasive surveillance underwater may sound a little paranoid, but you have to know that the terrorists are thinking here, so let's not let our guard down, just because it's been a long time since we've seen a large attack on our own soil.¶ Our intelligence community has uncovered several plots in the past, and some of them have involved.

#### Improving infrastructure doesn’t solve alone terrorism – small vessel tracking key

Dept of Homeland Security 8 [“Small Vessel Security Strategy”, April, http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/small-vessel-security-strategy.pdf]

Law enforcement agencies face the challenge of distinguishing between the vast number of legitimate vessel operators and the relatively few individuals engaged in illicit activities. The challenge is immense, as it involves nearly 13 million registered U.S. recreational vessels,2 82,000 fishing vessels, and 100,000 other commercial small vessels. On any given day, a considerable number of these boats share waterways with commercial and military traffic, operating at hundreds of U.S. ports and in the immediate vicinity of critical maritime infrastructure, including bridges and waterfront facilities such as petrochemical plants. More information concerning small vessels is needed to improve the proper assessment of the risk posed by these vessels. The challenge is to balance the collection of requisite information necessary for proper assessment of risk posed by these vessels, with the freedom of the seas expected by the small boating community.

#### Terrorists unskilled and divided

Prof. John Mueller, 2010 (PhD in political science, professor of political science at Ohio State University), Terrorizing Ourselves, Cato Institute, "Assessing Measures Designed to Protect the Homeland", http://books.google.com/books?id=HIsLQgAACAAJ

Political scientist Michael Kenney has interviewed dozens of officials and intelligence agents and has analyzed court documents, and he finds homegrown Islamic militants to be operationally unsophisticated, short on know how, prone to making mistakes, poor at planning, and severely hampered by a limited capacity to learn. Another study documents the difficulties of network coordination that continually threaten operational unity, trust, cohesion, and the ability to act collectively.

### Terrorists Won’t Attack

#### Terrorists won’t conduct a maritime attack – scarce targets and easier land options.

Breanne Wagner, November 2007, staff writer, National Defense, “License to Boat?,” Vol. 92 Issue 648, p. 24, Ebsco Host \*\*cites CRS analysts Paul Pariomak & John Frittelli, experts on maritime terrorism\*\*]

In the CRS report, analysts Paul Pariomak and John Frittelli said that increased govern-ment efforts, along with specific challenges to terrorists on U.S. seas, might prevent per-petrators from attempting a waterborne attack. Terrorists face more obstacles to maritime attacks than land attacks, the report said. This is because sea targets are more scarce than land targets , surveillance at sea provides less cover and ocean conditions make an attack scenario somewhat unpredictable , said Navy Capt .James Pelkofski, according to the report." Although a successful attack on U.S. mar-itime targets would likely satisfy certain objectives of known international perpetra –tors such as al-Qaida, tactical uncertainties and security deterrents may lead terrorist planners to turn their attention elsewhere," Parfomak and Frittelli wrote. They point out that since1997, less than one percent of global attacks involved sea targets .

#### No means for large attack – it’s all speculation.

Janes Intelligence Review, 2006 “maritime Terrorism: the threat in context”

Does the concern about the potential for large-scale maritime terrorism match the reality of the threat? A lack of necessary skills and the practical difficulties facing terrorists attempting to operate in the maritime sphere may render many of the nightmare scenarios feared by governments and port authorities unlikely. Martin Murphy reports. An accurate assessment of the current nature and scope of the global maritime terrorist threat should be driven by an assessment of what is probable, rather than merely possible. However, sober analysis of this issue has been clouded amid the anxiety created by the current global security climate, with much discussion turning on the notion that terrorists could potentially strike any target with virtually any means available. While the 11 September 2001 attacks on the US demonstrated the willingness of a new generation of Islamist militants to conduct mass-casualty attacks, conceptually it was not very different from other terrorist 'spectaculars'. There was no fundamental innovation in terrorist methods and the attacks did not herald a significant change of direction. Rather, they built on the steady standards of terrorist tactics: surprise and simplicity, executed by means of known and straightforward technology. In the 11 September 2001 attacks, it was the scale, audacity and, once it became apparent, the international reach of the group behind it, which surprised many. These elements led observers to look for other possible scenarios where acts on a similar scale could be carried out. The sea certainly offers scale, and it is not surprising that some of this speculation has focused on the maritime domain. Two main reasons are put forward as to why terrorists might mount attacks on water: the high seas are an unregulated space that, in the case of weak states that are unable to police their territorial waters effectively, extends right up to coast; and that few terrorist incidents have occurred at sea and therefore it is the turn of ships and seafarers to provide the next vehicle and set of victims. Such speculation has fallen into two broad categories: large ships as weapons, and ships as delivery vehicles for weapons

### No Terror

#### There is Minimal terrorist presence

Prof. John Mueller, 2010 (PhD in political science, professor of political science at Ohio State University), Terrorizing Ourselves, Cato Institute, "Assessing Measures Designed to Protect the Homeland", http://books.google.com/books?id=HIsLQgAACAAJ

By 2005, however, after years of well funded sleuthing, the FBI and other investigative agencies concluded in a secret report that they had been unable to uncover a single true al Qaeda sleeper cell anywhere in the United States, a finding (or nonfinding) publicly acknowledged two years later. Al Qaeda deserves special attention here because, as stated by Glenn Carle, a 23-year veteran of the Central Intelligence Agency, where he was deputy national intelligence officer for transnational threats, it is "the only Islamic terrorist organization that targets the U.S. homeland."

#### Terrorist groups short-lived—empirics prove.

Prof. Audrey Kurth Cronin (PhD, professor of strategy at the National War College), 2010, Terrorizing Ourselves, Cato Institute, "Defeating al Qaeda", ISBN: 978-1-935308-30-0, http://books.google.com/books?id=HIsLQgAACAAJ (page 16)

In doing the research for my book, I studied hundreds of groups. I was careful about how groups were selected, omitting those that had only one attack or one small set of attacks, for example. Of the 475 (of 873) groups in the RAND/MIPT (Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism) database that deliberately targeted noncombatants and engaged in a series of attacks (thus a campaign), the average life span was only about eight years. Estimates given by others are even shorter: long-standing terrorism expert David Rapoport argues that 90 percent last less than a year.

### No Nuke Terror

#### Nuclear terrorism is science fiction - easier to launch Bin Laden into space. It’s not ironman where you just create high tech weapons in a hideout cave.

Adam Garfinkle, 2009 (PhD in international relations, served as a staff member of the National Security Study Group of the U.S. Commission on National Security), May 2009, Foreign Policy Research Institute, "Does Nuclear Deterrence Apply in the Age of Terrorism?", http://www.fpri.org/footnotes/1410.200905.garfinkle.nucleardeterrenceterrorism.html

There have, of course, been several novels, dozens of action movies, and countless television shows featuring terrorists who had somehow gotten their hands on a nuclear device. But none of these dramas ever explains credibly how a bunch of ragtag dropouts and narcissists get their hands on or figure out how to build a useable nuclear weapon. This is because they can't. It is, to understate the matter, not an easy thing to build a nuclear weapon, given the physics, metallurgy, and engineering involved. It takes a fairly large space, a lot of people with different kinds of specialties, and a fair amount of time and money. The material involved is not easy to hide or move, and it certainly isn't easy to deliver a bomb to a target even if one could be fabricated or stolen. Some of the more imaginative depictions of potential catastrophe would have us believe that terrorists could put a nuclear bomb in a suitcase. This is nonsense. You've got to be very sophisticated technically to get a nuke into a suitcase. If you're al Qaeda working in a cave somewhere, even if you have some metallurgy experts and scientists trying to help you, getting a nuclear device into a suitcase is even less likely than being able to launch Osama bin Laden into orbit.

### No Cyber Terror

#### The threat of a cyber-attack is extremely low.

Scott Borg, January 21, 2012 “Threat of Future Cyber Attacks by Adversaries Remains Low” January 21, 2012. Scott Borg is the Director and Chief Economist of the United States Cyber Consequences Unit.

Will American adversaries respond to American improvement with serious cyber attacks? The short answer is, no. There could be some denial-of-service attacks on U.S. government Web sites, but these would probably be only a minor nuisance. And if they do happen, they might not be acknowledged or even noticed. Cyber conflicts between Hamas and Israel, beginning in 1999, and between Hezbollah and Israel, beginning in 2000, made virtually all political activists in the Middle East very aware of the potential of cyber attacks. Starting in 2001, senior al Qaeda leaders regularly said they would turn the Western superiority in information technology into a tool to bring down the West. In October 2001, an alleged al Qaeda operative, arrested in India, claimed that other members of the terrorist network had managed to get hired by Microsoft, so that they could build backdoors and bugs into the company’s new XP operating system. There is no evidence that al Qaeda operatives were actually able to do this. But after this news story was picked up by the international press, al Qaeda leaders and other ideological militants would certainly have been thinking about the possibilities. Beginning in early 2002, American intelligence officials repeatedly warned that computers belonging to al Qaeda associates had been used to access Web sites offering hacker tools and instructions. Imam Samudra, organizer of the 2002 Bali nightclub bombings, urged Muslim militants to start hacking into U.S. computers, both to steal money and to do damage.¶ Starting in 2002, however, government forces were very successful in hunting down potential al Qaeda cyber attack leaders. Imam Samudra was arrested in Indonesia in 2002 and eventually executed for his terrorist acts. Abu Anas al Liby was reported captured in Sudan in 2002, although American officials have since said that his whereabouts is still unknown. Khalid Shaikh Mohammed was captured in Pakistan in 2003 and is currently being held at Guantanamo Bay. Depriving al Qaeda of these leaders seems to have been a big setback to their cyber efforts. Cyber-attack threats are increasingly disappearing, strongly due to an increasing United States cyber-infrastructure. In March of 2005, Sir David Omand announced that British intelligence had surveillance reports indicating al Qaeda affiliates were preparing to use the internet and other electronic communication systems to cripple economic, medical, and transport networks. These attacks were either never launched or, more likely, were unsuccessful. Government forces had another round of successes in capturing al Qaeda cyber attack advocates in 2005. Younis Tsouli was arrested in the U.K. in 2005 and convicted of incitement to acts of terrorism in 2007. Mustafa Setmariam Nasar was captured in Pakistan in 2005. In 2006, many cyber attackers in the Arab world got caught up in a cyber campaign against Denmark, prompted by the Danish cartoon of Mohammed. This effort seems to have temporarily reduced other cyber attack activity originating from the Middle East. In December of 2006 and again in October of 2007, Web sites associated with al Qaeda announced the beginning of a "cyber Jihad," directed against Western banks and other important institutions. There were rumors and circumstantial signs of ambitious cyber attacks being mounted by al Qaeda during this period, but they don’t seem to have gotten very far. Since early 2008, there has been no sign of any sustained or sizeable effort on the part of al Qaeda to assemble a serious cyber-attack force. This suggests, at minimum, that they have not been recruiting cyber attackers very widely or aggressively. It is possible the al Qaeda has been developing cyber-attack teams from within its own ranks, but bringing them to a very high level of capabilities without interaction with the wider hacker world would be difficult. Altogether, given its history and the lack of outward signs, it seems unlikely that enemies has developed significant cyber attack capabilities.

### No Bio Terror

#### Beyond current terrorist capabilities

Milton Leitenberg, 2010 (senior research scholar at the Center for International and Security Studies), Terrorizing Ourselves, Cato Institute, "Assessing the Threat of Bioterrorism", http://books.google.com/books?id=HIsLQgAACAAJ

For two decades, we have been told that bioterrorism would be perpetrated by terrorist groups with an international presence and international political objectives. As noted, however, these groups have little or no scientific competence, little or no knowledge of microbiology, and no known access to pathogen strains or laboratory facilities. The most recent U.S. National Intelligence Council terrorist assessment makes no reference to any of these capabilities. The report of the Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, released in December 2008, states, "We accept the validity of intelligence estimates about the current rudimentary nature of terrorist capabilities in the area of biological weapons."

### \*\*Commodities F/L\*\*

#### This may possibly be the worst advantage I have ever come into contact with:

#### Their Pittsburgh Post-Gazette evidence says that barges are key to “move gravel, sand and limestone…fuel oil, fertilizer and other goods.” Waterways alone are not key to commodities and this evidence isn’t specific.

#### On the Soybean Scneario, the USB evidence says that the American Soybean Association is already develop new dams and infrastructure for these kind of issues in the unhiglighted portion. And, it says we need a combination of locks, rail, and highways—the aff doesn’t do highways or rail.

#### China is far more reliant on South American soy bean commodities than US

Ferchen 2012 [Matthew, Matt Ferchen is a resident scholar at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, where he runs the China and the Developing World program. His research focuses on the governance of China's urban informal economy, debates about the “China Model” of development, and economic and political relations between China and Latin America., China’s Latin American Interests, Carnegie Endownment, 5/6, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/04/06/china-s-latin-american-interests/a7av> ]

China-Latin America relations, especially economic ties, have boomed in the last decade. Between 2000 and 2010 China-Latin America trade expanded over 1,500 percent, and between 2008 and 2010 alone China’s investment in the region expanded more than 180 percent. This boom in economic relations has been primarily driven by strong Chinese demand for South American mineral, agricultural, and energy resources like copper, iron ore, soybeans, and oil. At the same time, Latin America has become an important destination for increasing amounts of Chinese manufactured-good exports ranging from modems to motorcycles. While there are other dimensions to the Latin America-China relationship, including a history of Chinese immigration to countries like Cuba and Peru, the recent decade-long surge in relations has been primarily driven by trade and investment ties. Though those ties have also underpinned renewed and strengthened diplomatic relations between China and countries throughout the region, the main binding force remains economic rather than political or ideological. This has fueled a mixture of rising hopes and anxieties among government and business leaders in Latin America. The hopes ride on ever-expanding trade and investment links as well as the possibility that China might prove to be a positive alternative to long-standing American economic and political power in the region. Anxieties are rooted in concerns that the region’s ties to China repeat dysfunctional historical patterns of commodity dependence and a “hollowing out” of local industry in the face of Chinese manufacturing and export prowess.

#### The American Interest evidence talks about how soybeans are a key part of Chinese diet, but never says anything about how Soybean spikes would result in instability. Also, the card says there is already unrest and instability, meaning the impact should’ve occurred already.

#### No Chinese instability—economic leadership offsets import and export problems.

Deng Shasha, 7/21/12 “China Has No Sign of Economic Collapse: S. Africa Expert” http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-07/21/c\_131729166.htm

China's economy is slowing down amid global economic volatility, but there is no sign of a collapse, a South African expert has said.¶ China's National Bureau of Statistics announced days ago that the country's economic growth slowed to 7.6 percent in the second quarter this year from 8.1 percent in the first quarter, the first time below 8 percent over the past three years.¶ Some western analysts predicted that China is facing the risk of an economic collapse.¶ However, Dr. Alistair Ruiters, executive chairman of Ruukki South Africa at Ruukki Group, dismissed the view, saying "China's GDP below 8 percent is not a sign of a collapsing economy, 7 or even 6 percent growth is still good."¶ "Economic conditions in other parts of the world are forcing China to produce less and export less, resulted in slowing down in terms of its GDP growth," he told Xinhua in an interview Wednesday.¶ Ruiters, former director general of South Africa's Department of Trade and Industry, said "China's economy is not independent from the global economy. There has been a housing crisis in the United States, and presently there is a financial crisis in Europe."¶ Growing worries about the future makes consumers more cautious on spending, which surely has an impact on China because it is a large global exporter of consumer products, he said.¶ "The important thing is for China to realize that it is a consumer of global major commodities, especially mining products," he said.¶ "China should realize the importance of controlling the value chain of those products so that it can get them at the right price," the expert added.¶ Ruiters noted that China's economic adjustment will have an impact on many parts of the world, but its influence on South Africa would be limited.¶ "It does have an impact on South Africa at the moment, mainly on raw materials, because we continue to produce in factories. We would have an oversupply of material in the market because big buyers like China may be reducing their spending due to the slowdown in the GDP growth," he said.¶ China has become South Africa's biggest trading partner, with bilateral trade increasing by 77 percent from 2010 to 2011, the South African Broadcasting Corp. said Wednesday.¶ South Africa's GDP increased 2.7 percent in the first quarter of 2012, compared to 3.2 percent growth for the fourth quarter of last year, Statistics South Africa reported on May 29.¶ South Africa is the largest economy on the African continent while China has the world's second largest economy.

#### On the fertilizer scenario, the Pittsburg evidence says that coal accounts for the majority of transport on waterways, meaning fertilizer would always be offset. And, the evidence is talking about Pittsburgh waterways, not the entire waterway system.

#### The Bennett evidence says that stuff like natural gas consumption, nitrogen fixation, coal usage, and energy policy are the main reasons for growing food supply crisis, not specifically fertilizer.

#### The problem with food produce is misdistribution, not quantity available.

Barrett 2(Christopher B., [http://dyson.cornell.edu/special\_programs /AFSNRM/Parima /Papers%20from %20Cbb2/Papers/BarrettFoodSecurityandFood%20AssistancePrograms.pdf](http://dyson.cornell.edu/special_programs%20/AFSNRM/Parima%20/Papers%20from%20%20Cbb2/Papers/BarrettFoodSecurityandFood%20AssistancePrograms.pdf), Dept. Agri. Res. Mgmt. @ Cornell, accessed 7/8/11) CJQ

The second broad pattern is that, despite indisputable progress, hunger and food insecurity remain distressingly widespread. The absolute number of people suffering food insecurity has not fallen appreciably, as widespread poverty and increasingly unequal asset and income distributions conspire to counteract increased per capita food availability and falling food prices [International Conference on Nutrition (1992), Bread for the World Institute (1995)]. A large plurality of the world’s hungry and food insecure reside in South Asia; despite a falling rate of prevalence, absolute numbers of malnourished people have risen there. The best available estimates suggest that 800– 1300 million people in the world – about the same number as are classiﬁed as “poor” – suffer chronic PEM [International Conference on Nutrition (1992), Bread for the World Institute (1995)]. Another 2 billion people are affected by micronutrient deﬁciencies related to insufﬁcient intake of iodine, iron, or vitamin A [International Conference on Nutrition (1992)]. The distributional challenge is highlighted by the fact that a large proportion of these people – indeed, the great majority of food-insecure children – live in homes where others have enough to eat [United Nations Children’s Fund (1995)]. The distressing prevalence of macronutrient and micronutrient deﬁciency despite ample food availability highlights the now widely accepted fact that food availability is not the primary cause of food insecurity, the problem is in the distribution of available food.

#### **Biofuels consume half of the world’s crop consumption—predicting yields won’t change that.**

Evans ’11 (Alex, NYU Centre on Int'l Cooperation, http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/may/31/global-food-crisis-real-cost-biofuels, accessed 7/8/11) CJQ

Other factors have driven the breathtaking inflation and volatility in food markets over the last few years. These include a rising global population, millions more people shifting to western diets, declining crop yield growth, years of under-investment, extreme weather, high oil prices increasing the cost of inputs such as fertiliser, low stock levels, and kneejerk actions by governments such as food export bans and panic buying by importers. But it is biofuels that have been the real game changer. As the International Monetary Fund [observed](http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2008/01/pdf/c1.pdf) in 2008, biofuels accounted for 1.5% of global liquid fuels supply that year, but represented nearly half the increase in food crop consumption, mainly because of corn-based ethanol in the US. While they only accounted for a small fraction of liquid fuels, the fact that they represented 75% of the net increase in non-Opec liquid fuels in 2008 goes a long way towards explaining why oil importers have taken to them with such enthusiasm. That's scant comfort to the billion or so poor people who don't get enough to eat – they have seen food prices rise still further out of reach as a result of biofuel support policies. Is the tide finally turning against corn-based ethanol and other inefficient "first generation" biofuels? At first glance, it might look like wishful thinking. The US farm lobby, never shy in pushing for its interests, has taken to ethanol with a passion. With presidential elections looming, the Obama administration has been careful not to offend agribusiness: a [speech](http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/05/162795.htm) on [food security](http://www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/food-security) by the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, this month failed to mention the words "ethanol" or "biofuels" even once. The EU, too, looks in no mood to rethink its target of obtaining 10% of transport fuels from biofuel by 2020.

#### New tech means farmers will always produce more food

Zubrin 11 (Dr. Robert Zubrin, president of Pioneer Astronautics, Senior Fellow with the Center for Security Policy “WHY IT’S WRONG TO AGREE WITH THE MALTHUSIANS ABOUT ETHANOL” May 13, 2011<http://www.ilcorn.org/daily-update/182-why-it-rsquo-s-wrong-to-agree-with-the-malthusians-about-ethanol/)//>

In an op-ed article printed in the Denver Post May 8, editorial columnist Vince Carroll endorsed the view of population control advocate Lester Brown that the U.S. corn ethanol program is threatening the world’s poor with starvation. This endorsement is especially remarkable in view of the fact that, as the otherwise generally astute Mr. Carroll has correctly noted many times in the past, all of Lester Brown’s many previous limited-resources doomsday predictions have proven wildly incorrect. In fact, Lester Brown is wrong about the alleged famine-inducing potential of the ethanol program for exactly the same reason he has been repeatedly wrong about the alleged famine-inducing potential of population growth. There is not a fixed amount of grain in the world. Farmers produce in response to demand. The more customers, the more grain. Not only that, but the larger the potential market, the greater the motivation for investment in improved techniques. This is why, despite the fact that the world population has indeed doubled since Lester Brown, Paul Ehrlich, and the other population control zealots first published their manifestos during the 1960s, people worldwide are eating much better today than they were then. In the case of America’s corn growing industry, the beneficial effect of a growing market has been especially pronounced, with corn yields per acre in 2010 (165 bushels per acre) being 37 percent higher than they were in 2002 (120 bushels per acres) and more than four times as great as they were in 1960 (40 bushels per acre.) Not only that, but in part because of the impetus of the expanded ethanol program, another doubling of yield is now in sight, as the best farms have pushed yields above 300 bushels per acre. As a result, in 2010, the state of Iowa alone produced more corn than the entire United States did in 1947. Of our entire corn crop, only 2 percent is actually eaten by Americans as corn, or 12 percent if one includes products like corn chips and corn syrup. These advances in productivity do not only benefit the United States. America’s farmers are the vanguard for their counterparts worldwide. New seed strains and other techniques first demonstrated on our most advanced farms, subsequently spread to average farms, and then go global, thereby raising crop yields everywhere.

### A2: China Impact

#### China won’t go to war – no political will

Moore 6 (Scott, Research assistant, http://www.nti.org/e\_research/e3\_80.html, dw: 10-18-2006, da: 7-9-2011, lido)

The new generation of Chinese leaders, which has risen to power in the aftermath of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident (liu si), has tended to consist of moderate technocrats,[10] who are unlikely to support radical policy reversals, such as the use of nuclear weapons. Chinese politics in general have also evolved into a "more pragmatic, risk-adverse" form.[11] This process was initiated by the rise of "interest group politics" during the tenure of President Jiang Zemin.[12] This new structure of decision-making involves the specialization of bureaucratic institutions, which have become more assertive, and occasionally resisted high-level decisions they believed to be ill conceived.[13] It is probable that certain institutions, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, would strongly resist the actual or threatened use of nuclear weapons against the United States in almost any situation. In a risk-adverse policy environment that seeks consensus, this kind of strong opposition may well prevail. It thus appears unlikely that any impetus for the use of nuclear weapons in a conflict with the United States would come from within the established Chinese policymaking apparatus. There are suggestions, however, that pressure for the actual or threatened use of nuclear weapons against the United States may come from outside China's policymaking elite, via a phenomenon that may be termed "hyper-nationalism."[14] The gradual expansion of freedom of speech in China has revealed some truly radical nationalistic perspectives, ranging from a kind of Chinese lebensraum (sheng cun kong jian)[15] to allegations of a kind of racist plot in Western policy towards China.[16] In a crisis situation, there are suggestions that such hyper-nationalism may exert significant pressure on policymakers to respond with an aggressive response, which could include nuclear weapons.

### A2: Decreases Prices

#### The inland waterways are actually the most expensive forms of shipping systems.

Nicollet Island Coalition 2010 “FACT SHEET: Historic Subsidy of Inland Waterways Navigation System Proposed Changes to the Inland Waterways Trust Fund (IWTF):’’ http://www.iwla.org/index.php?ht=a/GetDocumentAction/i/7807

Barge Industry contributions are inadequate to properly fund the Inland Waterways Trust Fund’s projects backlog, yet the industry wants to restore IWTF solvency and increase inland waterways navigation investment primarily by increasing the burden on all other taxpayers. • The barge industry touts itself as the cheapest form of commodity transportation. Unfortunately, the equation used to derive that designation excludes over 90 percent of the costs to support the inland waterways system. According to the National Academy of Sciences, 1 U.S. taxpayers pay 92 percent of the inland waterway system (IWS) costs of constructing, operating and maintaining barge navigation infrastructure. This is compared to virtually no taxpayer support for rail system users and only 20 percent for highway system users. • The general public does receive some benefits from the current dams on the rivers, though it can be argued that the costs, both financial and to the environment, have far exceeded these benefits. The barge industry paid nothing for the original lock and dam system and do not contribute to repairing and restoring degraded riverine ecosystems, which the inland waterways navigation system is largely responsible for causing. The taxpayers have been totally responsible for these costs, and as mentioned above all of the O&M costs and 50 percent of the construction and rehabilitation costs. • When all costs are accounted for, the inland waterways system is by far the most expensive shipping system in the country.

### A2: Fertilizer

#### Status Quo Solves for Fertilizer Demand – No Impact

Frost 12 [Bert, Vice President, Sales and Market Development, CF Industries, “The Nitrogen Outlook for 2012, Crop Life, 01/23, http://www.croplife.com/article/24763/the-nitrogen-outlook-for-2012]

In 2012, a number of large scale manufacturing projects are expected to begin production in the Middle East and Africa. This will take some pressure off of other nitrogen fertilizer suppliers in meeting rising global demand. The net effect of these new nitrogen sources likely will be a balanced market by mid-year, but this outcome will depend on the timing of large projects, which almost always experience start-up delays due to operational difficulties. Even before delays, typical ramp-up and delivery times will prevent most new supplies from reaching the U.S. market until after the spring season.¶ In order to meet increased demand for nitrogen fertilizers in North America in 2012 and beyond, CF Industries is investing in its logistics systems and production capabilities. Process improvements at our terminals in Cowden, IL, and Mount Vernon, IL, will increase ammonia supply and load out rates during the peak spring and fall periods. Other terminal upgrades also are planned over the next year. As previously announced, we will invest up to $1.5 billion in new ammonia and/or product upgrading capacity within North America over the next four years to ensure a steady flow of our products to dealers and ultimately growers who will use them to help feed the world’s growing population.

#### Fertilizer Needs Are Being Met

Hildebrant July 2012 [Dale, “Proposed nitrogen fertilizer plant moves to the business stage of planning”, The Prairie Star, 07/16, http://www.theprairiestar.com/news/regional/proposed-nitrogen-fertilizer-plant-moves-to-the-business-stage-of/article\_184862fa-cf44-11e1-8284-001a4bcf887a.html]

A proposed billion dollar nitrogen fertilizer plant that will be located within the tri-state area has moved one step closer to reality as the project's steering committee voted to move from the feasibility study to the business planning stage. The proposed plant would use natural gas as the feedstock to produce the nitrogen fertilizer in the state-of-the art complex, according to Tom Lilja, executive director of the North Dakota Corn Growers Association, and one of those involved in planning the project.¶ The committee's thorough research found that nitrogen fertilizer usage in the Northern Plains is likely to continue to increase in the next several decades. They also concluded that a fertilizer production facility located where the fertilizer is consumed will result in transportation advantages, while addressing the need for a stable local supply of this essential cropping input for growers.¶ The steering committee is made up of farm groups representing North Dakota, Minnesota, and South Dakota, as well as the prairie provinces of Canada. This committee was assembled as the result of a 2011 grant awarded to the North Dakota Corn Growers Association and the department of Agribusiness and Applied Economics at North Dakota State University from the ND Agricultural Products Utilization Commission to conduct a feasibility analysis involving the capturing of flared natural gas in our western oil fields and potential for basic nitrogen fertilizer manufacturing. The study determined that local production of fertilizer optimizing current and predicted natural gas supply and price is not only economically feasible but also prudent considering requirements of nitrogen by targeted growers. Natural gas is the key component in nitrogen fertilizer manufacturing.

### A2: Food Prices High

#### Global Food Prices Are Already Low and Will Stay That Way

Rutherford July 2012 [Hamish, “Cheaper dairy puts the brakes on food price index”, LexisNexis Academic, Business; Pg.1, 07/13, http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy1.cl.msu.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/]

FALLING prices for milk and cheese more than offset a sharp seasonal rise in fruit and vegetable prices, with food prices down for the second month in a row in June.¶ The food price index from Statistics New Zealand showed that although food prices in June were 1.4 per cent higher than May, the basket of goods used to calculate food prices dropped 0.2 per cent, the same annual fall as May. In April, annual food prices showed no change.¶ On an annual basis, however, fruit and vegetable prices were 2.6 per cent lower than a year ago, when fresh-produce prices were setting records¶ Prices have been subdued by China's slowdown and a high NZ dollar.

### A2: Shortages

**No shortages – food is abundant**

**Poole 6** (Holly Kavana, Institute for Food and Development Policy, “12 Myths About Hunger”, Backgrounder, 12(2), Summer, 4-9, http://www.foodfirst.org/12myths)

**Myth** 1: **Not Enough Food to Go Around** **Reality: Abundance, not scarcity, best describes the world's food supply**. **Enough wheat, rice and other grains are produced to provide every human** being **with 3,200 calories a day**. That doesn't even count many other commonly eaten foods - ­vegetables, beans, nuts, root crops, fruits, grass-fed meats, and fish. Enough food is available to provide at least 4.3 pounds of food per person a day worldwide: two and half pounds of grain, beans and nuts, about a pound of fruits and vegetables, and nearly another pound of meat, milk and eggs - ­enough to make most people fat! **The problem is that many** people **are too poor to buy readily available food**. **Even most "hungry countries" have enough food** for all their people right now. **Many are net exporters of food** and other agricultural products.

**Food wars are a myth – there’s zero empirical evidence**

**Salehyan 7** (Idean, Professor of Political Science – University of North Texas, “The New Myth About Climate Change”, Foreign Policy, Summer, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story\_id=3922)

First, **aside from** a few **anecdotes, there is** **little systematic empirical evidence** **that resource scarcity** and changing environmental conditions **lead to conflict**. In fact, **several studies have shown that an abundance of** natural **resources is more likely to contribute to conflict**. Moreover, even as the planet has warmed, the number of civil wars and insurgencies has decreased dramatically. Data collected by researchers at Uppsala University and the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo shows a steep decline in the number of armed conflicts around the world. Between 1989 and 2002, some 100 armed conflicts came to an end, including the wars in Mozambique, Nicaragua, and Cambodia. If global warming causes conflict, we should not be witnessing this downward trend. Furthermore, if famine and drought led to the crisis in Darfur, why have scores of environmental catastrophes failed to set off armed conflict elsewhere? For instance, the U.N. World Food Programme warns that **5 million people in Malawi have been experiencing chronic food shortages for** several **years. But** famine-wracked **Malawi has yet to experience** a major civil **war**. **Similarly, the** Asian **tsunami in 2004** killed hundreds of thousands of people, generated millions of environmental refugees, and l**ed to severe shortages of** shelter, **food**, clean water, and electricity. **Yet the tsunami**, one of the most extreme catastrophes in recent history, **did not lead to** an outbreak of **resource wars**. **Clearly** then, **there is much more to** armed **conflict than resource scarcity** and natural disasters

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Alt Causes

**Too many causes—climate change, biofuels, and speculation**

**Emerging Markets, 6/17**

Emerging Markets , Calls grow for global food price action, 17/06/2012 | Phil Thornton, http://www.emergingmarkets.org/Article/3047619/News/Calls-grow-for-global-food-price-action.html

Oxfam called on the G20 to fix what it called “the broken food system”. **“The G20 persists in failing to address the most important drivers of the food price crisis: increased demand for biofuels, financial speculation on commodities, and climate change,”** it said. Mexico has prioritized improving food security, decreasing food price volatility, and increasing agricultural productivity under its G20 presidency. A report, commissioned by President Felipe Calderon, last week urged the G20 to show leadership in multilateral negotiations, strengthen rules on import and export restrictions, as well as on domestic support schemes that distort production incentives.

**Multiple causes-ethanol and speculation 🡪spikes**

**Emerging Markets, 6/17**

Emerging Markets , Calls grow for global food price action, 17/06/2012 | Phil Thornton, http://www.emergingmarkets.org/Article/3047619/News/Calls-grow-for-global-food-price-action.html

**He called on the G20 to take action to curb speculation and limit the amount of corn diverted to ethanol production, which he said was the driving factors behind food prices rises. “**It is possible for the G20 to make stronger statements about the need for changes in biofuel policy and for the need to confine speculative activity to levels that are consistent with well-behaving markets,” he said. “But it is surely important for the G20 to come out clearly on these matters. It would help and one might hope it will become part of the momentum towards both understanding these issues and acting on them.”

### \*\*Economy F/L\*\*

#### The economy is in stable recovery now - four indicators

**Johnson 7/14**

(Robert - director of economic analysis at Morningstar – “Already in a Recession? Not So Fast.” – July 14 2012 - <http://news.morningstar.com/articlenet/article.aspx?id=559974>)

While many commentators define a recession as two negative quarters of GDP growth, the official statisticians look at four metrics: industrial production, retail sales adjusted for inflation, personal income less transfer payments (unemployment, disability, Social Security) adjusted for inflation, and employment. Most of the metrics are currently improving after hitting lower growth rates earlier in 2012. Only retail sales are in a clear downward trend, and that is largely because of falling gasoline prices, which is actually a good thing for the economy.

#### Their Davisdon 12 evidence indicates that a major cause for economic slowdown is because highway are too narrow and bridges are overtaxed—the plan does nothing to fix these issues in other transportation sectors.

#### Their Davisdon evidence also says the waterways would be well developed by 2020 at the earliest, meaning they won’t be able to solve their impacts in the next few years when the economy will be declining as their UQ ev indicates.

#### The US is still the leader in competitiveness—the world economy goes down with us.

Frederick E. Allen, May 30, 2012. “The US Still Leads the World in Competitiveness.” Frederick E. Allen, Forbes Staff.—Leadership of Editors at Forbes. http://www.forbes.com/sites/frederickallen/2012/05/30/the-u-s-still-leads-the-world-in-competitiveness/

Worried that we’re falling behind in the world economy, and that other nations, like maybe China, are pulling ahead of us? Relax. Here’s reassurance from IMD, the international business school in Lausanne, Switzerland: The findings of its annual World Competitiveness Yearbook are just out, and they show that the only place that can touch us is a relative pygmy, Hong Kong.¶ IMD ranked 59 economies across the world, measuring “how well countries manage their economic and human resources to increase their prosperity.” It used 329 ranking criteria, a third of them arising from a survey of more than 4,200 international executives. The 10 most competitive nations, with their scores relative to the first-place finisher, are:¶ 1. Hong Kong. Score: 100.00¶ 2. USA: 97.75¶ 3. Switzerland: 96.68¶ 4. Singapore: 95.92¶ 5. Sweden: 91.39¶ 6. Canada: 90.29¶ 7. Taiwan: 89.96¶ 8. Norway: 89.67¶ 9. Germany: 89.26¶ 10. Qatar: 88.48¶ ¶ The 10 Hardest Jobs to Fill in America¶ Jacquelyn Smith¶ Forbes Staff¶ ¶ The Red Hot Heart of Leadership¶ August Turak¶ Contributor¶ Last year the U.S. and Hong Kong were tied for first place, and Singapore, Sweden, and Canada were respectively third, fourth, and fifth. The last-place finisher is Venezuela, with a score of 31.45. It’s the only country to do worse than poor, beleaguered Greece (43.05). Mainland China, in case you were wondering, is No. 23, down from 19 last year. The rankings’ authors observe that in Europe, Ireland (20), Iceland (26), and Italy (40) look better positioned to recover economically, judging by the numbers, than Spain (39), Portugal (41), or Greece (58).¶ Prof. Stephane Garelli, director of IMD’s World Competitiveness Center, says, “U.S. competitiveness has a deep impact on the rest of the world because it is uniquely interacting with every economy, advanced or emerging. No other nation can exercise such a strong ‘pull effect’ on the world. Europe is burdened with austerity and fragmented political leadership and is hardly a credible substitute, while a South-South bloc of emerging markets is still a work in progress. In the end, if the U.S. competes, the world succeeds.”

#### Alt Causality to US economic competitiveness:

#### First, healthcare costs.

Toni Johnson, March 26, 2012. “Healthcare Costs and U.S. Competitiveness.” Council on Foreign Relations- The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher. Toni Johnson is a Senior Editor and Senior Staff Writer. She has been a reporter for Congressional Quarterly and Washington’s Federal Paper. She has a masters in international affairs from American University. She has been part of International Reporting Project at John Hopkins University.

The United States spends an estimated $2 trillion annually on healthcare expenses, more than any other industrialized country. According to data from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United States spends two-and-a-half times more than the OECD average, and yet ranks with Turkey and Mexico as the only OECD countries without universal health coverage. Some analysts say an increasing number of U.S. businesses are less competitive globally because of ballooning healthcare costs. U.S. economic woes have heightened the burden of healthcare costs both on individuals and businesses. The U.S. healthcare reform law signed by President Barack Obama on March 23, 2010 includes measures aimed at making health care less expensive and more accessible, including upgrades to government-run Medicare and Medicaid. Still, reforming health care has proved politically divisive, especially over the option to expand social medicine, as well as new mandates on employers and individuals. The Supreme Court will hear arguments starting March 26, 2012 on whether the law is unconstitutional, amid calls by the law's detractors to repeal it entirely. Whether these reforms will reduce the healthcare cost burden on U.S. industry remains under debate.¶ Competitive Disadvantage¶ The United States spent more than 17 percent of its GDP on health care, higher than any other developed nation. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated in 2008 that number would rise to 25 percent by 2025 without changes to federal law (PDF). Employer-funded coverage is the structural mainstay of the U.S. health insurance system. A November 2008 Kaiser Foundation report says access to employer-sponsored health insurance has been on the decline (PDF) among low-income workers, and health premiums for workers have risen 114 percent in the last decade (PDF). Small businesses are less likely than large employers to be able to provide health insurance as a benefit. At 12 percent, health care is the most expensive benefit paid by U.S. employers, according to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.¶ Some economists say these ballooning dollar figures place a heavy burden on companies doing business in the United States and can put them at a substantial competitive disadvantage in the international marketplace. For large multinational corporations, footing healthcare costs presents an enormous expense. General Motors, for instance, covers more than 1.1 million employees and former employees, and the company says it spends roughly $5 billion on healthcare expenses annually. GM says healthcare costs add between $1,500 and $2,000 to the sticker price of every automobile it makes. Health benefits for unionized auto workers became a central issue derailing the 2008 congressional push to provide a financial bailout to GM and its ailing Detroit rival, Chrysler.

#### Second, lack of proficiency in STEM fields tanks competitiveness

Department of Labor, April 2007. “The STEM Workforce Challenge: The Role of the Public Workforce System in a National Solution for a Competitive Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) Workforce.” The Untied States Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration by Jobs for the Future. http://www.doleta.gov/youth\_services/pdf/STEM\_Report\_4%2007.pdf

There is broad consensus that the long-term key to continued U.S. competitiveness in an increas- ingly global economic environment is the adequacy of supply and the quality of the workforce in the STEM fields. Scientific innovation has produced roughly half of all U.S. economic growth in the last 50 years (National Science Foundation 2004). The STEM fields and those who work¶ in them are critical engines of innovation and growth: according to one recent estimate, while only about five percent of the U.S. workforce is employed in STEM fields, the STEM workforce accounts for more than fifty percent of the nation’s sustained economic growth (Babco 2004). Opinion leaders and the public broadly agree that education in math and science is critical to the nation’s future success. According to a recent Educational Testing Service survey, 61 percent of opinion leaders and 40 percent of the general public identify math, science and technology skills as the most important ingredients in the nation’s strategy to compete in the global economy (Zinth 2006).¶ This engine of growth is increasingly precarious in today’s global economy. The Business Round- table (2005) warns that, if current trends continue, more than 90 percent of all scientists and engineers in the world will live in Asia. The Business-Higher Education Forum (2005) concludes: “Increased global competition, lackluster performance in mathematics and science education, and a lack of national focus on renewing its science and technology infrastructure have created a new economic and technological vulnerability as serious as any military or terrorist threat.” The seminal National Academy of Sciences study, Rising Above the Gathering Storm (2006), argues that, absent a serious and rapid response, the U.S. will lose quality jobs to other nations, lowering our standard of living, reducing tax revenues, and weakening the domestic market for goods and services. Once this cycle accelerates, it will be difficult to regain lost preeminence in technology- driven innovation and its economic benefits.¶ The STEM education and workforce challenge is multi-faceted.¶ • Many students never make it into the STEM pipeline, because of inadequate preparation in math and science or poor teacher quality in their K-12 systems. Of the 2005 high school graduates who took the ACT test, for example, only 41 percent achieved the College Readiness Benchmark in mathematics and 26 percent achieved that benchmark in science (ACT 2006).¶ • Many who are academically qualified for postsecondary studies in science and math fields at both the two- and four-year levels, don’t pursue those programs: They might be dissuaded by disappoint- ing postsecondary experiences, high tuition or demanding curricula and courses of study, relatively low salaries in STEM fields compared to other professions, or the lack of role models with whom they can identify (American Association of State Colleges and Universities 2005). Whatever the rea- sons, trends in undergraduate and graduate enrollment in the biological, engineering, and physical sciences are troubling, as modest growth in STEM field degree graduates is being eclipsed by more dramatic growth in graduates from non-STEM programs (U.S. Govern- ment Accountability Office 2005).¶ • The low engagement with STEM-related learning is particularly acute among minority, female, and lower-income students, who comprise a growing proportion of the total college-going public. In the 2000 National Assessment of Educational Progress for twelfth grade students, about three out of four white and Asian students scored at or above basic level (which is far below proficient) on the math assessment, while fewer than half of Hispanics and under a third of African American students attained that level (National Science Foundation 2005).

**No impact to economic decline – empirically proven**

**Ferguson, 2006** (Niall, MA, D.Phil., is the Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard University. He is a resident faculty member of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies. He is also a Senior Reseach Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford University, and a Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Foreign Affairs, Sept/Oct)

**Nor can economic crises explain** the **bloodshed**. What may be **the most familiar causal chain in modern historiography links the Great Depression to** the rise of **fascism and** the outbreak of **World War II. But** that simple story leaves too much out. **Nazi Germany started the war** in Europe **only after its economy** had **recovered. Not all** the **countries affected by the** Great **Depression were taken over by fascist regimes, nor did all such regimes start wars** of aggression. In fact, **no general relationship between economics and conflict is discernible** for the century as a whole. **Some wars came after periods of growth, others were the causes rather than the consequences of economic catastrophe, and some severe economic crises were not followed by wars**.

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Competitiveness High

#### US is the leader in global competitiveness in the status quo.

Graham White, June 1, 2012. “World Competitiveness Rankings: What do they tell us.” The Conservation—Latest ideas and research in Australia and around the world. Graham White is a Senior Lecture in the School of Economics at the University of Sydney. http://theconversation.edu.au/world-competitiveness-rankings-what-do-they-tell-us-7397

The IMD World Competitiveness Rankings released this week are worth reflecting on, not so much because of the relative positioning of various countries – including Australia – but rather because of the reasoning which underpins the rankings.¶ The press release accompanying the rankings gives some indication of this reasoning. The first point worth noting is the potentially misleading use of the term competitiveness. When this term is used by economists it usually refers to the price competitiveness of a country’s exports and import-competing goods. And for many economists this would over time be bound up with the relative real unit labour costs across different countries.¶ The reasoning accompanying the IMD rankings suggest however a much looser use of the term “competitiveness”. What’s suggested is rather a view about the potential of different countries for sustained economic prosperity.¶ Now, price competitiveness of one’s exports and import-substitutes may be part of this, but is certainly never the whole story.¶ Moreover, as a number of economists over the years have noted, the world economy is not an open economy, but a closed economy. This means that one country’s improved competitiveness is at the expense of another country.¶ In other words, growing your economy through exports at the expense of other countries can mean exporting not just goods and services, but exporting unemployment to other countries as well.¶ IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook 2012¶ So one needs to be cautious in drawing links between competitiveness and economic prosperity – it is not a game everyone can win.¶ Another interesting feature of the IMD release relates to the position of the US. It is suggested that the “US remains at the centre of world competitiveness because of its unique economic power”.¶ Undoubtedly the element of truth in this statement is the continued hegemony of the US in the global economy.¶ But one could reasonably contend that this is much less to do with any superiority in competitiveness of the US in the narrow economic sense and much more to do with the continued dominant status of the US dollar as a de facto reserve currency in the international monetary system.¶ And this dominance – effectively emerging as far back as the end of the First World War – has continued, interestingly, while the external accounts of the US – specifically, its current account – have been deteriorating.¶ In fact the US current account has been deteriorating since the breakdown of the Bretton Woods era in the early 1970’s.This in turn has reflected a long-run deterioration in US trade performance. Yet this has not seemingly impeded the economic dominance of the US.¶

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Econ Resilient/Improving

#### Despite volatility, US econ is still resilient and improving.

Joshua Zumbrun and Romy Varghese, May 9, 2012. “Fed’s Plosser Says US Economy Proving Resilient to Shocks.” Business Week. Zumbrun and Varghese are Business Week correspondents. http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-05-09/fed-s-plosser-says-u-dot-s-dot-economy-proving-resilient-to-shocks

Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank President Charles Plosser said the U.S. economy has proven “remarkably resilient” to shocks that can damage growth, including surging oil prices and natural disasters.¶ “The economy has now grown for 11 consecutive quarters,” Plosser said today according to remarks prepared for a speech at the Philadelphia Fed. “Growth is not robust. But growth in the past year has continued despite significant risks and external and internal headwinds.”¶ Plosser, who did not discuss his economic outlook or the future for monetary policy, cited shocks to the economy last year, including the tsunami in Japan that disrupted global supply chains, Europe’s credit crisis that has damaged the continent’s banking system and political unrest in the Middle East and North Africa.¶ “The U.S. economy has a history of being remarkably resilient,” said Plosser, who doesn’t have a vote on policy this year. “These shocks held GDP growth to less than 1 percent in the first half of 2011, and many analysts were concerned that the economy was heading toward a double dip. Yet, the economy proved resilient and growth picked up in the second half of the year.”¶ Plosser spoke at a conference at the Philadelphia Fed titled, “Reinventing Older Communities: Building Resilient Cities.”

#### Factory growth proves that US econ is resilient and will avoid double dip.

Fox News May 1, 2012 “US Factory Growth Shows Economy More Resilient.” Published May 1, 2012 by the Associated Press. No author listed, Fox News. http://www.foxnews.com/us/2012/05/01/us-manufacturing-grows-at-fastest-pace-since-june/

US Factory Growth Shows Economy More Resilient: WASHINGTON – U.S. manufacturing grew last month at the fastest pace in 10 months, suggesting that the economy is healthier than recent data had indicated.¶ New orders, production and a measure of hiring all rose. The April survey from the Institute for Supply Management was a hopeful sign ahead of Friday's monthly jobs report and helped the Dow Jones industrial average end the day at its highest level in more than four years.¶ The trade group of purchasing managers said Tuesday that its index of manufacturing activity reached 54.8 in April, the highest level since June. Readings above 50 indicate expansion.¶ The sharp increase surprised analysts, who had predicted a decline after several regional reports showed manufacturing growth weakened last month. The gain led investors to shift money out of bonds and into stocks. The Dow Jones industrial added 66 points to 13,279, its best close since Dec. 28, 2007. Broader indexes also surged.¶ The ISM manufacturing index is closely watched in part because it's the first major economic report for each month. April's big gain followed a series of weaker reports in recent weeks that showed hiring slowed, applications for unemployment benefits rose and factory output dropped.¶ "This survey will ease concerns that the softer tone of the incoming news in recent months marked the start of a renewed slowdown in growth," Paul Dales, an economist at Capital Economics, said in a note to clients. "We think the latest recovery is made of sterner stuff, although we doubt it will set the world alight."

### 2NC/1NC Ext: Alt Causality

#### Healthcare and corporate tax reform is destroying economic competitiveness.

Wall Street Journal, June 17, 2009, “Health Reform and Competitiveness.” Wall Street Journal Review and Outlook. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB124520327436821723.html

Democrats have spent years arguing that corporate tax rates don't matter to U.S. competitiveness. But all of a sudden one of their favorite arguments for government-run health care has become . . . U.S. corporate competitiveness. Political conversions on this scale could use a little scrutiny.¶ "Businesses now recognize that if we don't get a handle on this stuff then they are going to continue to be operating at a competitive disadvantage with other countries," President Obama recently remarked. "And so they anxiously seek serious reform."¶ Sure enough, many business leaders who should know better have picked up the White House theme. "You won't fundamentally solve the problems in business until you solve the problem of spiraling health-care costs, which is driving everybody crazy," said Google CEO Eric Schmidt the other day.¶ Messrs. Obama and Schmidt need to brush up on their economics. Employers may write the checks to the insurance companies, but workers still pay for the coverage they get from those employers. The total cost of an employee is what matters to businesses, and fringe benefits are as much a part of compensation as cash wages. When health costs rise, firms don't become less competitive, as if insurance were lopped out of profits. Instead, nonhealth compensation drops. Or wages rise more slowly than they otherwise would.¶ A recent study from none other than the White House Council of Economic Advisers notes exactly this point: If medical spending continues to accelerate, it expects take-home pay to stagnate. According to the New York Times, White House economic aide Larry Summers pressured CEA chairman Christine Romer to make the competitiveness argument, "adding that it was among the political advisers' favorite 'talking points.'" Ms. Romer pointedly retorted, "I'm not going to put schlocky arguments in there." How the schlock gets into Mr. Obama's speeches is a different question.¶ It's certainly true that the U.S. employer-based insurance system can dampen entrepreneurial spirits. There's the "job lock" phenomenon, in which employees fear leaving a less productive job because they're afraid to lose their health benefits. Another problem is that insurance costs more for small groups than the large risk pools that big corporations assemble, meaning that it's harder to form new businesses that can offer policies. But all this is really an argument for developing the individual health insurance market, where policies would follow workers, not jobs.¶ As for the competitiveness line, it's nonsense for most companies. The exceptions are heavily unionized businesses like auto makers that have locked themselves in to gold-plated coverage, especially for retirees. They have a harder time adjusting health costs and wages. Other companies might get a bit more running room in the short run if government assumed all health costs a la the single-payer systems of Western Europe. But over time the market would clear -- compensation being determined by the demand for and supply of labor -- and wages would rise. Or they might not rise at all if health-care costs are merely replaced by the tax increases necessary to finance Mr. Obama's new multi-trillion-dollar entitlement.¶ This is where the real competitiveness argument is precisely the opposite of the one pitched by Messrs. Obama and Schmidt. Consider the European welfare states, where costly entitlements and regulations make it extremely expensive to hire new workers. The nearby table lays out the tax wedge, the share of labor costs that never reaches employees but instead goes straight to government. In Germany, France and Italy, the tax wedge hovers around 50%, in part to pay for state-provided health care.¶ By contrast, the U.S. tax wedge was around 30% in 2008, according to the OECD. In other words, the costs of providing insurance would merely be converted into a larger wedge, which would itself eat into compensation. This is why Europe has tended to have higher unemployment and slower economic growth over the past 30 years.¶ If Democrats really want to increase U.S. competitiveness, they could look at the corporate income tax, which is the second highest in the industrialized world and a major impediment to U.S. job creation when global capital is so fluid. Or drop their proposals to raise personal income-tax rates, which affect thousands of small- and medium-size businesses that have fled the corporate tax regime as limited liability companies or Subchapter S corporations. Or cut capital gains rates, which deter risk taking and investment. Or rethink their plans to rig the rules in favor of organized labor by doing away with secret ballots in union elections.

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Econ d/n ≠ war

#### 93 economic downturns since World War Two disprove the link between economy and war

**Miller 2000** (Morris, Adjunct Professor of Administration at the University of Ottawa, Interdisciplinary Science Reviews, Vol 24 No 4)

The question may be reformulated. Do wars spring from a popular reaction to a sudden economic crisis that exacerbates poverty and growing disparities in wealth and incomes? Perhaps one could argue, as some scholars do, that it is some dramatic event or sequence of such events leading to the exacerbation of poverty that, in turn, leads to this deplorable denouement. This exogenous factor might act as a catalyst for a violent reaction on the part of the people or on the part of the political leadership who would then possibly be tempted to seek a diversion by finding or, if need be, fabricating an enemy and setting in train the process leading to war. According to a study undertaken by Minxin Pei and Ariel Adesnik of the Carnegie endowment for International Peace, there would not appear to be any merit in this hypothesis. After studying ninety-three episodes of economic crisis in twenty-two countries in Latin America and Asia in the years since the Second World War they concluded that: Much of the conventional wisdom about the political impact of economic crises may be wrong…The severity of economic crisis – as measured in terms of inflation and negative growth – bore no relationship to the collapse of regimes…(or, in democratic states, rarely) to an outbreak of violence…In the cases of dictatorships and semi-democracies, the ruling elites responded to crises by increasing repression (thereby using one form of violence to abort another).

#### Economic decline doesn’t cause war.

Blackwill 09 [Robert D. Blackwill—former deputy of national security advisor for strategic planning, running the RAND institute. ‘The Geopolitical Consequences of the World Economic Recession—A Caution.” http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\_papers/2009/RAND\_OP275.pdf]

Earlier slumps that have affected the United States may hold lessons regarding the present one. Including this recession, from 1945 to 2009, the National Bureau of Economic Research has identi- fied 12 U.S. recessions; excluding the current reces- sion, their average duration was ten months (peak to trough).8 Did any of these post–World War II U.S. economic downturns result in deep structural altera- tions in the international order, that is, a fundamen- tal, long-term change in the behavior of individual nations? None is apparent. Indeed, on some occasions geopolitical events caused international economic dips, but not the other way around. For example, the Iranian Revolution in 1979 sharply increased the global price of oil, which in turn produced an inter- national energy crisis and, abetted by tight monetary policy by the Federal Reserve, a U.S. recession.

### \*\*Hegemony F/L\*\*

#### The military misuses waterways—they can’t power project and land forces check.

Michael B. Baka, May 4, 2011. “Giving Up Terrain: The US Armed Force’s Failure to Control Inland Waterways in the 21st Century.” Naval War College. Baka is a Major in the U.S. Army. Defense Technical Information Center. http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a545962.pdf

80 percent of the world’s maritime agencies operate solely in the green or brown water environments, since these water routes serve as the primary lines of communication for many nations around the globe. Since the end of the Vietnam War, the U.S. armed forces have effectively abandoned the ability to control inland waterways by failing to build or maintain a force capable of projecting seapower into the brown water environment. By ceding this decisive terrain to our adversaries, during this extended period of irregular warfare, the United States risks failure in future operating environments. This paper examines the U.S. Navy’s most recent exploit in the brown water environment of Iraq and discusses their severe force-space imbalance with a comparison to the Vietnam-era riverine force. It also sheds light on what it means to control inland waterways, who should take on this responsibility, and how the Iraq insurgency held this decisive terrain. Finally, the paper draws conclusions concerning future brown water environments; and recommends ways the Navy can grow a suitable riverine force and potential ways to improve joint training opportunities…CONTROLLING THE INLAND WATERWAYS Other than the Vietnam War, the American Civil War is the only comparable large- scale joint riverine campaign undertaken in U.S. history. During this period, both the Union and Confederate navies deployed a significant number of small river craft in close coordination with their respective armies.4 For the 100 years that followed, the U.S. Navy continued to participate in small-scale riverine operations in countries like China, Korea, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Philippines, Russia, and Germany.5 In the ̳60s, the U.S. military took part in its largest joint riverine campaign ever. From 1968 to 1970, ADM Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr. served as Commander of the U.S. Naval Forces Vietnam and was considered ―the Father of Brown Water Navy.‖6The U. S. Navy took the lead by deploying several riverine task forces with more than 500 craft and 9,000 Sailors to operate in the inland waterways of South Vietnam, supported by over 22,500 personnel from the Army‘s 9th Infantry Division, as well as Air Force, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps personnel.7 Soon after the Vietnam War, however, the U.S. Navy effectively abandoned the ability to control inland waterways for the pressing Cold War mission of nuclear deterrence and blue water power projection… Some may argue that the U.S. Army maintains a sizeable force inland that is capable of taking on this mission. Indeed the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) maintains a robust bridging capability, most recently tested during Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR on the Sava River in Bosnia and Herzegovina and during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM on the Tigris River in Iraq. In both cases, the U.S Army deployed bridging units to hostile areas, built float bridges nearly 600 meters in length under adverse conditions, and successfully secured these bridges for extended periods of time through waterway patrols.14 Although the Army maintains a limited patrol boat capability, it traditionally handles inland waterways as natural obstacles serving as easily identifiable boundaries between adjacent ground units.15 This was a common occurrence during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM where many tactical boundaries corresponded with rivers, canals, and roadways in Iraq. If inland waterways typically serve as boundaries for ground forces, then who really owns the water between opposing riverbanks? The Army‘s view of rivers and canals in Iraq certainly allowed for seams in the battle space, providing insurgents freedom of maneuver to transport weapons, munitions, supplies, and personnel. The span of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers measure up to 600 meters, making it is highly unlikely that ground forces can control this terrain.

**Hegemonic decline is inevitable**

Christopher **Layne,** January 27**, 2012**– professor and Robert M. Gates Chair in National Security at Texas A & M’s George H. W. Bush School of Government and Public Service (Christopher, “The (Almost) Triumph of Offshore Balancing”, <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/almost-triumph-offshore-balancing-6405>, 1/27. )

Although cloaked in the reassuring boilerplate about American military preeminence and global leadership, in reality the Obama administration’s new Defense Strategic Guidance (DSG) is the first step in the United States’ adjustment to the end of the Pax Americana—the sixty-year period of dominance that began in 1945. As the Pentagon document says—without spelling out the long-term grand-strategic implications—the United States is facing “an inflection point.” In plain English, **a profound power shift in international politics** is taking place, **which compels a rethinking of the U.S. world role**. The DSG is a response to two drivers. First, **the United States is in economic decline and will face a serious fiscal crisis by the end of this decade**. As President Obama said, the DSG reflects the need to “put our fiscal house in order here at home and renew our long-term economic strength.” The best indicators of U.S. decline are its GDP relative to potential competitors and its share of world manufacturing output. **China’s manufacturing output has now edged past that of the United States** **and** accounts for just over 18 or 19 percent of world manufacturing output. With respect to GDP, virtually all leading economic forecasters agree that, measured by market-exchange rates, China’s **aggregate GDP will exceed that of the United States** by the end of the current decade. Measured by purchasing-power parity, some leading economists believe China already is the world’s number-one economy. Clearly, China is on the verge of overtaking the United States economically. At the end of this decade, when the ratio of U.S. government debt to GDP is likely to exceed the danger zone of 100 percent, the United States will face a severe fiscal crisis. In a June 2011 report, the Congressional Budget Office warned that unless Washington drastically slashes expenditures—including on entitlements and defense—and raises taxes, it is headed for a fiscal train wreck. Moreover, concerns about future inflation and America’s ability to repay its debts could imperil the U.S. dollar’s reserve-currency status. That currency status allows the United States to avoid difficult “guns-or-butter” trade-offs and live well beyond its means while enjoying entitlements at home and geopolitical preponderance abroad. But that works only so long as foreigners are willing to lend the United States money. Speculation is now commonplace about the dollar’s long-term hold on reserve-currency status. It would have been unheard of just a few years ago. The second driver behind the new Pentagon strategy is the shift in global wealth and power from the Euro-Atlantic world to Asia. **As new great powers** such as China and, eventually, India **emerge**, **important regional powers** such as Russia, Japan, Turkey, Korea, South Africa and Brazil **will assume more prominent roles in international politics. Thus, the post-Cold War “unipolar moment,”** when the United States commanded the global stage as the “sole remaining superpower,” **will be replaced by a multipolar international system.** The Economist recently projected that China’s defense spending will equal that of the United States by 2025. By the middle or end of the next decade, China will be positioned to shape a new international order based on the rules and norms that it prefers—and, perhaps, to provide the international economy with a new reserve currency. Two terms not found in the DSG are “decline” and “imperial overstretch” (the latter coined by the historian Paul Kennedy to describe the consequences when a great power’s economic resources can’t support its external ambitions). But, although President Obama and Defense Secretary Leon Panetta may not admit it, the DSG is the first move in what figures to be a dramatic strategic retrenchment by the United States over the next two decades. **This retrenchment will push to the fore a new U.S. grand strategy—offshore balancing**. In a 1997 article in International Security, I argued that offshore balancing would displace America’s primacy strategy because it would prove difficult to sustain U.S. primacy in the face of emerging new powers and the erosion of U.S. economic dominance. Even in 1997, it was foreseeable that as U.S. advantages eroded, there would be strong pressures for the United States to bring its commitments into line with its shrinking economic base. **This would require scaling back the U.S. military presence abroad**; setting clear strategic priorities; devolving the primary responsibility for maintaining security in Europe and East Asia to regional actors; and significantly reducing the size of the U.S. military. Subsequent to that article, offshore balancing has been embraced by other leading American thinkers, including John Mearsheimer, Stephen Walt, Barry Posen, Christopher Preble and Robert Pape. To be sure, the proponents of offshore balancing have differing ideas about its specifics. But they all agree that offshore balancing is based on a common set of core strategic principles. Fiscal and economic constraints require that the United States set strategic priorities. Accordingly, the country should withdraw or downsize its forces in Europe and the Middle East and concentrate is military power in East Asia. America’s comparative strategic advantages rest on naval and air power, not on sending land armies to fight ground wars in Eurasia. Thus the United States should opt for the strategic precepts of Alfred Thayer Mahan (the primacy of air and sea power) over those of Sir Halford Mackinder (the primacy of land power). **Offshore balancing** is a strategy of burden shifting, not burden sharing. It **is based on getting other states to do more for their security so the United States can do less.** **By reducing its** geopolitical and military **footprint** on the ground in the Middle East, **the United States can reduce the incidence of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism directed against it.** Islamic terrorism is a push back against U.S. dominance and policies in the region and against on-the-ground forces in the region. The one vital U.S. interest there—safeguarding the free flow of Persian Gult oil—can be ensured largely by naval and air power. The United States must avoid future large-scale nation-building exercises like those in Iraq and Afghanistan and refrain from fighting wars for the purpose of attaining regime change. Several of these points are incorporated in the new DSG. For example, the new strategy document declares that the United States “will of necessity rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region.” The document also states the United States will “rebalance [its] military investment in Europe” and that the American military posture on the Continent must “evolve.” (The Pentagon’s recent decision to cut U.S. ground forces in Europe from four brigades to two is an example of this “evolution.”) Finally, implicitly rejecting the post-9/11 American focus on counterinsurgency, the strategy document says that with the end of the Iraq war and the winding down of the conflict in Afghanistan, “**U.S. forces will no longer be sized to conduct large-scale, prolonged stability operations.”** The DSG reflects the reality that offshore balancing has jumped from the cloistered walls of academe to the real world of Washington policy making. In recent years the U.S. Navy, the Joint Staff and the National Intelligence Council all have shown interest in offshore balancing as an alternative to primacy. Indeed, in his February 2011 West Point speech, then defense secretary Robert Gates made two key points that expressed a clear strategic preference for Mahan over Mackinder. First, he said that “the most plausible, high-end scenarios for the U.S. military are primarily naval and air engagements—whether in Asia, the Persian Gulf, or elsewhere.” Second—with an eye on the brewing debate about intervention in Libya—he declared that “any future defense secretary who advises the president to again send a big American land army into Asia or into the Middle East or Africa should ‘have his head examined,’ as General MacArthur so delicately put it.” In plain English, **no more Eurasian land wars**. The subsequent Libyan intervention bore the hallmarks of offshore balancing: The United States refused to commit ground forces and shifted the burden of military heavy lifting to the Europeans. Still, within the DSG document there is an uneasy tension between the recognition that economic constraints increasingly will impinge on the U.S. strategic posture and the assertion that America’s global interests and military role must remain undiminished. This reflects a deeper intellectual dissonance within the foreign-policy establishment, which is reluctant to accept the reality of American decline. In August 2010, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton proclaimed a “New American Moment;” reaffirmed the U.S. responsibility to lead the world; and laid out an ambitious U.S. global agenda. **More recently, Mitt Romney**, a leading contender for the Republican presidential nomination, **declared that the twenty-first century “must be an American century”** and that “America is not destined to be one of several equally balanced global powers.” **These views are echoed by foreign-policy scholars who refuse to acknowledge the reality of decline or embrace a theory of “painless decline”** whereby Pax Americana’s norms and institutions will survive any American retrenchment. But, American “exceptionalism” notwithstanding, the United States is not exempt from the historical pattern of great-power decline. The country needs to adjust to the world of 2025 when China will be the number-one economy and spending more on defense than any other nation. Effective strategic retrenchment is about more than just cutting the defense budget; it also means redefining America’s interests and external ambitions. Hegemonic decline is never painless. As the twenty-first century’s second decade begins, history and multipolarity are staging a comeback. **The central strategic preoccupation of the United States during the next two decades will be its own decline and China’s rise.**

**US Hegemony can no longer contain conflicts – their arguments don’t reflect the new international order**

Christopher **Layne** 3-28-**11** (Christopher Layne is Professor and Robert M. Gates Chair in National Security at Texas A & M University's Bush School of Government and Public Service. “Bye bye, Miss American Pie” The European Magazine Online – 3-28-2011 <http://theeuropean-magazine.com/223-layne-christopher/231-pax-americana>)

**American primacy’s end is result of history’s big, impersonal forces compounded by the United States’ own self-defeating policies**. Externally, **the impact of these big historical forces is reflected in the emergence of new great powers like China and India which is being driven by the unprecedented shift in the center of global economic power** from the Euro-Atlantic area to Asia. **China’s economy has been growing much more rapidly than the United States’** over the last two decades and continues to do so. U.S. decline reflects its own economic troubles. **Optimists contend that current worries about decline will fade** once the U.S. recovers from the recession. After all, they say, the U.S. faced a larger debt/GDP ratio after World War II, and yet embarked on a sustained era of growth. But the post-war era was a golden age of U.S. industrial and financial dominance, trade surpluses, and sustained high growth rates. **Those days are gone** forever. **The United States of 2011 is different** from 1945. Even in the best case, the United States will emerge from the current crisis facing a grave fiscal crisis. **The looming fiscal results** **from the $1 trillion plus budget deficits** that the U.S. will incur for at least a decade. When these are **bundled with the entitlements** overhang (the unfunded future liabilities of Medicare and Social Security) and **the cost of the ongoing wars** in Iraq and Afghanistan, **there is reason to worry about United States’ long-term fiscal stability – and the role of the dollar**. The dollar’s vulnerability is the United States’ real geopolitical Achilles’ heel because the dollar’s role as the international economy’s reserve currency role underpins U.S. primacy. **If the dollar loses that status America’s hegemony literally will be unaffordable.** In coming years the U.S. will be pressured to defend the dollar by preventing runaway inflation. This will require fiscal self-discipline through a combination of tax increases and big spending cuts. Meaningful cuts in federal spending mean deep reductions in defense expenditures because discretionary non-defense – domestic – spending accounts for only about 20% of annual federal outlays. Faced with these hard choices, **Americans may contract hegemony fatigue**. If so, the U.S. will be compelled to retrench strategically and the Pax Americana will end. **The Pax Americana is already crumbling in slow motion.** The current international order is based on the economic and security structures that the U.S. created after World War II. The entire fabric of world order that the United States established after 1945 – the Pax Americana – rested on the foundation of U.S. military and economic preponderance. **The decline of American power means the end of U.S. dominance in world politics and the beginning of the transition to a new constellation of world power.** Indeed, the Pax Americana is already is crumbling in slow motion.

#### Only Multipolarity solves war – there is no possibility for transition wars

Schweller, Cambridge Review, 2010 – Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University (Randall, “Entropy and the trajectory of world politics: why polarity has become less meaningful,” Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Volume 23, Number 1, March 2010, dml)

Though rarely mentioned, system equilibrium can emerge without balancing or power-seeking behaviour. This should not come as a surprise; for we know that a Concert system existed during a multipolar phase, roughly between 1815 and 1853. That system, however, arose from the ashes of war, the purpose of which was to defeat an aspiring hegemon before it rolled up the system. The current system, however, has already been ‘rolled up’ for all intents and purposes. So how could a balance of power be restored without deliberate balancing against the US? The answer is that uneven rates of growth among states seeking merely to get rich (wealth, not military power, security, or political inﬂuence over others) can produce a rough equivalence in capabilities among several states, none of which feel particularly threatened by each other or seek relative gains at the expense of one another. In other words, the major actors in the system are strictly egoistic, and they interact cooperatively, not competitively or strategically in a military sense, with each other. It is essentially an orthodox liberal world, in which international politics becomes a positive-sum game and the concept of equilibrium is, by deﬁnition, a Pareto optimal condition that no actor has an interest in changing (see Callinicos 2007, 546). Here, global equilibrium means maximum entropy. What has changed? Simply put, there is no longer an expectation of violent expansion among the great powers. Balance of power is built on the assumption not only that war is a legitimate instrument of statecraft (Jervis 1986, 60) but that states will settle their differences by ﬁghting. This expectation exercises a profound inﬂuence on the types of behaviours exhibited by states and the system as a whole (Lasswell 1965 [1935], chapter 3). It was not just the prospect of war that triggered the basic dynamics of past multipolar and bipolar systems. It was the anticipation that powerful states sought to and would, if given the right odds, carry out territorial conquests at each others’ expense that shaped and shoved actors in ways consistent with the predictions of Waltzian balance of power theory. Without the very real fear of Soviet expansion, why would bipolarity have compelled the US to adopt a grand strategy of containment and deterrence? Without the traditional expectations of great power war and conquest, why would the added complexity and uncertainty of multipolar systems make them unstable? Why would states form alliances in the ﬁrst place, much less worry about who aligns with whom? When war is unthinkable among the great powers, it is hard to see how polarity exerts the constraints predicted by structural balance of power theory. To the extent that this driving force of history is no longer in play, the system will experience increasing entropy. The current system’s ideational or social structures also seem to be pushing in the direction of greater entropy, suggesting that the world may be reaching an endpoint of sorts. This view of history is consistent with Kant’s (2005 [1795]) ‘perpetual peace’, Richard Rosecrance’s (1987) ‘rise of the trading state’, Francis Fukuyama’s (1992) ‘end of history’ and, for slightly different reasons, John Ikenberry’s (2001) vision of a ‘constitutional order’ rooted in liberalism. Regarding the latter, a ‘multipolar’ constitutional order would not be all that different from the current world because: (1) constitutional orders place limits on the returns to power, so presumably a switch from unipolarity to multipolarity would not be terribly signiﬁcant; (2) the system, though multipolar, would retain the basic foundations of the American liberal order, its underlying social values would remain intact, and (3) there would be, just as today, no balancing behaviour among the major powers against each other, and major power war would be Entropy and polarity virtually unthinkable. That noted, Ikenberry’s view of order is more centralized, structured and deliberate than the one I have in mind. An entropy version of Ikenberry’s order would be a watered-down, more decentralized and spontaneously generated liberal order—but one that still devalues power. Liberals are not the only ones making such claims. Several prominent realists have also acknowledged that the world has fundamentally changed to the point that, if and when unipolarity ends, we will not likely see a return to traditional great power politics among the core states. Robert Jervis (2005), for instance, stresses the unprecedented development of a Security Community among all the leading powers as the deﬁning feature of today’s world politics. The existence of this security community means not only that major power war has become unthinkable but also that bandwagoning and balancing ‘will not map on the classical form of the balance of power’ (Jervis 2005, 31). Similarly, Jonathan Kirshner (2008, 335) sees fewer prospects for great power war as a consequence of globalization. Along these lines, Fareed Zakaria (2008, 243) predicts a post American world governed by a messy ad hoc order composed of a` la carte multilateralism and networked interactions among state and nonstate actors. The provision of international order in this future world will no longer be a matter decided solely by the political and military power held by a single hegemon or even a group of leading states.

**Only the affirmative causes conflict – trying to stop hegemonic decline causes war with China**

**Layne 12** (Christopher, “This Time It’s Real: The End of Unipolarity and the Pax Americana”, International Studies Quarterly (2012), 1–11, dml)

What effect will China’s rise—and unipolarity’s concomitant end—and the United States’ internal economic and fiscal troubles have on the Pax Americana? Not much, according to prominent scholars such as **Ikenberry** (2001, 2011), **Zakaria** (2008), **and Brooks and Wohlforth** (2008). **They have argued that the United States can cushion itself against any future loss of hegemony** by acting now to “lock in” the Pax Americana’s essential features—its institutions, rules, and norms—so that they outlive unipolarity.11 As Ikenberry puts it, the United States should act today to put in place an institutional framework “that will safeguard our interests in future decades when we will not be a unipolar power” (Ikenberry 2011:348). **This is not a persuasive argument.** First, **there is a critical linkage between a great power’s military and economic standing, on the one hand, and its prestige and soft power, on the other**. The ebbing of the United States’ hegemony raises the question of whether it has the authority to take the lead in reforming the post-1945 international order. The Pax Americana projected the United States’ liberal ideology abroad, and asserted its universality as the only model for political, economic, and social development. **Today**, however, **the American model of free market, liberal democracy**—which came to be known in the 1990s as the Washington consensus—**is being challenged by an alternative model, the Beijing consensus** (Halper 2010). Moreover, the Great Recession discredited America’s liberal model. Consequently, **it is questionable whether the United States retains the credibility and legitimacy to spearhead the revamping of the international order.** As Financial Times columnist Martin Wolf says, **“The collapse of the western financial system**, **while China’s flourishes, marks a humiliating end to the ‘unipolar moment.’ As western policy makers struggle, their credibility lies broken**. Who still trusts the teachers?” (Wolf 2009). The second reason a US lock-in strategy is unlikely to succeed is because the United States does not have the necessary economic clout to revitalize the international order. Ikenberry defines the task of securing lock-in as “renewing and rebuilding the architecture of global governance and cooperation to allow the United States to marshal resources and tackle problems along a wide an shifting spectrum of possibilities” (Ikenberry 2011:353) To do this, the United States will need to take the lead in providing public goods: security, economic leadership, and a nation building program of virtually global dimension to combat the “socioeconomic backwardness and failure that generate regional and international instability and conflict” (Ikenberry 2011:354, 359). At the zenith of its military and economic power after World War II, the United States had the material capacity to furnish the international system with public goods. In the Great Recession’s aftermath, however, **a financially strapped United States increasingly will be unable to be a big time provider of public goods to the international order.**12 The third reason the post-World War II international order cannot be locked in is the rise of China (and other emerging great and regional powers). The lock-in argument is marred by a glaring weakness: **if they perceive that the United States is declining, the incentive for China and other emerging powers is to wait a decade or two and reshape the international system themselves in a way that reflects their own interests**, norms, and values (Jacques 2009). China and the United States have fundamental differences on what the rules of international order should be on such key issues as sovereignty, non-interference in states’ internal affairs, and the “responsibility to protect.” While **China** has integrated itself in the liberal order to propel its economic growth, it **is converting wealth into hard power to challenge American geopolitical dominance**. And although China is working “within the system” to transform the post-1945 international order, it also is laying the foundations—through embryonic institutions like the BRICs and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization—for **constructing an alternative world order that**, over the next twenty years or so, **could displace the Pax Americana**. As Martin Jacques has observed, China is operating “both within and outside the existing international system while at the same time, in effect, sponsoring a new China-centric international system which will exist alongside the present system and probably slowly begin to usurp it” (Jacques 2009:362). Great power politics is about power. Rules and institutions do not exist in vacuum. Rather, they reflect the distribution of power in the international system. In international politics, who rules makes the rules. The post-World War II international order is an American order that privileges the United States’ interests. Even the discourse of “liberal order” cannot conceal this fact. This is why the notion that China can be constrained by integrating into the post-1945 international order lacks credulity. For US scholars and policymakers alike, China’s successful integration hinges on Beijing’s willingness to accept the Pax Americana’s institutions, rules, and norms. In other words, China must accept playing second fiddle to the United States. Revealingly, **Ikenberry makes clear this expectation when he says that the deal the United States should** propose to China is for Washington “to **accommodate a rising China by offering it status and position within the regional order in return for Beijing’s acceptance** and accommodation **of Washington’s core interests, which include remaining a dominant security provider** within East Asia” (Ikenberry 2011:356). It is easy to see why the United States would want to cut such a deal but it is hard to see what’s in it for China. **American hegemony is waning and China is ascending, and there is zero reason for China to accept this bargain because it aims to be the hegemon in its own region.** The unfolding Sino-American rivalry in East Asia can be seen as an example of Dodge City syndrome (in American Western movies, one gunslinger says to the other: “This town ain’t big enough for both of us”) or as a geopolitical example of Newtonian physics (two hegemons cannot occupy the same region at the same time). From either perspective, the dangers should be **obvious: unless the United States is willing to accept China’s ascendancy** in East (and Southeast) Asia, **Washington and Beijing are on a collision course.**

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Waterways ≠ Heg

#### Waterways aren’t important to the military.

Rockford Weitz, 12/12/2k, “Strategic Oceanic Chokepoints: Are they still important?” Oceanic History Major at Fletcher Tufts University. http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Maritime/~/media/Fletcher/Microsites/Maritime/pdfs/Oceanic\_Chokepoints.ash

Interoceanic waterways provide avenues between large bodies of water, thereby enabling easy movement and human exchange across oceans. However, fortifications along narrow waterways can turn these interoceanic avenues into strategic chokepoints by allowing their occupiers to exercise control over warships and merchant vessels passing through them. Some of the most prominent strategic chokepoints include the Strait of Gibraltar, the Bosporus/ Dardanelles, the Strait of Hormuz, the Malacca Straits, and the two great man-made canals at Suez and Panama. While they share many traits, each strategic chokepoint has a different character depending on its geography, history, fortifications, and neighbors.¶ The importance of strategic oceanic chokepoints has varied over human history, evolving with technological improvements and changing patterns of human movement. The development of advanced naval weaponry allowed European nations (and later America and Japan) to expand their influence around the globe. The establishment of colonial empires motivated European powers to secure their trade routes with naval outposts in strategic places like Malacca, Aden, and Gibraltar. The increasing importance of seaborne trade over the last three centuries fueled the struggle to retain control over such strategic chokepoints. The growing dependence of modern navies on coal in the 19th century gave naval bases on strategic waterways a new role as coaling stations. The function of strategic chokepoints changed again in the mid-20th century as they became sites for military air bases.¶ Despite their considerable contributions to trade and military logistics throughout history, most strategic chokepoints seem to have diminished in importance since the end of the Cold War.

#### Airpower and space capabilities are offsetting the need for waterways.

Lt. Colonel Gary Endersby, US Air Force, and Major John Brence, US Air Force, Summer 1996. “The Air and Space Alternative” http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj96/sum96/endersby.htm

THE BOTTOM LINE for determining the value of any military force is its ability to effectively achieve its nation's political objectives. Today, our national military strategy, based on our national security strategy, defines the value of our military forces in terms of their presence and power-projection capabilities. However, ever-shrinking defense budgets and declining force structures dictate that we look for more effective and efficient ways to carry out these traditional missions. In this light, this article examines the value of space forces and land-based air forces.¶ Traditionally, power projection and presence have been associated with localized military forces. This concept is dated because it doesn't recognize that air and space forces are capable of exerting influence anywhere on the globe, at any time. The Air Force white paper on global presence reexamines the traditional concepts of presence and power projection and offers new alternatives, defining power projection as a¶ means to influence actors or affect situations or events in America's national interest.It has two components: warfighting and presence. Warfighting is the direct use of military force to compel an adversary. Presence is the posturing of military capability, including nonbelligerent applications, and/or the leveraging of information to deter or compel an actor or affect a situation. (Emphasis in original)1¶ Further, it espouses three tenets for moving beyond the traditional concept of presence:¶ All military forces can exert presence;¶ Forces have unique attributes that affect the scope and quality of the presence they exert and complement each other when appropriately applied; and¶ Technological advances are enhancing the contributions of military forces to presence missions. (Emphasis in original)2¶ Global presence considers the full range of potential activities, from physical interaction of military forces to virtual interaction achieved with America's information and space-based capabilities.¶ With this in mind, the objective of military presence is not simply to be physically present as events occur but to deter, compel, or affect those events. Presence and influence are related, but they are not synonymous. One can achieve presence in some circumstances by sending a carrier battle group or amphibious force; in other circumstances by rapidly deploying Army elements; or in still others by unleashing space power and airpower in the form of Air Force warplanes quickly launched from distant bases--including those in the continental United States (CONUS). In all these cases, presence is designed to influence a potential adversary. Mere physical presence is no guarantor of influence.¶ A traditional view of power projection and presence holds that the Navy's ability to operate in the world's coastal or littoral areas makes it the most visible and flexible service supporting forward presence. However, this definition does not acknowledge that littoral presence may or may not provide an avenue for achieving influence. Let us examine this traditional solution to power projection and presence in greater depth.¶ At present, when 14 days is considered the maximum warning time for an emergency and budgets are fiscally constrained, many traditional solutions are no longer attractive. First, given the fact that a naval task force has a top speed of approximately 30 knots, one can easily conceive of many situations in which such a response time will not be adequate. A carrier battle group may take many days to respond, depending on its location relative to the crisis area. However, air and space forces can respond in a matter of hours rather than days or weeks.¶ Second, let us examine the notion that an aircraft carrier can arrive on scene with 70-75 aircraft. At first glance, employing naval task forces whenever possible sounds very efficient and cost-effective. However, in addition to the rather extensive costs of operating a naval task force, there are significant capital costs as well. The aircraft carrier is accompanied by three to five surface combatants, one to two submarines, and one to two surface support ships. A Nimitz-class carrier costs $3.5 billion, and her escorts each cost from $.4-1.8 billion apiece. Add to that the cost of the planes on the carrier itself, and a significantly different picture emerges as to the real costs involved when the nation's leaders deem that a military response is appropriate.¶ We should also carefully examine the real power-projection capability of carrier-based air. Of the carrier air wing's 70-75 airplanes, typically only 54 are able to employ air-to-surface weapons over land. In addition, a certain number of these aircraft conduct fleet defense (the actual number is based on the perceived threat to the carrier battle group). Furthermore, the F/A-18 aircraft, which makes up nearly half of the carrier's aviation assets, has a combat radius of 350 miles unrefueled. The fact that the carrier has to stand some reasonable distance out to sea further reduces the effective combat range of the F/A-18. Thus, the ability of carrier-based aviation to project power ashore is limited, especially if naval aviation is not supported by land-based air-refueling assets. Finally, inherent dangers to naval forces operating in the littorals will continue to restrict the utility of naval task forces. Constricted waterways, the increasing threat of diesel submarines, and an adversary's introduction of extended-range aircraft all combine to make littoral operations difficult and costly. Although naval forces are an important component of our overall military force structure, naval task forces may not always be the answer to America's power-projection and presence needs.

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Heg Bad

#### Heg is bad—the post Cold War era is ending.

Michael Lind, Tuesday, 7/3/12. “The Post-Cold War Era is Over: Global Free Trade and Indefinite American Military Hegemony are Both Dead. What Comes Next?” Policy Director of New America's Economic Growth Program. He is a co-founder of the New America Foundation.

From the economic problems of the eurozone to the deepening military rivalry between the U.S. and China, a number of smaller crises are part of one, inter-related crisis: the crumbling of the post-Cold War order. The utopia of free market globalization under benign U.S. leadership that animated Democrats and Republicans alike after the fall of the Berlin Wall has vanished, like a mirage. As that fantasy future fades, the question is: What genuine future will replace it?¶ The official version of history shared by most of the bipartisan American establishment is that the Cold War ended with the establishment of the U.S. as the “sole superpower” and the embrace by most or all people in the world of American values with respect to democracy, human rights and economics. In the neoconservative version, the end of the Cold War allowed the U.S. to create a semi-imperial global hegemony that could last for generations. In the centrist internationalist version, China, India and other emerging nations would see the benefits of the rules of world order that America favored, even as they moved internally toward free elections and free markets. The result would be a global utopia — a rule-governed world market, policed by a benevolent United States with the consent of a grateful humanity.¶ To realists, it was clear that this was a fantasy. For one thing, the rule-governed global marketplace never existed from 1989 onward. Not only did Japan, South Korea and Taiwan continue to reject free market capitalism for state-directed mercantilism, but post-Maoist China chose to adopt the statist, mercantilist East Asian economic model, not the liberal Anglo-American model. Meanwhile, in the 1990s the Europeans rejected the offer of a transatlantic common market and deepened their economic integration, to the short-term benefit of Germany, whose capitalism combines liberal elements with a version of East Asia’s export-oriented mercantilism.¶ To simplify a complex history, before 2008 China, Japan, Germany and other countries were able to run permanent surpluses in manufactured exports only because other countries like the U.S., U.K. and Greece agreed to run permanent trade deficits, financed in part by borrowing from abroad. This unstable Ponzi scheme had nothing to do with free market globalism, which was never really tried after the Cold War. Instead of moving toward free market capitalism, as many Americans hoped, China has reemphasized the role of its state-controlled industries in recent years.¶ It was also clear to critical observers that the American establishment’s plan for permanent U.S. military hegemony was doomed because the American people would never be willing to shoulder the costs. And sure enough, by 2006, the American people were fed up with the limited costs of two relatively small, unsuccessful wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. President George W. Bush himself replaced his neoconservative Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld with a realist, Robert Gates. Since then U.S. defense strategy has effectively replaced neocon dreams of global hegemony with a more modest realist strategy in which the U.S. will act as “offshore balancer” of China and other potential Eurasian great power rivals.¶ The two dreams of the American establishment in the post-Cold War Era — global free trade and indefinite American military hegemony — were dead even before the global economy crashed in 2008. Whatever the world looks like a decade or two hence, it will not resemble the world that Thomas Friedman, the apostle of free market globalization, or neocons like Robert Kagan and Bill Kristol expected back in the 1990s.¶ The retrenchment of the United States in response to its prolonged internal crisis of slow and unequally shared growth is being accompanied by the decay of its old alliances. Nowhere is this more evident than in Europe, where the German Question has been opened once again.

### 2NC/1NR Ext: MP Solves/China War Turn

#### Multipolarity solves for the new international framework and avoids China War.

Cui Tiankai and Pang Hanzhao, 7/20/12, “China-US Relations in China’s Overall Diplomacy in the New Era.” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China.

China-US bilateral relations take a special and important position in China's overall diplomacy. To maintain and promote a healthy and steady development of China-US relations is a priority in China's foreign policy.¶ The goal of China's policy towards the United States is consistent with that of its national foreign strategy. If we say that the central goal of China's foreign strategy is to uphold its sovereignty, national security and development interests and seek a generally peaceful and favorable external environment for the great revitalization of the Chinese nation, then properly handling its relations with the United States is an important condition and requirement for realizing that goal. If we say that unswervingly taking the road to peaceful development is a strategic choice made by the collective leadership, the ruling party and the people of China, then a major issue to be successf¶ ully addressed for China's peaceful development is for China and the United States to develop a model of their bilateral relationship featuring cooperation not confrontation, win-win results not "zero-sum" game, and healthy competition not malicious rivalry, namely a new-type relationship between major countries.¶ China has made clear its political commitment to working with the United States for a new-type relationship between major countries. During the fourth China-US Strategic and Economic Dialogues last May, President Hu Jintao elaborated on the importance of a new-type relationship between major countries to be jointly developed by China and the United States, a relationship that is reassuring to both the Chinese and American peoples and to the people across the world. He stressed that "we should prove that the traditional belief that big powers are bound to enter into confrontation and conflicts is wrong, and seek new ways of developing relations between major countries in the era of economic globalization". During his visit to the United States last February, Vice President Xi Jinping made it clear that the two countries should work together to build a new-type relationship between major countries in the 21st century and "set a good example of constructive and cooperative state-to-state relations for countries with different political systems, historical and cultural backgrounds and economic development levels, an example that finds no precedent and offers inspiration for future generations". How China and the United States should build and develop a new-type relationship has also been a central topic in State Councilor Dai Bingguo's many rounds of strategic dialogue with the United States, and, as the dialogue deepens, this theme has become more and more distinct and prominent.¶ China's strategic gesture and political signal have been echoed by the other side of the Pacific. President Obama, Vice President Biden and Secretary of State Clinton have stated on many occasions that the United States welcomes a strong, prosperous and stable China that plays an even greater role in the world, that "China's rise isn't our (America's) demise" and that "the United States and China are building a new model for interaction between a rising power and an established power" and working joinly to "find a new answer to the ancient question of what happens when an established power and a rising power meet".¶ As a matter of fact, China and the United States started to explore a new-type relationship between major countries 40 years ago when President Nixon visited China and leaders of the two countries jointly reopened the door of China-US contacts. This endeavor reflects Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important conclusion that he made 23 years ago that "Sino-US relations must be improved". It reflects the 16-character guiding principle for China-US relations President Jiang Zemin put forward during his meeting with President Clinton in 1993, i.e. "enhance trust, reduce trouble, develop cooperation and avoid confrontation". It also reflects the common understanding that President Hu Jintao reached with President Obama during his visit to the United States in 2011 on working together to build a cooperative partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. It is furthermore reflected in what the two sides have done together over the years, namely, their dialogue for fostering mutual trust, their communication for managing disputes and their cooperation for safeguarding common interests.¶ Complex and profound changes are taking place in the international landscape and the global economy as well as human society. It requires China to stick to its set path, commit to peace and cooperation and blaze a new path to revitalization of a big nation like none in the past. It requires China and the United States to reject the predestination notion and blaze a new path to a relationship between major countries that features peaceful coexistence and win-win cooperation. And it requires the world to follow the trend of economic globalization and political multi-polarity and blaze a new path towards diversity, tolerance, lasting peace and common prosperity. Where China-US relations head for will factor significantly in the exploratory efforts in the above three aspects and bear on the future of the two countries and the whole world.¶ II¶ China-US relations today have changed considerably compared with what they were when President Nixon visited China 40 years ago and when the two countries established diplomatic relations 33 years ago. Even the most pessimistic people have to recognize that the two sides have accumulated some strategic common understanding, a profound cooperation foundation and rich experience about how to get along with each other. All this has made it possible and feasible for the two sides to establish a more stable and reliable pattern of healthy interactions and initiate a new-type relationship between major countries.¶ First, the two countries have realized that win-win cooperation is the most common denominator for them to handle relations with each other under the new historic circumstances. That can be viewed as a most fundamental strategic agreement, building on the notion of "peace will benefit both whereas conflict will serve neither's interest" and providing a basis for the two sides to form strategic consensus or tacit agreement at a higher level in their future contacts. China and the United States are both confident nations, with a firm conviction that they are the masters of their own fate, and they should have due respect for each other. They have made it clear to each other in their public policy statements and private strategic communications that they have no territorial claims to each other, which has removed a principal root cause that used to cause confrontation and conflicts between traditional major countries. They both recognize that they need each other to realize their development and prosperity and they need to understand, respect and cooperate with each other in international affairs as they are in a changed era with greater interdependence. In the new era, they must work hard to avoid repeating the mistake of vicious rivalry among traditional major countries and avoid moving their bilateral relations to a lose-lose alley. Like it or not, that is an inevitable choice that serves the fundamental interests of both sides and the common interests of the international community.

### \*\*Trade F/L\*\*

#### The entire advantage is predicated on expansion of the Panama Canal and coastal ports—never in any of their evidence indicates that waterways are key to accommodate this new Panama Expansion.

#### Free trade lowers quality control standards and spreads disease

Fidler ’97 **-** Associate Professor of Law, Indiana University School of Law - Bloomington (David P., Minnesota Law Review , April, 81 Minn. L. Rev. 771, L/N, RG)

The international movement of goods also contributes to the EID problem. Since the end of the Cold War, free trade dominates thinking about international economic relations, as evidenced by the World Trade Organization, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the continued building of the common market in the European Union. Trade is, of course, not a new phenomenon in international relations, but the nature of international trade today is historically novel since it is truly universal and involves the movements of unprecedented quantities of food. Today, up to seventy percent of fruits and vegetables consumed in some U.S. states is imported from developing countries. [n126](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376#n126) The Institute of Medicine states that "international trade has become so pervasive that it is virtually impossible to screen most of the food entering the country for known microbial hazards, let alone for new microbiological threats." [n127](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376#n127) While international trade agreements typically reserve a country's powers to inspect, and even prohibit the entry of imported food under so-called sanitary and phytosanitary provisions, [n128](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n128) [\*798] the Institute of Medicine believes that the momentum of free trade will result in decreased inspections of imported food. [n129](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n129) In the United States, increasing occurrence of food-borne infectious disease outbreaks underscores the dangers inherent in the global food trade. [n130](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n130) In 1996, an outbreak of cyclospora[n131](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n131) caught U.S. public health officials by surprise. [n132](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n132) Health officials believe that imported strawberries were contaminated with cyclospora, but little is actually known about the parasite, its host, and means of transmission. [n133](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n133) U.S. officials suspected a link to imported food and consulted the Pan American Health Organization, a unit of WHO, about testing for cyclospora in the water of Latin American countries that export to the United States. [n134](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n134) Other reports suggest that imported Guatemalan raspberries were the source of the cyclospora outbreak. [n135](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n135) [\*799] Trade is a significant factor in the EID problem beyond food contamination. Means of transportation themselves - ships and airplanes - can harbor infectious agents. [n136](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n136) Because transportation offers opportunities to infectious agents, the International Health Regulations require as many ports and airports in a country as possible to have facilities for disinfecting, disinsecting, and deratting of ships and airplanes used in international travel. [n137](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n137) Certain internationally-traded products are also recurring conduits for infectious diseases. The Institute of Medicine warns that the lack of effective screening of animals imported for scientific research constitutes "perhaps the greatest problem associated with international commerce and its relation to disease emergence." [n138](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n138) The globalization of trade in human blood, blood products, organs, and tissue represents another trade-related opportunity for infectious diseases to spread. The spread of AIDS was facilitated partly through the transfusion of commercially sold blood and blood [\*800]  products. [n139](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n139) Hepatitis B, Chagas' disease, syphilis, and malaria can also be spread through contaminated blood and blood products. [n140](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n140) No international legal protections for blood and organ safety currently exist. [n141](http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxygsu-git1.galileo.usg.edu/us/lnacademic/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1269180619773&returnToKey=20_T8869335005&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.432074.5189052376" \l "n141)

#### Diseases cause extinction

Sandberg ‘8 (Dr. Anders, Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics – Oxford University, et al., “How Can We Reduce The Risk Of Human Extinction?”, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 9-9, http://www.thebulletin.org/web-edition/features/how-can-we-reduce-the-risk-of-human-extinction)

The risks from anthropogenic hazards appear at present larger than those from natural ones. Although great progress has been made in reducing the number of nuclear weapons in the world, humanity is still threatened by the possibility of a global thermonuclear war and a resulting nuclear winter. We may face even greater risks from emerging technologies. Advances in synthetic biology might make it possible to engineer pathogens capable of extinction-level pandemics. The knowledge, equipment, and materials needed to engineer pathogens are more accessible than those needed to build nuclear weapons. And unlike other weapons, pathogens are self-replicating, allowing a small arsenal to become exponentially destructive. Pathogens have been [implicated](http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/118564287/abstract) in the extinctions of many wild species. Although most pandemics "fade out" by reducing the density of susceptible populations, pathogens with wide host ranges in multiple species can reach even isolated individuals. The intentional or unintentional release of engineered pathogens with high transmissibility, latency, and lethality might be capable of causing human extinction. While such an event seems unlikely today, the likelihood may increase as biotechnologies continue to improve at a rate rivaling

### Free Trade Bad—Poverty

#### Free trade increases worldwide poverty.

Landau ‘4 – author of The Business of America, Counterpunch magazine (Saul, 6/10, “Force-feeding lies about free trade,” <http://www.counterpunch.org/landau06102004.html>, RG)

Unfortunately, no major newspaper or TV news show offered prime space to the UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) biannual report. This document calls into question the entire "globalization" or "free market" system. Increased international trade, it concludes, has not led to reduction in poverty in the world's poorest countries. Indeed, during this boom of world trade poverty has increased, as has the income gap between rich and poor. The study found little linkage to show that trade had enlarged the income of the poorest in the world's 50 least developed countries. UNCTAD officials confirmed that trade had helped integrate some poor countries into the world economy; but their negative trade balances had grown more distressing as a result of the neo-liberal trade policies. So opening up markets does not spread benefits? Why does it take a panel of experts to state what observant people already knew: world trade investment--without tariffs, taxes or government regulation harms the world's 3 billion plus neediest people and helps the wealthiest. Data to back this conclusion comes from a recent report from the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. The report's authors estimate that 227 million Latin American and Caribbean citizens live below the limits of poverty. In the first years of 21st Century, this region recorded an unemployment rate of 10.3 percent almost akin to the depression of the 1930s.

#### Poverty makes extinction inevitable

**Gilligan ’96** – prof. of Psychiatry @ Harvard Medical School (James, Director of the Center for the Study of Violence, and a member of the Academic Advisory Council of the National Campaign Against Youth Violence, ‘Violence: Our Deadly Epidemic and its Causes,’ p. 191-196)

**The deadliest form of violence is poverty.** You cannot work for one day with the violent people who fill our prisons and mental hospitals for the criminally insane without being forcible and constantly reminded of the extreme poverty and discrimination that characterizes their lives. Hearing about their lives, and about their families and friends, you are forced to recognize the truth in Gandhi’s observation that the deadliest form of violence is poverty. Not a day goes by without realizing that trying to understand them and their violent behavior in purely individual terms is impossible and wrong-headed. Any theory of violence, especially a psychological theory, that evolves from the experience of men in maximum security prisons and hospitals for the criminally insane must begin with the recognition that these institutions are only microcosms. They are not where the major violence in our society takes place, and the perpetrators who fill them are far from being the main causes of most violent deaths. Any approach to a theory of violence needs to begin with a look at the structural violence in this country. Focusing merely on those relatively few men who commit what we define as murder could distract us from examining and learning from those structural causes of violent death that are far more significant from a numerical or public health, or human, standpoint. By “structural violence” I mean the increased rates of death, and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society, as contrasted with the relatively lower death rates experienced by those who are above them. Those excess deaths (or at least a demonstrably large proportion of them) are a function of class structure; and that structure is itself a product of society’s collective human choices, concerning how to distribute the collective wealth of the society. These are not acts of God. I am contrasting “structural” with “behavioral violence,” by which I mean the non-natural deaths and injuries that are caused by specific behavioral actions of individuals against individuals, such as the deaths we attribute to homicide, suicide, soldiers in warfare, capital punishment, and so on. Structural violence differs from behavioral violence in at least three major respects. \*The lethal effects of structural violence operate continuously, rather than sporadically, whereas murders, suicides, executions, wars, and other forms of behavioral violence occur one at a time. \*Structural violence operates more or less independently of individual acts; independent of individuals and groups (politicians, political parties, voters) whose decisions may nevertheless have lethal consequences for others. \*Structural violence is normally invisible, because it may appear to have had other (natural or violent) causes. The finding that structural violence causes far more deaths than behavioral violence does is not limited to this country. Kohler and Alcock attempted to arrive at the number of excess deaths caused by socioeconomic inequities on a worldwide basis. Sweden was their model of the nation that had come closes to eliminating structural violence. It had the least inequity in income and living standards, and the lowest discrepancies in death rates and life expectancy; and the highest overall life expectancy in the world. When they compared the life expectancies of those living in the other socioeconomic systems against Sweden, they found that 18 million deaths a year could be attributed to the “structural violence” to which the citizens of all the other nations were being subjected. During the past decade, the discrepancies between the rich and poor nations have increased dramatically and alarmingly. The 14 to 18 million deaths a year caused by structural violence compare with about 100,000 deaths per year from armed conflict. Comparing this frequency of deaths from structural violence to the frequency of those caused by major military and political violence, such as World War II (an estimated 49 million military and civilian deaths, including those by genocide—or about eight million per year, 1939-1945), the Indonesian massacre of 1965-66 (perhaps 575,000) deaths), the Vietnam war (possibly two million, 1954-1973), and even a hypothetical nuclear exchange between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (232 million), **it was clear that even war cannot begin to compare with structural violence, which continues year after year.** In other words, every fifteen years, on the average, as many people die because of relative poverty as would be killed by the Nazi genocide of the Jews over a six-year period. **This is**, in effect, **the equivalent of an ongoing, unending, in fact accelerating, thermonuclear war**, or genocide, perpetrated on the weak and poor every year of every decade, throughout the world. S**tructural violence is also the main cause of behavioral violence** on a socially and epidemiologically significant scale (from homicide and suicide to war and genocide). The question as to which of the two forms of violence—structural or behavioral—is more important, dangerous, or lethal is moot, for they are inextricably related to each other, as cause to effect.

### Free Trade Bad—Terrorism

#### Free trade facilitates terrorism

Echevarria ‘3 – Lieutenant Col., Director of Strategic Research at the Strategic Studies Institute (Antulio II, March, “Globalization And The Nature Of War,” Strategies Studies Institute,[Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.](http:// www.mindfully.org/WTO/2003/Globalization-War-SSI%20Mar03.htm), RG)

In the global war on terrorism, the element of blind natural force is playing the decisive role. Globalization has, among other things, contributed to the creation of fertile breeding grounds for terrorism as some groups try to resist its encroachment. Al Qaeda has associated the United States with the spread of globalization, which it sees as a form of decadence. Building on the perception that Islamic society’s current political and economic problems are the result of the West’s decadent values and duplicitous policies, Al Qaeda has penetrated Islamic nongovernmental organizations and woven itself into the social, political, and religious fabric of Muslim societies. Consequently, it has managed to create a substantial support base that may enable it to regenerate itself indefinitely.53 Despite the arrest of hundreds of operatives in North America and abroad since the attacks of September 11, 2001, for example, Al Qaeda has created new cells and reconstituted older ones.54 While operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere have led to the killing or capture of some 16 of its 25key leaders, Al Qaeda’s ideology remains intact and will probably continue to draw young Muslims.

#### Terrorism results in extinction

Sid-Ahmed ‘4 – Graduate of Cairo University's School of Law (54) & Cairo University's School of Engineering (55) (Mohamed “Extinction!,” Al-Ahram Weekly, Issue No. 705, 26 August - 1 September 2004, pg. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/705/op5.htm>, RG)

What would be the consequences of a nuclear attack by terrorists? Even if it fails, it would further exacerbate the negative features of the new and frightening world in which we are now living. Societies would close in on themselves, police measures would be stepped up at the expense of human rights, tensions between civilisations and religions would rise and ethnic conflicts would proliferate. It would also speed up the arms race and develop the awareness that a different type of world order is imperative if humankind is to survive. But the still more critical scenario is if the attack succeeds. This could lead to a third world war, from which no one will emerge victorious. Unlike a conventional war which ends when one side triumphs over another, this war will be without winners and losers. When nuclear pollution infects the whole planet, we will all be losers.

### **\*\*Asian Carp F/L\*\***

#### Turn—More waterways only increase the risk of carp invasion. GET TO THE CHOPPA.

Trevor Quirk, February 27, 2012. “Why Asian carp are such a threat.” The Christian Science Monitor. Trevor Quirk is a CSM Contributor. http://www.csmonitor.com/Science/2012/0227/Why-Asian-carp-are-such-a-threat

The US Supreme Court has refused to hear the Great Lakes states' appeal to close shipping locks to stymie the on-going incursion of Asian carp.¶ Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin are suing the Army Corps of Engineers to provide greater protection to prevent the fish from entering the Great Lakes. While this suit continued, the five states sought an injunction to have the Corps close locks on waterways that connect the Mississippi River with Lake Michigan.¶ The federal government said that the efforts proposed by these states would detract from the long-term strategy of the Corps.

#### **Asian Carp can’t survive in the Great Lakes- multiple factors. Also, won’t affect ecosystem or fishing.**

Lindsay 11 [Chris, “The Skepticism of the Asian Carp Threat”, August 1st 2011, http://annarborscienceskeptic.com/2011/skepticism/asian-carp-in-the-great-lakes-is-skepticism-warranted/\*\*\*Cites Gerald Smith- University of Michigan fish biologist\*\*\*]

SKEPTICISM: This issue has garnered much attention, but it may be surprising for some to find that this issue is very controversial within the scientific community. Fish biologists from the University of Michigan, like Gerald Smith, are skeptical about whether the Asian carp can survive and flourish in the Great Lakes. Smith is quoted in the Freep story. “Ninety-nine percent of the Great Lakes are too cold for these fish to succeed,” he said. In my interview with Smith last Fall, he provided an overview of the issue and why he became skeptical of the Asian carp threat and media attention. Here’s an audio excerpt: Smith explained that all of the fish biologists at the University of Michigan disagree with the assessment that Asian carp can take over the Great Lakes. And so they developed their own risk analysis. Aside from the water temperature point, Smith and the other biologists argue that another factor that would prevent Asian carp from succeeding in the Great Lakes ecosystems, is that the eggs and young would succumb to predation. Asian carp minnows is a popular bait for sport fishing. So an emergence of Asian carp could actually boost fish stock which have been declining. EVALUATING THE EVIDENCE: So how should skeptic-minded folks consider this topic? Well, the scientific arguments offered by the skeptics of the Asian carp threat are as follows: 1) Asian carp (like its established cousins, the common carp) can only survive in warmer waters (about 1% of the total Great Lakes). The commercial fishing industry won’t be affected by the Asian carp because it utilizes the deeper, colder waters. Several studies that suggest Asian carp would be acclimated to the Great Lakes utilize air temperatures, not water temperatures. And several independent researchers have used average lake temperatures, but don’t take into account the winter temperatures. 2) The diet of Asian carp is phytoplankton. And phytoplankton levels are already very low because it is also the diet of zebra and quagga mussels – which are an established invasive species that are succeeding (unfortunately, all too well). And therefore, Asian carp will be out-competed. 3) In the warm, shallow areas in which Asian carp could live, they would experience heavy predation by other fish stock as they would find eggs and young as a source of food. And this fish stock could get a much-needed boost. 4) If Asian carp get into rivers, they would need long stretches of water that have no dams – for spawning. However, most rivers in Michigan have dams which would make reproductive success very challenging. It’s important to note that these four points are not agreed upon by all fish biologists. As the Freep story reports, some fish biologists at other institutions expect the Asian carp to adapt to the Great Lakes ecosystems (although it would take many decades for this to happen). And once this happens, it will be too late to do anything.

### 2NC/1NR Ext: Carp ≠ Threat

#### Asian carp pose no threat to the Great Lakes- Great Lakes won’t sustain breeding.

Golowenski 10 [Dave, Columnist for the Columbus Dispatch, “Don’t fear Asian carp, OSU professor says”, September 5th, 2010, The Columbus Dispatch, http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/sports/2010/09/05/dont-fear-asian-carp-osu-professor-says.html¶ \*\*Cites Konrad Dabrowski, an aquaculturist with the School of Environment and Natural Resources.\*\*]

The threat to the Great Lakes posed by Asian carp has been greatly exaggerated, says an Ohio State professor who claims the experience to form a learned opinion. "I've been working with the fish for 15 years," said Konrad Dabrowski, an aquaculturist with the School of Environment and Natural Resources. There have been forecasts of doom for sport and commercially desirable species such as walleye and yellow perch should the invasive carp be let loose. Lake Erie, the most productive of the Great Lakes for fishing, is thought to be especially vulnerable. The focus of the anti-carp efforts is the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal, a manmade waterway that links Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, which ultimately drains into the Mississippi River. Sections of the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio rivers and their tributaries are swarming with the non-native carp, which escaped from ponds in several southern states some 30 years ago. "Asian carp have not wiped out other species in the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. However, in some places, Asian carp now make up over 90 percent of the fish biomass," wrote Ray Petering, the Ohio Division of Wildlife's executive administrator of fish management and research, in an e-mail. "That does not leave much room for native species." Petering's explanation stands for what is feared could occur in parts of the Great Lakes should Asian carp breech an electric barrier near Chicago designed to keep them on the Mississippi side of the canal. At the same time, sport and commercial fishing thrive on the Great Lakes, generating billions of dollars to the regional economy. In steps Dabrowski, who said he is driven by professional ethics to present a case that likely won't be welcomed by many people in the anti-carp community. "I've been following the popular literature as well as the scientific literature," he said, not without irony, and has been astonished by the amount of what he characterizes as public "misinformation," including some testimony presented to Congress. Dabrowski's stance indicated in the title of a summary statement he recently e-mailed to The Dispatch. The title says without equivocation: Asian carps pose no danger to Great Lakes. While acknowledging the problems posed by the carp in numerous river systems, Dabrowski said the conditions that allow the carp to thrive in flowing rivers do not exist in the Great Lakes or its natural tributaries. Both silver carp, which have gained notoriety because of their leaping behavior in the presence of passing boat motors, and bighead carp, which grow large and eat tiny planktons on which the young of native species also feed, can survive in the Great Lakes, Dabrowski concurs. However, he writes that "the fundamental question is whether Asian carps that enter Lake Michigan and subsequently other Great Lakes can reproduce. In other words, will they be able to maintain or increase their populations, and eventually outcompete the local and prized sport-fish populations?" The answer, he has concluded based on observations in numerous real-world settings and on what is known about the spawning process of the carp, is no. He writes, in fact, that the reasons both species of Asian carp can thrive in parts of the Missouri River "are precisely the same reasons why they will not flourish in the Great Lakes." In order to spawn successfully, Dabrowski says, water flow and temperature must be elevated to certain thresholds simultaneously. Nowhere in the Great Lakes, including the Maumee River, do such conditions line up.

#### Experts say Asian carp would not be able to sustain life and reproduce in the Great Lakes.

Lam 11 [Tina, “Asian carp: How deadly would it be to Great Lakes?”, July 18th 2011, <http://www.freep.com/article/20110718/NEWS05/107180327/Asian-carp-How-deadly-would-Great-Lakes->\*\*\*cites Duane Chapman- a U.S. Geological Survey scientist, Gary Fahnenstiel- an aquatic ecologist with the Great Lakes Environmental Research Laboratory, Konrad Dabrowski- a professor and director of aquaculture at OSU, and Gerald Smith- a retired University of Michigan professor of evolutionary ecology\*\*\*]

Some experts say talk of carp taking over is fanciful and exaggerated because conditions in the lakes don't fit their lifestyle. There's not enough food for them because zebra and quagga mussels already have eaten much of the plankton in the lakes, temperatures are too chilly, and rivers are not long enough, fast enough or warm enough for spawning. Other scientists say the evidence is overwhelming that bighead and silver carp can survive and reproduce in a wide range of climates and conditions, including those in the lakes. The truth is likely somewhere in between. "It's possible they may never reach high densities in the Great Lakes," said Duane Chapman, a U.S. Geological Survey scientist in Missouri and one of the nation's leading experts on the fish. "And it won't be an overnight thing -- it could take 30 or 40 years." Because no one wants to put Asian carp into the Great Lakes just to find out how they fare, pronouncements about whether and where they can colonize and reproduce are based largely on experiences in Asia, Russia and the Mississippi River Basin, where the carp are now. But nobody has the last word yet. "There is high uncertainty and conflicting information," said John Dettmers, a fish biologist with the Great Lakes Fishery Commission. The case for skepticism: Gary Fahnenstiel, an aquatic ecologist with the Great Lakes Environmental Research Laboratory in Muskegon, is among those who think the fear of Asian carp taking over the Great Lakes is exaggerated. He said that in Lake Michigan, quagga mussels have eaten 80% of the plankton the Asian carp would depend on for food. The mussels already have wreaked more havoc in the food chain of the lakes than the Asian carp might, he said. Konrad Dabrowski, a professor and director of aquaculture at Ohio State University who has studied carp, believes that although carp might get into and survive in the Great Lakes, the climate is too cold and the rivers not fast enough for them to reproduce. "Asian carps pose no threat to the Great Lakes," he said. In Lake Erie, Dabrowski said, the carp might be able to grow for only six months of the year, and in chilly Lake Superior, just two months; once the water drops below 59 degrees, the fish will lose weight in colder months of the year because it's too cold for them to feed, and their sexual organs will atrophy. "It's highly improbable that spawning will occur," Dabrowski said, noting that some Asian carp that invaded European waters have lived there for decades but never reproduced. Gerald Smith, a retired University of Michigan professor of evolutionary ecology and author of "Guide to Great Lakes Fishes," also said he believes the fears about Asian carp are exaggerated. "Ninety-nine percent of the Great Lakes are too cold for these fish to succeed," he said. One study showing that the carp could survive in the Great Lakes was based on air temperature, he noted, which is not a relevant factor. In a recent podcast, he said politicians had seized on the carp threat for political gain and that the fears are not based on science. David Jude, a larval fish expert at U-M, counts himself among the skeptics, too.

### **\*\*Solvency F/L\*\***

#### Lack of bureaucracy and funding misuse means waterways will inevitably fail.

Harry Moroz February 26, 2008 “The Age of Infrastructure”http://www.ourfuture.org/blog-entry/age-infrastructure Harry Moroz graduated from the University of Chicago in 2006 with a B.A. in Law, Letters and Society. At Chicago, he wrote his honors thesis on alternative voting systems, focusing on the impact that the cumulative vote had on the political behavior of Illinois state representatives and their constituents. While a student, he studied at the University of Seville where he researched the socioeconomic factors that influenced the development of democracy in Spain and wrote for a local paper. Harry studied Latin American media and immigration issues during a Koch fellowship in Washington D.C. and interned at the office of Senator Joseph Biden. In 2006, he participated in a colloquium in Guatemala that addressed the effects of economic liberalization on Latin America. Harry is currently a research associate at the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy.

Despite the ASCE’s empirical evidence and our intuitive sense (when was the last time you sat bumper-to-bumper with an SUV or stood jowl-to-jowl with someone in the subway) that infrastructure is aging and inadequate, no large-scale effort has been undertaken to confront the problem in a comprehensive and purposeful manner. Even after a bridge collapsed in Minnesota , a steam pipe burst in New York City, and levees broke in New Orleans, attempts to mend our bridges, highways, and waterways still stall because of bureaucratic strife and ineffective funding. What often hinders large-scale infrastructure projects is not the knowledge that such projects are necessary or the lack of technical skill to carry them out. Rather, when politicians and government agencies tackle endeavors of such proportions, priorities clash, funding streams are challenged, and reputations are put on the line (For an international example, see Chile’s Transantiago bus service. Transantiago was designed to be self-financing, but is now expected to cost $40 million a month.). This means that massive construction plans become as much about individual personalities and personal ambition as about concrete, steel girders, and getting a car across the Hudson River. As Robert Puentes of the Brookings Institution remarked at a congressional hearing on ground transportation, “The sad fact is that now that the Interstate Highway System is completed there is no coherent national vision for addressing a complex and conflicting set of transportation challenges. As a result, America’s transportation policy is adrift with no clear goals, purpose, or ability to meet these challenges.”

#### Waterways investment fails – bad cost forecasting and long construction time.

Stef Proost & Saskia van der Loo, July 2010, is currently professor at the Catholic University of Leuven, at the K.U.Leuven he teaches environmental economics and transport economics, his main activity is directing a research group of 18 researchers at the Department of Economics that deals with environment, energy and transport topics, Saskia van der Loo is a Prof. in the Department of Economics, Catholic University of Leuven, Journal Of Intelligent Transportation Systems, Vol. 14 No. 3, p. 129.

Transport infrastructure is known as a lumpy investment with long lead times. The construction of a new motorway, a new high-speed rail line, or a new canal may take 10 years or more. Whether to take on a new project and to choose the right capacity, one needs demand forecasts for the next 10 to 30 years. Studies of past large transport infrastructure projects have shown that demand has been systematically overestimated and that costs have often been underestimated (Flyberg et al., 2003). There are many sources of uncertainty in infrastructure projects. In this article, we concentrate on only one possible source of uncertainty: the level of future demand. Given that future demand is uncertain and that one needs to decide on the capacity level now**, is there a justification to overinvest** rather than to underinvest in infrastructure capacity? To discuss this question, we use two analytical models: a one-mode model and a two-mode model. In the one-mode model, we analytically showed that choosing overinvestment is, under certain conditions, a better strategy than choosing the capacity in function of the expected level of demand. These conditions are surprisingly simple: The demand elasticity has to be smaller than 1. This one-mode model makes more sense when there are no easy transport alternatives for a given trip. In the second model, we dealt with two modes that can easily be substituted and where one mode has long lead times in capac-ity additions, but the other mode can easily adjust its capacity. Examples are the competition between high-speed rail (long lead times) and air transport for passengers and the competi-tion between **inland waterways** (long lead times) and trucks for freight. In this case**, it is no longer possible to show that over-investment is systematically optimal because the other mode serves as an escape route for high demands.**

# Neoliberalism

## File Notes

1) Highlighting – do it yourself. That being said, if it’s underlined then it’s already pretty damn important.

2) Feel free to switch out 1nc stuff/I encourage you to change the tags to your particular neg strat.

3) Couple things to think about the DA

a) Find your own impacts for the tradeoff DA – some of these can be found in the Transportation Rationality K as well as under the “deontology good” section of the Morality file

b) Additional link ev for the DA may be found under either the “case defense” section of this file or in some of the CP ev

c) As with everything in this file, the DA was designed to be more of an internal link turn to the aff than any particular stand-alone argument – feel free to hide it on the case flow

4) Couple of things to think about it relation to the case-D section/overall strat

a) Nothing in here is really just SOLELY “case-d” – each argument make an individual and substantive claim (turn) as to why the aff takes the wrong approach in trying to challenge to neoliberal system

b) Cards makes the argument that the plan does not go far enough to challenge the UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS behind neoliberalism – don’t let them just b.s. the “we challenge neolib not cap” stuff

c) Argument behind not going far enough is the cooption turn – semi-democratic/things beneficial to the public will just be used to achieve “democratic legitimacy” for neoliberalism while allowing the system as a whole to remain in power

d) The “aidez-faire” argument states the neoliberalism will sometimes make concessions in not benefitting capital interest in order to achieve overall stability in the legitimacy problems that it creates through perpetuating inequality

e) A big question coming out of the 1ac c-x (and the rest of the debate) should be the question of what happens post the plan. They will want to argue that “but we do something good” – DON’T LET THEM GET AWAY WITH THIS. Sure, they provide “free and accessible transportation”…but FOR WHAT. Even if they have free public transport, where are the homeless people going to go or do? The argument here is that the system will try to re-incorporate them into the labor market (further the ideal of maximum capital profit). Think about the Everyday Life Kritik – transporation can just be a means to reinscribe people within the doldrums of the “9 to 5” commute – the ideal of maximum capital productivity. Also, the government outsources much of the construction of transportations infrastructure to private entities or public-private partnerships. Think about things like this this…who determines where it will get built {business interests} or who will it benefit {affluent people in developed areas}?

5) I’m not sure why the communicative planning fails cards are in the file…maybe you can find some way to tie the aff to a form of communicative action.

6) If you haven’t realized this by now, I really don’t like this aff. I hope this helps. Happy Hunting. ☺

## CASE DEFENSE

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**Plan doesn’t challenge the fundamental roots neoliberalism – “democratic” projects are inevitably coopted to maintain the system**

**Purcell 2009**, MarkPurcell, PhD in Geography and Associate Professor of Urban Design and Planning at the University of Washington, researcher in urban politics, planning, and political theory with a focus on democratic movements for a right to the city, “Resisting Neoliberalization: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements?” DA: 7/23/12, http://plt.sagepub.com/content/8/2/140.full.pdf+html -- g.b.

**This article sits in the context of a larger argument about the relationship between democracy and neoliberalization** (Purcell, 2008). **That argument is a political and normative** **one**: neoliberalization has had a corrosive impact on cities and urban life, and democratic movements are a particularly promising way we might resist it. However, **it is important to be clear about the speciﬁc form and content of democratic resistance**. There are many different ways to conceive of democracy, and each has a different relationship to neoliberalism. **Moreover, neoliberalism seeks actively to co-opt and incorporate democratic resistance. Both liberal and deliberative forms of democracy are being enlisted to support the neoliberal project. Therefore democratic resistance to neo- liberalism must explicitly and directly challenge the foundations of the neoliberal project. I argue that what we require is a democratic alternative not rooted in the liberal or deliberative tradition**. I elaborate one possible alternative that joins together, 1) elements of radical, participatory, and revolutionary democracy with, 2) Henri Lefebvre’s idea of the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968, 1996, 2003).

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**Plan reinforces current hegemony of neoliberalism– cooption occurs to retain the semblance of “democratic” legitimacy**

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The argument of this article parallels the one above, but it is speciﬁc to planning theory and practice. It contends that **the ongoing neoliberalization of urban political economies makes more urgent the existing critiques of communicative planning**. In general, **insofar as they are rooted in a Habermasian ideal of communicative action, planning theory and practice are more likely to support the neoliberal agenda than to resist it**. To make that case, the article begins by brieﬂy describing the neoliberal project and its impact on urban governance. It argues that **neoliberalization produces important democratic deﬁcits, and neoliberals must seek creative ways to overcome those deﬁcits**. While they have at times turned to more authoritarian strategies (such as Giuliani’s ‘zero-tolerance’ policies in New York; Smith, 2002),**they have** also **actively sought to co-opt democratic rhetoric and practice and use them to legitimate** **neoliberalism. What the neoliberal project requires are decision-making practices that are widely accepted as ‘democratic’ but that do not (or cannot) fundamentally challenge existing relations of power. Communicative planning**, insofar as it is rooted in communicative action, **is just such a decision-making practice**. To develop that argument, the article presents a well-developed critique advanced by political theorists and planners, **the upshot of which is that communicative action reinforces existing power relations rather than transforms them**. The article then suggests that if planners decide to heed that critique and move away from communicative ideals, there are better and worse options. One planning tradition, consensus-building, has consciously distanced itself from Habermasian ideals, but it is even more at risk of supporting neoliberalization. The article ends by outlining elements of a non-Habermasian, counter-hegemonic planning theory and practice that are much more likely to successfully challenge neoliberalization.

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**The plan results in a form of aidez-faire neoliberalism – infrastructure investment is used to maintain its political legitimacy, yet fails to challenge the underlying supremacy of capital. Either every investment is followed with an equal retrenchment in social assistance and equality, or the plan is just a ploy to get workers back into the doldrums of the capitalist labor market**

**Purcell 2009**, MarkPurcell, PhD in Geography and Associate Professor of Urban Design and Planning at the University of Washington, researcher in urban politics, planning, and political theory with a focus on democratic movements for a right to the city, “Resisting Neoliberalization: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements?” DA: 7/23/12, http://plt.sagepub.com/content/8/2/140.full.pdf+html -- g.b.

**In the neoliberal imagination, open and competitive markets not only produce the most efﬁcient allocation of resources, they also stimulate innovation and economic growth. That claim is what might be called the laissez-faire aspect of neoliberalism**.2 **Market logics and competition should** be fostered in the economy, and they should **even be extended beyond the economy, to institutions like the state, schools, hospitals, and so on**. Moreover, because neoliberals see state policies as the primary impediment to competitive markets, they want the state to ‘get out of the way’ as much as possible by eliminating regulations that inhibit capital. **However, even as neoliberal doctrine propounds a minimal state,** **actual practices of neoliberalization necessitate signiﬁcant state intervention in order to facilitate the accumulation of capital**. **Thus there exists an aidez-faire aspect of neoliberalism in which the state mobilizes to actively assist capital**, in addition to merely getting out of its way. **Aidez-faire state intervention includes, for example, public investment in efﬁcient infrastructure**, **the transfer of publicly created technology to the private sector**, monetarist policies to control inﬂation, **public investment in private land development**, **workfare policies to discipline the unemployed and reintegrate them into the labor market**, and the increasing dominance of exchange value as the primary way to value urban land. Under neoliberalization, **therefore, the state assists capital by both retreating and intervening**. Generally, the process of neoliberalization combines these two aspects in a complex mixture of both laissez-and aidez-faire. **At the same time it has increased its support for capital, the state has retrenched its assistance for its citizens, especially the poor and vulnerable. A long list of social assistance policie**s – for example, **direct aid to families, un-employment insurance, social security, public housing, child care, and health care – have been reduced, ofﬂoaded onto local governments, or eliminated altogether** (Staeheli et al., 1997). **This retrenchment has been bipartisan**. Reagan’s viliﬁcation of ‘welfare queens’ in the 1970s and 1980s matured into Clinton signing the Welfare Reform Act of 1996. **When combined with the stark social inequality that free markets tend strongly to produce** (Dumenil and Levy, 2004; Harvey, 2005), **retrenched social policy produces an increasing population of marginalized and desperate people. One state strategy to deal with that population has been disciplinary: zero tolerance policies, workfare controls, punitive policing, and expanded imprisonment** (Davis, 1990; Gilmore, 2006; Mitchell, 2003; Peck and Theodore, 2001). Such disciplining has been an integral part of the complex processes of neoliberalization in cities. **But of course the preferred neoliberal alternative is for people to leave the dole and join the labor market. A suite of aidez-faire policies known collectively as ‘workfare’ seeks to move as many former welfare recipients as possible into low-wage jobs**. On the whole, then, **neoliberalization has increasingly shaped state policy to beneﬁt capital rather than citizens**. As a result, it has produced an acute political problem: how to legitimate itself as it dismantles welfare systems, increases inequality, and unleashes into urban political life the harsh relations of market competition. **It is necessary, therefore, to understand neoliberalization not just as a concrete policy agenda to retrench welfare and assist capital, but also as a successful ideological project to establish neoliberal assumptions as dominant** (Harvey, 2005). **It is important to understand that neoliberalism is not just a set of policies, but an ideology, a legitimating argument, and, as Giroux terms it, a ‘public pedagogy**’ (Giroux, 2004; see also Larner, 2000). In order to ensure its long-term stability, neoliberals must make neoliberalism into a dominant ‘common-sense’, so that market competition – creating a ‘business-friendly’ climate – comes to be seen as a necessary (and even the only) value in decision-making. The desired logic is along the lines of: of course we must offer tax incentives to corporations (or reduce environmental regulation or not pass a living wage) – if we don’t our economy will stagnate and our city will die. **I understand hegemony and ideology here, with Gramsci** (1971,2000), **to be a political project on the part of particular groups to establish their interests as the same thing as the general interests of the society**. For Gramsci, this is the stuff of politics: all groups pursue ideological hegemony. That project can never be total or permanent. The success of capital in establishing neoliberalism as hegemonic, for example, is one in a long line of hegemonies that successfully (but temporarily) establish a particular interest as a universal one. **What we are seeing currently is an ongoing struggle to maintain neoliberalism’s dominance, an attempt to progressively ‘neoliberalize’ the ideology that shapes political economies**. As with any hegemonic regime, both the concrete and ideological elements of neoliberalization must be continually refortiﬁed. Cracks and instabilities emerge as a matter of course. That instability is endemic to neoliberal hegemony because: 1) it must always articulate with and to an extent accommodate existing policies, habits, and assumptions (Brenner, 2005); 2) it produces its own contradictions and legitimacy problems (which I sketch below); and 3) as a result, it is always resisted. Other groups pursue counter- hegemonic projects to challenge the existing orthodoxy and to establish different particulars as universals. So the advance of neoliberalism, as a hegemonic project to establish the interests of capital as universal interests, has been ﬁtful, uneven, and highly context-speciﬁc. Neoliberalization is hegemonic, but it is not invincible. It is merely hegemonic now. Counter-projects are possible; indeed they are inevitable.

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**Investments for free and accessible transport are inevitably coopted capital – corporations hold sway over business interests and location**

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Closely related to that deﬁcit is the one that results directly from the neoliberal agenda in its purest form: the increasing control of capital over social life. **As the state retreats from regulating capital** and transfers more and more decisions to the free market, **those who are powerful actors** in that market – corporations ﬁrst among them – **gain increasing power to determine the fortunes of people and places. The disciplinary forces of competitiveness and capital mobility give large corporations signiﬁcant control over public policy. The threat that a ﬁrm such** as Boeing **will move** from Seattle, for example, **gives it inordinate control over a range of policy ﬁelds, like** taxes, **infrastructure**, insurance, and environmental regulation. **Local and state governments must compete with other governments that they fear will offer corporations more competitive incentives to relocate, and so capital is able to shape signiﬁcantly the policy choices of governments. The mass of people, insofar as they are represented by their government, are therefore signiﬁcantly disempowered with respect to capital in setting the agenda** for their local area. While there are of course problems with the naked claim that governments in liberal democracies represent ‘the people’, elected governments are certainly far more democratically accountable to the people than are corporations. So, to the extent that **neoliberalization succeeds in its explicit agenda to augment the power of capital vis-à-vis the state**, and insofar as liberal-democratic states are the principle representative of the mass of people, neoliberalization produces a democratic deﬁcit because it transfers power from democratic citizens to corporations.

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**The plan is inevitably outsourced through normal means to the control of capital and the private sector**

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**A third deﬁcit arises from neoliberalism’s agenda to ‘outsource’ governance. The state has increasingly privatized and semi-privatized its functions by contracting out services** to volunteer organizations, community associations, non-proﬁt corporations, foundations, and private ﬁrms, and by developing quasi-public bodies, such as QUANGOS, appointed competitiveness councils, **urban development corporations, and public–private partnerships, to carry out the functions of government** (Jessop, 2002; Krumholz, 1999; Painter and Goodwin, 2000). For the most part, **these new authorities are not subject to any kind of direct democratic oversight**. For example, non-proﬁt ﬁrms that are contracted to take on governance functions act much like any non-proﬁt concerned to meet its mission and balance its books. To be sure, government agencies can lack democratic accountability as well. But even in a ﬂawed system like actually existing liberal democracy, there are usually some lines of democratic accountability, as, for example, when a City Council must review and approve a planning department’s decision. **For the most part, then, the shift from formal government to informal governance has made it more likely that policy decisions will be made by bodies unaccountable** (at least in a meaningful way) **to democratic citizens**.

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**The plan is just a ploy at devolution of power to legitimize the control of neoliberalism within a democratic perception**

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Of course the degree to which neoliberalism will produce such democratic deﬁcits varies from place to place depending on a range of contextual factors. But **in the big picture neoliberalization cannot proceed without actively managing the political instability it generates**. Not surprisingly then, **we see much evidence of neoliberals working to associate their project with democracy. One element of that strategy has been to argue that the Keynesian welfare state was undemocratic because decisions tended to be national, top-down, bureaucratic, and expert-driven**. Neoliberals argue that their agenda of deregulation takes such decisions away from the state and its arbitrary, unchecked power, and hands them to individuals making free, rational decisions in an open market. There is little doubt the Keynesian state suffered from important democratic deﬁcits. **However, the neoliberal solution is not to democratize the state, but to relocate its power to the market**. Deep inequalities in capitalist markets mean that neoliberal ‘marketization’ is not at all the same thing as democratization. **Neoliberals also make a parallel claim that the devolution of authority, from the national state to more local ones**, similarly constitutes democratization. **Devolving the authority of the national Keynesian state allows places more power to shape decisions to their particular context** (this claim is chronicled by Swyngedouw et al., 2002). **In the US urban context, we can see this claim clearly in the withdrawal of national funding for community development. As federal government programs to help poor communities were replaced by a plethora of block grants, local state agencies, non-proﬁt corporations, religious organizations, philanthropic foundations, and for-proﬁt ﬁrms, neoliberals claimed they had freed communities from the tyranny of central state control and created a more democratic, ‘grassroots’ alternative**. Of course, **devolution of authority is not in itself necessarily a move toward greater democracy** (Purcell,2006). It is true that in the Keynesian era policy-making tended to be bureaucratized and undemocratic. But when that authority is ceded by the national state to local authorities or to non-state entities, it can be mobilized democratically or not. **Devolution may or may not be democratization, but neoliberals sell it as such**. They make a concerted effort to portray their project as a more democratic alternative to the old Keynesian order.

**A2: Neoliberalism Adv.**

**“Free and accessible transport” is just a marginal ploy of neoliberalism – the hegemon will sacrifice capital interests as long as it doesn’t challenge the overall legitimacy of the system**

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In short, **the strategy is to capture the banner of democracy for neoliberalism. The community development example is in many respects the ideal model for neoliberals: institute typical neoliberal reforms and simply label them more democratic**. Where that ideal is unworkable (and neoliberalization’s democratic deﬁcits soon make such claims shaky), **a more pragmatic strategy is to participate in and even promote new democratic initiatives that, while they might produce less-than-optimal material outcomes for capital, do not pose any fundamental challenges to the neoliberal project.** **Rather than allowing capital interests to entirely determine outcomes, such processes might include a range of stakeholders, many of whom have different interests than capital (e.g. environmental, neighborhood, or social justice groups). The material outcomes of those forums may very well not be optimal for business interests** (e.g. some environmental mitigation, or a scaled-back development). **However, neoliberals will cede a certain amount of material gain to achieve a strong democratic legitimacy**. That dynamic can be seen at the level of a single case (a developer willing to sacriﬁce some margin so she can be sure the project will move forward unchallenged), and it can be understood to operate at a more general level: **neoliberalization has legitimacy problems, and it is necessary to sacriﬁce some of the ideal neoliberal agenda described above in return for stable democratic legitimacy**. The caveat is that neoliberals must ensure some basic assumptions remain in place: the imperative of competitiveness, the inviolability of property rights, and the primary importance of the exchange value of urban land. **That quid pro quo dynamic has long roots; abundant research has documented how the contradictions internal to capitalism must be socially and politically ‘regulated’ by political arrangements in order to prevent capitalism from collapsing under its own weigh**t (Aglietta, 1979; Brenner and Glick, 1991; Jessop,1990; Lipietz,1992). **It would be nothing new**, therefore, **for capital to bargain away a measure of material interest to gain political stability**.

**Communicative Planning fails**

**Communicative planning serves to reinstate neoliberalism within democratically-legitimate decisions**

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The next section will argue in depth that **communicative planning offers an extremely attractive way for neoliberals to secure the democratic legitimacy they require, because it tends to reinforce the political-economic status quo while producing democratically legitimate decisions. In engaging communicative processes, neoliberals**, if they are just a little savvy, **can consolidate the hegemony of neoliberal assumptions and re-inscribe the increased power of capital to shape the future of the city**. There is a lot at stake here. **The discourses and practices of democracy offer great potential for those who resist neoliberalization and imagine a more just and civilized urban future**. But democracy is a contested concept**. If neoliberals are able to capture its banner, not only will they likely suffocate a very promising strategy of resistance, they will reinforce their current hegemony**. We must therefore pursue democratization that is unequivocally inimical to neoliberalization. To do so, I argue that **in the big picture we cannot pursue collaborative and consensual relations with neoliberal interests so that capital gets what it needs; rather we must struggle against those interests in an effort to radically transform neoliberal hegemony**.

**Communicative Planning Fails**

**Communicative discussions fails – the politics of linguists means that there is always the presence of political distortion and inequality – in trying to deny this fundamental assumption communicative actions only serves the mask the hegemonic power it is trying to critique**

**Purcell 2009**, MarkPurcell, PhD in Geography and Associate Professor of Urban Design and Planning at the University of Washington, researcher in urban politics, planning, and political theory with a focus on democratic movements for a right to the city, “Resisting Neoliberalization: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements?” DA: 7/23/12, http://plt.sagepub.com/content/8/2/140.full.pdf+html -- g.b.

**The ﬁrst critique begins with a linguistic argument**. Writers like Chantal Mouffe and Jean Hillier draw on the linguistic theories of Wittgenstein, Lacan, and Žižek to argue that **the ideal of undistorted communication is a logical impossibility**. The argument is that **speech acts cannot be neutral and undistorted; they must necessarily contain distortion in order to be intelligible.** Mouffe (2000) draws on Wittgenstein to make the case: if we actually achieved an ideal speech act we would ﬁnd ‘we have got on the slippery ice where there is no friction and so in a certain sense the conditions are ideal, but also, just because of that, we are unable to walk: so we need friction. Back to the rough ground’ (Wittgenstein, 1953: 46e). The necessity of distortion is picked up in Mouffe’s (1999) and Hillier’s (2003) analysis through Lacan. **In everyday practice, they argue, all language can at best represent the actual thing it aims to signify**. There is an irreducible gap between signiﬁer and signiﬁed (Hillier, 2003). **Therefore, a ‘ﬁeld of consistent meaning’, which we need in order to make sense of language, cannot be anchored objectively, in the concrete things it seeks to represent** (Mouffe,1999: 751**). In order for language to be mutually** **intelligible, therefore, participants must impose what Lacan calls a ‘master signiﬁer’, a crux that sets the relationships between signiﬁers and signiﬁeds and creates a consistent ﬁeld of meaning. The master signiﬁer necessarily distorts the symbolic ﬁeld by arbitrarily elevating one particular representation over others** (Žižek, 1992). **However, the master signiﬁer also holds the ﬁeld of meaning together; it makes communication possible**. Therefore, **removing all distortion would cause the ﬁeld to disintegrate, and communication would ceas**e. According to this argument, distortion is therefore necessary to make communication possible. **Aiming at an ideal of undistorted communication is not merely Herculean, it is futile**. That claim is important because it means that **language and communication, the centerpiece of the communicative project, cannot be a neutral, fully shared, and undistorted medium.** **Rather language is always political; it is distorted by power, and those distortions establish hegemonic relations among participants**. That realization leads Mouffe (2000) to conclude that we should not be attempting to progressively eliminate distortion and create non-political communication; rather **we should accept that distortion and power is necessarily present in communication**. She argues we should seek to mobilize that power, not minimize it. **Creating elaborate techniques to reduce distortion and power in communication can never neutralize or eliminate them. But** **practices of communicative action**, because they seek to reduce communicative distortion and power, **lead us away from a critical analysis of power in language. They therefore put us in danger of masking its operation**.

**Communicative Planning Fails**

**Communicative action fails – the marginalized cannot advocate their disadvantage just for themselves but for everyone, systematically making it harder to be recognized. Also, ideals of complete inclusiveness are impossible and will always privilege some groups over others.**

**Purcell 2009**, MarkPurcell, PhD in Geography and Associate Professor of Urban Design and Planning at the University of Washington, researcher in urban politics, planning, and political theory with a focus on democratic movements for a right to the city, “Resisting Neoliberalization: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements?” DA: 7/23/12, http://plt.sagepub.com/content/8/2/140.full.pdf+html -- g.b.

Moreover, an **important corollary danger** of the common-good approach **is that it denies disempowered groups their most promising political tool** (Abram, 2000; Hillier, 2003; Sanders, 1997). **They cannot – or they are urged not to – advocate for their own interests. Rather they must overcome their disadvantage by proposing a course of action that is seen to be in everyone’s best interests**, not just theirs. **Such a requirement is really quite perverse**, and even punitive, in the context of a history of injustice. It is easy to see how, **for example, the ideal would mean that a neighborhood with a disproportionate share of noxious facilities must show why siting yet another new waste treatment facility in their neighborhood would not just be bad for the neighborhood, but bad for the city as a whole.** **The common-good requirement thus tends to add to the political burden marginalized groups bear**. At best, **the communicative ideal** sits uneasily with social movements advocating for particular interests; at worst it **systematically marginalizes them**. **Communicative action introduces important impediments to transforming existing power relations from below, which effectively means it supports those relations**. Laclau and Mouffe’s alternative is not to suppress strategic action, but to mobilize it into emancipatory movements. What is required for marginalized groups is a planning theory and practice that consciously and actively fosters counter-hegemonic mobilization (Sandercock, 1998). **Reinforcing the critique of common-good politics is a critique of communicative action’s ideal of inclusiveness. Communicative action aims not only at creating a cohesive ‘we’, but also an inclusive one**. Not only should ﬁssures within the polity be increasingly sutured, but also no one affected by a decision should be excluded from the decision-making process (Healey, 1997). **The problem with that ideal, critics argue, is that such inclusiveness can never be total, every group that includes must always also exclude.** In theoretical terms, every ‘we’ necessarily implies a ‘they’ (Hillier, 2003: 42). The critique draws here on Derrida’s notion of the ‘constitutive outside’, the idea that every identity must be constituted as much by what it is not (its outside) as what it is (its inside) (Mouffe, 1993). The constitutive outside is necessary to all social identity; every inclusive ‘we’ must exclude a ‘they’ in order to exist (see also Agamben, 2005). Therefore, **the ideal of inclusiveness must always go unrealized; every process must always exclude some affected parties in favor of others. Moreover, even if the ideal of inclusiveness were logically possible, it would be so difﬁcult as to be virtually impossible in practice**. The logistical task of ensuring that all affected parties actually manifest as reliable, interested participants is far beyond the resources (ﬁnancial, imaginative, communicative) of any agency that is conducting deliberative processes. **Even if it could assemble such a group, the agency would then have to work to create a fair and non-distorted deliberation. In practice of course, what happens is that agencies get the most affected stakeholders to the table** (or, more accurately, they get representatives of the most affected stakeholders), **and exclude relatively less affected stakeholders. While that exclusion is practicable, it does not approach the communicative ideal**. What is worse, the gap between reality and ideal is papered over far too easily in public discourse, so that processes that are necessarily exclusive get narrated as inclusive. **Unavoidably, decisions taken through communicative action will be imposed on people who have not had a full say in the process, people who are nevertheless affected by the decision. And such exclusion is all too often not random, but systematic. While it may be going too far to say that poor and non-white communities are being systematically excluded from communicative processes, it is not at all too much to say that property owners are being systematically included**. Under the hegemony of neoliberalism, it is almost inconceivable that property owners or other business interests will be among those excluded from a communicative process. **They are, therefore, systematically advantaged by a decision-making practice that must of necessity exclude some affected parties, but virtually never excludes them.** Moreover, that process is commonly understood to be inclusive, and its exclusions are rarely questioned.

**Communicative Planning Fails**

**Communicative fails – true equality in deliberation and runs parallel to questions of economic distribution. Plus, it can’t challenge neoliberalism since hegemonic arguments of growth and competitiveness must be given the same epistemological weight.**

**Purcell 2009**, MarkPurcell, PhD in Geography and Associate Professor of Urban Design and Planning at the University of Washington, researcher in urban politics, planning, and political theory with a focus on democratic movements for a right to the city, “Resisting Neoliberalization: Communicative Planning or Counter-Hegemonic Movements?” DA: 7/23/12, http://plt.sagepub.com/content/8/2/140.full.pdf+html -- g.b.

A last group of critics are more willing to argue that the **communicative model favors some social groups and not others** (Young, 1996, 1999). Habermas’s theory poses its mode of communication as universal, as common to all people regardless of culture, class, gender, etc. Because it relies so heavily on persuasion through rational argumentation, **the communicative ideal requires**, as Lynn Sanders (1997: 349) puts it, ‘**equality in epistemological authority’**, by which she means ‘the capacity to evoke acknowledgement of one’s arguments’. **But some people hold less epistemological authority than others**. They are therefore less likely Sanders’s argument can be read as a concern about the politics of ‘recognition’, about the unequal esteem that different groups are granted by a dominant culture (Fraser, 2001; Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1992). **There is wide agreement that cultural recognition is unequally distributed in society, and that such unequal distribution largely mirrors the unequal distribution of other resources. The debate about recognition runs directly to questions of gender, race, class, and sexuality, among other categories**. Patriarchies systematically devalue cultural traits considered not masculine; racist societies systematically devalue cultural traits considered not white; heteronormative societies systematically devalue cultural traits considered not straight. **If people are not equally esteemed, their arguments are less likely to be accepted by others in deliberation**. Critics like Sanders and Young argue this is a problem even skilled facilitation can only partly mitigate. Dominant classes, genders, races, and sexualities begin with greater epistemological authority before they even open their mouth. **More speciﬁcally, in a society where neoliberal ideas are hegemonic, arguments about economic growth, competitiveness, and property rights carry that same epistemological privilege**. Habermas’s desire to remove physical force and coercion from democratic decision-making and replace them with ‘the force of the better argument’ is admirable (Habermas,1985b). **But the unequal distribution of esteem means that this new force can never be fair; it will always systematically advantage some over others** (Burgess and Harrison,

1998; McGuirk, 2001).

## SOCIAL SERVICES TRADEOFF DA

**Link**

**Transportation infrastructure spending trades off with other programs**

**LAO 2011**, LAO (Legislative Analyst’s Office), Nonpartisan Fiscal and Policy Advisor for the state of California, “Ten Year Perspective: California Infrastructure Spending,” DA: 7/22/12, http://www.lao.ca.gov/reports/2011/stadm/infrastructure/infrastructure\_082511.aspx -- g.b.

**Debt Service Involves Budgetary Trade-Offs. There is no one “right” level** for the DSR. **It simply provides an indication of the relative priority of debt service and infrastructure compared to other spending from the General Fund—a higher DSR would appear to indicate an increased preference for infrastructure spending relative to other programs. This is because the higher the DSR is** and more rapidly it rises, **the more debt-service expenses limit the use of revenues for other programs**. That is, for any given level of state revenues, **each new dollar of debt service comes at the expense of a dollar that could be allocated to another program area, whether education, health, social services, or tax relief. The trade-offs have become more acute due to the state’s ongoing budget shortfalls**. In addition to these General Fund impacts, debt-service costs also limit revenues available for special fund programs. For example, the state’s trial courts have increased fees in recent years in order to raise revenue for debt service on new courthouse construction and the state uses vehicle weight fees to cover transportation debt service. **Using these revenues for infrastructure debt service means that they are not available for other program purposes**.

**SS Spending 1st**

**Pennsylvania proves – social services spending at top of chopping block for GOP**

**Levy** 6/20/**2012**, Marc Levy, Associated Press, “Corbett, GOP lawmakers in meetings, say agreement is at hand on a $27.7B spending plan,” DA: 7/22/2012, http://www.therepublic.com/view/story/4df0bf1286eb4b4fb10e7d6bc23b3c61/PA-XGR -- g.b

HARRISBURG, Pa. — **An agreement on a nearly $27.7 billion budget deal** announced Wednesday evening **by** Gov. Tom Corbett and **top Republican lawmakers** appears to be nearly identical to what lawmakers had proposed several weeks earlier, a plan that **would cut taxes for businesses while squeezing programs for the poor and disabled.** It also includes a meeting of the minds on legislation to create a tax credit sought by Corbett in his pursuit of bringing an integrated petrochemical industry to Pennsylvania, anchored by a multibillion-dollar refinery planned in the Pittsburgh area by a subsidiary of Netherlands-based oil and gas giant Royal Dutch Shell PLC. The agreement for the fiscal year beginning July 1 puts the state on course for a second straight on-time budget. It comes after two weeks of almost-daily talks behind closed doors and at a time when schools are making plans to lay off thousands of employees, in part because of deep cuts in state aid this year. Corbett, a Republican who took office last year after campaigning on a pledge not to raise taxes, and the others would not give details about their new agreement until rank-and-file lawmakers are briefed in the coming days. "We have agreement among ourselves on many, many areas," Corbett told reporters gathered in his Capitol conference room. "There are still some other areas we need to work out." Leaders of the House and Senate Republican majorities stood at Corbett's sides but largely stayed silent during the briefing. The budget, which typically involves the passage of a couple dozen pieces of legislation, will still require approval by the full House and Senate to go into effect. **Democrats were not invited to the talks, and not one single Democratic lawmaker voted for the budget currently in force,** which was Corbett's first as governor. **The newly agreed-upon spending plan appears to be nearly identical to one put forth** to Corbett **by lawmakers**. If so, it will include no new taxes while raising spending less than 2 percent and leaving about $267 million in reserve a year from now. Aid for public schools and 18 state-supported universities would remain flat, at least. Budget negotiators also discussed adding a $50 million zero-interest loan program for school districts nearing financial collapse and an additional $100 million in tax credits on business-sector donations to subsidize scholarships for low-income children in the state's worst-performing schools. But it was not clear whether money for those programs was included in the agreement. Meanwhile, **the plan would cut business taxes by $275 million while slashing money for county-run social services by 10 percent, or $84 million, and eliminating a $150 million cash benefit called General Assistance for temporarily disabled adults who are out of work**. **The $200-a-month cash benefit, which dates back to the Great Depression, has been on Republicans' chopping block despite appeals from advocates for the poor and homeless**, as well as the AARP, the United Way and religious groups representing Catholics, Methodists, Lutherans, Unitarian Universalists and Jews. Corbett proposed **a $27.1 billion hold-the-line plan** in February that nonetheless **included deep cuts in aid for education and social services** while cutting business taxes and spending more on health care and public employee pension costs. But tax collections began to brighten after that, and Republican lawmakers used the newly available cash in their alternative plan to add hundreds of millions of dollars to the subsidies that Corbett had proposed for universities, public schools, county-run social services, the race horse industry, medical research, retailers and hospitals and nursing homes that care for the poor. **The Democratic minority in the House of Representatives sought unsuccessfully earlier this month to win a vote for $300 million in additional spending** that it insisted the state would collect in taxes **and bashed the GOP agenda as needlessly painful for schools and people who depend on social services**

**SS Spending 1st**

**Social service spending GOP’s ideal choice for cuts when pressed with extra spending or unplanned reductions – they’ll do anything to save the military budget**

**Taylor** 5/7/**2012**, Andrew Taylor, writer for the Associated Press, “House GOP Budget Plan Increases Military Spending And Cuts Social Services,” DA: 7/22/12, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/05/07/house-gop-budget-cuts\_n\_1495426.html -- g.b.

WASHINGTON -- **The Republicans who control the House are using cuts to food aid, health care and social services like Meals on Wheels to protect the Pentagon from a wave of budget cuts come January**. The reductions, while controversial, are but a fraction of what Republicans called for in the broader, nonbinding budget plan they passed in March. Totaling a little more than $300 billion over a decade, the new cuts are aimed less at tackling $1 trillion-plus government deficits and more at preventing cuts to troop levels and military modernization. The House Budget Committee meets Monday to officially act on the measure, the product of six separate House panels. It faces a likely floor vote Thursday. The measure kicks off Congress' return to action after a weeklong recess. The House will also vote on a spending bill funding NASA and the Justice Department and on legislation to reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act. The Senate, meanwhile, has a test vote slated for Tuesday on a plan backed by President Barack Obama to prevent a doubling of college loan interest rates. **Fully one-fourth of the House GOP spending cuts come from programs directly benefiting the poor, such as Medicaid, food stamps, the Social Services Block Grant, and a child tax credit claimed by working immigrants**. Federal workers would have to contribute an additional 5 percent of their salaries toward their pensions, while **people whose incomes rise after receiving coverage subsidies under the new health care law would lose some or all of their benefits**. **The budget-cutting drive is designed to head off a looming 10 percent, $55-billion budget cut set to strike the Pentagon** on Jan. 1 because of the failure of last year's deficit "supercommittee" to strike a deal. The Obama administration and lawmakers in both parties warn the reductions would harm readiness and weapons procurement, and reduce troop levels. The automatic spending cuts, known as a sequester, would strike domestic programs as well, including a 2 percentage point cut from Medicare payments to health care providers. The sequester required by the supercommittee's failure would abruptly wring about $110 billion in new spending from next year's budget, but the upcoming GOP measure is more gentle in the near term, cutting deficits this year and next by less than $20 billion – though the cuts add up to more than $300 billion over the coming decade. Some of the cuts may or not be realistic, though, despite the seal of approval of the respected Congressional Budget Office. Particularly dubious is $22.5 billion in savings claimed by repealing new "orderly liquidation" authority awarded to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. to prevent the failure of large financial firms from endangering the economy. Costs would be offset by assessments on other institutions over subsequent years. And $56 billion in savings over 10 years from Medicare and Medicaid as a result of curbing medical malpractice lawsuits is speculative, too, relying on a CBO estimate that assumes changes like capping punitive damages will produce a half-percentage-point cut in health care spending. The cuts will be dead on arrival in the Democratic-controlled Senate this year. But they're likely just a sample of what's in store next year from Republicans if Mitt Romney wins the White House and the GOP takes back the Senate. Romney promises much tougher cuts to domestic programs and an even bigger boost in the Pentagon's budget, while **the House GOP budget promises sharp cuts to Medicaid** and a dramatic overhaul of Medicare for future beneficiaries. Warring Democrats and Republicans hold sharply opposite views of the cuts. To GOP lawmakers, steps like blocking states from gaming food stamp eligibility rules to boost benefits or trying to stop undocumented immigrants from claiming tax refunds of up to $1,000 per child are simply no-brainers. And they won the 2010 midterm election after campaigning against Obama's health care law. But Democrats say **Republicans are unfairly targeting the poor and vulnerable**. They believe that legislation to prevent the Pentagon cuts should include tax increases that strike wealthier people. The proposed GOP cuts pale in comparison to the $5 trillion in cuts called for over the coming decade by the broader – but nonbinding – GOP blueprint, authored by Budget Committee Chairman Paul Ryan, R-Wis., who's often mentioned as a potential vice presidential choice. They're getting far less media attention as well. Stepping into the debate, however, has been the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, who **forcefully oppose cuts to programs that help the poor and vulnerable, singling out cuts to food stamps as "unjustified and wrong" and assailing the effort to deny the child tax credit to undocumented workers as sure to thrust vulnerable children into poverty. The vast majority of children who would be affected by the tax credit proposal are U.S. citizens**. **Republicans would also eliminate Social Services Block Grants, a $1.7 billion a year program that gives states money for Meals on Wheels, day care, adoption assistance, and transportation help for the elderly and disabled**. Democrats noted that the program comes in the form of flexible block grants, an approach that Republicans advocated in the Ryan budget regarding Medicaid and food stamps. Republicans say the Social Service Block Grants program duplicates other efforts.

**SS Spending 1st**

**GOP cuts from social services**

**AP** 6/28/**2012**, “Democrats begin attack on GOP's spending plan,” DA: 7/22/12, http://www.indianagazette.com/b\_news/article\_48cec843-7d74-502e-aaf8-e3ae7e0a0833.html -- g.b.

HARRISBURG -- **Democrats on Wednesday attacked a newly unveiled $27.7 billion state spending plan written by majority Republicans, calling it a gift to big business that will lock in this year's deep cuts in aid to public schools while forcing longer waits for people who need services such as treatment for mental illness or addiction**. The legislation, made public just four days before the new fiscal year begins, passed the House Appropriations Committee on a party-line vote Wednesday morning after two hours of debate. The House adjourned Wednesday without action on the bill, and floor debate was expected to begin this morning. The plan will need Senate approval after that. Democrats were getting their first look at the document after having been excluded from private negotiations between Republican Gov. Tom Corbett and his fellow Republicans who control both chambers of the state Legislature. "I think this budget represents a woefully misplaced priority," Rep. Matthew Bradford, D-Montgomery, said during the committee meeting. With lawmakers hoping to wrap up work for the summer on Friday, Republicans still had a lot to do. They met privately for long periods Wednesday over various last-minute efforts to insert pet provisions into budget-related legislation. Among those was a Corbett administration attempt to win **House support to absorb seven different pots of aid for county-administered services -- for the homeless, mentally ill and disabled, neglected or abused children and drug and alcohol addicts** -- into one block grant program. "I would say that we have a reasonable amount of work to do," House Speaker Sam Smith, R-Jefferson, said after leaving one meeting. **Many nonprofit groups that carry out much of the state's safety-net services oppose it for fear that mandated services, such as child-abuse investigations or court-ordered counseling, will drain much of the money**. House Republicans sought to change the way gambling-financed grants for public construction projects are distributed, while Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Jake Corman, R-Centre, pressed for a provision to remove the state income tax deduction that Pennsylvania allows on contributions toward 529 college-savings plans operated by other states. Meanwhile, final legislation remained under wraps Wednesday for Corbett's top priority: a $1.7 billion tax break that he wants in an effort to lure a new petrochemical industry to Pennsylvania. The plan for the 2012-13 fiscal year that begins Sunday would increase spending by about 1.5 percent, largely for debt, pensions, health care for the poor and to help fill a shortfall in the almost-finished fiscal year. It also would cut taxes for businesses by almost $300 million and leave nearly $400 million in reserve from tax collections that are expected to rise by more than 3 percent. **To save money, it would cut 10 percent from aid for many county-run social services and hundreds of millions of dollars from programs in the massive Department of Public Welfare budget that benefit poor, childless adults**. Most public schools would get the same amount of aid after sustaining a cut of more than 10 percent this year, while an extra $50 million would be distributed to struggling school districts in an effort to avert a financial collapse. **Regarding cuts to county-administered social services, Bradford said, "we don't even pretend to explain how they're going to make that 10 percent cut work**." Republicans defended the need for the cuts, citing the increasingly expensive state share of public employee pension costs and arguing that helping businesses will enable them hire more people. "This is a sustainable budget," said House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bill Adolph, R-Delaware. **Advocates for nonprofit social service providers say prevention programs, such as counselors in schools for children who are showing signs of trouble, could be first on the chopping block**. Republicans were also advancing a proposal to require the welfare department to collect a broad range of financial information from nonprofit providers of state-funded social services, such as salaries, association dues, lobbying expenses, administrative expenses and the cost of delivering services. Bernadette Bianchi, the executive director of the Harrisburg-based nonprofit group Pennsylvania Council of Children, Youth and Family Services, said that information is already public in the form of IRS reports and audits, and suggested that the service providers are being unfairly targeted.

**"We're talking about kids that have already been abused and neglected. That's our target audience and somehow we're being identified as part of the problem instead of part of the solution," Bianchi said**.

**SS Spending 1st**

**GOP uses social service spending as a bargaining chip for deals like the debt ceiling**

**Creamer** 5/4/**2011**, Roger Creamer, long-time political organizer, strategist, and author, “GOP Plans to Demand Mandatory Cuts in Social Security, Medicare as Price for Debt Ceiling,” DA: 7/22/12, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-creamer/gop-plans-to-demand-manda\_b\_857326.html -- g.b.

**It is increasingly clear that the Republicans will demand mandatory cuts in Social Security and Medicare as a price for increasing the debt ceiling** later this spring. Of course they won't say they are demanding mandatory cuts in Social Security and Medicare. Over the Easter recess they've had a taste of just how strongly people feel about Medicare. Before they left the Capitol last month House Republicans voted -- almost unanimously -- for the Republican budget that ends Medicare and replaces it with a privatized system of partial support for private insurance premiums. They ran into a town hall buzz-saw of opposition in every corner of the country. The House Republican budget plan authored by Congressman Paul Ryan isn't going anywhere in the Senate. If the "gang of six" Senators come up with a deficit reduction plan that is acceptable to its three Democrats and three Republicans, that may attract brief interest among the elite media. But such a budget deal would have to involve substantial increases in revenue -- presumably from raising taxes on the wealthy -- and that has exactly zero chance of being approved by the Republican House. **But the Republicans won't let the 70-plus percent opposition to cuts in Medicare and Social Security dissuade them. They've come up with a new plan that sugarcoats their attempts to eviscerate Social Security and Medicare. It's called a "mandatory global spending cap" and it's nothing more than the House Republican budget in disguise**. The Republicans like this plan because, when you ask everyday voters if they support a "mandatory global spending cap" they think it sounds pretty good. What better way to force the government to "live within its means"? But support turns into solid opposition the moment people understand that the "mandatory global spending cap" would require mandatory cuts in Medicare and Social Security. **In fact, this proposal** isn't a way to make the government "live within its means" -- **it's really a way to cut Medicare and Social Security in order to give more tax breaks to millionaires. It's a way to reduce the "means" that normal people live on**, and hand them over to the Donald Trumps and Paris Hiltons of the world. **Turns out that if you set a spending cap at a fixed level somewhere close to the average percentage of Gross Domestic Product** that has gone to Federal outlays over the last couple of decades, **it will inevitably force cuts in Medicare and Social Security**. That's because the percentage of the population that is older and receiving Medicare and Social Security is going up. This will automatically increase the percentage of GDP going to Medicare and Social Security benefit -- which, of course, Americans have paid for their entire working lives. In fact, the "mandatory global spending cap" is a trick intended to sucker ordinary people into supporting a proposal to cut their own Social Security and Medicare benefits.

## Social Services CP

**CP: The United States federal government should reallocate the funds previously directed to substantially increasing free and public transport as per the plan text and redirect the funds to social services**.

**Contention 1: It’s mutually exclusive – funds go to EITHER the plan OR the CP**

**Contention2: It solves –**

**Social services bring up “ethics of care” incompatible with the current system of neoliberal governance**

**Askew 2009**, Louise E. Askew, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, School of Environmental and Life Sciences, University of Newcastle, Callaghan, “At home’ in state institutions: The caring practices and potentialities of human service workers,” DA: 7/22/12, Geoforum, Volume 40, Issue 4, July 2009, pg. 655-663, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718509000487 -- g.b.

5. Reflecting on an ethic of care: the potentialities of human service work and state institutions

The task of understanding and examining state institutions and human service practices has been undertaken in a myriad of ways, and the intimate account of care presented here is just one approach. **Care may appear here as a rather simple and overly optimistic entry-point**. Yet, in the human service spaces of Families First and SaCC, workers introduced the significance and vitality of care in their everyday negotiations, understandings and actions of human service provision. **Too often state institutions and workers have been stabilised as the technical conduits or ‘automata’ through which (neoliberal) governing power is translated** ( [Larner and Butler, 2007] and [Robertson, 2007]). From such a strongly theorised perspective, the congested spaces and prosaic possibilities of state institutions are muted. The contribution of the intimate, ethnographic approach adopted in this research is an attention to the prosaic performances of state institutions—how policy is engaged by state workers, how governance agendas are understood, and how everyday individual actions, affects, decisions and ethics might shape state institutions and human service practice. It is in ‘mucking around’ in the prosaics of state institutions that everyday and formative practices such as care become difficult to ignore. The people of state institutions, the friendships, respect and trust, the care that they hold for each other and the communities they work with; all these features may exceed our common understandings of state institutions yet are already existing in diverse and **formative ways as part of human service practices**. As researchers, we too must surely engage in friendships with our colleagues, negotiate the prosaic politics of our workplaces, nurture care in our work practices and relationships, and value the decisive role of genuine and trusting relationships in our work and lives. So in our research **we need to question why these energies seem untenable in state institutions, government settings and agency practices** and how **listening for these everyday energies might help in identifying and supporting effective human service practices**. The potential for thinking about and performing state institutions and human service practice are indeed nurtured by the prosaic and hospitable perspectives of this research. Yet, the **potentialities** I describe undoubtedly **arise**, in part, **from the particular settings and spaces of the research. The human service sector of state institutions has long been associated with policy activism**, caring and dedicated workers, overrepresentation of women **and commitment to social justice issues** ( [Watson, 1990], [Nyland, 1998], [Roberts, 2004] and [Larner and Butler, 2007]). Might other state institutions such as environmental agencies express similar energies? In what ways do those enrolled in the finance sectors of government work and interact in personal and ethical ways? How might people who are active in writing policy communicate the diversity, creativity and care innate to their lives? **These questions of state** institutions excite further research with the capacity to **challenge fixed concepts of ‘the state’ and governance through attention to the diversity of people, understandings, affects, activities and ethics that infuse and shape state settings**. We cannot expect that other state settings will reveal the same particularities of governing practice but, as Blomley (2005: p. 293) argues, we can expect “that other places will provide equally complex stories”.

**Solvency/2NC Must-Read**

**Ethics of care challenge the stability of the neoliberal system by affirming public responsibility over the expectations of “private” spaces**

**Askew 2009**, Louise E. Askew, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, School of Environmental and Life Sciences, University of Newcastle, Callaghan, “At home’ in state institutions: The caring practices and potentialities of human service workers,” DA: 7/22/12, Geoforum, Volume 40, Issue 4, July 2009, pg. 655-663, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718509000487 -- g.b.

6. Conclusion

It is this challenge of **re-thinking and re-vitalising state institutions** that **has been the subject of this paper, through a particular focus on human service agencies and care**. I have argued for an everyday and hospitable (Gibson-Graham, 2006) orientation to state institutions; **a perspective that widens from the myopic hold of overarching theories of governance to hopeful visions of prosaic human service practice and possibility. This deliberately welcoming and dynamic framing of state institutions provides a foundation to investigate how the diversity of human service practice comes to be** and the ways in which these practices may be generative of both new and yet to be nurtured potential. **Such an orientation does not necessitate the ‘doing away’ with ongoing debates around neoliberal governanc**e and its interactions with human service practice. **Rather** **it is in placing, activating and personalising state institutions and human service practice that a political-economic rationality, or “commonsense”** (Peck and Tickell, 2002: p. 381) **such as neoliberalism appears less certain, universal and controlling than we might expect**. Moreover **practices such as care can be welcomed as vital parts of human service spaces,** **challenging abstract expectations that such ‘peopled practices’ belong in private spaces rather than those concerned with governance and the political-economic sphere.** Expectations and ideological categories soften in the congested spaces of everyday human service practice, disarmed by the interminable fluidities of negotiation, change and contingent political and peopled action. **Neoliberal agendas are not always co-opting**. Nor are caring practices forever progressive and generous. **Care is a complex and multifarious practice, yet one that is ‘at home’ in the spaces of states institutions. Once we are able to think about state institutions in this way, then it is possible to identify potentialities and capture existing opportunities to support the people and caring practices that make ethical, effective and enjoyable human service work possible**.

**Solvency**

**Increasing neoliberalism has led to a decrease in welfare assistance as well as federal devolution of responsibility to private actors**

**Askew 2009**, Louise E. Askew, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, School of Environmental and Life Sciences, University of Newcastle, Callaghan, “At home’ in state institutions: The caring practices and potentialities of human service workers,” DA: 7/22/12, Geoforum, Volume 40, Issue 4, July 2009, pg. 655-663, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016718509000487 -- g.b.

2. ‘At home’ in state institutions: care and ethics in human service agencies

The recently burgeoning **theories of care demand**, perhaps surprisingly, **an attention to literatures on neoliberal governance**. In most instances, care evades the eyes (and ears) of geographers caught up in seemingly more powerful conversations of abstracted and ever-neoliberalising state practices (Barnett, 2005). Yet for some analysts, and possibly in light of this oversight, **the notion of care is being redrawn as a potentially resistant and increasingly necessary responsibility that may offer respite from the onslaughts of neoliberal governance agendas**. The premise of this approach to care, although somewhat crudely condensed here, is that **recently reordered powers of states reproduce neoliberal modes of governance, evidenced through an increase in decentered and moralised forms of state power** (i.e. ‘government at a distance’ and ‘etho-politics’)2 ( [Rose, 1999], [Isin, 2000] and [McDonald and Marston, 2005]). **In the domains of social governance, this expanding neoliberal agenda is aligned with the decline of welfare states, and a reverberating erosion of state mechanisms and practices of social support** ( [Hochschild, 1995], [Smith, 1997], [Easterlow and Smith, 2004] and [Lawson, 2007]). **Any caring relations and supportive provisions of states are viewed from these perspectives as largely co-opted by neoliberalised etho-political agendas, promoting the individual, moralised and privatised responsibilities of both the providers and recipients of social services**. **Arising from this analytical framing is a sense of the pressing need to rescue care from the onslaughts of neoliberalism, with care positioned as a newfound responsibility and potentially liberating retaliation in a fight against neoliberalism**.

## Counterfeiting CP

**CP Text: The United States federal government should:**

**1) Immediately disband the Department of the Treasury, Federal Reserve, and anti-counterfeiting units of the Secret Service as well as cease all participation in the Illicit Activities Initiative AND**

**2) Repeal the Counterfeiting Clause as well as any Supreme Court-appointed Congressional provisions to regulate and prosecute counterfeiting activities**.

**DOT, Federal Reserve, and Secret Service**

**Nanto** 6/12/**2009**, Dick K. Nanto, Specialist in Industry and Trade Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “North Korean Counterfeiting of U.S. Currency,” DA: 7/22/12, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33324.pdf -- g.b.

Even though the macroeconomic effect of a counterfeiting operation generating around $15 million to $25 million per year is minor, counterfeiting, itself, is a violation of U.S. law. **The Treasury, including the Secret Service, and the Federal Reserve have primary responsibilities for addressing the counterfeiting of U.S. currency. The Federal Reserve’s role is to distribute and ensure the physical integrity, including the authenticity, of U.S. currency. The Secretary of the Treasury is responsible for issuing and protecting U.S. currency**. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing produces the currency. It has announced that one of its priorities for FY2007 is to redesign the $100 note.37 **The Secret Service conducts investigations of counterfeiting activities, provides counterfeit-detection training, and is responsible for anti-counterfeiting efforts abroad**

**Counterfeiting Clause and appropriations**

**Cummings 1999**, Nathan K. Cummings, Duke University School of Law, associate in the Howrey & Simon firm, Washington, D.C., “The Counterfeit Buck Stops Here: National Security Issues in the Redesign of U.S. Currency,” Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal, Spring 1999, 8 S. Cal. Interdis. L.J. 539, lexis-nexis, DA: 7/23/12, http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/?verb=sr&csi=146220 -- g.b.

Historically, counterfeiting was a treasonous crime, but the Constitution eliminated that vestige of history. Although **the Counterfeiting Clause gives Congress the power to "provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States," 1 the Supreme Court has surprisingly construed other constitutional provisions to be the main bases of Congress' power to combat counterfeiting**, thus rendering the Counterfeiting Clause largely superfluous. Using its congressionally delegated authority, **the Treasury has announced that it will redesign all U.S. currency with devices designed to thwart modern technologic counterfeiting methods**. These devices include larger, slightly off-center portraits; watermarks; color-shifting inks; embedded "security threads"; microprinting; and concentric fine-line printing. Although the new designs will be effective in deterring counterfeiting, the Treasury should reconsider several of its strategies: Research to develop new anti-counterfeiting devices should be ongoing; the most frequently counterfeited denominations should be redesigned first; old bills should be replaced by the new designs more rapidly; and the beauty and ...

**Contention 1: It’s mutually exclusive – the plan cannot fund investment of “free and accessible transport” without these institutions – no way to allocate or disburse the money – their plan must still be held to solvency**

**Contention 2: It’s solves – the CP allows current counterfeiting measure to exponentially expand – destroying the market stability needed to regulate neoliberalism**

**CP undermines stability and confidence in the dollar**

**Nanto** 6/12/**2009**, Dick K. Nanto, Specialist in Industry and Trade Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “North Korean Counterfeiting of U.S. Currency,” DA: 7/22/12, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33324.pdf -- g.b.

Policy Implications

For the United States the North Korean **counterfeiting of U.S. currency combined with secondary effects has a direct bearing on U.S. interests. Counterfeiting of one nation’s currency by another generally is considered to be** an act of economic warfare—**a direct attack on the U.S. financial system**.34 There is a large difference between criminal counterfeiting by private parties and that done or sanctioned by a nation. **The counterfeiting, itself, might undermine confidence in the U.S. dollar and, if done extensively enough, potentially damage the U.S. economy**. If the extent of counterfeiting were in the range of $15 million to $25 million per year, however, this would represent a relatively small amount compared with the total U.S. supply of currency or the amount circulating abroad. As of February 2006, currency in circulation—that is, U.S. coins and paper currency in the hands of the public—totaled about $780 billion. Since 1994, the value of currency in circulation has risen at the rate of 6.5% per year, mostly stemming from foreign demand. The U.S. Federal Reserve estimates that between one-half and two-thirds of the value of currency in circulation is held outside the United States.35 In the United States, most domestic transactions (by value) are done either electronically or by checks, not cash. As of December 2008, 73% of the value of currency in circulation consisted of $100 notes ($625 billion), the denomination allegedly counterfeited by the DPRK.36 **Counterfeiting also can reduce the confidence by foreigners in the dollar. The dollar has become the predominant medium of exchange in international transactions. Such degraded confidence in the dollar usually can be manifested either by a surcharge on certain denominations when converting dollars to foreign exchange or in certain denominations of the dollar not being accepted at all. Currently, this affects Americans and other holders of dollar currency who rely on cash** for transactions rather than credit cards, checks, or bank transfers. **If the counterfeiting were to become extensive enough, however, it might depress the overall exchange value of the dollar**.

**Solvency/2NC Must-Read**

**CP destroys dollar confidence – key to capitalism stability**

**Cummings 1999**, Nathan K. Cummings, Duke University School of Law, associate in the Howrey & Simon firm, Washington, D.C., “The Counterfeit Buck Stops Here: National Security Issues in the Redesign of U.S. Currency,” Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal, Spring 1999, 8 S. Cal. Interdis. L.J. 539, lexis-nexis, DA: 7/23/12, http://www.lexisnexis.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/?verb=sr&csi=146220 -- g.b.

C. The Dangers From Counterfeiting

**Counterfeiting is an effective weapon of war because it undermines trust in the government and the currency**, n55 and **the most important quality of a currency is trustworthiness. "Money" is valuable because it is "exchangeable among all persons at all times in all** [\*548] places." n56 **When money ceases to be exchangeable it ceases to have value, and even the most pure and finely minted coins will not completely fulfill their function without the faith, belief, and trust which they were to represent**. n57 **Without trust, the entire monetary system would break down**, n58 for "**confidence in currency is clearly a part of the lifeblood of commerce**." n59 **Large amounts of counterfeit currency undermine confidence in the currency and threaten economic stability** n60 because recipients of bank notes with doubt or concern about a note's genuineness may demand a more secure method of payment. n61 **Even if the level of counterfeiting is extremely small, the mere widespread capability to counterfeit could harm confidence in the currency if people believe the bills they receive may be bogus**. n62 For example, despite a very low overall counterfeiting rate, n63 some Japanese banks have become reluctant to accept U.S. $ 100 bills due to reports of some large-scale counterfeiting of these bills. n64 Similarly, in some places in the Middle East counterfeit $ 100 bills are so common that some merchants demand $ 120 if you try to pay with a $ 100 bill. n65 In effect, **the negotiability of U.S**. $ 100 **bills is impaired and their value is therefore diminished**. **Episodes** like these **are making counterfeiting a special concern to officials** of the United States. **The size of the U.S. economy and the world-wide acceptability of the dollar make it an attractive target for counterfeiters**. n66 To make matters worse, **U.S. bank notes are among the world's easiest to counterfeit**. n67 Fortunately, with a large and mostly cash-less economy, it would be difficult to undermine the U.S. economy with several thousand fake dollars at a time, and someone [\*549] trying to pass massive amounts of counterfeit bills would be readily detected. However, if counterfeiting of U.S. currency were to become extensive and pervasive, it could be an economic catastrophe, and if underwritten by a foreign government, it would constitute an act of aggression against the integrity of the United States. n68 As one expert testified before Congress, we are not now in danger of financial calamity, but the potential exists

**Solvency**

**Impact Defense**

**Terrorism**

**Nuclear terrorist threats are exaggerated**

**Gertz and Lake 10** (Bill and Eli, Washington Times, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/apr/14/obama-says-terrorist-nuclear-risk-is-growing/?page=1, dw:4-14-2010, da: 7-6-2011)

But Henry **Sokolski**, a **member of the congressional Commission on the Prevention of Weapons of Mass , Destruction Proliferation and Terrorism, said that there is no specific intelligence on ongoing terrorist procurement of nuclear material.** “We were given briefings and when we tried to find specific intelligence on the threat of any known terrorist efforts to get a bomb, the answer was we did not have any.” Mr. Obama told reporters that there was a range of views on the danger but that all the conferees “agreed on the urgency and seriousness of the threat.” Mr. Sokolski said the idea that “**we know that this is eminent has got to be somehow informed conjecture and apprehension, [but] it is not driven by any specific intelligence per se.**” “We have reasons to believe this and to be worried, but we don’t have specific intelligence about terrorist efforts to get the bomb,” he said. “So we have to do general efforts to guard against his possibility, like securing the material everywhere.” A senior U.S. intelligence official also dismissed the administration’s assertion that the threat of nuclear terrorism is growing. “**The threat has been there,**” the official said. “**But** **there is no new intelligence**.” The official said the administration appears to be inflating the danger in ways similar to what critics of the Bush administration charged with regard to Iraq: hyping intelligence to support its policies. **The official said one likely motivation for the administration’s new emphasis on preventing nuclear terrorism is to further the president’s goal of eliminating nuclear weapons. While the U.S. nuclear arsenal would be useful in retaliating against a sovereign state, it would be less so against a terrorist group. But if the latter is the world’s major nuclear threat, the official explained, then the U.S. giving up its weapons seems less risky.**

**Terrorists won’t get nukes**

**Gertz and Lake 10** (Bill and Eli, Washington Times, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/apr/14/obama-says-terrorist-nuclear-risk-is-growing/?page=1, dw:4-14-2010, da: 7-6-2011)

However, Brian **Jenkins**, **author of the book “Will Terrorists Go Nuclear?”** and a Rand Corp. adviser, **said that al Qaeda in the past has been duped by supposed nuclear suppliers who initiated scams that suggest a “naivete and lack of technical capability on the part of the organization**,” he said. “We have evidence of terrorist ambitions to obtain nuclear weapons or nuclear material but **we have no evidence of terrorist capabilities to do either**,” he said. In late 2001, after the U.S. invaded Afghanistan in the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, some materials were discovered in al Qaeda bases such as crude diagrams of the basic components of a nuclear bomb. Mr. **Jenkins**, however, **said that U.S. technical specialists concluded from the designs that al Qaeda did not have the ability to produce a nuclear weapon**. In 2002, members of al Qaeda’s affiliate in Saudi Arabia attempted to purchase Russian nuclear devices through al Qaeda’s leadership in Iran, though the transactions did not move forward. In his 2007 memoir, “**At the Center of the Storm**,” Mr. Tenet wrote that “**from the end of 2002 to the spring of 2003, we received a stream of reliable reporting that the senior al-Qaeda leadership in Saudi Arabia was negotiating for the purchase of three Russian nuclear devices.”** Graham Allison, a Harvard professor and author of a book on nuclear terrorism, said he agrees with the president that the threat is growing, based on North Korea’s nuclear proliferation to Syria and instability in nuclear-armed Pakistan.

**Terrorists will stick with conventional weapons –trends prove**

**Mueller** 1/1/**2008** [John Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies, Mershon Center Professor of Political Science Department of Political Science, Ohio State University. THE ATOMIC TERRORIST: ASSESSING THE LIKELIHOOD Prepared for presentation at the Program on International Security Policy, University of Chicago, January 15, 2008 ]

The bottom line. Keller suggests that "the best reason for thinking it won't happen is that it hasn't happened yet," and that, he worries, "is terrible logic" (2002). "Logic" aside, there is another quite good reason for thinking it won't happen: **the task is bloody difficult**. The science fiction literature, after all, has been spewing out for decades--centuries, even--a wealth of imaginative suggestions about things that might come about that somehow haven't managed to do so. We continue to wait, after all, for those menacing and now-legendary invaders from Mars. Meanwhile, although there have been plenty of terrorist attacks in the world since 2001, all (thus far, at least) have relied on conventional destructive methods--there hasn't even been the occasional gas bomb. In effect the terrorists seem to be heeding the advice found in a memo on an al-Qaeda laptop seized in Pakistan in 2004: "Make use of that which is available...rather than waste valuable time becoming despondent over that which is not within your reach" (Whitlock 2007). That is: Keep it simple, stupid. In fact, it seems to be a general historical regularity that terrorists tend to prefer weapons that they know and understand, not new, exotic ones (Rapoport 1999, 51; Gilmore 1999, 37; Schneier 2003, 236). Indeed, the truly notable innovation for terrorists over the last few decades has not been in qualitative improvements in ordnance at all, but rather in a more effective method for delivering it: the suicide bomber (Pape 2005, Bloom 2005).

**The chance of a successful terrorist attack are 1 in 3 billion – too many obstacles**

**Mueller, 10** – Professor and Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies and Department of Political Science at Ohio State University [John, “Calming Our Nuclear Jitters”, Issues in Science and Technology, Winter, Volume 26, Issue 2; pg. 58, proquest)

The most plausible route for terrorists, according to most experts, would be to manufacture an atomic device themselves from purloined fissile material (plutonium or, more likely, highly enriched uranium). This task, however, remains a daunting one, requiring that a considerable series of difficult hurdles be conquered and in sequence. Outright armed theft of fissile material is exceedingly unlikely not only because of the resistance of guards, but because chase would be immediate. A more promising approach would be to corrupt insiders to smuggle out the required substances. However, this requires the terrorists to pay off a host of greedy confederates, including brokers and money- transmitters, any one of whom could turn on them or, either out of guile or incompetence, furnish them with stuff that is useless. Insiders might also consider the possibility that once the heist was accomplished, the terrorists would, as analyst Brian Jenkins none too delicately puts it, "have every incentive to cover their trail, beginning with eliminating their confederates." If terrorists were somehow successful at obtaining a sufficient mass of relevant material, they would then probably have to transport it a long distance over unfamiliar terrain and probably while being pursued by security forces. Crossing international borders would be facilitated by following established smuggling routes, but these are not as chaotic as they appear and are often under the watch of suspicious and careful criminal regulators. If border personnel became suspicious of the commodity being smuggled, some of them might find it in their interest to disrupt passage, perhaps to collect the bounteous reward money that would probably be offered by alarmed governments once the uranium theft had been discovered. Once outside the country with their precious booty, terrorists would need to set up a large and well-equipped machine shop to manufacture a bomb and then to populate it with a very select team of highly skilled scientists, technicians, machinists, and administrators. The group would have to be assembled and retained for the monumental task while no consequential suspicions were generated among friends, family, and police about their curious and sudden absence from normal pursuits back home. Members of the bomb-building team would also have to be utterly devoted to the cause, of course, and they would have to be willing to put their lives and certainly their careers at high risk, because after their bomb was discovered or exploded they would probably become the targets of an intense worldwide dragnet operation. Some observers have insisted that it would be easy for terrorists to assemble a crude bomb if they could get enough fissile material. But Christoph Wirz and Emmanuel Egger, two senior physicists in charge of nuclear issues at Switzerland's Spiez Laboratory, bluntly conclude that the task "could hardly be accomplished by a subnational group." They point out that precise blueprints are required, not just sketches and general ideas, and that even with a good blueprint the terrorist group would most certainly be forced to redesign. They also stress that the work is difficult, dangerous, and extremely exacting, and that the technical requirements in several fields verge on the unfeasible. Stephen Younger, former director of nuclear weapons research at Los Alamos Laboratories, has made a similar argument, pointing out that uranium is "exceptionally difficult to machine" whereas "plutonium is one of the most complex metals ever discovered, a material whose basic properties are sensitive to exactly how it is processed." Stressing the "daunting problems associated with material purity, machining, and a host of other issues," Younger concludes, "to think that a terrorist group, working in isolation with an unreliable supply of electricity and little access to tools and supplies" could fabricate a bomb "is farfetched at best." Under the best circumstances, the process of making a bomb could take months or even a year or more, which would, of course, have to be carried out in utter secrecy. In addition, people in the area, including criminals, may observe with increasing curiosity and puzzlement the constant coming and going of technicians unlikely to be locals. If the effort to build a bomb was successful, the finished product, weighing a ton or more, would then have to be transported to and smuggled into the relevant target country where it would have to be received by collaborators who are at once totally dedicated and technically proficient at handling, maintaining, detonating, and perhaps assembling the weapon after it arrives. The financial costs of this extensive and extended operation could easily become monumental. There would be expensive equipment to buy, smuggle, and set up and people to pay or pay off. Some operatives might work for free out of utter dedication to the cause, but the vast conspiracy also requires the subversion of a considerable array of criminals and opportunists, each of whom has every incentive to push the price for cooperation as high as possible. Any criminals competent and capable enough to be effective allies are also likely to be both smart enough to see boundless opportunities for extortion and psychologically equipped by their profession to be willing to exploit them. Those who warn about the likelihood of a terrorist bomb contend that a terrorist group could, if with great difficulty, overcome each obstacle and that doing so in each case is "not impossible." But although it may not be impossible to surmount each individual step, the likelihood that a group could surmount a series of them quickly becomes vanishingly small. Table 1 attempts to catalogue the barriers that must be overcome under the scenario considered most likely to be successful. In contemplating the task before them, would-be atomic terrorists would effectively be required to go though an exercise that looks much like this. If and when they do, they will undoubtedly conclude that their prospects are daunting and accordingly uninspiring or even terminally dispiriting. It is possible to calculate the chances for success. Adopting probability estimates that purposely and heavily bias the case in the terrorists' favor- for example, assuming the terrorists have a 50% chance of overcoming each of the 20 obstacles- the chances that a concerted effort would be successful comes out to be less than one in a million. If one assumes, somewhat more realistically, that their chances at each barrier are one in three, the cumulative odds that they will be able to pull off the deed drop to one in well over three billion.

**Squo solves all forms of terrorism**

**Daniel 12** 2/16, \*Lisa Daniel: American Forces Press Service, Defense News, “U.S. Faces Broad Spectrum of Threats, Intel Leaders Say,” http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=67231,

Intelligence shows the next three years will be a critical transition time in counterterrorism, as groups like al-Qaida diminish in importance and terrorist groups become more decentralized, Clapper said. U.S. counterterrorism has caused al-Qaida to lose so many top lieutenants since 2008 “that a new group of leaders, even if they could be found, would have difficulty integrating into the organization and compensating for mounting losses,” the director said. Al-Qaida’s regional affiliates in Iraq, the Arabian peninsula and North Africa are expected to “surpass the remnants of core al-Qaida in Pakistan,” he said. With continued, robust counterterrorism efforts and cooperation from international partners, Clapper said, “there is a better-than-even chance that decentralization will lead to fragmentation of the movement within a few years,” although he added that terrorist groups will continue to be a dangerous transnational force. **Intense counterterrorism pressure has made it unlikely that a terrorist group would launch a chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear mass attack** against the United States in the next year, Clapper said, but groups such as al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula continue to show interest in such an attack. Most terrorist groups, however, remain locally focused, Clapper said, noting that al-Qaida in Iraq remains focused on overthrowing the Shiia-led government in Baghdad in favor of a Sunni-led government. In Africa, the al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and al-Shabaab organizations struggle with internal divisions and outside support, and have been diminished by government and military pressure in Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia, he said. Still, intelligence shows **no nation states have provided weapons of mass destruction assistance to terrorist groups**, and no nonstate actors are targeting WMD sites in countries with unrest, the director said. But that could change as governments become more unstable, he added.

**Economy**

**US economy resilient – only domestic issues affect it**

**Seeking Alpha 11** – quoting Cleveland Fed President Sandra Pianalto

(Tim Duy, 4/1/11, Something to Chew on: The U.S.'s Economic Resilience, http://seekingalpha.com/article/261277-something-to-chew-on-the-u-s-s-economic-resilience)

With the economy on “a firmer footing,” she said, U.S. corporate leaders seem inclined to continue investing in equipment and software despite such worries as turmoil in the Middle East, the Japanese earthquake and the sovereign debt crisis in Europe. “On this firmer footing, these shocks are hitting us, but it seems like we’re more resilient and able to absorb these shocks,” she said. I am not sure that we should find this resiliency surprising, despite the seemingly perpetual fears of market participants. I believe that all US recessions, at least post-WWII, are attributable directly to domestic disturbances - monetary policy and/or domestic financial crisis - or oil price shocks. Arguably, the Asian Financial Crisis was close via the Long Term Capital Management fiasco, but no cigar, as the US economy powered ahead until the tech bubble collapse (a domestic story). Hence, I have been hesitant to put much economic concern on Japan and Europe - the transmission mechansims appear too weak to appreciably change the US outlook. One can suggest that financial crisis in Europe will filter back through to US institutions, but I think this would have been more likely two or three years ago than now. Back then, we could credibly believe that a US financial institution could fail. Now, however, I am pretty sure the financial sector has an explicit government guarantee. Financial exigency clauses will come into play sooner than later this time around. I am concerned about the potential for a sharp rise in energy prices to knock the wind out of consumers this year, but also recognize that the increase reflects improving growth prospects. See spencer's note at Angry Bear on this point. None of this is meant to imply that the US economy is without warts; nothing could be further from the truth. Only that the primary risks are internal demand and energy shocks, not other external shocks.

**Economic decline does not cause war-prefer this thorough study**

**Miller, 2k** (Morris, economist, adjunct professor in the University of Ottawa’s Faculty of Administration, consultant on international development issues, former Executive Director and Senior Economist at the World Bank, Winter, Interdisciplinary Science Reviews, Vol. 25, Iss. 4, “Poverty as a cause of wars?” p. Proquest)

The question may be reformulated. Do wars spring from a popular reaction to a sudden economic crisis that exacerbates poverty and growing disparities in wealth and incomes? Perhaps one could argue, as some scholars do, that it is some dramatic event or sequence of such events leading to the exacerbation of poverty that, in turn, leads to this deplorable denouement. This exogenous factor might act as a catalyst for a violent reaction on the part of the people or on the part of the political leadership who would then possibly be tempted to seek a diversion by finding or, if need be, fabricating an enemy and setting in train the process leading to war. According to a study undertaken by Minxin Pei and Ariel Adesnik of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, there would not appear to be any merit in this hypothesis. After studying ninety-three episodes of economic crisis in twenty-two countries in Latin America and Asia in the years since the Second World War they concluded that:19 Much of the conventional wisdom about the political impact of economic crises may be wrong ... The severity of economic crisis - as measured in terms of inflation and negative growth - bore no relationship to the collapse of regimes ... (or, in democratic states, rarely) to an outbreak of violence ... In the cases of dictatorships and semidemocracies, the ruling elites responded to crises by increasing repression (thereby using one form of violence to abort another).

**Economic decline doesn’t cause war- prefer consensus**

**Tir 10** Ph.D. in Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and is an Associate Professor in the Department of International Affairs at the University of Georgia

(Tir Jaroslav, The Journal of Politics, “Territorial Diversion: Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict”, 2010, Volume 72: 413-425)

Empirical support for the economic growth rate is much weaker. The finding that poor economic performance is associated with a higher likelihood of territorial conflict initiation is significant only in Models 3–4.14 The weak results are not altogether surprising given the findings from prior literature. In accordance with the insignificant relationships of Models 1–2 and 5–6, Ostrom and Job (1986), for example, note that the likelihood that a U.S. President will use force is uncertain, as the bad economy might create incentives both to divert the public’s attention with a foreign adventure and to focus on solving the economic problem, thus reducing the inclination to act abroad. Similarly, Fordham (1998a, 1998b), DeRouen (1995), and Gowa (1998) find no relation between a poor economy and U.S. use of force. Furthermore, Leeds and Davis (1997) conclude that the conflict-initiating behavior of 18 industrialized democracies is unrelated to economic conditions as do Pickering and Kisangani (2005) and Russett and Oneal (2001) in global studies. In contrast and more in line with my findings of a significant relationship (in Models 3–4), Hess and Orphanides (1995), for example, argue that economic recessions are linked with forceful action by an incumbent U.S. president. Furthermore, Fordham’s (2002) revision of Gowa’s (1998) analysis shows some effect of a bad economy and DeRouen and Peake (2002) report that U.S. use of force diverts the public’s attention from a poor economy. Among cross-national studies, Oneal and Russett (1997) report that slow growth increases the incidence of militarized disputes, as does Russett (1990)—but only for the United States; slow growth does not affect the behavior of other countries. Kisangani and Pickering (2007) report some significant associations, but they are sensitive to model specification, while Tir and Jasinski (2008) find a clearer link between economic underperformance and increased attacks on domestic ethnic minorities. While none of these works has focused on territorial diversions, my own inconsistent findings for economic growth fit well with the mixed results reported in the literature.15 Hypothesis 1 thus receives strong support via the unpopularity variable but only weak support via the economic growth variable. These results suggest that embattled leaders are much more likely to respond with territorial diversions to direct signs of their unpopularity (e.g., strikes, protests, riots) than to general background conditions such as economic malaise. Presumably, protesters can be distracted via territorial diversions while fixing the economy would take a more concerted and prolonged policy effort. Bad economic conditions seem to motivate only the most serious, fatal territorial confrontations. This implies that leaders may be reserving the most high-profile and risky diversions for the times when they are the most desperate, that is when their power is threatened both by signs of discontent with their rule and by more systemic problems plaguing the country (i.e., an underperforming economy).

**No correlation between economic decline and war- their evidence is based on flawed conclusions**

**Boehmer** Charles R., Ph.D. in Political Science from Pennsylvania State, is an associate professor of political science at the University of Texas **’10** (Defense and Peace Economics, “ Economic Growth and Violent International Conflict: 1875-1999” June 2010, Volume 21: 249-68)

Crisis-Scarcity as a Source of Violent Conflicts I term the next body of literature the ‘Crisis-Scarcity’ perspective because it links violent interstate conflicts to domestic or international economic crises. The first group of studies within this broad perspective argues that downswings in Kondratieff cycles in the global economy or other crises of capitalism increase the risk of war. The theories of imperialism by Hobson (1917, 1938) and Lenin (1939 [1916]) make broad arguments in this manner. World-systems or Dependency scholars advance similar arguments (Chase-Dunn, 1978; Frank, 1978; Bosquet, 1980; Hopkins and Wallerstein, 1982; Bergesen, 1983, 1985). However, many of the theories in this category are difficult to test due to conceptual ambigu- ities and the number of available observations, considering that the temporal length of an entire cycle is purportedly 50 to 60 years. Moreover, World-Systems theory lacks an opera- tional definition by which to categorize states into ‘periphery’, ‘semi-periphery’, and ‘core’, making it difficult to quantitatively assess some of its claims. Although there could be strong consensus on how to categorize many states into the core or periphery categories, the roster ECONOMIC GROWTH AND VIOLENT CONFLICT 253 of semi-periphery states is much less clear. However, some propositions in these theories have been tested with historical data or have been covered in studies at the systemic level of analysis. The studies by Mansfield (1988), Goldstein (1988), Pollins (1996), and Pollins and Murrin (1999) yielded results contrary to some of the claims made by World-System theory, or similar theories, relating global economic cycles to violent conflicts. On the one hand, the historical analysis of World-Systems theory examines a longer time-frame than extant quan- titative studies, but on the other hand these historical approaches must assume that the main economic and political processes that shaped much of the past millennium will continue into the future, which may be heroic. Because I am in particular interested in whether individual states become more or less prone to involvement in violent interstate conflicts as their economic growth rises or falls, I do not offer further tests of systemic-level propositions found in the literature. In contrast, studies of diversionary theory make state-level (monadic) or dyadic arguments. Most studies to date have been monadic and only a few have examined strategic diversionary behavior from a dyadic perspective. Of central importance to this study are those theories of diversionary conflict arguing that economic crisis induces foreign conflicts. However, while diversionary theory has been popular, the bulk of extant research examines the foreign policy of the United States (Ostrom and Job, 1986; James and Oneal, 1991; Morgan and Bickers, 1992; DeRouen, 1995; Hess and Orphanides, 1995; Wang, 1996; Fordham, 1998; Mitchell and Moore, 2002; Foster, 2006). Meernik (1994) and Meernik and Waterman (1996) find no evidence of diversionary behavior. Of more importance to this analysis are those studies that theorize or examine cases more generally at the state-level of analysis. Russett (1987) finds an inverse relationship between economic growth (two and three year moving averages) and conflict involvement using a pooled time series of 23 countries. In an extension of this study, he later finds evidence that negative growth leads to a higher rate of militarized conflict participation by democracies but that the opposite is true of autocracies (Russett, 1990). When disaggregating by power and polity type, the results appear **less clear**. Positive growth leads to a higher participation rate in war for democracies (the sign is positive for autocracies but insignificant), whereas non-democratic major powers were more apt to use force. The sign directions for minor powers of both regime types were negative and statistically insignificant. However, Russett (1990: 126) notes in a larger sample of 100 states from 1953–1976, using the Penn World Tables (Summers and Heston, 1991), that economic growth was statistically insignificant. Considering the limitations in data and the lack of control for autocorrelation, these results could be inaccurate. Heldt (1999) similarly finds at the state level that while high depriva- tion increases the use of force by states, this is unrelated to regime type or any strategic interactions with other states. His sample though only includes challengers in territorial disputes with negative growth rates, leading to 187 cases, and he thus neither provides a general test of growing states compared with non-growing states nor compares conflict participants to non-conflict participants (non-barking dogs). Enterline and Gleditsch (2000) examine whether political leaders substitute diversionary tactics with other states for repres- sion when confronted with domestic pressure using the ‘leader-year’ as the unit of analysis. While they find that leaders often use both repression and diversion when pressured domestically, the results were unclear concerning economic growth rates and inflation. They dropped these variables from most of their discussion due to limited data and the resulting loss in cases.

**Econ Collapse Inevitable- Food prices and bureaucratic inefficiencies**

**Schuman 11**- American author and journalist who specializes in Asian economics, politics and history. Asia business correspondent for TIME Magazine

(Michael, “India’s economy: Headed for trouble?” 1/18/11, <http://curiouscapitalist.blogs.time.com/2011/01/18/india%E2%80%99s-economy-headed-for-trouble/>)

Just look at the mess India finds itself in. The wholesale price index soared 8.4% in December compared to a year earlier. Prices of onions, vegetables and other staples are rising even faster. The latest read of the government food price index shows they jumped almost 17% in a year. That's a serious, serious matter for a country with so many people still stuck in poverty – nothing eats into the food on a poor man's dinner table like rapidly rising prices. Certain basic foods, like onions, are such a crucial ingredient in Indian cooking that people just can't live without them, so rising prices at the local market hit hard. The government has been scrambling to contain the damage, by, for example, banning the export of onions. Some of this food inflation could well be temporary – a result of unusual weather conditions that hurt the onion crop, for example. India is also not the only country facing escalating prices, especially of food. Prices of commodities are rising across the board, with the Food and Agriculture Organization's food price index hitting a record in December. But India's inflation is also its own fault. A mix of loose budgets and easy money (leftover from recession-busting efforts) with a lackluster approach towards much-needed reforms (more deregulation, for example) and investments (i.e., in infrastructure) have created bottlenecks that spawn inefficiencies and push up prices. Here's more from Courtis: If you have aggressive monetary and fiscal policy, together with booming labor market expansion, you better have hugely powerful supply side policies, or inflation can only explode... guess what, in the absence of China style aggressive supply side policies -infrastructure, deregulation, opening of the economy, education--, inflation is exploding... and which means quickly dropping competitiveness.

**Warming**

**Warming will be slow and not catastrophic**

C.R. de **Freitas 2**, Associate Prof. in Geography and Environmental Science at Univ. of Auckland, 2002, “Are observed changes in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere really dangerous?”

An understanding of global warming hinges on the answers to certain key questions. Is global climate warming? If so, what part of that warming is due to human activities? How good is the evidence? What are the risks? The task of answering these questions is hindered by widespread confusion regarding key facets of global warming science. The confusion has given rise to several fallacies or misconceptions. These myths and misconceptions, and how they relate to the above questions, are explained. Although the future state of global climate is uncertain, there is no reason to believe that catastrophic change is underway. The atmosphere may warm due to human activity, but if it does, the expected change is unlikely to be much more than 1 degree Celsius in the next 100 years. Even the climate models promoted by the IPCC do not suggest that catastrophic change is occurring. They suggest that increases in greenhouse gases are likely to give rise to a warmer and wetter climate in most places; in particular, warmer nights and warmer winters. Generally, higher latitudes would warm more than lower latitudes. This means milder winters and, coupled with increased atmospheric carbon dioxide, it means a more robust biosphere with greater availability of forest, crops and vegetative ground cover. This is hardly a major threat. A more likely threat is policies that endanger economic progress. The negative effect of such policies would be far greater than any change caused by global warming. Rather than try to reduce innocuous carbon dioxide emissions, we would do better to focus on air pollution, especially those aspects that are known to damage human health.

**We’ll adapt to warming**

Hendrick **Tennekes 8**, former director of research at the Netherlands’ Royal National Meteorological Institute, 7-15-2008, <http://climaterealists.com/index.php/forum/?id=1554>

“Fortunately**, the time rate of climate change is slow compared to the rapid evolution of our institutions and societies. There is sufficient time for adaptation.** We should monitor the situation both globally and locally, but up to **now global climate change does not cause severe problems requiring immediate emission reductions. Successive IPCC reports have presented no scientific basis for dire warnings concerning climate collapse**. Local and regional problems with shorter time scales deserve priority. They can be managed professionally, just as the Dutch seem to do.” The so-called scientific basis of the climate problem is within my professional competence as a meteorologist. It is my professional opinion that **there is no evidence at all for catastrophic global warming**. It is likely that **global temperatures will rise a little**, much as IPCC predicts, **but** there is a growing body of evidence that the errant behavior of **the Sun may cause some cooling** in the foreseeable future.

**No warming – warming is an alarmist approach based off exaggerated data**

**Lewis 7** (Institute of Economic Affairs, Mar 6, <http://www.lyd.com/lyd/controls/neochannels/neo_ch4260/deploy/gwfalsealarm.pdf>)

**The government claim that global warming is more threatening than terrorism is alarmist and unwarranted. It is also suspect as an excuse for mounting taxes and controls. It is** strikingly **similar to the dire predictions of 40 years ago of an imminent ice age and to other past doom forecasts due to alleged overpopulation, depletion of food and fuel supplies, and chemical pollution. There are** serious **doubts about the measurements, assumptions and predictions of the** Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (**IPCC**), **with regard to global CO2 growth, temperature and the role of clouds.** Indeed **there is a strong case that the IPCC has overstated the effect of anthropogenic greenhouse gases on the climate and downplayed the influence of natural factors such as variations in solar output, El Niños and volcanic activity. The empirical evidence used to support the global warming hypothesis has** often **been misleading, with ‘scare stories’ promoted in the media that are distortions of scientific reality**. The high salience of the climate change issue reflects the fact that **many special interests have much to gain from policies designed to reduce emissions through increased government intervention and world energy planning.**

**No warming now – and, all the ways they use to measure it are flawed**

**Singer 2k** (Testimony of Prof. S. Fred Singer President, The Science & Environmental Policy Project before the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation on Climate Change, July 18, 2000, http://www.nationalcenter.org/KyotoSingerTestimony2000.html)

Contrary to the conventional wisdom and the predictions of computer models, the Earth's climate has not warmed appreciably in the past two decades, and probably not since about 1940. The evidence is overwhelming: a) Satellite data show no appreciable warming of the global atmosphere since 1979. In fact, if one ignores the unusual El Nino year of 1998, one sees a cooling trend. b) Radiosonde data from balloons released regularly around the world confirm the satellite data in every respect. This fact has been confirmed in a recent report of the National Research Council/National Academy of Sciences [1]. c) The well-controlled and reliable thermometer record of surface temperatures for the continental United States shows no appreciable warming since about 1940. [See figure] The same is true for Western Europe. These results are in sharp contrast to the GLOBAL instrumental surface record, which shows substantial warming, mainly in NW Siberia and subpolar Alaska and Canada. d) But tree-ring records for Siberia and Alaska and published ice-core records that I have examined show NO warming since 1940. In fact, many show a cooling trend. Conclusion: The post-1980 global warming trend from surface thermometers is not credible. The absence of such warming would do away with the widely touted "hockey stick" graph (with its "unusual" temperature rise in the past 100 years) [see figure]; it was shown here on May 17 as purported proof that the 20th century is the warmest in 1000 years. 2. Regional Changes in Temperature, Precipitation, and Soil Moisture? The absence of a current global warming trend should serve to discredit any predictions from current climate models, including the extreme warming from the two models (Canadian and British) selected for the NACC. Furthermore, the two NACC models give conflicting predictions, most often for precipitation and soil moisture [2,3]. For example, the Dakotas lose 85% of their current average rainfall by 2100 in one model, while the other shows a 75% gain. Half of the 18 regions studied show such opposite results; several others show huge differences. [see graph] The soil moisture predictions also differ. The Canadian model shows a drier Eastern US in summer, the UK Hadley model a wetter one. Conclusion: We must conclude that regional forecasts from climate models are beyond the state of the art and are even less reliable than those for the global average. Since the NACC scenarios are based on such forecasts, the NACC projections are not credible.

**No impact and turn – warming doesn’t cause wars – it actually increases food and water abundance and solves displacement -**

Sherwood **Idso**, Research Physicist with the US Department of Agriculture’s Agricultural Research Service **AND** Craig **Idso**, President of the CO2 Magazine, PhD in Botany, 200**7**, <http://co2science.org/education/reports/hansen/HansenTestimonyCritique.pdf> p. 17-19

Finally, with respect to the third effort – increasing crop yield per unit of water used – Tilman et al. note that “water is regionally scarce,” and that “many countries in a band from China through India and Pakistan, and the Middle East to North Africa either currently or will soon fail to have adequate water to maintain per capita food production from irrigated land.” Increasing crop water use efficiency, therefore, is also a must. Although the impending man vs. nature crisis and several important elements of its potential solution are thus well defined, Tilman and his first set of collaborators concluded that “even the best available technologies, fully deployed, cannot prevent many of the forecasted problems.” This was also the finding of Idso and Idso (2000), who concluded that although “expected advances in agricultural technology and expertise will significantly increase the food production potential of many countries and regions,” these advances “will not increase production fast enough to meet the demands of the even faster-growing human population of the planet.” How can we prevent this unthinkable catastrophe from occurring, especially when it has been concluded by highly-credentialed researchers that earth possesses insufficient land and freshwater resources to forestall it, while simultaneously retaining any semblance of the natural world and its myriad animate creations? Although the task may appear next to impossible to accomplish, it can be done; for we have a powerful ally in the ongoing rise in the atmosphere’s CO2 concentration that can provide what we can't. Since atmospheric CO2 is the basic “food” of nearly all plants, the more of it there is in the air, the better they function and the more productive they become. For a 300-ppm increase in the atmosphere's CO2 concentration above the planet’s current base level of slightly less than 400 ppm, for example, the productivity of earth's herbaceous plants rises by something on the order of 30% (Kimball, 1983; Idso and Idso, 1994), while the productivity of its woody plants rises by something on the order of 50% (Saxe et al., 1998; Idso and Kimball, 2001). Thus, as the air's CO2 content continues to rise, so too will the productive capacity or land-use efficiency of the planet continue to rise, as the aerial fertilization effect of the upward-trending atmospheric CO2 concentration boosts the growth rates and biomass production of nearly all plants in nearly all places. In addition, elevated atmospheric CO2 concentrations typically increase plant nutrient-use efficiency in general – and nitrogen-use efficiency in particular – as well as plant water-use efficiency, as may be verified by perusing the many reviews of scientific journal articles we have produced on these topics and archived in the Subject Index of our website ([www.co2science.org](http://www.co2science.org/)). Consequently, with respect to fostering all three of the plant physiological phenomena that Tilman et al. (2002) contend are needed to prevent the catastrophic consequences they foresee for the planet just a few short decades from now, a continuation of the current upward trend in the atmosphere's CO2 concentration would appear to be essential. In the case we are considering here, for example, the degree of crop yield enhancement likely to be provided by the increase in atmospheric CO2 concentration expected to occur between 2000 and 2050 has been calculated by Idso and Idso (2000) to be sufficient – but only by the slightest of margins – to compensate for the huge differential that is expected to otherwise prevail between the supply and demand for food earmarked for human consumption just 43 years from now. Consequently, letting the evolution of technology take its natural course, with respect to anthropogenic CO2 emissions, would appear to be the only way we will ever be able to produce sufficient agricultural commodities to support ourselves in the year 2050 without the taking of unconscionable amounts of land and freshwater resources from nature and decimating the biosphere in the process.

**Warming isn’t Anthropogenic – Multiple alt causes**

**SPPI 07** (The Viscount Monckton of Brenchley, Science and public policy institute, July 2007, <http://scienceandpublicpolicy.org/images/stories/papers/monckton/consensus.pdf>)

Gerhard (2004), discussing the conflict between observation, theory, and politics, says – “Debate over whether human activity causes Earth climate change obscures the immensity of the dynamic systems that create and maintain climate on the planet. Anthropocentric debate leads people to believe that they can alter these planetary dynamic systems to prevent what they perceive as negative climate impacts on human civilization. Although politicians offer simplistic remedies, such as the Kyoto Protocol, global climate continues to change naturally.” Leiserowitz (2005) reports – “results from a national study (2003) that examined the risk perceptions and connotative meanings of global warming in the American mind and found that Americans perceived climate change as a moderate risk that will predominantly impact geographically and temporally distant people and places. This research also identified several distinct interpretive communities, including naysayers and alarmists, with widely divergent perceptions of climate change risks. Thus, ‘dangerous’ climate change is a concept contested not only among scientists and policymakers, but among the American public as well.” Lai et al. (2005) offer an entirely new hypothesis to explain recent warming of the climate – “The impacts of global warming on the environment, economy and society are presently receiving much attention by the international community. However, the extent to which anthropogenic factors are the main cause of global warming, is still being debated. … This research invokes some new concepts: (i) certain biochemical processes which strongly interact with geophysical processes in climate system: (ii) a hypothesis that internal processes in the oceans rather than in the atmosphere are at the center of global warming; (iii) chemical energy stored in biochemical processes call significantly affect ocean dynamics and therefore the climate system.13 Based on those concepts, we propose a new hypothesis for global warming.” Moser (2005) explores the assessment of rising sea levels and in state-level managerial and policy responses to climate change impacts such as sea-level rise in three US states – “Uncertainties in the human dimensions of global change deeply affect the assessment and responses to climate change impacts such as sea-level rise.” Shaviv (2006) considers the cosmic-ray forcing posited by Svensmark et al. (2006), and concludes that, if the effect is real, natural climate variability rather than anthropogenic enhancement of the greenhouse effect has contributed more than half of the warming over the past century – “The cosmic-ray forcing / climate link … implies that the increased solar luminosity and reduced cosmic-ray forcing over the previous century should have contributed a warming of ~0.47K, while the rest should be mainly attributed to anthropogenic causes.” Zhen-Shan and Xian (2007) say that CO2 forcing contributes less to temperature change than natural climate variability, that the anthropogenic enhancement of the greenhouse effect – “could have been excessively exaggerated” … Therefore, if CO2 concentration remains constant at present, the CO2 greenhouse effect will be deficient in counterchecking the natural cooling of global climate in the following 20 years. Even though the CO2 greenhouse effect on global climate change is unsuspicious, it could have been excessively exaggerated. It is high time to re-consider the trend of global climate changes.” Whatever “unanimity” may have been thought or claimed to exist before 2004 in the peer-reviewed literature, there is certainly none in the peer-reviewed journals that have been published since

**Hegemony**

**Heg doesn’t solve war**

Christopher **Preble** (director of foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute) August **2010** “U.S. Military Power: Preeminence for What Purpose?” http://www.cato-at-liberty.org/u-s-military-power-preeminence-for-what-purpose/

Most in Washington still embraces the notion that America is, and forever will be, the world’s indispensable nation. Some **scholars**, however, **question**ed **the logic of hegemonic stability theory** from the very beginning. A number continue to do so today. They advance arguments diametrically at odds with the primacist consensus. **Trade routes need not be policed by a single dominant power; the international economy is complex and resilient. Supply disruptions are likely to be temporary, and the costs of mitigating their effects should be borne by those who stand to lose** — **or gain** — **the most.** Islamic extremists are scary, but hardly comparable to the threat posed by a globe-straddling Soviet Union armed with thousands of nuclear weapons. It is frankly absurd that we spend more today to fight Osama bin Laden and his tiny band of murderous thugs than we spent to face down Joseph Stalin and Chairman Mao. **Many factors have contributed to the dramatic decline in the number of wars between nation-states; it is unrealistic to expect that a new spasm of global conflict would erupt if the United States were to modestly refocus its efforts, draw down its military power, and call on other countries to play a larger role in their own defense, and in the security of their respective regions**. But while there are credible alternatives to the United States serving in its current dual role as world policeman / armed social worker, the foreign policy establishment in Washington has no interest in exploring them. The people here have grown accustomed to living at the center of the earth, and indeed, of the universe. The tangible benefits of all this military spending flow disproportionately to this tiny corner of the United States while the schlubs in fly-over country pick up the tab.

**Heg causes counterbalancing alliance formation between Russia and China that culminates in superpower nuclear conflict-causes extinction**

**Roberts 7** Economist and Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Paul Craig, “US Hegemony Spawns Russian-Chinese Military Alliance”, http://www.antiwar.com/roberts/?articleid=11422)

This week the Russian and Chinese militaries are conducting a joint military exercise involving large numbers of troops and combat vehicles. The former Soviet Republics of Tajikistan, Kyrgkyzstan, and Kazakstan are participating. Other countries appear ready to join the military alliance. This new potent military alliance is a real world response to neoconservative delusions about US hegemony. Neocons believe that the US is supreme in the world and can dictate its course. The neoconservative idiots have actually written papers, read by Russians and Chinese, about why the US must use its military superiority to assert hegemony over Russia and China. Cynics believe that the neocons are just shills, like Bush and Cheney, for the military-security complex and are paid to restart the cold war for the sake of the profits of the armaments industry. But the fact is that the neocons actually believe their delusions about American hegemony. Russia and China have now witnessed enough of the Bush administration's unprovoked aggression in the world to take neocon intentions seriously. As the US has proven that it cannot occupy the Iraqi city of Baghdad despite 5 years of efforts, it most certainly cannot occupy Russia or China. **That means the conflict toward which the neocons are driving will be a nuclear conflict.** In an attempt to gain the advantage in a nuclear conflict, the neocons are positioning US anti-ballistic missiles on Soviet borders in Poland and the Czech Republic. This is an idiotic provocation as the Russians can eliminate anti-ballistic missiles with cruise missiles. Neocons are people who desire war, but know nothing about it. Thus, the US failures in Iraq and Afghanistan. Reagan and Gorbachev ended the cold war. However, US administrations after Reagan's have broken the agreements and understandings. The US gratuitously brought NATO and anti-ballistic missiles to Russia's borders. The Bush regime has initiated a propaganda war against the Russian government of Vladimir Putin. These are gratuitous acts of aggression. Both the Russian and Chinese governments are trying to devote resources to their economic development, not to their militaries. Yet, both are being forced by America's aggressive posture to revamp their militaries. Americans need to understand what the neocon Bush regime cannot: **a nuclear exchange between the US, Russia, and China would establish the hegemony of the cockroach.** In a mere 6.5 years the Bush regime has destroyed the world's good will toward the US. Today, America's influence in the world is limited to its payments of tens of millions of dollars to bribed heads of foreign governments, such as Egypt's and Pakistan's. The Bush regime even thinks that as it has bought and paid for Musharraf, he will stand aside and permit Bush to make air strikes inside Pakistan. Is Bush blind to the danger that he will cause an Islamic revolution within Pakistan that will depose the US puppet and present the Middle East with an Islamic state armed with nuclear weapons? Considering the instabilities and dangers that abound, the aggressive posture of the Bush regime goes far beyond recklessness. The Bush regime is the most irresponsibly aggressive regime the world has seen since Hitler's.

**Hegemony doesn’t solve war**

**Friedman ’10** Benjamin H., Ph.D. candidate in political science at MIT, is research fellow in defense and homeland security for the Cato Institute (Cato Institute, “Military Restraint and Defense Savings”, July 20, 2010, http://www.cato.org/testimony/ct-bf-07202010.html)  
Another argument for high military spending is that U.S. military hegemony underlies global stability. Our forces and alliance commitments dampen conflict between potential rivals like China and Japan, we are told, preventing them from fighting wars that would disrupt trade and cost us more than the military spending that would have prevented war. The theoretical and empirical foundation for this claim is weak. It overestimates both the American military's contribution to international stability and the danger that instability abroad poses to Americans. In Western Europe, U.S. forces now contribute little to peace, at best making the tiny odds of war among states there slightly more so.7 Even in Asia, where there is more tension, the history of international relations suggests that without U.S. military deployments potential rivals, especially those separated by sea like Japan and China, will generally achieve a stable balance of power rather than fight. In other cases, as with our bases in Saudi Arabia between the Iraq wars, U.S. forces probably create more unrest than they prevent. Our force deployments can also generate instability by prompting states to develop nuclear weapons. Even when wars occur, their economic impact is likely to be limited here.8 By linking markets, globalization provides supply alternatives for the goods we consume, including oil. If political upheaval disrupts supply in one location, suppliers elsewhere will take our orders. Prices may increase, but markets adjust. That makes American consumers less dependent on any particular supply source, undermining the claim that we need to use force to prevent unrest in supplier nations or secure trade routes.9 Part of the confusion about the value of hegemony comes from misunderstanding the Cold War. People tend to assume, falsely, that our activist foreign policy, with troops forward supporting allies, not only caused the Soviet Union's collapse but is obviously a good thing even without such a rival. Forgotten is the sensible notion that alliances are a necessary evil occasionally tolerated to balance a particularly threatening enemy. The main justification for creating our Cold War alliances was the fear that Communist nations could conquer or capture by insurrection the industrial centers in Western Europe and Japan and then harness enough of that wealth to threaten us — either directly or by forcing us to become a garrison state at ruinous cost. We kept troops in South Korea after 1953 for fear that the North would otherwise overrun it. But these alliances outlasted the conditions that caused them. During the Cold War, Japan, Western Europe and South Korea grew wealthy enough to defend themselves. We should let them. These alliances heighten our force requirements and threaten to drag us into wars, while providing no obvious benefit.

**US hegemony can’t stop wars – leash-slipping theory proves**

Christopher **Layne**, PhD. Robert M. Gates Chair in Intelligence and National Security at the George Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, **06**

International Security, “The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming of the United States' Unipolar Moment”, Fall 2006, http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/isec.2006.31.2.7

The United States' hard power poses a nonexistential (or soft) threat to others' autonomy and interests. By acquiring the capability to act independent of the United States in the realm of security, however, other states can slip free of the hegemon's leash-like grip and gain the leverage needed to compel the United States to respect their foreign policy interests. As Posen writes, other major states are expected "at a minimum [to] act to buffer themselves against the caprices of the U.S. and will try to carve out the ability to act autonomously should it become necessary." 81 Leash-slipping is not traditional hard balancing because it is not explicitly directed at countering an existential U.S. threat. At the same time, it is a form of insurance against a hegemon that might someday exercise its power in a predatory and menacing fashion. As Robert Art puts it, a state adopting a leash-slipping strategy "does not fear an increased threat to its physical security from another rising state; rather it is concerned about the adverse effects of that state's rise on its general position, both political and economic, in the international arena. This concern also may, but need not, include a worry that the rising state could cause security problems in the future, although not necessarily war." If successful, leash-slipping would result in the creation of new poles of power in the international system, thereby restoring multipolarity and bringing U.S. hegemony to an end.

**Hegemony fails—cooperation is key to prevent terrorism, global warming, economic crises, nuclear proliferation, and pandemics.**

**Hachigan 10**—Senior Fellow at American Progress, Senior political scientist at RAND Corporation, Director of the RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy, International affairs fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations, National Security Council at the White House

(Nina, “The False Promise of Primacy in US Foreign Policy”, World Focus, January 22, 2010, http://worldfocus.org/blog/2010/01/22/the-false-promise-of-primacy-in-us-foreign-policy/9372)

Robert Kagan now accuses President Obama of reorienting American foreign policy away from its WWII and Cold War roots, focusing on how “to adjust” to the decline in American primacy instead of trying to reverse it. He portrays administration officials as naïve ideologues, buttering up autocracies and forsaking our democratic allies. Kagan’s analyses fail to discuss two major developments that demand a new approach—the increased potency of transnational threats and the new salience of domestic policy in America’s world standing. Kagan writes as if the Obama administration is engaging with re-emerging powers to prove an ideological point that great power strife is a relic of history. Yet no staffer that I have ever spoken with would suggest that these relationships are beyond rivalry. More importantly, Kagan does not reveal the Obama administration’s reasons for pursuing strategic collaborations with China, Russia, India, and other pivotal powers. In fact, these **partnerships are necessary to protect Americans from common threats in terrorists, global warming, economic crises, nuclear proliferation, and pandemics** such as swine flu — the forces of disorder that can and do affect Americans right here at home. Kagan barely mentions these threats, but to keep its own people safe, America needs Russia to secure its loose nuclear materials so terrorists cant get it. America needs China — the world’s largest emitter — to cut down on its carbon. And America needs India to help track extremists. Moreover, America needs all of them to contain pandemics. How can we get these big, proud countries to take these steps? Aggressive diplomacy. Transnational threats also explain why the Obama administration is taking international institutions seriously. It’s not because the president is looking to attend more international meetings; it’s because international rules and institutions play a vital coordinating role when threats cross borders. The World Health Organization led the battle against swine flu last year just as the International Monetary Fund bailed out a slew of countries headed toward financial ruin. Fortunately, international architecture and traditional alliances are not mutually exclusive, as Kagan would imply. It’s still early days, but the Obama approach is paying dividends. China has agreed to limit its carbon intensity. And, for the first time last year, China not only voted for tough U.N. sanctions against Pyongyang; it also enforced them, in contrast to Kagan’s assertion that the administration has failed to gain “any meaningful Chinese help in North Korea.” Russia has allowed the United States to transport supplies through its territory into Afghanistan. The Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, co-chaired by the United States and Russia, is up and running again. A successor to the START treaty to reduce our arsenal of nuclear weapons is not yet complete, but it’s on the way. And these nations and others agreed during the darkest days of the financial crisis to coordinate their macroeconomic moves. Iran remains a challenge, but Beijing and Moscow did recently join in a harsh rebuke that the International Atomic Energy Agency issued. Of course, we continue to have differences with these pivotal powers, including on human rights and democracy. Kagan is simply wrong to suggest that administration officials have failed to “continue to press Russia and China for reform.” They have, just not in a grandstanding, provocative way that ends up being counterproductive. Here, for example, is what President Obama said in Moscow: The arc of history shows us that governments which serve their own people survive and thrive; governments which serve only their own power do not. Governments that represent the will of their people are far less likely to descend into failed states, to terrorize their citizens, or to wage war on others. Governments that promote the rule of law, subject their actions to oversight, and allow for independent institutions are more dependable trading partners. And in our own history, democracies have been America’s most enduring allies, including those we once waged war with in Europe and Asia– nations that today live with great security and prosperity.

**US-Russia Relations**

**A US first strike would cripple Russia, retaliation would be impossible**

**Liber, 2006** Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame, and Press Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania 2006

(Keir Liber, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame, and Press Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, Spring 2006, International Security, *The End of Mad The Nuclear dimension of US Primacy* http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/isec.2006.30.4.7)

A critical issue for the outcome of a U.S. attack is the ability of Russia to launch on warning (i.e., quickly launch a retaliatory strike before its forces are destroyed). It is unlikely that Russia could do this. Russian commanders would need 7–13 minutes to carry out the technical steps involved in identifying a U.S. attack and launching their retaliatory forces. They would have to (1) confirm the sensor indications that an attack was under way; (2) convey the news to political leaders; (3) communicate launch authorization and launch codes to the nuclear forces; (4) execute launch sequences; and (5) allow the missiles to fly a safe distance from the silos.38 This timeline does not include the time required by Russian leaders to absorb the news that a nuclear attack is *The End of MAD? 21* under way and decide to authorize retaliation. Given that both Russian and U.S. early warning systems have had false alarms in the past, even a minimally prudent leader would need to think hard and ask tough questions before authorizing a catastrophic nuclear response.39 Because the technical steps require 7–13 minutes, it is hard to imagine that Russia could detect an attack, decide to retaliate, and launch missiles in less than 10–15 minutes. The Russian early warning system would probably not give Russia’s leaders the time they need to retaliate; in fact it is questionable whether it would give them any warning at all. Stealthy B-2 bombers could likely penetrate Russian air defenses without detection. Furthermore, low-flying B-52 bombers could fire stealthy nuclear-armed cruise missiles from outside Russian airspace; these missiles—small, radar-absorbing, and flying at very low altitude— would likely provide no warning before detonation. Finally, Russia’s vulnerability is compounded by the poor state of its early warning system. Russian satellites cannot reliably detect the launch of SLBMs; Russia relies on groundbased radar to detect those warheads.40 But there is a large east-facing hole in Russia’s radar network; Russian leaders might have no warning of an SLBM attack from the Pacific.41 Even if Russia plugged the east-facing hole in its radar network, its leaders would still have less than 10 minutes’ warning of a U.S. submarine attack from the Atlantic, and perhaps no time if the U.S. attack began with hundreds of stealthy cruise missiles and stealth bombers.

**Russian relations resilient – relationship defined by divergent cycles**

**Fenenko 11** (6/21/11, Alexei, leading researcher at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for International Security, “The Cyclical Nature of Russian-American Relations,” <http://en.rian.ru/valdai_op/20110621/164739508.html>)

There is nothing special or unusual about the current difficulties. Over the past twenty years, both Russia and the United States have experienced several cycles of convergence and divergence in their bilateral relations**.** **It seems that Moscow and Washington are doomed to repeat these cycles time and again.** Such changes in bilateral relations are no mere coincidence. Russia and the United States base their relations on mutual nuclear deterrence. The material and technical foundations for Russian-American relations differ little from those underpinning the Soviet-American relations of the 1980s. Thus, these cycles of Russian-American rapprochement are due to two factors. First comes the desire to consistently reduce aging nuclear systems so that during disarmament neither party risked destroying the military-strategic parity. Second, the reaction to a major military-political crisis after which the parties seek to reduce confrontation and update the rules of conduct in the military-political sphere. After confronting these tasks, Russia and the United States returned to a state of low intensity confrontation. The first rapprochement cycle was observed in the early 1990s. Yeltsin’s government needed U.S. support in recognizing Russia within the 1991 borders of the RSFSR. Boris Yeltsin also needed U.S. assistance in addressing the problem of the Soviet “nuclear legacy” and taking on the Supreme Council. The administrations of George Bush Senior and Bill Clinton were willing to help the Kremlin solve these problems. However, the Americans demanded major strategic concessions from Russia in return, outlined in START-III: making the elimination of heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles a priority. The parties reached an unofficial compromise: U.S. recognition of the Russian leadership in exchange for the rapid decrease in Russia’s strategic nuclear forces (SNF). However, the stronger Russian state institutions became, the weaker the impetus to the rapprochement. In autumn 1994, Russia refused to ratify the original version of START-II and declared NATO’s eastward expansion unacceptable. The United States adopted the concept of “mutually assured safety” (January 1995) under which Russia’s democratic reforms qualified as inseparable from continued armament reduction. The “Overview of U.S. nuclear policy” in 1994 also confirmed that America deemed Russian strategic nuclear forces a priority threat. The crises that unfolded during the late 1990s in Iran and Yugoslavia were, like NATO expansion, the logical results of a restoration of the old approach to Soviet-American relations. It was actually the events of 1994, not 2000, that in fact predetermined the subsequent development of Russian-American relations. The second cycle of Russian-American rapprochement was also rooted in strategic considerations. In 2000 START-II and the ABM Treaty collapsed. Both Washington and Moscow were faced with the problem of their agreed decommissioning of nuclear systems dating back to the 1970s. These events pushed presidents Vladimir Putin and George W. Bush to reach a strategic compromise at a meeting in Crawford (12 November 2001). The United States agreed to sign a new Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT), and Russia did not object to Washington’s withdrawal from the ABM Treaty. Instead of the ABM Treaty, the parties signed the Moscow Declaration on May 24, 2002, under which the United States pledged to consult with Russia on all issues pertaining to missile defense deployment. However, after the “compromise at Crawford,” the agenda for Russian-American rapprochement was exhausted. The disputes between Moscow and Washington over Iraq, Iran, Georgia, Ukraine and Beslan, which had been gathering steam since 2003, necessitated a return to the traditional format for Russian-American relations. At the Bratislava meeting (February 24, 2005) President Vladimir Putin refused to accept George W. Bush’s suggestion of including issues of fissile material safety in the agenda. Since then, the “rapprochement” between Russia and the U.S. has reached a dead end, including at the official level.

**US-Russian relations don’t solve accidental war – high alert status, economic difficulties, and military supremacy fears**

**Mosher and Schwartz 03** (2003, David and Lowell, **\***RAND senior policy analyst with expertise in nuclear weapons policy and ballistic missile defense AND \*\*RAND associate policy analyst, **“**Excessive Force: Why Russian and U.S. Nuclear Postures Perpetuate Cold War Risks,” http://www.rand.org/publications/randreview/issues/fall2003/force.html)

The past decade has brought significant improvements in the relations between Russia and the United States. At the political level, the changes have been demonstrated most noticeably by Russia’s active assistance in the war on terrorism, even helping the United States to establish basing rights in Central Asia. Changes at the nuclear level have also been notable, particularly the May 2002 signing of the Moscow Treaty in which Presidents George W. Bush and Vladimir Putin each agreed to reduce their long-range nuclear warheads to 1,700-2,200 by the year 2012. That will be down from about 6,000 in each country in 2002 and more than 10,000 each in 1990. **Despite these positive steps, the grave risk of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons persists for three reasons.** **First**, both the United States and Russia retain their Cold War postures of keeping their nuclear forces on high alert — ready to launch within a few minutes. Inherent in these postures, which promise the rapid delivery of a massive nuclear retaliatory strike, is the distinct risk of an accidental or unauthorized launch. **Second**, Russia’s economic difficulties have exacerbated the problem. The country’s mobile nuclear forces — from truck-based and rail-based intercontinental ballistic missiles to submarine-based ballistic missiles — have been decimated in both size and readiness. Far from enhancing U.S. security, these vulnerabilities could push Russia toward a strategy of quickly launching its remaining forces at the first sign of an attack, to ensure their utility. The economic difficulties have also left the early-warning system in tatters and the military with morale and discipline problems. An eroded command-and-control system has increased the risk that nuclear forces could be launched by terrorists or rogue commanders. **Third**, U.S. strengths intensify Russian weaknesses. The U.S. Trident submarine force, with its accurate missiles and powerful warheads, continued to expand in the 1990s, making a significant portion of Russia’s silo-based missiles vulnerable. As long as Russia could deploy survivable mobile missiles and submarines — which it could in the 1980s — the country ensured that enough of its forces would survive to retaliate against a U.S. strike. But now, with only a few of Russia’s forces able to leave their silos and with sometimes not even one submarine at sea, the United States could deliver not just a retaliatory strike against Russia but also a devastating first strike. This imbalance could further heighten Russia’s feelings of vulnerability and its incentive to launch its forces preemptively. There are three principal scenarios for accidental or unauthorized nuclear use. The first scenario is an intentional unauthorized launch brought about by terrorists or a rogue military commander. The breakdown of order in Russia, the economic difficulties and low morale of its military personnel, and the rise in organized crime and separatist violence have heightened this danger. The second scenario is a missile launched by mistake. Such a mistake could result from a malfunctioning weapon system or a training accident. To date, Russia and the United States have made great efforts to guard against such accidents. Nevertheless, the probability of a mistaken launch has never been zero, and the economic and social problems in Russia have elevated concerns in the West about this problem. The third scenario is a nuclear weapon launched intentionally but based on incorrect or incomplete information. If early-warning systems malfunction, they could signal that an attack is imminent when in fact it is not. Or a nonthreatening event might be misconstrued as an attack. Without a clear, accurate picture of what is happening around the globe, Russia might confuse a benign event (such as a space launch) for a nuclear attack. During the Cold War, Russia and the United States each developed a two-tiered early-warning system (using radar on land and infrared sensors in space) to guard against such events. But Russia’s space-based system is now essentially out of order, leaving the country with only a flawed radar system and greatly increasing the chance that an erroneous indication of attack could be mistaken as real. Thankfully, this concern is mitigated somewhat by the improved state of U.S.-Russian relations. U.S. and Russian political leaders today are less likely to believe they are under deliberate nuclear attack than they were during the tense periods of the Cold War. Despite the end of the Cold War and real improvements in relations, both countries continue to view each other in nuclear terms. The risk of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons remains unacceptably high. Limiting these dangers will require not merely operational changes in the U.S. and Russian nuclear postures but higher levels of trust and cooperation.

**US and Russia have good relations now – won’t go to war**

**Krickus 10** (Richard, prof, http://www.rferl.org/content/The\_Road\_To\_Resetting\_Moscow\_Ties\_Passes\_Through\_Berlin/1966883.html, dw: 2-24-2010, da: 7-9-2011)

What is more, important developments are changing the dynamics of the German-Russian energy relationship. **Many energy experts believe that Russia cannot provide the product to make the Nord Stream project an economic success, while new sources of natural gas are becoming available on the world market as a result of technological breakthroughs in extraction**. These and other matters could be discussed at a summit with the purpose of maintaining good economic relations with Russia while making certain that they don’t cause serious friction among alliance members. Finally, **U.S. foreign-policy makers have a stake in improving relations with Berlin that have been sullied over differences associated with Iraq and Afghanistan, the proper response to the global economic crisis, as well as conflicting views regarding relations with Moscow. To promote more harmonious relations with the largest and richest country in Europe, the United States could develop a special working group with Germany to resolve** -- or at least mollify -- **outstanding differences between both countries.** Washington, in short, should acknowledge that it must reengage Berlin at the same time that it resumes relations with Moscow. A May summit in Berlin could advance that agenda.

**Russia doesn’t have the incentive to go to war**

**Friedman and Logan 9** (Benjamin and Justin, phd and writer, expert, http://www.cato.org/pubs/articles/friedman\_logan\_hittingstopbuttononnatoexpansion.pdf, dw: 7-6-2010, da: 7-8-2011)

No longer driven by a revolutionary ideology, **Russia also lacks the Soviet Union’s ambitions**. True, Russia does not like the democratic governments on its flanks in Ukraine and Georgia. But that is because these governments are pursuing policies that anger Russia, not because they are democratic per se. **What Russia wants are pliant neighbors. That desire is typical of relatively powerful states: The long U.S. history of violent interventions in Latin America undermines whatever lectures we might direct at Moscow.** Now compare today’s security situation to the one that caused nato’s formation in 1949. **The Soviets had at least 700,000 troops deemed capable of overrunning a Western Europe left vulnerable by broken armies and empty treasuries. European poverty gave Moscow-backed Communist parties a realistic chance at taking power democratically. Fearing that the Soviet Union—by conquest or revolution—could seize enough of Europe’s industrial might to threaten the U.S., Americans sent aid via the Marshall Plan and troops via nato. U.S. intervention restored the balance of power, serving its own interests.** **No similar rationale justifies defending Georgia and Ukraine. In fact, allying with these countries simply creates defense liabilities for nato members**. Alliances are not free. Credible defense commitments require spending and troops, particularly to defend long borders like Ukraine’s. With much of nato’s manpower tied down in Iraq and Afghanistan, new commitments may require new recruits, an expensive proposition in an era when the cost of military manpower is quickly appreciating. These are precisely the sorts of allies a prudent superpower would avoid. They offer few benefits, and come carrying pre-existing territorial conflicts with a stronger neighbor. Ukraine appears to be living up to its reputation for political instability, dangerously verging on the precipice of collapse in the wake of the global financial meltdown. Moreover, a recent poll indicated that 63 percent of Ukrainians do not even want nato membership. Georgia currently has Russian troops on its territory and is run by a leader with a demonstrated capacity for recklessness. nato backing will only encourage him.

**US-China War**

**Relations resilient- constant cooperation will only increase**

**Wenzhao, 09** – Senior Researcher at the Institute of American Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

(Tao, 2/17/09, “Positive signs ahead for Sino-US relations,” China Daily, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2009-02/17/content\_7482140.htm)

The direction of Sino-US relations under Barack Obama's presidency is drawing increasing attention as the new US administration takes shape. The new president made remarks about China during his election campaign and wrote for the US Chamber of Commerce in China an article on the prospect of Sino-US ties in his term of office. In January, newly assigned Secretary of State Hillary Clinton also deliberated on US foreign policy in a Senate hearing. Obama acknowledges that common interests exist between China and the US and welcomes a rising China. He realizes China's remarkable achievement in the past 30 years has driven economic development in neighboring nations and believes its emergence as a big power is irreversible and the US should cooperate to deal with emerging challenges. The US and China have had effective and smooth cooperation on a wide range of economic and security issues, from anti-terror, nonproliferation and climate change to the restructuring of the extant international financial system. This is expected to be the new administration's mainstream China policy and dominate the future of Sino-US relations. As multilateralism believers, both President Obama and Vice-President Joe Biden advocate international cooperation instead of unilateral action to deal with international challenges and resolve disputes. Fruitful cooperation between China and the US on the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue clearly indicates constructive bilateral and multilateral cooperation on sensitive issues can help ease strained regional situations. The new US administration has expressed its wishes to continue to promote a stable Korean Peninsula and to improve ties with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The new administration has also expressed expectations for cooperation with China on other international issues, such as the Iranian nuclear and Darfur challenges. China now plays a crucial role in the world's political landscape and we look forward to cooperative ties with it, Clinton recently said. Ever-deepening economic and trade ties, as the cornerstone of bilateral relations, are expected to continue to develop during Obama's tenure.

**No risk of Chinese attack on Taiwan – their new power gives them the breathing room to wait, and they learned their lesson from the 1996 crisis**

**Cliff, 2011** - senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation [Cliff with Phillip C. Saunders Senior Research Professor at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies and Scott Harold”2011 New Opportunities and Challenges for Taiwan's Security”<http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/conf_proceedings/2011/RAND_CF279.pdf> Accessed July 12, 2011]  
  
Arguably, the Chinese leadership recognized that the 1995–1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis—the high point of coercive statecraft—had important costs throughout the region for China. 25 In the wake of that militarized event, a wave of counterbalancing against China occurred (Japan, Singapore, the Philippines, etc., all reinvigorated their security relationship with the United States). Furthermore, such activity received much international approbation. In response, China engaged in a very public campaign aimed to refurbish its image internationally: the New Security Concept and associated smile diplomacy by the PRC. Today, China’s policy toward Taiwan is characterized by a “de-emphasis on the use and show of military force in cross-Strait relations.” 26 Beyond that, China does not appear to be demanding more from Taiwan as its power position improves. Most observers of China’s policy over the past decade would characterize Hu Jintao as having moderated Beijing’s demands. While the shift in leadership in Taipei has centrally affected relations across the Strait, China’s policy has permitted Taiwan a wide range of behavior that would not have been possible in around the year 2000. Not all of these can be attributed to President Ma’s election.

**China has no plans to escalate war to a nuclear level**

James **Mulvenon**, Vice-President of Defense Group, Inc.¹s Intelligence Division, **06**

RAND Corporation, "Chinese Responses to U.S. Military Transformation and Implications for the Department of Defense", 2006, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2006/RAND_MG340.pdf>,

When Chinese strategists contemplate how to affect U.S. deployments, they confront the limitations of their current conventional force, which does not have range sufficient to interdict U.S. facilities or assets beyond the Japanese home islands. Nuclear options, while theoretically available, are nonetheless far too escalatory to be used so early in the conflict. Theater missile systems, which are possibly moving to a mixture of conventional and nuclear warheads, could be used against Japan or Guam, but uncertainties about the nature of a given warhead would likely generate responses similar to the nuclear scenario. According to the predictable cadre of “true believers,” both of the centers of gravity identified above can be attacked using computer network operations (CNO). In the first case, the Chinese information operations (IO) community believes that CNO will play a useful psychological role in undermining the will of the Taiwanese people by attacking infrastructure and economic vitality. In the second case, the Chinese IO community envisions CNO effectively deterring or delaying U.S. intervention and causing pain sufficient to compel Taipei to capitulate before the United States arrives. The remainder of this section outlines how these IO theorists propose operationalizing such a strategy.

**No impact - China lacks critical military capabilities to challenge the U.S**

Richard A. **Bitzinger**, Senior Fellow with the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies Monterey Institute, **08**

Survival, "Why East Asian War is Unlikely", 5 December 2008, PDF

Overall, most Western assessments agree that the PLA has made considerable progress over the past decade in adding new weapons to its arsenal, and that China has noticeably improved its military capabilities in several specific areas - particularly missile attack, power projection over sea and in the air, and information warfare. Most predict that Chinese military power relative to its likely competitors in the Asia-Pacific region - especially Taiwan - and the United States will continue to increase significantly over the next ten to 20 years. There are, however, some striking differences of opinion when it comes to interpreting the significance of these hardware developments. Many Western analysts assert that the PLA continues to suffer from considerable deficiencies and weaknesses that limit its ability to constitute a major military threat: in spite of all its efforts, China is still at least two decades behind the United States in terms of defence capabilities and technology. In particular, the PLA still lacks the logistical and lift capacity - both by sea and by air - for projecting force much beyond its borders. China also lags far behind the West in areas such as C4I architectures and surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities. Some therefore argue that China's current rearmament programme is an incremental, long-term modernisation process that must be understood in the context of competing force-modernisation activities taking place among China's likely rivals.

**No Taiwan war – economic ties prevent**

**Ackerman 11** – quoting former admiral Timothy Keating, the official blog of the Armed Forces Communication and Electronics Association

(Robert, 5/10/11, War Between China, U.S. Not Likely, http://www.afcea.org/signal/signalscape/index.php/2011/05/10/11510/)

The United States and China are not likely to go to war with each other because neither country wants it and it would run counter to both nations’ best interests. That was the conclusion of a plenary panel session hosted by former Good Morning America host David Hartman at the 2011 Joint Warfighting Conference in Virginia Beach. Adm. Timothy J. Keating, USN (Ret.), former head of the U.S. Pacific Command, noted that China actually wants the United States to remain active in the Asia-Pacific region as a hedge against any other country’s adventurism. And, most of the other countries in that region want the United States to remain active as a hedge against China. Among areas of concern for China is North Korea. Wallace “Chip” Gregson, former assistant secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, said that above all China fears instability, and a North Korean collapse or war could send millions of refugees streaming into Manchuria, which has economic problems of its own. As for Taiwan, Adm. Keating offered that with each day, the likelihood of a Chinese attack on Taiwan diminishes. Economic ties between the two governments are growing, as is social interaction. He predicts that a gradual solution to reunification is coming. The United States can hasten that process by remaining a powerful force in the region, he added.

**Disease**

**Momentum changing – diseases can be eliminated.**

**Paulson, ’11** – senior writer for Humanosphere and NPR

[Tom Paulson, blogger for Humanosphere and senior writer for National Public Radio; “Which four diseases face total eradication? Bill Foege predicts extension of smallpox success;” published 6/28/2011; <http://humanosphere.kplu.org/2011/06/bill-foege-on-disease-eradication-on-the-world/>)

Smallpox was, until today, the only disease that had ever been eradicated from the planet. The United Nations today declared that [rinderpest](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/28/health/28rinderpest.html), a cattle disease that when prevalent had profound adverse impact on humanity, is now the second disease to have been eradicated. Bill Foege, one of our local boys made good, is a big fan of disease eradication. Foege is the world-renowned physician who figured out the strategy that succeeded in wiping out smallpox. He is featured in an interview on disease eradication on PRI’s The World today “[How to Kill a KIller Disease](http://www.world-science.org/forum/how-to-kill-a-killer-disease-smallpox-foege/).” Here’s a story I did almost a year ago about [Foege on the 30th anniversary of the eradication of smallpox](http://humanosphere.kplu.org/2010/08/how-smallpox-got-beat-why-it-matters/). You may notice that PRI used the same photo — a photo I took of Bill in Colville, Eastern Washington, where he grew up. Foege, a former chief of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and now a senior adviser to the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, has written a fascinating book on the global campaign to eradicate smallpox called “[House on Fire.](http://www.amazon.com/House-Fire-Eradicate-Smallpox-California/dp/0520268369/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1309290994&sr=8-1-spell)” On PRI, he predicted that four more diseases will be eradicated soon. “I think maybe six diseases will be eradicated before I die,” said Foege, listing the next four as polio, guinea worm, measles and onchocerciasis (river blindness). What about malaria? “Malaria may take a little longer … but we need to try to eradicate malaria and I’m very optimistic about it,” he said.

**Impacts of disease exaggerated – not enough momentum to kill humanity.**

**Lind, ’11 –** policydirector at the New America Foundation

[Michael Lind, policy director of the New America Foundation's Economic Growth Program; “So Long, Chicken Little;” published in Foreign Policy, March/April 2011; <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/02/22/so_long_chicken_little?page=0,8>)

There's nothing like a good plague to get journalists and pundits in a frenzy. Although the threat of global pandemics is real, it's all too often exaggerated. In the last few years, the world has experienced two such pandemics, the avian flu (H5N1) and swine flu (H1N1). Both fell far short of the apocalyptic vision of a new Black Death cutting huge swaths of mortality with its remorseless scythe. Out of a global population of more than 6 billion people, 8,768 are estimated to have died from swine flu, 306 from avian flu. And yet it was not just the BBC [ominously informing](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8022437.stm) us that "the deadly swine flu … cannot be contained." Like warnings about the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the good done by mobilizing people to address the problem must be weighed against the danger of apocalypse fatigue on the part of a public subjected to endless Chicken Little scares.

**Nanotech will prevent extinction from disease.**

**CRN, ‘8** – Nanotech think tank

[Center for Responsible Nanotechnology; “Medical Benefits of Molecular Manufacturing;” published 2008 in CRN Research: Overview of Current Findings; <http://www.crnano.org/medical.htm>)

New diseases will be stopped quickly. New diseases continue to be a threat to the human race. Naturally occurring diseases could be far worse than SARS, and an engineered disease could conceivably wipe out most of the human race. It will be increasingly important to have a technology base that can detect new diseases even before symptoms appear, and create a cure in a matter of days. MM will enable just such a rapid response. With complete genomes and proteomes for humans and for all known pathogens, plus cheap, highly parallel DNA and protein analysis and sufficient computer resources, it will be possible to spot any new pathogen almost immediately. (There is already a [project under way](http://www.enn.com/news/2003-04-29/s_4148.asp) to sequence the DNA of every organism in the Sargasso Sea.) Curing a new infectious disease will require some method of detecting and stopping the pathogen. Robert Freitas has described over a dozen nanotechnological ways to [disable or destroy](http://www.nanomedicine.com/NMI/10.4.htm) pathogens. Diagnosis and treatment may be semi-automated. The practice of medicine today involves a lot of uncertainty. Doctors must guess what condition a patient has, and further guess how best to treat it without upsetting the rest of the body's systems. By contrast, when pathogens and chemical imbalances can be directly detected, many conditions will be treatable with no uncertainty, allowing the use of computer-selected treatment in common cases. This may further reduce the cost of medical care, although doctors, regulatory agencies, or the patients themselves may resist the practice initially. Health will improve and lifespans increase. Health improvement and life extension do not depend directly on molecular manufacturing, but it will certainly make them accessible to more people. Any treatment that can be automated can be applied to any number of people at low cost. Efficient research will speed the development of cures for complex problems such as cancer and aging. New therapeutic techniques will allow the treatment of more types of diseases.

**The more virulent, the less likely extinction is**

**Adam 5** (Mike, Staff Writer for Newstarget.com, "Why the bird flu virus is less deadly but more dangerous," June 21, http://loveforlife.com.au/content/08/02/05/why-bird-flu-virus-less-deadly-more-dangerous-mike-adams-21st-june-2005)

**If you're a really deadly virus** -- like Ebola, which kills 90 percent of the people infected -- then **you're** actually **not very good at spreading from one person to the next**. Why? **You kill your host too quickly**. You're so deadly that your host dies before you get a chance to be infectious. **In order to be a pandemic, a virus must be highly infectious**; it must be able to spread from one person to another in an undetectable way. **When a virus becomes less-immediately lethal, it is able to survive** in the host in an undetectable state, for a longer period of time. This is what makes viruses really, really dangerous: A dangerous virus is not lethal to one individual; rather, it can exist in a hidden state and be passed from one person to the next. It's the contagiousness of a virus that makes it dangerous. **Let's say you're a virus and you consider "success" to be wiping people out.** Obviously, viruses don't have that sort of thought process, this is just a way to explain their strategies. If you're a virus and you're trying to infect and kill people, **you're going to be far more "successful" if you have a low kill rate** but infect a billion people, rather than having a very high kill rate and only infecting 10 or 20 people. **If you are a very deadly virus** in the Congo, for example, **and you** manage to **wipe out a small village**, even though you were rather horrifying to the village and fatal to those people, **you as a virus haven't been very successful.** Why? You wiped out the village; **there's nobody left to spread it.** Now, again, of course viruses don't think this way: They don't have plans, they don't have strategies -- this is just evolutionary biology in play.

**Mutations ensure extinction of the virus**

**Lafee 9** (“Viruses versus hosts: a battle as old as time”, SCOTT MAY 3, http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/2009/may/03/1n3virus01745-viruses-versus-hosts-battle-old-time/?uniontrib)

But whatever type, **viruses evolve in two fundamental ways**. The first, called antigenic drift, is gradual but constant. A single virus can produce 1 billion offspring in a single day. **This profligate rate is essential**. Viruses need maximum numbers to boost their chances of finding hosts and ensuring survival. Such **rapid replication guarantees that mistakes will be made, that tiny mutations in gene copying will result in new viral strains not recognized by immune systems**. For small viruses such as influenza or hepatitis C, antigenic drift is critical to helping them evade detection during infection.

**Biodiversity**

**The environment is resilient**

**Easterbrook 96** (Gregg, sr editor, The New Republic, former fellow at the Brookings Institute, A Movement on the Earth, p. 25)

"Fragile environment" has become a welded phrase of the modern lexicon, like "aging hippie" or "fugitive financier." But **the notion of a fragile environment is profoundly wrong. Individual animals, plants, and people are distressingly fragile. The environment that contains them is close to indestructible**. **The living environment of Earth has survived ice ages; bombardments of cosmic radiation** more deadly than atomic fallout; **solar radiation more powerful than the worst-case projection for ozone depletion**; thousand-year periods of intense volcanism releasing global **air pollution** far worse than that made by any factory**; reversals of the planet's magnetic poles**; the rearrangement of continents; transformation of plains into mountain ranges and of seas into plains; fluctuations of ocean currents and the jet stream; **300-foot vacillations in sea levels;** shortening and lengthening of the seasons caused by shifts in the planetary axis; **collisions of asteroids and comets** bearing far more force than man's nuclear arsenals; and the years without summer that followed these impacts. **Yet hearts beat on**, and petals unfold still. **Were the environment fragile it would have expired many eons before the advent of the industrial affronts of the dreaming ape**. Human assaults on the environment, though mischievous, are pinpricks compared to forces of the magnitude nature is accustomed to resisting.

**Biodiversity loss has negligible impact**

**Sedjo 0** (Roger, Sr. Fellow, Resources for the Future, *Conserving Nature’s Biodiversity: insights from biology, ethics and economics*, eds. Van Kooten, Bulte and Sinclair, 2000, p. 114)

As a critical input into the existence of humans and of life on earth, biodiversity obviously has a very high value (at least to humans). But, as with other resource questions, including public goods, **biodiversity is not an either/or question, but rather a question of “how much.”** Thus, **we may argue as to how much biodiversity is desirable or is required for human life** (threshold) and how much is desirable (insurance) and at what price, just as societies argue over the appropriate amount and cost of national defense. As discussed by Simpson, the value of water is small even though it is essential to human life, while diamonds are inessential but valuable to humans. The reason has to do with relative abundance and scarcity, with market value pertaining to the marginal unit. This water-diamond paradox can be applied to biodiversity. **Although biological diversity is essential, a single species has only limited value, since the global system will continue to function without that species**. Similarly, the value of a piece of biodiversity (e.g., 10 ha of tropical forest) is small to negligible since its contribution to the functioning of the global biodiversity is negligible. **The global ecosystem can function with “somewhat more” or “somewhat less” biodiversity, since there have been larger amounts in times past and some losses in recent times**. Therefore, **in the absence of evidence to indicate that small habitat losses threaten the functioning of the global life support system, the value of these marginal habitats is negligible**. The “value question” is that of how valuable to the life support function are species at the margin. While this, in principle, is an empirical question, in practice it is probably unknowable. However, thus far, **biodiversity losses appear to have had little or no effect on the functioning of the earth’s life support system, presumably due to the resiliency of the system**, which perhaps is due to the redundancy found in the system.  **Through most of its existence, earth has had far less biological diversity.** Thus, as in the water-diamond paradox, the value of the marginal unit of biodiversity appears to be very small.

**Loss of biodiversity is inevitable – and turn – interfering turns the impact**

**Dodds 0** (Donald, M.S. P.E., President of North Pacific Research, 2000, http://northpacificresearch.com/downloads/The\_myth\_of\_biodiversity.doc)

What is suggested by geologic history is that **the world has more biodiversity than it ever had and that it maybe overdue for another major extinction.** Unfortunately, today many scientists have too narrow a view. They are highly specialized. They have no time for geologic history. This appears to be a problem of inadequate education not ignorance. What is abundantly clear is that **artificially enforcing rigid biodiversity works against the laws of nature, and will cause irreparable damage to the evolution of life on this planet and maybe beyond**. **The world and the human species may be better served if we stop trying to prevent change, and begin trying to understand change and positioning the human species to that it survives the inevitable change of evolution**. If history is to be believed, the planet has 3 times more biodiversity than it had 65 million years ago. **Trying to sustain that level is futile and may be dangerous. The next major extinction, change in biodiversity, is** as **inevitable** as climate change. We cannot stop either from occurring, but we can position the human species to survive those changes.

**Turn-Extinctions create room for new species and more biodiversity**

**Simon 5** (Julian L., Adjunct Scholar @ Cato Institute, August 5, http://www.juliansimon.com/writings/Ultimate\_Resource/TCHAR31.txt)

**In the case of species extinction,** as with many other public issues, **there is a tendency to** focus only upon the bad effects, and to **exclude from consideration possible good effects of human activities**. For example, Lugo notes that "**Because humans have facilitated immigration [of species] and created new environments, exotic species have successfully become established in the Caribbean islands**. This has resulted in a general increase in the total inventories of bird and tree species." **In tropical Puerto Rico where "human activity reduced the area of primary forests by 99%", as great a reduction as could be imagined**, "seven bird species...became extinct after 500 years of human pressure...and...**exotic [newly resident] species enlarged the species pool**. More land birds have been present on the Island in the 1980s (97 species) than were present in pre- Colombian time (60 species)." Perhaps conservation biologists make mention of the extinctions but not of the newly-resident species because, as Lugo notes, "there is a clear aversion to exotic [newly resident] species by preservationists and biologists (in cases such as predatory mammals and pests, with good reason!)." This **aversion to transplanted species may derive from the belief that humankind is somehow artificial and not "natural**." Consider the language of Myers, who has played as important a role as any person in raising the alarm about species extinction: "[W]hereas past extinctions have occurred by virtue of natural processes, today the virtually exclusive cause is man." One should distinguish, of course, between the extinction of an indigenous species found nowhere else, and its replacement with a species found elsewhere. But **it should be noted that new arrivals from elsewhere often mutate into entire new species.** Furthermore, **species thought to be lost in one place often pop up years or decades later in the same or another place - even relatively vulnerable species such as the Allocebus lemur of Madagascar where much of the rain forest has been cut; the lemur had not been seen since 1964**, but a primalogist went out to find one and did. Another example: The capitate milkvitch flower was found near the city of Afula in Israel in 1993 after not having been seen since 1942.

**Bioterrorism**

**Bioterrorism is impossible – seven reasons**

**Ruppe ’05** [Brian, The National Journal, Apr 23, Lexis]

On the other hand, critics argue that some experts have oversimplified the significant technical challenges to building catastrophic biological weapons and have overestimated the abilities of terrorist groups to overcome them. "How do you kill a lot of people? There, you've got to get involved with airborne, deadly pathogens such as Bacillus anthracis spores, and that's fairly technically demanding to do," Zilinskas said. Potential difficulties, experts say, include obtaining proper equipment and an appropriate strain of pathogen; storing and handling the pathogen properly; growing it to produce a greater quantity; processing it to develop the desirable characteristics; testing it; and dispersing it. A terrorist group would need to have suitably educated and knowledgeable people, and sufficient time and freedom from government scrutiny, to do the work, they say. Potentially the toughest challenge, experts say, is "weaponization" -- processing an agent to the point that it can resist environmental stresses, survive dissemination, and increase its ability to infect (pathogenicity) and to harm (toxicity). This is particularly true if the terrorists want to spray the agent, which is a more effective approach for a mass attack than spreading an agent through human-to-human contact. "While collection and purification knowledge is widespread among ordinary scientists, weaponization is obviously a military subject, and much of the knowledge that surrounds it is classified," wrote Danzig, who believes that terrorists nevertheless might be able to develop catastrophic biological weapons. The key difficulty for producing an aerosolized weapon, Danzig said, "would be to produce a pathogen formulation in sizes that would be within the human respiratory range and that could be reliably stored, handled, and spread as a stable aerosol rather than clump and fall to the ground. Mastering these somewhat contradictory requirements is tricky... The challenge becomes greater as attackers seek higher concentrations of agent and higher efficiency in dissemination." Stanford's Chyba agrees on the difficulties of weaponization. "Aerosolization is clearly [a] serious hurdle. I just find it hard, currently, to imagine a Qaeda offshoot -- or, for that matter, any of the current non-state groups that I have read about -- being technically proficient in that."

**Terrorists cant access or disperse material**

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Even as the United States spends billions of dollars on biological defense initiatives, experts continue to debate the likelihood that terrorists could pull off a major attack using smallpox or another disease agent, ProPublica reported Friday (see *GSN*, May 20).

"I think in the palace of truth, the scientific community will tell you that the threat of the development of a (terrorist) biological weapon was vastly overblown," said Brian Finlay, an analyst at the Henry L. Stimson Center, said in an interview.

Still, "the threat of a successful dissemination of a dangerous pathogen has consequences that are potentially so excessively catastrophic that not investing resources to prevent even a remote chance of this occurrence would be an egregious abrogation of our government's responsibility to protect Americans," he added.

Significant concerns about bioterrorism first arose in the 1990s following the collapse of the Soviet Union, with experts warning that personnel or pathogens from the Cold War superpower might end up in the hands of rogue nations or extremist groups.

Tabletop exercises in 2001 and 2005 portrayed the potentially devastating impact of smallpox attacks on the United States (see related *GSN* story, today).

"The most striking response from the participants in both exercises was that for the most part, they had no idea that something like this was possible," said Tara O'Toole, now head of the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Biosecurity, who helped organize the war games, Dark Winter and Atlantic Storm.

However, University of Maryland WMD expert Milton Leitenberg expressed strong skepticism that terrorists could seize smallpox from a biological defense laboratory and then successfully reproduce and disperse the material. "The assumptions that were given [in the exercises] for what the terrorists were capable of doing were completely artificial and fantastical," he said.

Leitenberg said he uses information from government and private researchers and security analysts to determine the bioterrorism threat. To date, there are no indications that any group is moving toward a bioweapon capability, he said.

**No impact to bioweapons --- they’re too hard to deploy and countermeasures solve**

John **Mueller**, Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Ohio State, 200**6**, Overblown p. 20-22 /

Properly developed and deployed, biological weapons could indeed, if thus far only in theory, kill hundreds of thousands, perhaps even mil­lions of people. The discussion remains theoretical because **biological weapons have scarcely ever been used**. **Belligerents have eschewed such weapons with good reason: they are extremely difficult to deploy and to control.** Terrorist groups or rogue states may be able to solve such problems in the future with advances in technology and knowledge, but, **notes** **scientist** Russell **Seitz**, **while bioterrorism may look easy on paper, ''the learning curve is lethally steep in practice**." The record so far is unlikely to be very encouraging. For example, Japan reportedly infected wells in Manchuria and bombed several Chinese cities with plague-infested fleas before and during World War II. These ventures (by a state, not a terrorist group) may have killed thousands of Chinese, but they apparently also caused considerable unintended casualties among Japanese troops and seem to have had little military impact.20**For the most destructive results, biological weapons need to be dis­persed in very low-altitude aerosol clouds.** Because aerosols do not appreciably settle, pathogens like anthrax (which is not easy to spread or catch and is not contagious) would probably have to be sprayed near nose level. **Moreover, 90 percent of the microorganisms are likely to die during the process of aerosolization, and their effectiveness could be reduced still further by sunlight, smog, humidity, and temperature changes.** **Explosive methods of dispersion may destroy the organisms**, **and**, except for anthrax spores, **long-term storage of lethal organisms in bombs** or warheads **is difficult: even if refrigerated, most of the organ­isms have a limited lifetime. The effects of such weapons can take days or weeks to have full effect, during which time they can be countered with medical and civil defense measures**. And **their impact is very diffi­cult to predict; in combat situations they may spread back onto the attacker**. In the judgment of two careful analysts, **delivering microbes** and toxins over a wide area in the form most suitable for inflicting mass casualties—as an aerosol that can be inhaled—-**requires a delivery system whose development "would outstrip the technical capabilities of all but the most sophisticated terrorist." Even then effective dispersal could easily be disrupted by unfavorable environmental and meteoro­logical conditions.21** **After assessing**, and stressing**, the difficulties a nonstate entity would find in obtaining, handling, growing, storing, processing, and dispersing lethal pathogens effectively**, biological weapons expert Milton Leiten-berg compares Ms conclusions with glib pronouncements in the press about how biological attacks can be pulled off by anyone with "a little training and a few glass jars," or how it would be "about as difficult as producing beer." He sardonically concludes, ''The less the commenta­tor seems to know about biological warfare the easier he seems to think the task is."::

**The risk is zero – terrorists won’t use – bioweapons too undependable, too difficult to make**

**Zalman**. Senior strategist Science Applications International Corporation **2k8**

[Amy, “Bioterrorism threat is disputed” July 23rd, <http://terrorism.about.com/b/2008/07/23/bioterror-threat-is-hotly-debated.htm>]

The more I looked into it, I thought, "Jeez, what are these guys talking about?" What are the odds that a terrorist group, no matter how well financed, would be able to create a bioterror weapon? I began looking into what it takes to really make a successful bioterrorism agent, and I just became very skeptical of this whole thing. The (United States ) military gave up bioweapons 30 years ago. They're too undependable; they're too hard to use; they're too hard to make. Then I started checking around, and I found there's a whole literature out there of people who've been screaming for years that this whole bioterrorism thing is really overblown; it's not practical; it's never going to work. Aum Shinrikyo couldn't get it to work; those guys put millions and millions of dollars into it. So you think of a bunch of guys sitting in a cave in Afghanistan — they're sure as hell not going to do it. Is any government going to do it? No. So that made me very skeptical, and I went back to Oxford and said, "This whole thing's a crock.

**Too many barriers to biological or chemical terrorism**

**Parachini 1** (John, testimony, policy analyst, http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/2005/CT183.pdf, dw: 10-12-2001, da: 7-9-2011)

**When it comes to the feasibility of using biological or chemical weapons,** **states are more likely to have the resources, technical capabilities, and organizational capacity to assemble the people, know-how, material, and equipment to produce such weapons and to be able to clandestinely deliver them to valued targets**. Nonetheless, **mustering the resources and capabilities to inflict a devastating blow with biological agents has proven to be a formidable task even for states. The United States and the former Soviet Union dedicated considerable national defense resources to their biological weapons programs, and both countries encountered significant difficulties along the way**. Iraq also dedicated considerable resources to its biological weapons program; although Iraqs effort was more successful than most experts imagined possible, it still encountered a number of significant challenges. **Some of these difficulties are unique and inevitable for state programs that aim to achieve a militarily significant capacity with military-grade agents. Lower standards of achievement are certainly possible. On balance, then, a state’s ability to command resources and organize them for certain priority scientific and industrial objectives presents the potential for the greatest threat of bioterrorism**. **When it comes to the feasibility of biological terrorism perpetrated by subnational groups and individuals, the range of capability** (and level of consequence) **depends on whether the groups or individuals are state-sponsored or not.** Highconsequence biological attacks would require the assistance of a state sponsor or considerable resources. However, even these conditions do not ensure high-consequence attacks by sub-national groups or individuals. **There are no widely agreed upon historical examples in the open source literature of states providing sub-national groups with biological weapons for overt or covert use. Money, arms, logistical support, training, and even training on how to operate in a chemically contaminated environment are all forms of assistance states have provided to terrorists**. But historically they have not crossed the threshold and provided biological weapons materials to insurgency groups or terrorist organizations. Even if states sought to perpetrate biological attacks for their own purposes, they would probably not trust such an operation to groups or individuals that they do not completely control.