# FYI

#### FYI who has how many icebreakers

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Regarding the first two factors above, some observers note the size of the polar icebreaking fleets operated by other countries. Countries with interests in the polar regions have differing requirements for polar icebreakers, depending on the nature and extent of their polar activities. According to one source, as of January 2009, Russia had a fleet of 25 polar icebreakers (including 6 active heavy icebreakers, 2 heavy icebreakers in caretaker status, 15 other icebreakers, and 2 additional icebreakers leased from the Netherlands); Finland and Sweden each had 7 polar icebreakers; and Canada had 6.44

# Icebreakers Affirmative

## T – Extra T

#### Primary function is ice-breaking – that creates sea routes

O’Rourke 6/14

(Ronald, Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>,)

Regarding the data shown in Table 2, the Coast Guard states further that for CGC [Coast Guard Cutter]HEALY**,** all of the Polar Operations hours are either transit to/from the operating area or scientific research**.** ForCGC POLAR SEA/POLAR STAR, all of the Polar Operations hours are transit to/from the operating area, scientificresearch or mobility logistics(icebreaking for re-supply).We estimate 25% transit / 75% scientific research for HEALY and 50% transit / 10% scientific research / 40% mobility logistics for POLAR SEA/POLAR STAR.

## T - Transportation

#### Ice-breakers serve as infrastructure for helicopters and transport people, cargo, and boats

O’Rourke 6/14

(Ronald, Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>,)

In July 2011, the Coast Guard provided to Congress a study on the Coast Guard’s missions and capabilities for operations in high-latitude (i.e., polar) areas. The study, commonly known as the High Latitude Study, is dated July 2010 on its cover.17 The High Latitude Study concluded the following: [The study] concludes that future capability and capacity gaps will significantly impact four [Coast Guard] mission areas in the Arctic: Defense Readiness, Ice Operations, Marine Environmental Protection, and Ports, Waterways, and Coastal Security. These mission areas address the protection of important national interests in a geographic area where other nations are actively pursuing their own national goals.... The common and dominant contributor to these significant mission impacts is the gap in polar icebreaking capability. The increasing obsolescence of the Coast Guard’s icebreaker fleet will further exacerbate mission performance gaps in the coming years**....** The gap in polar icebreaking capacity has resulted in a lack of at-sea time for crews and senior personnel and a corresponding gap in training and leadership**.** In addition to providing multi-mission capability and intrinsic mobility, a helicopter-capable surface unit would eliminate the need for acquiring an expensive shore-based infrastructure that may only be needed on a seasonal or occasional basis. The most capable surface unit would be a polar icebreaker. Polar icebreakers can transit safely in a variety of ice conditions and have the endurance to operate far from logistics bases. The Coast Guard’s polar icebreakers have conducted a wide range of planned and unscheduled Coast Guard missions in the past. Polar icebreakers possess the ability to carry large numbers of passengers, cargo, boats, and helicopters. Polar icebreakers also have substantial command, control, and communications capabilities. The flexibility and mobility of polar icebreakers would assist the Coast Guard in closing future mission performance gaps effectively**....** Existing capability and capacity gaps are expected to significantly impact future Coast Guard performance in two Antarctic mission areas: Defense Readiness and Ice Operations. Future gaps may involve an inability to carry out probable and easily projected mission requirements, such as the McMurdo resupply, or readiness to respond to less-predictable events. By their nature, contingencies requiring the use of military capabilities often occur quickly. As is the case in the Arctic, the deterioration of the Coast Guard’s icebreaker fleet is the primary driver for this significant mission impact. This will further widen mission performance gaps in the coming years. The recently issued Naval Operations Concept 2010 requires a surface presence in both the Arctic and Antarctic. This further exacerbates the capability gap left by the deterioration of the icebreaker fleet.... The significant deterioration of the Coast Guard icebreaker fleet and the emerging mission demands to meet future functional requirements in the high latitude regions dictate that the Coast Guard acquire material solutions to close the capability gaps.... To meet the Coast Guard mission functional requirement, the Coast Guard icebreaking fleet must be capable of supporting the following missions: • Arctic North Patrol. Continuous multimission icebreaker presence in the Arctic. • Arctic West Science. Spring and summer science support in the Arctic. • Antarctic, McMurdo Station resupply. Planned deployment for break-in, supply ship escort, and science support. This mission, conducted in the Antarctic summer, also requires standby icebreaker support for backup in the event the primary vessel cannot complete the mission. • Thule Air Base Resupply and Polar Region Freedom of Navigation Transits. Provide vessel escort operations in support of the Military Sealift Command’s Operation Pacer Goose; then complete any Freedom of Navigation exercises in the region. In addition, the joint Naval Operations Concept establishes the following mission requirements: • Assured access and assertion of U.S. policy in the Polar Regions.

#### “Transportation” includes the military

Kim 9

(Brian, Wyle Laboratories, Inc., et al., “Guidebook on Preparing Airport Greenhouse Gas Emissions Inventories”, Airport Cooperative Research Program – Report 11, http://onlinepubs.trb.org/onlinepubs/acrp/acrp\_rpt\_011.pdf, JT+)

Transportation Sector: The transportation sector consists of private and public vehicles that move people and commodities. Included are automobiles, trucks, buses, motorcycles, railroads and railways (including streetcars), aircraft, ships, barges, and natural gas pipelines. Transportation Sector: Consists of private and public passenger and freight transportation, as well as government transportation, including military operations.

#### The plan would come from the “transportation and infrastructure” committee

Foreign Policy Blogs Network 11

December 7,“Congressional Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation holds hearing on icebreakers,” lexis, JT

The Congressional Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation, part of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, held a hearing on Thursday, December 1 on U.S. Coast Guard operations in the Arctic. The chief topic of concern was icebreakers. As I reported back in February, the U.S. will be without heavy icebreakers for at least two years.

#### Plan is part of “water transportation”

Musick 10

(Nathan, Microeconomic and Financial Studies Division – United States Congressional Budget Office, Public Spending on Transportation and Water Infrastructure, p. 48, www.census.gov/govs/www/classfunc87.html, ACC. 6-30-12, JT)

Water Transportation • Definition: Provision, construction, operation, maintenance, and support of public waterways and harbors, docks, wharves, and related marine terminal facilities and the regulation of the water transportation industry.

#### Ice-breakers are transportation infrastructure – they make water routes and remove obstacles to transit

Morgan 11

LT BENJAMIN MORGAN, Mobility and Ice Operation, U.S. Coast Guard, Office of Maritime Transportation Systems, Spring 2011

http://www.uscg.mil/proceedings/Spring2011/articles/39\_Morgan.pdf, “Domestic Icebreaking Operations,” Proceedings, ACC. 6-30-12, JT

While domestic icebreaking operations may fall among the Coast Guard’s less glamorous assignments, this mission is important for maritime mobility and supports our national transportation infrastructure. Operations include establishing and maintaining tracks (paths through the ice) in connecting waterways during the winter navigation season, escorting vessels to ensure their transit is not impeded by ice, freeing vessels that become beset, clearing/relieving ice jams, removing obstructions or hazards to navigation, and advising mariners of current ice and waterways conditions.

## T - ASPEC

#### CX checks abuse– you aren’t strategically disadvantaged because you haven’t made any arguments yet that we’ll link out of

#### No abuse – you still get politics and other generic CPs

#### Normal means – is debatable and it’s educational to debate it- not the same in every policy

#### Congress is the actor

O’Rourke 6/14

(Ronald, Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>,)

The issue for Congress is whether to approve, reject, or modify Coast Guard plans for sustaining and modernizing its polar icebreaking fleet. Congressional decisions on this issue could affect Coast Guard funding requirements, the Coast Guard’s ability to perform its polar missions, and the U.S. shipbuilding industrial base.

#### Fairness is non-unique – bigger squads, better backfiles

#### Err Aff on theory – the neg gets the block and CPs that suck up the 1AC – we need a break over structural advantages

#### Agent CPs are a voting issue –

**(a) Reciprocity – we only get the normal means actor – they should be held to the same standard**

**(b) Limits – there are an infinite number of ways the USFG could implement the plan**

**(c) Skews 2ac time – they focus the entire debate around 2 minutes of solvency**

## Contention 1 – Inherency/Solvency

#### The Coast Guard’s polar ice-breaker fleet is aging and insufficient – mission fulfillment requires new ships

Klimas 12

(Jacqueline, “Coast Guard asks to buy new Arctic icebreaker”, 3.24.12, <http://www.navytimes.com/news/2012/03/navy-coast-guard-arctic-ice-breaker-032412w/>, [CL])

The Defense Department will help bolster the Coast Guard’s presence in the Arctic, the commander of U.S. Northern Command told the Senate Armed Services Committee. Army Gen. Charles Jacoby and Coast Guard Commandant Adm. Bob Papp signed a white paper March 13 that addresses capability gaps in infrastructure, communications, domain awareness and presence in the Arctic. “Traffic has already increased over 61 percent in the Arctic since 2008,” Jacoby said at the March 13 hearing. “Security interests follow closely behind economic interests, and we will be participating in a number of venues to help lead that for the Department of Defense.” Rising global temperatures and melting sea ice are opening the Arctic as a new frontier for research, travel and oil drilling — and creating more area for the Coast Guard to patrol. To keep up, the Coast Guard is asking for $8 million in the fiscal 2013 budget to begin procurement of a new large icebreaker. Such a ship could cost $1 billion. Neither of the U.S.’s two heavy-duty Polar-class icebreakers is in service**.** The Polar Star is awaiting a $57 million upgrade set to be finished in December. Its sister ship, Polar Sea, has been docked in Seattle since 2010 with engine issues. The medium-duty polar icebreaker Healy is designed for research and cannot cut through the thickest ice. As countries like Russia and even China grow their icebreaker fleet, Sen. Mark Begich, D-Alaska, emphasized how critical it is for the U.S. to keep up. “We have to be a part of that,” he said. “It’s important that we not be under-asseted, and have enough equipment to do the work,” which could include oil and gas exploration. Simon Stephenson, the division director of Arctic sciences at the National Science Foundation, emphasized that Arctic research is important to the everyday life of people worldwide, not just in scientific circles. Researchers in the Arctic are looking at melting sea ice and changes in ocean circulation — things that can affect pressure systems and the entire global weather cycle. “By affecting pressure systems, you can affect the upper air circulation which drives our weather — in Europe, in the mid-Atlantic states, in China. All of these areas have seen changes in their weather patterns,” Stephenson said. Access to the Arctic has received broad support in Congress. While the purchase of a new icebreaker has been supported by both Alaska senators, senators including Joe Lieberman, I-Conn., and Maria Cantwell, D-Wash., say the acquisition of a new icebreaker is a national priority. “Icebreakers are of critical importance to America’s national security as well as our economic interests in the Arctic,” Cantwell said in a statement. “According to the Coast Guard’s own comprehensive analysis, **we need to invest in at least six new icebreakers to fulfill our nation’s icebreaking missions**.” The Coast Guard’s responsibilities in the Arctic include national security, protection of the environment, sustainable economic development of the area, cooperation with other nations with Arctic claims and involvement of the indigenous communities in decisions, according to Lt. Paul Rhynard, the service’s deputy chief of media relations. “The bottom line is that the Coast Guard has the same responsibilities in the Arctic as it does in the Gulf of Mexico or any other U.S. maritime region, yet the Arctic coast provides unique challenges, especially during the winter months, due to extreme conditions of severe weather, sea ice, extended periods of darkness and remoteness of the region,” Rhynard said in a statement. The $8 million request is less than 1 percent of the $860 million being asked for icebreaker acquisition in the Department of Homeland Security’s five-year budget projection. Begich pointed out that in the fiscal 2012 budget request, it was zero, so even this amount is an improvement. “It’s a small amount. I wish it was more, but just the fact to have it down and in their five-year plan shows their commitment to move forward,” he said.

#### Melting ice increases the need for ice-breakers – more Arctic activity means more risk

O’Rourke 12

(Ronald O’Rourke June 14, 2012. Specialist in Naval Affairs. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/weapons/RL34391.pdf>)

Although polar ice is diminishing due to climate change, observers generally expect that this development will not eliminate the need for U.S. polar icebreakers, and in some respects might increase mission demands for them. Even with the diminishment of polar ice, there are still significant ice-covered areas in the polar regions. Diminishment of polar ice could lead in coming years to increased commercial ship, cruise ship, and naval surface ship operations, as well as increased exploration for oil and other resources, in the Arctic—activities that could require increased levels of support from polar icebreakers.2 Changing ice conditions in Antarctic waters have made the McMurdo resupply mission more challenging since 2000.3 An April 18, 2011, press report states that the Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Robert Papp,

#### We need 6 heavy and 4 medium ice-breakers – Congress is putting investment on the backburner

AP 6/15

(Anchorage Daily News, “Reprieve for Seattle-based icebreaker Polar Sea, <http://www.adn.com/2012/06/15/2506330/reprieve-for-seattle-based-icebreaker.html>)

The Coast Guard has postponed plans to scrap the Seattle-based icebreaker Polar Sea this year. Coast Guard Commandant Admiral Robert Papp made the decision Thursday after meeting with Sens. Maria Cantwell of Washington and Mark Begich and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, the senators said Friday. "The Polar Sea's hull is still in sound condition," Cantwell said. "Postponing its scrapping allows the administration and Congress more time to consider all options for fulfilling the nation's critical icebreaking missions." The United States needs more icebreakers in the Arctic, the Alaska senators said. "While this may only be a six-month respite for the Polar Sea, I will use this period to work through my role on the Appropriations Committee to make America's icebreaking capacity a top priority," Murkowski said. The 399-foot Polar Sea is 35 years old and has been out of service since an engine failure in 2010. It had been scheduled to be dry-docked Monday for the first steps in demolition. Its 36-year-old sister ship, the Polar Star, has been on caretaker status since 2006 and undergoing a $57 million upgrade. The rehabbed Polar Star is expected to return to service next year. The United States currently has only one working icebreaker, the Healy. It was used last winter to escort a Russian tanker to Nome to make an emergency delivery after a fuel barge failed to arrive before the Bering Sea froze. The Healy is a medium-duty icebreaker designed to crush ice about 5 feet thick. The Polar Sea is designed to break through ice up to 21 feet thick. One Coast Guard study said the agency and the Navy need six heavy duty icebreakers and four medium icebreakers, the senators said. The reduction in Arctic ice has created more opportunities for Northwest Passage trade, fishing and oil exploration, as well as more environmental and security concerns. The icebreakers also travel to Antarctica to resupply McMurdo Station. The hull is the costliest part of an icebreaker to build, said Brian Baird, a former Washington congressman who is now vice president of Vigor Industrial, formerly Todd Shipyards, which repairs the icebreakers. Building a new icebreaker could take 10 years and cost more than $800 million, Baird told The Seattle Times.

#### Plan: The United States federal government should invest in the construction of six heavy duty icebreaker ships and four medium icebreaker ships.

#### Ten new ice-breakers is sufficient to fulfill the Coast Guard mission – plan is key to resolve debate over the mechanism

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

The current demand for this mission requires continuous icebreaker presence in both Polar Regions. Considering these missions, the analysis yields the following findings**: •** The Coast Guard requires three heavy and three medium icebreakers to fulfill its statutory missions. These icebreakers are necessary to (1) satisfy Arctic winter and transition season demands and (2) provide sufficient capacity to also execute summer missions. Single-crewed icebreakers have sufficient capacity for all current and expected statutory missions. Multiple crewing provides no advantage because the number of icebreakers required is driven by winter and shoulder season requirements. Future use of multiple or augmented crews could provide additional capacity needed to absorb mission growth**. •** The Coast Guard requires six heavy and four medium icebreakers to fulfill its statutory missions and maintain the continuous presence requirements of the Naval Operations Concept.Consistent with current practice, these icebreakers are single-crewed and homeported in Seattle Washington. • Applying crewing and home porting alternatives reduces the overall requirement to four heavy and two medium icebreakers. This assessment of non-material solutions shows that the reduced number of icebreakers can be achieved by having all vessels operate with multiple crews and two of the heavy icebreakers homeporting in the Southern Hemisphere. Leasing was also considered as a nonmaterial solution. While there is no dispute that the Coast Guard’s polar icebreaker fleet is in need of recapitalization, the decision to acquire this capability through purchase of new vessels, reconstruction of existing ships, or commercial lease of suitable vessels must be resolved to provide the best value to the taxpayer.

## **Adv - Research**

#### The aging US fleet of icebreakers threatens the sustainability of Antarctic research – McMurdo and South Station

Morello 11

(Lauren, “US Polar Research May Slow for Lack of an Icebreaker”, <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=us-polar-research-may-slow-lack-icebreaker>, 7.28.11, [CL])

Have a spare polar icebreaker lying around? The National Science Foundation would like to hear from you. The agency is scrambling to secure a ship to lead its annual resupply convoy to McMurdo Station, the largest of the three U.S. research stations in Antarctica. For the past five years, NSF has relied on a Swedish ship, the Oden, to break a channel in the ice for ships carrying fuel and cargo to McMurdo. But the Swedish Maritime Administration, which owns the Oden, declined to renew its contract with NSF this year. The Swedes want to keep their icebreaker closer to home after heavy ice in the Baltic Sea stranded ships and scrambled cargo traffic there last winter. If the NSF can't find a replacement icebreaker to lead the journey -- scheduled to begin in early December and reach McMurdo in late January -- this year's Antarctic research season could be cut short. "We are trying to work really diligently to identify alternatives," said NSF spokeswoman Debbie Wing. "It could impact the research season if we can't resupply for researchers to head down there." McMurdo was once serviced by U.S. icebreakers, but the country's fleet has dwindled to just one operational vessel, the research ship Healy. It's in the middle of a seven-month science cruise in the Arctic Ocean. NSF has asked the Coast Guard, which operates the Healy, to send the ship south to Antarctica this winter, Coast Guard Commandant Adm. Robert Papp Jr. told a Senate committee yesterday. "We've gotten an inquiry at the staff level about the possibility of breaking out McMurdo," Papp said. "Sweden has decided that their national interests need [the Oden], so that ship is not available." Slim chance of response from aging U.S. fleet Now the Coast Guard must decide whether it can spare the Healy, which would mean going without a U.S. icebreaker in the Arctic for several months. A second U.S. icebreaker, the Polar Star, is being repaired in Seattle, but Papp said there's no chance it would be seaworthy in time to service Antarctica or provide coverage in the Arctic if the Healy heads south. A third icebreaker, the Polar Sea, is sitting in dry dock, and the Coast Guard plans to decommission it later this year. "We're in what we call a strenuous chase right now trying to catch up," Papp told lawmakers, **describing the aging U.S. icebreaking fleet.** Meanwhile, NSF spokeswoman Wing said it's not clear how the Antarctic's summer research season -- which runs from November to February -- would be affected if her agency can't find a replacement for the Oden. An email from the contractor that operates NSF's three Antarctic stations suggests that the biggest challenge would be finding a way to transport fuel to McMurdo. The station, whose population swells from about 150 in winter to 1,000 each summer, is also a supply hub for the U.S. base at the South Pole, Amundsen-Scott. (A third U.S. research base, Palmer Station, is serviced by an ice-strengthened research vessel, the Lawrence M. Gould.) "If an icebreaker is not available to clear a channel in the sea ice, fuel and cargo resupply ships may not be able to reach McMurdo Station," reads the email from Raytheon Polar Services. "We could possibly airlift enough cargo to maintain most operations, but fuel is another story. Fuel is critical for the McMurdo and South Pole station power and water plants, flight operations, field camps, and even support of other national programs. We will need to plan in order to reserve enough fuel to last until late January 2013, which could be the earliest that we could re-supply fuel, if there is not an icebreaker this season."

#### Inability to resupply Arctic research bases collapses the Antarctic Treaty System and causes a scramble for control

TNAP 7

(The National Academies Press, National Advisers in Science, “Polar Icebreakers in a Changing World: An Assessment of U.S. Needs” 2007, Online [HT])

Until recently, the two Polar class icebreakers (sometimes together and sometimes separately depending on ice conditions) were used to break open a channel for resupply.[4](http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=11753&page=23#p2001196a8960023001) However, more challenging ice conditions and the deteriorating status of the Polar class ships now adds uncertainty and risk of failure to the operation. The National Science Foundation (NSF) is concerned that the lack of reliable icebreaking support may make it increasingly difficult to maintain the permanent stations and associated science programs. Investigations of alternate logistics plans by NSF (discussed in [chapter 8](http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=11753&page=75#p2001196a9970075001)) have reaffirmed that icebreaker support is necessary to the Antarctic resupply chain for now and in the foreseeable future. According to a representative of the Department of State assigned to Antarctic issues, if resupply of South Pole Station is not successful and the station were abandoned, this would jeopardize, and probably reduce, the influence of the United States in Antarctic governance. There would be significant consequences because abandonment of that key site would create a vacuum in leadership and likely result in a scramble for control. Abandoning it would be detrimental to the U.S. position as well as to the stability of the treaty system. To preserve the U.S. presence in Antarctica and hence its influential role in the Antarctic Treaty, it is paramount to maintain the three permanent research stations and their associated active research programs throughout the Antarctic continent. Icebreaker operations are critical to the continued existence of these stations and their associated outlying field sites.

#### ATS Collapse breaks down the backbone that structures research sciences in the Antarctic

Dastidar and Persson 5

(Prabir G. Dastidar, Department of Ocean Development in New Delhi, and Olle Persson, Umea University Department of Sociology, “Mapping the global structure of Antarctic research vis-à-vis Antarctic Treaty System” IAS, Current Science Volume 89 Number 9, 11-10-2005, Online [HT])

ANTARCTICA is a continent of science and peace, a common heritage of mankind. This fifth largest continent is governed by a set of guiding principles, the Antarctica Treaty System (ATS) 1 . The ATS is the basic instrument for managing the activities in this icy continent. Conducting science is occupying a central place in ATS. Currently, there are 45 treaty member nations: 28 consultative (voting) and 17 acceding states. This icy, coldest and windiest continent is covered with a sheet of ice with more than 2 km average thickness (4.7 km at its thickest point). Locked up in thick ice sheet is a record of past climate for the last 500,000 years. Antarctica provides an ideal setting for conducting frontier science (Figure 1). It has a scanty flora, but a rich fauna, including many species of fish, birds and mammals. It has no permanent human population. Today, there are 37 year-round research stations, run by 20 nations, operating in the continent. Belgium, The Netherlands, Ecuador, etc. (Consultavive Parties) do not have any permanent bases, but instead use the infrastructure of other nations in collaborative efforts. In this paper we have attempted to visualize the structure of science that is being pursued by the countries in the framework of the ATS. Materials and methods Title search on ‘Antarc\*’ retrieved 10,287 papers from SCI database (CD-Rom), published in 934 journals during the last 24 years (1980 through 2003). These papers formed the basis of our analysis. To bring uniformity in country names, Fed Rep Ger and Ger Dem Rep were merged into Germany, while the USSR was merged into Russia. Bibexcel algorithm 2 was used to derive citations between countries and joint authorship papers. Most productive 35 countries were considered for constructing the network map. Multidimensional scaling technique was used to map the collaboration structure among the countries. The size of the circles is proportional to the size of productivity, while lines between the countries indicate collaboration links and widths indicate size of the frequency. Bonacich power centrality 3 is used to indicate the position of the countries in the network. Results The interest about Antarctica is on the rise, as evident from the increasing number of articles published in the peer-reviewed journals; fishing and tourism in this continent is getting popular. There is a distinct upward trend in the number of publications over the years; the year 2002 saw a rise to 735 papers against a meagre 169 in 1980. 60% (fraction count) output in Antarctic science is generated by four countries, viz. USA, UK, Australia and Germany. USA accounts for a third of the papers. The international papers are also on the rise, signifying increasing number of multinational projects in the field (Figure 2). The new Concordia station, jointly managed by Italy and France is a unique collaborative venture. It appears that the location of the station is ideal for making accurate astronomical observations. Their research endeavour is aimed to contribute to space exploration in the future. This collaboration trend will add a new dimension to the annals of ATS and Antarctic science. The network map of countries, occupying a central position in Antarctic science. Top 20 countries except Canada are consultative parties. Non-consultative parties like Canada, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and the Czech Republic showed their substantial interest in Antarctic science as evident through their productivity. Although countries like Ireland, Israel, Taiwan, etc., have not ratified ATS, they have continuously exercised their interest in Antarctic science and producing noticeable outputs. On the other hand, consultative parties like Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay did not show much evidence of scientific activity. Citation behaviour of the countries To map the preferences of the countries in citing other countries, a country-to-country citation matrix was created; from that matrix the sum of citations given and received was calculated (Table 1). Interestingly enough, we see that there is no clear cut Matthew effect 4 at work here, since small producers like Norway and Denmark appear among the winners in this citing game by receiving more citations than they give. However, time is at work here, and the winners appear to have been longer in the game. Conclusion The present analysis throws light on the research structure of Antarctic science that is being practised by the nations under the ATS. Bibliometric analysis of Antarctic science on a regular basis will help visualize the functioning of the ATS, where science is occupying a central place

### Impact - Species

#### Collapse of Antarctic science would leave a vacuum on the continent – it would get filled by drilling operations. The impact is irreversible data loss and wildlife death.

Floren 1

(David W. Floren, Associate Attorney @ Robert B. Jacobs Attorney Firm, Former J.D. candidate, Class of 2002, University of Oregon School of Law; B.A., Political Science, 1992, University of California, San Diego, “Antarctic Mining Regimes: An Appreciation of the Attainable” 2001 University of Oregon Journal of Environmental Law and Litigation, Fall 2001, 16 J. Envtl. L. & Litig. 467, Online @ L/N Law, Online [HT])

Harm to the quality of scientific research is another major source of concern. Scientists generally agree that the presence of rigs and drilling equipment, with storage facilities and all of the necessary logistical equipment, would damage the quality of the water, ice, and small strips of land on which so much life depends. [n73](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n73) The sheer scale of productive mining operations, assuming no accidents whatsoever, would be an annoying distraction for most scientists trying to do their fieldwork. The persistence of other forms of pollution (e.g., simple garbage, the most manageable pollutant) is remarkable. Old rubbish stays on the ice. [n74](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n74) As one observer put it, "What is the purpose of regulating waste disposal at a small scientific base if the shore installations for mining are to have an impact many times greater?" [n75](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n75) Waste disposal and waste management in Antarctica are now somewhat successfully governed by Annex III to the Madrid Protocol. [n76](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n76) The science of paleometeorology uses Antarctic ice cores for the [\*479] measurement of air quality of ages past. [n77](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n77) Any undue melting of the ice sheet could result in the irretrievable loss of vital data for entire blocks of global time. A third most-commonly voiced concern is the impact on Antarctic fauna and flora. Mining operations would cause severe damage along the sliver of shoreline where so much of Antarctic life gathers. Again, the vast scale of mineral operations, the logistics, the spread of infrastructure, bulk transport, and the like would have, at the very least, lasting and local impacts. [n78](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n78) Mobile oil rigs would depend on aircraft for support. Aircraft have been shown to cause disruptions of wildlife, thus minimum flight altitudes have been suggested. [n79](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n79) The impacts of mining activities in cold climates have been shown to be more significant than most corporate information officers are willing to suggest. [n80](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n80) Some scholars are less worried about the seriousness of these consequences. Joseph Ward focuses on the issue of oil spills. "Oil contamination of Antarctic waters currently occurs infrequently." [n81](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n81)Aside from the problem of bilge dumping from icebreakers, the relative purity of the Antarctic waters is a product of the fact that no oil production activity is happening. Ward suggests that oil pollution is not as bad as other forms of ocean pollution. He goes on to conclude that some animals are benefited by the presence of oil slicks in the water. [n82](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n82) "Small spills are unlikely to permanently impact overall populations." [n83](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n83) In [\*480] Ward's defense he does mention how the problem of well blowouts becomes magnified by the unique features of the Antarctic environment. A blowout occurs when oil erupts from a well site in an uncontrolled and continuous fashion, resulting from miscalculation or equipment failure. Because of the thickness of the icecap, were a blowout to occur during the winter months, it would be virtually impossible to close or "to drill relief wells for as long as six months." [n84](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n84) The major petroleum corporations are undaunted by these challenges. Some, like British Petroleum, have "gone green" by integrating the latest environmental protection measures in the mining process.[n85](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n85) This is largely due to the incentives and coercive force of public interest legislation. This drama is currently being played out in the Arctic regions. [n86](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n86) Lessons for Antarctica will surely be drawn from the impending exploitation of Arctic and Alaskan natural gas. [n87](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n87) Our human fallibility ensures mishaps. In the dark, cold, and usually miserable environs of Antarctica, mistakes are made more easily. "Long periods without sunlight are known to cause cabin fever and severe depression, as well as alcohol and drug abuse." [n88](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n88)

#### That threatens multiple unique species – keystone

Floren 1

(David W. Floren, Associate Attorney @ Robert B. Jacobs Attorney Firm, Former J.D. candidate, Class of 2002, University of Oregon School of Law; B.A., Political Science, 1992, University of California, San Diego, “Antarctic Mining Regimes: An Appreciation of the Attainable” 2001 University of Oregon Journal of Environmental Law and Litigation, Fall 2001, 16 J. Envtl. L. & Litig. 467, Online @ L/N Law, Online [HT])

The waters inside the Antarctic Confluence are extraordinarily rich in sealife, but a recent surge in the discovery of new species has redefined the area as an evolutionary cauldron. [n262](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n262) Extreme conditions seem to have produced an array of niche species, such as albino fish which have evolved to survive in the frigid conditions by going without red blood cells. [n263](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n263) Very recently, biologists have discovered "what appears to be an evolutionary explosion that has generated an impressive array of cold fish." [n264](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n264) Many of these fish have developed an "antifreeze" protein without which they would turn into blocks of ice within minutes in the near-freezing water. [n265](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n265) Biodiversity is thought to be essential to all species survival, but the relationship between diversity and ecological processes such as productivity is far from simplistic. [n266](http://www.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.baylor.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1313460896789&returnToKey=20_T12536095386&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.410991.5442629779" \l "n266) The consequences of single species depletion or extinction are not fully known.

#### Migrating Species Magnifies the Internal Link

UNEP 10

(United Natins Environment Program, Johnsen, K. Alfthan, B. Hislop, L. Skaalvik, J. F. (Editors), “Protecting Arctic Biodiversity: Limitations and Strengths of Environental Agreements” UNEP Grid Arendal, 2010, Online [HT])

The Arctic contribution to global biodiversity is significant. Although the Arctic has relatively few species compared to areas such as the tropics, the region is recognised for its genetic diversity, reflecting the many ways in which species have adapted to extreme environment2. Hundreds of migrating species (including 279 species of birds, and the grey and humpback whales) travel long distances each year in order to take advantage of the short but productive Arctic summers2.

#### Biodiversity loss guarantees multiple scenarios for extinction, including nuclear war

Takacs 96

Environmental Humanities Prof @ CSU Monteray Bay, 1996 (David, “The Idea of Biodiversity: Philosophies of Paradise” pg. 200-201)

So biodiversity keeps the world running. It has value and of itself, as well as for us. Raven, Erwin, and Wilson oblige us to think about the value of biodiversity for our own lives. The Ehrlichs’ rivet-popper trope makes this same point; by eliminating rivets, we play Russian roulette with global ecology and human futures: “It is likely that destruction of the rich complex of species in the Amazon basin could trigger rapid changes in global climate patterns.  Agriculture remains heavily dependent on stable climate, and human beings remain heavily dependent on food. By the end of the century the extinction of perhaps a million species in the Amazon basin could have entrained famines in which a billion human beings perished. And if our species is very unlucky, the famines could lead to a thermonuclear war, which could extinguish civilization.” 13 Elsewhere Ehrlich uses different particulars with no less drama: What then will happen if the current decimation of organic diversity continues? Crop yields will be more difficult to maintain in the face of climatic change, soil erosion, loss of dependable water supplies, decline of pollinators, and ever more serious assaults by pests. Conversion of productive land to wasteland will accelerate; deserts will continue their seemingly inexorable expansion. Air pollution will increase, and local climates will become harsher. Humanity will have to forgo many of the direct economic benefits it might have withdrawn from Earth's well­stocked genetic library. It might, for example, miss out on a cure for cancer; but that will make little difference. As ecosystem services falter, mortality from respiratory and epidemic disease, natural disasters, and especially famine will lower life expectancies to the point where can­cer (largely a disease of the elderly) will be unimportant. Humanity will bring upon itself consequences depressingly similar to those expected from a nuclear winter. Barring a nuclear conflict, it appears that civili­zation will disappear some time before the end of the next century - not with a bang but a whimper.14

### Impact – Science Diplomacy

#### Specifically – icebreaker cooperation is a key catalyst for science diplomacy. Without the ATS, the WHOLE framework for scientific cooperation collapses – US presence in South Pole station is a key modeling point. The impact is earth science cooperation.

Erb 10

(Karl A., Director of the Office of Polar Programs, “International Collaboration in the Antarctic for Global Science”, pg. 1-6, [CL])

The Antarctic Treaty did not invent international science, but its provisions have fostered international science in powerful ways. During the Cold War in the 1950s and later, the United States and the Soviet Union exchanged scientists in the Antarctic. At first they simply traded personnel. But international projects now involve detailed planning, shared logistics, and interactive science. In 1981 **the Soviet icebreaker Mikhail Somov was the research platform for 13 Soviet scientists and 13 U.S. scientists**. The ship went far into ice-infested regions of the Weddell Sea, the first deep penetration since Shackleton’s famous voyage on Endurance in 1915–1916. The result was the first comprehensive data set obtained in winter sea ice. A decade later, the Russian icebreaker Akademik Federov and the U.S. icebreaker Nathaniel B. Palmer collaborated in the same region to establish a drifting camp on the sea ice. Seventeen American and 15 Russian scientists collected data for four months regarding the Weddell Gyre, which is a key constituent of the global climate system, sending cold, dense Antarctic waters throughout the world’s ocean. The Soviet Union transformed itself into the Russian Federation while the ship was deployed, but the Antarctic research was completed as planned. Experience and the ever-present Antarctic Treaty gave its member nations the confidence to do complex international projects like these, requiring the full commitment of each partner for project success. The achievements for science are irrefutable. As the number of Treaty Consultative Parties roughly doubled from the original 12 to 28 nations, Dastidar and Ramachandran (2008) showed that published international Antarctic papers with coauthors from two or more nations increased from 15 papers in 1980 to 190 international papers in 2004 (Figure 1). This accomplishment is significantly greater than for world science as a whole. The bibliographic record also shows that other scientists cite the international papers more than they cite the single-nation papers, proof that international cooperation increases the progress of science and enables research that otherwise would be expensive or infeasible. INTERNATIONAL POLAR YEAR PROGRESS In the years since 2004, my counterparts heading Antarctic programs in the other treaty nations will likely agree that the recently concluded field phase of the International Polar Year of 2007–2008 is resulting in dramatic advances in understanding this important part of the world. The rise in polar climate papers has been particularly steep. Countries are working together to describe current and potential future events impacting the Antarctic ice sheet. Only through such a broad effort involving China, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and other countries can we hope to reduce uncertainties in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) estimates of long-term global sea level rise. The goal is to determine the rates of loss of ice from the main drainage basins (Figure 2) and how the rates depend on bed lubrication, topography, and ocean temperature. The Antarctica’s Gamburtsev Province (AGAP) project is an IPY effort involving the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, Germany, China, and Australia that discovered river valleys in the Gamburtsev Mountains under the Antarctic ice sheet. This is the location of the first Antarctic ice sheet (~34 mya) and thus represents potentially very old ice and a tectonic enigma. The effort gave us a first detailed look at what that part of the continent, as big as the Alps, might have been like before it was covered in ice. This project involved close international collaboration in science, technology, and logistics. An IPY signature project, the Larsen Ice Shelf System, Antarctica (LARISSA; Figure 3), is a collaboration by Argentina, Belgium, South Korea, Ukraine, and the United States to study a regional problem with global change implications. The abrupt environmental change in Antarctica’s Larsen Ice Shelf system was investigated using marine and Quaternary geosciences, cryosphere and ocean studies, and research into marine ecosystems. In an example of IPY’s education and legacy roles, a two-week course in the United States in July 2010 under the auspices of the Australia-based International Antarctic Institute used recently acquired marine data, sediment cores, and imagery. Twenty-eight countries are collaborating in the Polar Earth Observing Network (POLENET) to map uplift of the Antarctic crust resulting from a decreased mass of the FIGURE 2. covering ice sheet. Data from new GPS and seismic stations spanning much of the Antarctic and Greenland ice sheets are used to model how much ice was lost over the 10,000 years since the last major ice age. These data, taken with information gathered by satellites, help in determining where, and at what rate, the ice sheets are changing in response to recent climate change. The measurements are critical in refining estimates of future global sea level rise. The collaborations have led to new technology for continuous measurement at autonomous observatories operating in polar conditions and have provided a legacy framework for ongoing international geophysical observations. Thirteen countries are participating in the International Trans-Antarctic Scientific Expedition (ITASE), which is collecting ice core samples that provide signatures of how constituents of the atmosphere have changed since the beginning of the industrial revolution. The ITASE is an existing project (begun in 1990) that matches IPY goals and that flourished during the IPY period. Like the ice sheet drainage collaborations shown in Figure 2, ITASE has tended to distribute its goals geographically among the involved nations. A workshop identified tasks for national participants, and the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR) Global Change Program provides coordination. Germany, Italy, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States contributed to the Antarctic Geological Drilling Program (ANDRILL) and obtained deep sediment cores from the sea bed that show Earth’s climate 15–30 mya. These paleoclimate perspectives increase **confidence in the ability to predict future change.** Using the McMurdo Ice Shelf as a drilling platform, the project found new evidence that even a slight rise in atmospheric carbon dioxide affects the stability of the West Antarctic Ice Sheet. France and the United States combined their capabilities in the Concordiasi project to develop a new way of measuring the constituents of the atmosphere, layer by layer, from top to bottom with new instruments that are dropped from long-duration stratospheric superpressure balloons deployed from McMurdo. Their data are coupled with surface observations at a number of Antarctic locations. This Concordiasi project is intended to reduce uncertainties in aspects of climate change that could change the mass balance of the Antarctic ice sheet. Figure 4 shows an instrument (dropsonde) launched on demand under a parachute to measure atmospheric parameters on the way down over Antarctica. In biology a major impetus has been provided to marine scientists by the Census of Antarctic Marine Life (CAML). The Southern Ocean is around 10% of the world’s oceans, and together with the Arctic Ocean, it is the least studied. It is a major carbon sink, and one of the globe’s major ecosystems. This five-year CAML program involved 27 cruises on research vessels from the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, Russia, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Peru, and Japan searching both the seafloor and the water column for new species, of which hundreds have already been identified. These multinational research programs are conceived through a variety of mechanisms that include scientific workshops, meetings convened under science and technology agreements between and among nations, and, increasingly, electronic access to data of common interest. For over 50 years SCAR has provided a broadly international forum for identifying and building on common interests among scientists and building collaborations and plans for achieving them. Its major new programs on Antarctic climate evolution, biodiversity, subglacial lakes, and solar-terrestrial physics now involve more than 30 nations. INFRASTRUCTURE AND LOGISTICS Implementing these multinational projects is possible only because nations share access to their national infrastructures and logistics in Antarctica. The Council of Managers of National Antarctic Programs (COMNAP), which brings operational expertise to bear in all aspects of Antarctic support, is of particular importance in facilitating the range of logistic support needed in Antarctica to carry out these studies in a safe and environmentally responsible manner. The COMNAP members work closely with each other, with other governmental agencies in their nations, and with SCAR to match international logistic infrastructure to the needs of these international science collaborations. The following are just a few examples of shared infrastructure: • the French-Italian station at Dome C that hosts, among many other projects, a significant portion of the Concordiasi project; • the Airbus A319 that is operated by the Australian Antarctic Program as an important component of the logistics pool, as are the wheeled and ski-equipped C-130s that New Zealand and the United States operate; and • the Swedish icebreaker Oden that hosts joint U.S.-Swedish research in the Southern Ocean and opens the channel through the sea ice that enables annual resupply of the U.S. research stations at McMurdo and the South Pole. **The flags of the 12 nations that brought the Antarctic Treaty into being are proudly arranged in front of the new Amundsen-Scott South Pole Station of the U.S. Antarctic Program** that was dedicated in 2009 (Figure 5). This station hosts researchers from around the world in the tradition of partnership that so characterizes Antarctica. Clearly, Antarctica, with its unique treaty and its long heritage of scientific research, **remains a model of international cooperation,** one with lessons for international science everywhere. SUMMARY Research at the frontier of science certainly can be performed and organized solely by individual scientists in two or more nations. But when complicated logistics partnerships are required, as are needed in supporting research in the huge and distant Antarctic, the legal framework provided by **the Antarctic Treaty** and the intellectual framework provided by the International Polar Year **enable partnerships to develop and flourish** over the several years required for planning, fieldwork, and follow-through in laboratories back home. The scientific value of the Antarctic will continue to increase as its role in Earth system science is more fully realized, and it is **only through international collaboration** that many of these pressing questions will be answered.

#### Science diplomacy is key to the success of international non-proliferation

Dickson 10

(David, Director, SciDev.Net, 7 May 2010, “Nuclear disarmament is top priority for science diplomacy”, http://www.scidev.net/en/editorials/nuclear-disarmament-is-top-priority-for-science-diplomacy.html, 7/28/10, atl)

The political climate is ripe for a newpushto eliminate nuclear weapons; scientists can boostits chance ofsuccess**.** Earlier this year, US satellites detected the first plume of steam from a nuclear reactor in Pakistan that has been built to produce fuel for nuclear bombs, confirming the country's desire to strengthen its status as a nuclear power. The observation — coming shortly before this month's review conference in New York of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) — is further evidence that **the unregulated spread of nuclear technology remains closely linked to the dangers of nuclear conflict.** The good news is that US President Barack Obama seems determined to make eliminating nuclear weapons a top priority. Indeed, last month he invited 47 heads of state to an unprecedented summit in Washington to promote disarmament and agree strategies to prevent nuclear terrorism and safeguard nuclear material. But the news from Pakistan, together with continued disagreement on how best to tackle other emerging nuclear states such as Iran and North Korea, illustrates how far there is to go — and the political hurdles that must still be scaled — before this goal is achieved. New hope Still, there is a sense of optimism for this year's review conference that was missing from the last meeting in 2005. Then, the aggressive stance taken by the Bush administration — describing North Korea as part of an "axis of evil", for example — doomed the discussions to stalemate. This time round, the prospects for agreement are significantly higher. Not only has Obama adopted a more moderate attitude towards international affairs in general, but he has already made significant achievements on the nuclear front. Last month, for example, Russia and the United States announced an arms control agreement under which both will significantly reduce their nuclear arsenals. And since then, Obama has revised his nuclear policy to state, for the first time, that non-nuclear states that have signed the NPT will never be targets of US nuclear weapons. Both agreements could have gone further. Some in Obama's administration wanted him to take the further step of banning the use of nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear threat or attack. And despite the new cuts, both Russia and the United States will still own enough nuclear weapons to destroy human life many times over. But the recent moves have nonetheless created a political climate in which significant agreement, at least between nuclear weapons states, looks more realistic than it did five years ago. There are even signs that the United States could eventually ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the next major step towards global nuclear disarmament. Need for vigilance The reasons for optimism are not restricted to the shift in the US position. Equally influential has been a growing awareness within the developed and developing worlds of the threats of nuclear terrorism and the need to improve protection of nuclear materials. Eighteen months ago, for example, an armed group was caught breaking into a nuclear facility in South Africa in an apparent attempt to steal weapons-grade uranium that has been stored at the site since the early 1990s, under international supervision. The incident provides a stark reminder of the need for continued and effective vigilance. This need will increase as more developing countries turn towards nuclear power as a source of affordable energy — a trend that will be reinforced by international efforts to promote renewable energy as a strategy for tackling climate change. But the danger is that US-led initiatives will, with some justification, be seen as little more than attempts to defend American interests, influenced as much by political relationships as by a genuine desire for nuclear disarmament. For example, the nuclear cooperation deal between the United States and India that entered force in 2008 has been cited by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as an example of putting diplomatic and commercial interests ahead of non-proliferation responsibilities and was criticised for exacerbating nuclear tensions in South Asia. Scientists, diplomats or both? **The only solution is** for the developing world **to accept that international nuclear non-proliferation is in its own interests —** the only way **to prevent regional conflicts escalating into nuclear exchanges**. The scientific community has an important role to play in this process by explaining the threat posed by even relatively small nuclear weapons, and advising on how to develop safeguards without overly restricting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Scientists have already shown their worth when they kept communication channels open between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs were instrumental to such 'science diplomacy' and it can be no coincidence that the approach is rapidly gaining favour in Washington, where John Holdren, who once headed Pugwash, is Obama's science and technology advisor. If such diplomacy, on the control of nuclear weapons or other scientific issues, is driven by the political and commercial interests of the developed world, it will remain suspect and doomed to fail. But if it can be truly international, the chances of success are much higher. Reaching a global agreement on the steps needed to eliminate nuclear weapons from the world would be a good place to start.

#### Proliferation results in extinction

Cohn 9

(William, 09 Lecturer law, ethics and logic at the University of New York in Prague, May 19, http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article22655.htm)

More nations have acquired these weapons. Testing has continued. Black market trade in nuclear secrets and nuclear materials abound. The technology to build the bomb has spread.” Harvard political scientist Graham Allison’s Newsweek cover story (“Stopping the Ultimate Attack,” March 23, 2009) highlights the danger of nuclear terror and calls for a revitalization of the concept of deterrence. Allison, author of Nuclear Terrorism: the Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe and Nuclear Proliferation: Risk and Responsibility, surely recognizes that the best deterrence is the abolition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear theorists and strategists should heed the call of former Pentagon chief Robert McNamara, who in 2003 acknowledged “it was luck that prevented nuclear war” and catastrophe in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. Luck may not save us next time. Nuclear threats now include: Al-Qaeda, the Taliban or other religious extremists getting nukes; India and Pakistan having the Bomb, with their bloody history and Kashmir dispute; a nuclear arms race in the Middle East, with numerous doomsday scenarios; more states pursuing civilian nuclear technology as a source of ‘clean energy’ (but what do we do with the radioactive waste?) leading to bomb-building; accidents like the recent collision of French and British nuclear submarines; misuse of the bloated nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union where poor safeguards, political instability and corruption have given rise to a booming black market trade in nuclear materials; nukes in the hands of one of many militant separatist groups; Iran’s firebrand leader running a reelection campaign on nuclear nationalism; and, North Korea led by a lunatic who, impotent to meet the needs of his people, snubs cooperation at every opportunity, and whose only political capital is playing the international pariah. The scenarios for atomic annihilation are many, and growing. The prospect of atomic annihilation increases daily as black market trade in nuclear weapons material and technology expands. Today, nuclear smuggler A.Q. Khan runs his own website from Pakistan. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director and 2005 Nobel Peace Prize winner Mohamed ElBaradei calls Khan’s nuclear distribution network the “Wal-Mart of private-sector proliferation.”

#### International science diplomacy key to international solutions to warming

Hulme and Mahony 10

[Mike and Martin, School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia, “Climate change: what do we know about the IPCC?”, <http://mikehulme.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Hulme-Mahony-PiPG.pdf>]

**The consequences of** this ‘**geography** of IPCC **expertise’ are significant, affecting** the construction of IPCC emissions scenarios (Parikh, 1992), the framing and shaping of climate change knowledge (Shackley, 1997; Lahsen, 2007; O’Neill et al., 2010) and **the legitimacy of** the **knowledge assessments** themselves (Elzinga, 1996; Weingart, 1999; Lahsen, 2004; Grundmann, 2007; Mayer & Arndt, 2009; Beck, 2010). As Bert Bolin, the then chairmen of the IPCC remarked back in 1991: “Right now, **many countries,** especially developing countries, simply **do not trust assessments in which their scientists** and policymakers **have not participated.** Don’t you think **credibility demands global representation?”** (cited in Schneider, 1991). Subsequent evidence for such suspicions has come from many quarters (e.g. Karlsson *et al.,* 2007) and Kandlikar and Sagar concluded their 1999 study of the North-South knowledge divide by arguing, “... it must be recognised that a fair and **effective climate protection** regime that **requires cooperation with developing countries, will also require their participation in the underlying research, analysis and assessment**” (p.137). This critique is also voiced more recently by Myanna Lahsen (2004) in her study of Brazil and the climate change regime: “Brazilian climate scientists reflect some distrust of ... the IPCC, which they describe as dominated by Northern framings of the problems and therefore biased against interpretations and interest of the South” (p.161).

#### Global warming leads to extinction

Henderson 06

(Bill 19 August, 2006 Runaway Global Warming - Denial Countercurrents.org <http://www.countercurrents.org/cc-henderson190806.htm>**)**

The scientific debate about human induced global warming is over but policy makers - let alone the happily shopping general public - still seem to not understand the scope of the impending tragedy. Global warming isn't just warmer temperatures, heat waves, melting ice and threatened polar bears. **Scientific understanding increasingly points to runaway global warming leading to human extinction**. If impossibly Draconian security measures are not immediately put in place to keep further emissions of greenhouse gases out of the atmosphere we are looking at the death of billions, the end of civilization as we know it and in all probability the end of man's several million year old existence, along with the extinction of most flora and fauna beloved to man in the world we share. Runaway global warming: **there are 'carbon bombs':** carbon in soils, carbon in warming temperate and boreal forests and in a drought struck Amazon, **methane in Arctic peat bogs** and in methane hydrates melting in warming ocean waters. For several decades it has been hypothesized that rising temperatures from increased greenhouse gases in the atmosphere due to burning fossil fuels could be releasing some of and eventually all of these stored carbon stocks to add substantually more potent greenhouse gases to the atmosphere.. Given time lags of 30-50 years, we might have already put enough extra greenhouse gases into the atmosphere to have crossed a threshold to these bombs exploding, their **released greenhouse gases leading to ever accelerating global warming with** future global **temperatures** maybe **tens of degrees higher than** our norms of **human habitation and** therefore **extinction** or very near extinction of humanity.

#### Science diplomacy is key to the War on Terror – it fosters development that weakens the impetus and secures loose WMDs

Federoff 8

(Nina, prof @ Penn State, Science and Tech adviser to sec of state in the Obama Admin. “TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE SCIENCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON RESEARCH AND SCIENCE EDUCATION” April 2. http://gop.science.house.gov/Media/Hearings/research08/April2/fedoroff.pdf) JM

An essential part of the war on terrorism is a war of ideas. The creation of economic opportunity can do much more to combat the rise of fanaticism than can any weapon. The war of ideas is a war about rationalism as opposed to irrationalism. Science and technology put us firmly on the side of rationalism by providing ideas and opportunities that improve people’s lives. We may use the recognition and the goodwill that science still generates for the United States to achieve our diplomatic and developmental goals. Additionally, the Department continues to use science as a means to reduce the proliferation of the weapons’ of mass destruction and prevent what has been dubbed ‘brain drain’. Through cooperative threat reduction activities, former weapons scientists redirect their skills to participate in peaceful, collaborative international research in a large variety of scientific fields. In addition, new global efforts focus on improving biological, chemical, and nuclear security by promoting and implementing best scientific practices as a means to enhance security, increase global partnerships, and create sustainability.

#### Terrorism risks extinction

Kirkus Reviews 99

(Book Review on “The New Terrorism: Fanatiscism and the Arms of Mass Destruction”, http://www.amazon.com/New-Terrorism-Fanaticism-Arms-Destruction/dp/product-description/0195118162)

Today two things have changed that together transform terrorism from a ``nuisance'' to ``one of the gravest dangers facing mankind.'' First terroristsbe they Islamic extremists in the Middle East, ultranationalists in the US, or any number of other possible permutationsseem to have changed from organized groups with clear ideological motives to small clusters of the paranoid and hateful bent on vengeance and destruction for their own sake. There are no longer any moral limitations on what terrorists are willing to do, who and how many they are willing to kill. Second, these unhinged collectivities now have ready access to weapons of mass destruction. The technological skills are not that complex and the resources needed not too rare for terrorists to employ nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons where and when they wish. The consequences of such weapons in the hands of ruthless, rootless fanatics are not difficult to imagine. In addition to the destruction of countless lives, panic can grip any targeted society, unleashing retaliatory action which in turn can lead to conflagrations perhaps on a world scale. To combat such terrorist activities, states may come to rely more and more on dictatorial and authoritarian measures. In short, terrorism in the future may threaten the very foundations of modern civilizations.

## Adv - Drilling

#### More ice-breakers are a pre-requisite to licensing more drilling operations in the Arctic

Berwyn 12

(Bob Expedition2010org Writer. “Report: More safeguards needed for Arctic oil drilling BEFORE DRILLING” Febuary 4, 2012 http://expedition2010org.blogspot.com/2012/02/report-more-safeguards-needed-for.html accessed on 6/28/12 SA

With oil drilling activities in the American Arctic on the horizon, concerns are mounting about the lack emergency response capabilities, as well as information about environmental conditions in the area. A new report by the Center for American Progress highlights some of those concerns, pointing out that several federal agencies have called for more studies of baseline environmental conditions. Oil spill cleanup experts also say more resources are needed for the U.S. Coast Guard to fulfill its mission in the region. The report also explains that even the well-developed infrastructure and abundance of trained personnel in the Gulf of Mexico couldn’t prevent the Deepwater Horizon tragedy — and the country’s Arctic response capabilities pale by comparison. Drilling for oil in the Arctic should not be pursued without adequate safeguards in place. If the Deepwater Horizon disaster had any lessons to offer, it’s that the importance of preparedness cannot be overstated. That’s why the report strongly recommend specific actions be taken by the federal government, by Congress, and by Shell and other companies before beginning exploratory drilling in the Arctic. Recommendations in the report include: Ensure adequate response capabilities are in place before drilling operations commence Require and oversee oil spill response drills in the Arctic that prove the assertions made in company drilling plans prior to plan approval Engage other Arctic nations in developing an international oil spill response agreement that includes an Arctic Ocean drilling management plan Appropriate adequate funds for the Coast Guard to carry out its mission in the Arctic, including increasing our icebreaking capability Significantly increase the liability cap (currently $75 million) for oil companies in violation of drilling safety rules

#### Plan increases Arctic exploration and development for oil – it’ll be safe

Treadwell 6/24

(Mead, Alaska Dispatch, 6.24.12, “Tapping Alaska’s Arctic oil is a must for America”, <http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/tapping-alaskas-arctic-oil-must-america>)

America needs to say “yes” to new Arctic oil. In election-year debates, facts and sound science are often left behind. This is what’s now happening in conversations about offshore resource development in northern Alaska. Some would like us to believe it’s too risky to safely explore the 21 billion barrels of potential oil in these seas. They argue we should forget about resources that are nearly a quarter of our known, technically recoverable, outer continental shelf resources. Instead, they argue, we should remain dependent on imported oil. But people who pay attention to science and experience are confident of this: The Beaufort and Chukchi seas can be safely explored. Every Arctic Ocean coastal state, six including Iceland, has come to the same conclusion. The oil industry has already invested hundreds of millions of dollars in emergency planning. Myriad measures recommended by the National Oil Spill Commission are being put in place, including state-of-the-art capping stacks, 24-hour icebreaker support and a recessed wellhead resilient to cold water challenges. In addition to these on-site measures, redundant operations and around-the-clock support from the private sector and federal government agencies will be available for any emergency situation. Arctic nations are also negotiating a mutual aid pact. Alaska, too, has been hard at work making safety preparations. We’re investing in research and science, working specifically with the U.S. Arctic Research Commission. We’re also seeking to form international agreements on preparation and response through the Arctic Council. Detractors ignore these plans. They disregard objective scientific analysis and improved technological capabilities. They accentuate remote risk. They deny the evidence of Alaska’s knowledge and skill in resource development — achievements that can lead to great reward for the rest of the nation. While some are busy fear-mongering, others are taking note of the extensive safety preparation that has gone into plans for offshore development. Coast Guard Commandant Adm. Robert Papp has stated his belief that both the industry and the Coast Guard are ready for the task. “[Shell] truly did their homework, I believe,” Papp said, “and I think they are going to be well prepared.” Papp, in his 2012 State of the Coast Guard address, noted the arsenal of aircraft, marine vessels and highly proficient crew that will be at the ready in the Arctic. In addition, the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management has “found no evidence that the proposed action would significantly affect the quality of the human environment.” Coastal communities will be protected, while the whole nation benefits. Alaska Gov. Sean Parnell last year joined a coalition of coastal state governors seeking to work more effectively with the federal government on offshore exploration and resource development. An alliance of public and private officials, representing a majority of Alaska’s 340,000 workers, has urged President Barack Obama to move ahead with outer continental shelf development. The issue is vital for Alaska and the United States. If Alaskan resources aren’t developed, the trans-Alaska pipeline system, one of our nation’s most important energy infrastructure assets, may be forced to close because of cold-weather challenges brought by low throughput. The pipeline is now running at less than one-third capacity. The stakes couldn’t be higher for our economy, our national security and our citizens. The good news is that by harnessing American ingenuity and technical skill, and by relying on solid science and experience, we can overcome challenges and reap a promising future. Now we just need federal leadership to act — for America’s economy, our energy and our national security. Alaska could return to being the nation’s top oil producer. While I’ll fill my North Dakotan colleague’s dinner plate with salmon this time, let’s make sure we refill the Alaska pipeline for America’s future.

#### Drilling in the Artic dramatically increases the world supply of oil, creates jobs, and decreases oil prices

Baker 1

(Dean, September 4th 2001)( HOT AIR OVER THE ARCTIC? AN ASSESSMENT OF THE WEFA STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF OIL DRILLING IN THE ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE, http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/anwr\_2001\_09.pdfCENTER FOR ECONOMIC AND POLICY RESEARCH

With these estimates of supply and demand elasticity and updated estimates of the potential production in **the Arctic Refuge**, it is possible to estimate the reduction in oil prices that will result from opening the Refuge to oil production. As noted earlier, the most recent estimates from the EIA imply that the oil from the Refuge **will increase world supply by 1.15 percent at its peak production level in 2015**. Using the supply and demand elasticities discussed above**, this would imply a decline in world oil prices of approximately 2.7 percent. This price impact is slightly more than one fourth the 10.5 percent price decline estimated in WEFA’s base high production scenario, and just less than half the 5.6 percent price decline estimated in the base low production scenario.**

#### High oil prices prohibit international trade of perishables

Brown 6

Lester, founded Earth Policy Institute, where he now serves as president. Beyond the oil Peak, The Globalist. May 24, http://www.theglobalist.com/StoryId.aspx?StoryId=5333

Air freight may be hit even harder, perhaps leading to an absolute decline. One of the early casualties of rising oil prices could be the use of jumbo jets to transport fresh produce from the southern hemisphere to industrial countries during the northern winter. The price of fresh produce out of season may simply become prohibitive.

#### High Oil prices will raise the cost of food and create competition between affluent motorist and low-income food consumers

Brown 6

Lester, founded Earth Policy Institute, where he now serves as president. Beyond the oil Peak, The Globalist. May 24, http://www.theglobalist.com/StoryId.aspx?StoryId=5333

The food sector will be affected in two ways. Food will become more costly as higher oil prices drive up production costs. As oil costs rise, diets will be altered as people move down the food chain and as they consume more local, seasonally produced food. Diets will thus become more closely attuned to local products and more seasonal in nature. At the same time, rising oil prices will also be drawing agricultural resources into the production of fuel crops, either ethanol or biodiesel. Higher oil prices are thus setting up competition between affluent motorists and low-income food consumers for food resources, presenting the world with a complex new ethical issue.

#### Even a small change in food prices will causes starvation of billions

Earth Policy Institute 2004

http://www.earth-policy.org/Books/Out/index.htm “Outgrowing the Earth: The Food Security Challenge in an Age of Falling Water Tables and Rising Temperatures”

For the 3 billion people who live on 2 dollars a day or less and who spend up to 70 percent of their income on food, even a modest rise in food prices can quickly become life-threatening. For them, it is the next meal that is the overriding concern.

## Adv – Oil Spills

#### [The](http://www.businessweek.com/ap/2012-06/D9VDO94G0.htm) Status Quo virtually guarantees deadly oil spills – we need more Arctic science

Nuka Research and Planning Group LLC 10

November, “Oil Spill Prevention and Response in the U.S. Arctic Ocean: Unexamined Risks, Unacceptable Consequences,” http://www.pewtrusts.org/uploadedFiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/Reports/Protecting\_ocean\_life/PEW-1010\_ARTIC\_Report.pdf

This remote, extreme northern portion of the OCS has a harsh environment with high winds, extended periods of heavy fog, seasonal darkness, subzero temperatures and weeklong storms. As a result, the risks, difficulties and unknowns of oil exploration in the Arctic OCS are far greater than in any other area of the OCS. Seasonal sea ice, lack of infrastructure, and distances from major population centers present challenges that may heighten the risks of a spill occurring while also limiting the potential effectiveness of spill cleanup technologies. The prospect of mounting a response to a catastrophic spill in the Arctic OCS is daunting, and the consequences of a major spill in this region could be dire. Scientific knowledge of Arctic ecology is based on incomplete information about marine mammals, fisheries and the marine ecosystem, and there are no computer models that can predict how an oil spill in the Arctic OCS would interact with that dynamic sea ice regime. Arctic regions are already under considerable strain from climate change, and Arctic species and ecosystems are highly sensitive to pollutants and much slower to recover from damage.

#### Coast Guard doesn’t have enough ice-breakers to facilitate safe oil drilling now

Dlouhy 6/24

(Jennifer, <http://www.chron.com/business/article/Coast-Guard-girds-for-heavier-traffic-in-the-3657039.php>, Chron.com, Posted 3:35 P.M., “Coast Guard girds for heavier traffic in the Arctic”)

The Coast Guard is bolstering its armada of ships, planes and people in Alaska in anticipation of Shell's planned oil drilling this summerand a surge of other commercial traffic. But the service is combating a dearth of resources, including vessels capable of plowing through multiyear ice in the region. The Coast Guard has only one icebreaker in service, and that ship will spend its summer far from Shell's planned oil exploration on a scientific research mission. And though the Coast Guard is bringing its 36-year-old Polar Star heavy icebreaker back into operation, that won't happen until 2013. **"**We've got zero capability to respond in the Arctic right now,**"** Coast Guard CommandantAdm.Robert Papp warned Congress a year ago. "An oil spill, a collision, a ship sinking in the Arctic keeps me awake at night because we have nothing to respond or, if we respond, it's going to take us weeks to get there."

#### Arctic drilling without effective support guarantees oil spills

Greenpeace 11

(April, “Risks and potential impacts of oil exploration in the Arctic” Briefing, http://www.greenpeace.org/international/Global/international/publications/climate/2011/FinalArcticBriefing2011.pdf)

The United States Geological Survey estimates that 90 billion barrels of technically recoverable oil lies in offshore reservoirs in the Arctic. That’s about a third of the size of Saudi Arabia’s reserves. A blowout in a scenario where a relief well cannot be completed in the same drilling season could lead to oil gushing unchecked for two years, with split oil becoming trapped under sheets of thick ice. The environmental consequences of a spill in the Arctic environment would be far more serious than in warmer seas such as the Gulf of Mexico. Serious impacts of the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska are still being felt 20 years later. Baffin Bay is home to 80 to 90% of the world’s Narwhals. The region is also home to blue whales, polar bears, seals, sharks, cormorants, kittiwakes and numerous other migratory birds. According to a senior official at a Canadian firm that specializes in oil-spill response, “there is really no solution or method today that we’re aware of that can actually recover oil from the Arctic. Freezing temperatures, severe weather and a highly remote location pose unprecedented challenges to any spill response. The U.S. Minerals Management Service estimated a one in five chance of a major spill occurring over the lifetime of activity in just one block of leases in the Arctic Ocean near Alaska.

#### Oil spills collapse the ecosystem

Nuka Research and Planning Group 7

October, World Wildlife Foundation, “Oil Spill Response Challenges in Arctic Waters”, <http://www.worldwildlife.org/what/wherewework/arctic/WWFBinaryitem24363.pdf>

Lingering oil from the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill (EVOS) in Prince William Sound, Alaska has persisted far beyond initial forecasts (Peterson et al., 2003). In 2005, EVOS oil was found only slightly weathered under beaches across the spill impact area. The lingering oil remains toxic and biologically available, and scientists predict that this subsurface oil may persist for decades to come (Short et al., 2003). The lingering effects of oil spills have also been documented in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, where recent studies published by the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution found that oil remains in the sediment layer of some coastal marshes from a 1969 oil spill. The lingering oil continues to impact on the behaviour of burrowing fiddler crabs, which have been observed to actively avoid digging burrows into this oiled sediment layer. The crabs have also been observed to show signs of toxic impacts from the 38-year-old oil (Culbertson, et al., 2007).

#### Migrating Species Magnifies the Internal Link

UNEP 10

(United Natins Environment Program, Johnsen, K. Alfthan, B. Hislop, L. Skaalvik, J. F. (Editors), “Protecting Arctic Biodiversity: Limitations and Strengths of Environental Agreements” UNEP Grid Arendal, 2010, Online [HT])

The Arctic contribution to global biodiversity is significant. Although the Arctic has relatively few species compared to areas such as the tropics, the region is recognised for its genetic diversity, reflecting the many ways in which species have adapted to extreme environment2. Hundreds of migrating species (including 279 species of birds, and the grey and humpback whales) travel long distances each year in order to take advantage of the short but productive Arctic summers2.

#### Biodiversity loss guarantees multiple scenarios for extinction, including nuclear war

Takacs 96

Environmental Humanities Prof @ CSU Monteray Bay, 1996 (David, “The Idea of Biodiversity: Philosophies of Paradise” pg. 200-201)

So biodiversity keeps the world running. It has value and of itself, as well as for us. Raven, Erwin, and Wilson oblige us to think about the value of biodiversity for our own lives. The Ehrlichs’ rivet-popper trope makes this same point; by eliminating rivets, we play Russian roulette with global ecology and human futures: “It is likely that destruction of the rich complex of species in the Amazon basin could trigger rapid changes in global climate patterns.  Agriculture remains heavily dependent on stable climate, and human beings remain heavily dependent on food. By the end of the century the extinction of perhaps a million species in the Amazon basin could have entrained famines in which a billion human beings perished. And if our species is very unlucky, the famines could lead to a thermonuclear war, which could extinguish civilization.” 13 Elsewhere Ehrlich uses different particulars with no less drama: What then will happen if the current decimation of organic diversity continues? Crop yields will be more difficult to maintain in the face of climatic change, soil erosion, loss of dependable water supplies, decline of pollinators, and ever more serious assaults by pests. Conversion of productive land to wasteland will accelerate; deserts will continue their seemingly inexorable expansion. Air pollution will increase, and local climates will become harsher. Humanity will have to forgo many of the direct economic benefits it might have withdrawn from Earth's well­stocked genetic library. It might, for example, miss out on a cure for cancer; but that will make little difference. As ecosystem services falter, mortality from respiratory and epidemic disease, natural disasters, and especially famine will lower life expectancies to the point where can­cer (largely a disease of the elderly) will be unimportant. Humanity will bring upon itself consequences depressingly similar to those expected from a nuclear winter. Barring a nuclear conflict, it appears that civili­zation will disappear some time before the end of the next century - not with a bang but a whimper.14

## Adv - Shipping

#### Shipping industry is in crisis

Harjani 12

(Ansuya Harjani Assistant Producer, CNBC Mar 2012

<http://www.cnbc.com/id/46598543/For_Shippers_2012_Is_a_Year_of_Crisis_Dry_Bulk_Operator>)

Lack of funding, oversupply and poor freight rates are going make 2012 a “crisis” year for the shipping industry, says Andrew Broomhead, CFO of Hong Kong's largest operator of dry-bulk vessels Pacific Basin. “We've got yet again a lot of ships being delivered into the market. (But) funding is very, very dry, so for many companies it's going to be a very tough year. We are calling this a crisis for 2012,” Broomhead told CNBC on Friday. “In dry bulk, we've got probably about 20 percent of the world's fleet, which is going to be delivered in the course of 2012. That’s going to represent a huge amount of supply increase,” he added. The industry is facing overcapacity as a result of an excess of orders that took place following the “boom years” in 2006-2007, he said. With banks reluctant to provide financing, Broomhead says this is placing shipping firms in a difficult position. This week, Indonesia’s largest oil and gas shipping group, Berlian Laju Tanker, defaulted on its $2 billion debt, while Reuters reported Thursday that Denmark’s bulk and tanker firm Torm has asked for an extension for the repayment of its $1.87 billion debt. Broomhead adds that freight rates will also remain under pressure this year, as the market struggles to absorb a continued influx of new deliveries at a time of global economic uncertainty. The Baltic Dry Index, a measure of costs to ship dry-bulk commodities, has already fallen over 55 percent this year. While, Pacific Basin reported a 69 percent drop in 2011 annual profit to $32 million, Broomhead says the company is relatively well positioned compared to its peers, with over $600 million in cash reserves and an 11 percent gearing ratio. “We've managed our exposure to ship ownership throughout the cycle reasonably well, we're sitting here with a large amount of cash on our balance sheet,” he said, adding that the company is looking to expand its fleet through purchases in the second hand market. “We are patiently awaiting for opportunities for the right ships for the right price, we're price specific on the types of ships we want to acquire.” This year, Pacific Basin [2343.HK 3.10 0.04 (+1.31%) ] plans to expand its presence in the U.S. and South Africa through opening two new offices in Durban and Connecticut — part of the company’s efforts to grow its presence in the Atlantic. “Over the last 12-18 months, Atlantic rates have generally been premium to Pacific rates, which is a reflection of the fact that all the new builds are coming into the Pacific market, so strengthening our presence there makes a lot of sense,” he said.

#### Melting ice increases the opportunities and hazards of Arctic transit – making routes safe is key to shipping

Wilkinson 11

(Dr Angela Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment University of Oxford, November, http://www.smithschool.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/SSEE-Arctic-Forecasting-Study-November-2011.pdf)

Historically, transiting northerly routes over Europe, Asia, and North America has been difficult due to seasonal ice growth and the movement of ice through these routes during the short open season. Although historically focussed on securing trans-Arctic travel routes, Arctic voyages have been overwhelmingly destinational and mainly for community re-supply, marine tourism, and the movement of natural resources out of the Arctic. There are three different shipping fleet types that navigate the Arctic Ocean: Logistics and transport ships, industry services and locational ships, and fishing fleets. There were approximately 3,000 vessels in the Arctic in 2004. Of these, some 1,600 were fishing vessels that reported their activity and did not venture far into the Arctic Ocean [2]. The remaining 1,400 trips include short haul trips to various ports for resupply and resource extraction. Operations have been primarily in areas that are ice-free, either seasonally or yearround. In the past decade shipping has increased throughout the Arctic and in recent years icebreaking ships have frequently navigated the central Arctic Ocean in the summer. Alternative routes which link Europe and Asia through the north could be navigable for longer periods of the year (Figure 2). These are The Northwest Passage, a sea route through the Arctic Ocean linking Europe to Asia north of Canada, and the Northern Sea Route, a passage north of Europe and Asia. While an extended open season and receding multi-year ice are predicted, this in the short term results in weakening blockages or ‘ice bridges’ that flush or move ice through channels and straits. Thus polar shipping, though more accessible, is becoming more complex than is commonly assumed, especially in the Northwest Passage where navigation is increasingly hazardous. It was not until very recently that reliable voyages have been possible, and even those voyages occurred in a narrow window of opportunity (Appendix: Table 1). Thus while the reduction in sea ice may make the northern sea routes attractive to merchant mariners wishing to reduce voyage times, paradoxically in the short term hazards may be increased. Due to climate change the nature and extent of the hazards may be difficult to ascertain, at least in the near future.

#### Icebreakers key to arctic shipping

Keil 12

Kathrin, Research Associate- Arctic security, cooperation, and institution, “The Arctic Institute”, 4/27, 12, http://www.thearcticinstitute.org/2012/04/arctic-shipping-routes-forecasts-and.html, Canada in the Arctic - Arctic Shipping: Routes, Forecasts, and Politics, Accessed: 6/28/12, CD

According to the above-mentioned report, the routes that will benefit the most from these changes are Hudson Bay and the Beaufort Sea because they show a very different ice regime in comparison to the rest of the Canadian Arctic, and are thus likely to see an increasing number of transits by large ships. A longer summer shipping season is expected to encourage shipping through the port of Churchill in Hudson Bay, and in the Beaufort Sea longer summer shipping seasons will increase the appeal of offshore hydrocarbon development as well as transport of oil and gas through the Bering Strait. Although ships on these routes will see generally easier navigating conditions, processes of climate change also change the nature and severity of many risks to marine traffic. For example, rather than being confronted with an extensive ice pack that necessitates icebreaker escort, ships will be confronted will multi-year ice in low concentration that is difficult to detect, and extreme variability of conditions from one year to the next. The paradoxical situation may arise that despite decreased ice extent and ice thickness there will be a continued if not even an increasing demand for icebreaking and other navigational support for shipping activities in the north, also because of the increased traffic on some routes. In general, the increase in marine traffic on some Arctic routes together with more frequent and more intense hazards like more mobile ice and increased winds, waves and surges will increase the demand for marine services in the north. This includes for example updated navigational charts, up to date weather forecasts, ice reconnaissance and forecasting, icebreaking support, search-and-rescue capabilities, marine traffic surveillance, control and enforcement, ports for fuelling and cargo loading, ice-class vessels and specialised crews. Canadian Shipping Policy The Statement on Canada's Arctic Foreign Policy says that “Arctic shipping is another key area of focus” in order to achieve the second aim of the Northern Strategy, which is promoting social and economic development in the North. The 2009 Strategy reads that “[i]n 2007, satellite imaging verified that the Northwest Passage had less than 10 percent ice coverage, making it, by definition, “fully navigable” for several weeks. This was well ahead of most recent forecasts [and] in the near future, reduced ice coverage and longer periods of navigability may result in an increased number of ships undertaking destination travel for tourism, natural resource exploration or development”.

#### Artic shipping saves time, money, and fuel

Scarpati 12

(Kevin Scarpati**,** 10/5/12 “Melting Polar Ice Opens New Arctic Shipping Routes” <http://www.supplychaindigital.com/global_logistics/melting-polar-ice-opens-new-arctic-shipping-routes>)

Whether you believe in global warming or not, ice levels in the Arctic Sea reached the second-lowest point in recorded history, according to data released by NASA and the National Snow and Ice Data Center at the University of Colorado. While that’s potentially bad news for our environment, it’s great news for shippers in the Northern Hemisphere. This year’s record low opened up shipping passages through the Northwest Passage and Northern Sea for brief periods last month. Danish shipping company Nordic Bulk Carriers took full advantage of the new routes, and claimed to save one third of its usual shipping costs by taking shorter shipping routes to China through the Arctic. Less ice also meant for quicker trade for Nordic Bulk Carriers, who made the journey to China in nearly half the time. “We saved 1,000 tons of bunker fuel – nearly 3,000 tons of CO2 – on one journey between Murmansk [Russia] and north China,” Nordic Bulk Carriers Director Christian Bonfils told the Guardian. “The window for sailing the route is four months now, but the Russians say it is seven. When we can save 22 days on transportation, it is very good business for us.”

#### The shipping industry is the backbone of global commerce.

Lautenbacher 6

(ADM Conrad C. Lautenbacher, Jr., USN (Ret.) Under Secretary of Commerce for Oceans and Atmosphere NOAA Administrator “World Maritime Technology Conference” 🡨 spoken March 6, 2006; [www.pco.noaa.gov/PPTs/IMarEST.ppt](http://www.pco.noaa.gov/PPTs/IMarEST.ppt) //STRONG])

I would like to start with talking about the importance of Marine Technology in supporting global trade and how we all must work to making sure the necessary navigation products and services are in place to support the increased use of the intermodal transportation network. We are continuously improving our ability to providing accurate and timely navigation products and services to the our country’s maritime and intermodal transportation network. We have a responsibility to both protect economic investment as well as protecting environmental integrity and peoples lives. So I would also like to talk about how we were recently tested in these responsibilities during and after the recent Hurricanes Rita and Katrina and worked to bring the region back into the Global Economy **Economic Importance of Marine Transportation Systems:** The Marine Transportation System was critical to the start of the United States as a nation and remains today the backbone of the country’s commerce Our Nation’s ports support nearly $2 trillion dollars in U.S. waterborne foreign trade. (Source: American Association of Port Authorities) Our Nation’s ports and waterways support the annual movement of more than 2.5 billion tons of domestic and international commerce. (Source – Maritime Administration) Our Nation’s coastal and inland waterways support our commerce, our recreation, and our national security. U.S. water carriers annually generate a gross output of $32 billion, purchase $24 billion in goods and services from other industries, and employ more than 57,000 workers. Public ports generate significant local and regional economic growth, directly creating jobs for more than 1 million Americans, and indirectly creating jobs for another 3.8 million. Waterborne commerce also generates more than $16 billion in federal, state, and local taxes. (Source: IMO) An example of how observations are affecting management decision today, we only have to look to the Coastal Ocean Observation System, a future component of GEOSS. In addition to providing Hurricane Forecast Models and Warnings prior to the Hurricanes landing, NOAA also worked to assist in the disaster relief and facilitated the reopening of the area’s Marine Transportation System. Hurricanes Katrina and Rita recently put NOAA to the test in using all of our technological and human knowledge to reopen the Gulf Coast area for international commerce. With the Mississippi River mouth closed to international traffic, grain from the Midwest could not be shipped out to Africa and Europe. Chiquita Bananas had to reroute shipment of bananas and other fresh produce to other areas. 25% of its imports went through Gulfport Mississippi. Half of the Folger’s Brand of coffee comes out of New Orleans The offshore oil and gas transportation infrastructure at Port Fourchon, including pipelines, processing facilities and tanker traffic were all shut in causing severe spikes in gasoline prices. Just one Trucking Company, Yellow Roadway lost a million dollars a day with no shipments coming in or out of New Orleans. NOAA deployed its resources, including response teams, hydrographic survey vessels, and state-of-the-art technologies, as part of a large scale federally-coordinated response effort. NOAA Navigation Response Teams directly contributed to relief efforts and the resumption of maritime commerce. NOAA NRTs provided critical information, supporting Coast Guard efforts to rapidly assess and reopen waterways, which allowed maritime-based relief efforts into impacted communities. The field teams conduct hazardous obstructions surveys and mapping support through out the Atlantic Seaboard, Pacific Coast, Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. The field units operate in a 365 day a year environment to support NOAA's mission of promoting safe maritime navigation. The NRTs stand ready to respond to natural and manmade incidents in our waterways; their surveys enable authorities to reopen ports and channels to navigation after accidents and weather events. NOAA conducted damage assessment flights, collecting over 8300 images, covering 1600 miles of linear flight lines. The images captured include the coastal areas of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, including the ports of Mobile, Pascagoula, Gulfport, New Orleans, and Port Fourchon. Thirty-two tide stations operated by NOAA’s National Water Level Observation Network along the Gulf Coast disseminated storm tide conditions in real and near real-time as Hurricanes Katrina and Rita approached and made landfall. These stations were supplemented by thirty-one partner stations operated to NWLON standards, doubling the storm tide observing capacity in the Gulf, and demonstrating the value of an Integrated Ocean Observing System. The Houston/Galveston PORTS® provided important navigational information following Rita required by ship masters and pilots to avoid collisions and groundings. NOAA’s Continuously Operating Reference Stations (CORS) were operating in the area affected by Katrina, and collected data to support remote sensing missions and other GPS applications such as surveying and mapping activities associated with the post-hurricane recovery work. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, NOAA is continuing providing invaluable scientific support to the our Coast Guard and Environmental Protection Agency and the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama in their response efforts. NOAA Restoration Teams are working with state and federal partners to assess the impacts to natural resources and to plan for restoration, within the context of the broader recovery efforts. NOAA expertise is critical to mitigate harm, provide critical information for allocation of response assets, restore adverse effects on natural resources, aid planning and response decision-making, and document damages. We continue to monitor the ecosystem in the area. We are monitoring water quality and tissue samples from fish and bivalves. In an area known for being a dead zone, where we thought that due to the massive pollution associated with hazardous spills, we were finding some good news. We were able to open up the fisheries and that is another step in rebuilding the gulf coast economy. PHOTO Bottom Left: NCCOS Biologist is using a net tow to test for toxic phytoplankton (HAB). PHOTO Bottom Right: Bert and Emily of NRT 4 at Port Allen Nowhere is the interconnections of our globe more evident than in marine commerce and transportations. We are bridging the gap between economic development and those who use oceans to transport goods to the global economy. These are global concerns as we expand our economic integration and need to observe and connect systems to provide information from multiple data sources.

#### Polar shipping stimulates global economy

Blunden 12

Margaret Independent research professional for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2012 <http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2012/88_1/88_1blunden.pdf>, “Geopolitics and the Northern Sea Route,” pg 120, accessed 6-28-12 CD

Shifts in economic geography are also favouring the development of the NSR as a potential transit route linking Asia to the consumer markets of Europe. Distance is an important factor in the balance of advantage between trade routes. Hong Kong is equidistant from Rotterdam and other ports in northern Europe via either the NSR or the Suez Canal. The NSR is therefore shorter for all ports north-east of Hong Kong, and longer for those south of it. It is significant, in this context, that the economic centre of gravity in both Europe and Asia is moving northwards, in Europe from the west to the north-east, with the development of Central and Eastern Europe and the German economic boom, and in Asia from the south-east to the north, with the growth of China. 19 It is said that Asian mother ships, that is ships providing facilities and supplies for smaller vessels, are gradually abandoning South-East Asia for northern China. 20 Shifts of this kind in economic centres of gravity favour development of the NSR, and regular use of this route would further stimulate the economic growth of the northern European and Asian areas, in a self-sustaining feedback loop. Whatever the obstacles for regular intercontinental commercial transit of the NSR, its mere possibility appears to be affecting the calculations of the major exporters of northern Europe and the EU, particularly Germany, and of northern Asia, particularly China. German policy analysts are predicting hard struggles for influence in the far north—a new ‘great game’. 21

### Impact - Globalization

#### Arctic shipping sparks a new wave of globalization

Borgerson 8

(Scott G., “Arctic Meltdown” The Economic and Security, Implications of Global Warming, April, <http://library.arcticportal.org/1570/1/BorgersonForeignAffairsarticle.pdf>)

Arctic shipping could also dramatically affect global trade patterns. In 1969, oil companies sent the S.S. Manhattan through the Northwest Passage to test whether it was a viable route for moving Arctic oil to the Eastern Seaboard. The Manhattan completed the voyage with the help of accompanying icebreakers, but oil companies soon deemed the route impractical and prohibitively expensive and opted instead for an Alaskan pipeline. But today such voyages are fast becoming economically feasible. As soon as marine insurers recalculate the risks involved in these voyages, trans-Arctic shipping will become commercially viable and begin on a large scale. In an age of just-in-time delivery, and with increasing fuel costs eating into the proﬁts of shipping companies, reducing long-haul sailing distances by as much as 40 percent could usher in a new phase of globalization. Arctic routes would force further competition between the Panama and Suez Canals, thereby reducing current canal tolls; shipping chokepoints such as the Strait of Malacca would no longer dictate global shipping patterns; and Arctic seaways would allow for greater international economic integration. When the ice recedes enough, likely within this decade, a marine highway directly over the North Pole will materialize. Such a route, which would most likely run between Iceland and Alaska’s Dutch Harbor, would connect shipping megaports in the North Atlantic with those in the North Paciﬁc and radiate outward to other ports in a hub-andspoke system. A fast lane is now under development between the Arctic port of Murmansk, in Russia, and the Hudson Bay port of Churchill, in Canada, which is connected to the North American rail network.

#### Globalization solves war

Griswold 5

(Daniel- Director of Center for Trade @ Cato Institute, Free Trade, 12.29.5, <http://www.freetrade.org/node/282>) ET

Many causes lie behind the good news -- the end of the Cold War and the spread of democracy, among them -- but expanding trade and globalization appear to be playing a major role. Far from stoking a "World on Fire," as one misguided American author has argued, growing commercial ties between nations have had a dampening effect on armed conflict and war, for three main reasons. First, trade and globalization have reinforced the trend toward democracy, and democracies don't pick fights with each other. Freedom to trade nurtures democracy by expanding the middle class in globalizing countries and equipping people with tools of communication such as cell phones, satellite TV, and the Internet. With trade comes more travel, more contact with people in other countries, and more exposure to new ideas. Thanks in part to globalization, almost two thirds of the world's countries today are democracies -- a record high. Second, as national economies become more integrated with each other, those nations have more to lose should war break out. War in a globalized world not only means human casualties and bigger government, but also ruptured trade and investment ties that impose lasting damage on the economy. In short, globalization has dramatically raised the economic cost of war. Third, globalization allows nations to acquire wealth through production and trade rather than conquest of territory and resources. Increasingly, wealth is measured in terms of intellectual property, financial assets, and human capital. Those are assets that cannot be seized by armies. If people need resources outside their national borders, say oil or timber or farm products, they can acquire them peacefully by trading away what they can produce best at home. Of course, free trade and globalization do not guarantee peace. Hot-blooded nationalism and ideological fervor can overwhelm cold economic calculations. But deep trade and investment ties among nations make war less attractive. Trade wars in the 1930s deepened the economic depression, exacerbated global tensions, and helped to usher in a world war. Out of the ashes of that experience, the United States urged Germany, France and other Western European nations to form a common market that has become the European Union. In large part because of their intertwined economies, a general war in Europe is now unthinkable. In East Asia, the extensive and growing economic ties among  Mainland China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan is helping to keep the peace. China's communist rulers may yet decide to go to war over its "renegade province," but the economic cost to their economy would be staggering and could provoke a backlash among its citizens. In contrast, poor and isolated North Korea is all the more dangerous because it has nothing to lose economically should it provoke a war. In Central America, countries that were racked by guerrilla wars and death squads two decades ago have turned not only to democracy but to expanding trade, culminating in the Central American Free Trade Agreement with the United States. As the Stockholm institute reports in its 2005 Yearbook, "Since the 1980s, the introduction of a more open economic model in most states of the Latin American and Caribbean region has been accompanied by the growth of new regional structures, the dying out of interstate conflicts and a reduction in intra-state conflicts." Much of the political violence that remains in the world today is concentrated in the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa -- the two regions of the world that are the least integrated into the global economy. Efforts to bring peace to those regions must include lowering their high barriers to trade, foreign investment, and domestic entrepreneurship. Advocates of free trade and globalization have long argued that trade expansion means more efficiency, higher incomes, and reduced poverty. The welcome decline of armed conflicts in the past few decades indicates that free trade also comes with its own peace dividend.

### Impact - Poverty

#### Economic growth is the solution to global poverty

Ben-Ami 6

(Daniel, Journalist with a Specialty in Economics, Editor of Fund Strategy, “Who’s afraid of economic growth?” May 4, 2006, http://www.spiked-online.com/Articles/0000000CB04D.htm, AD: 7-6-9)

Perhaps the best starting point is to remind ourselves that economic growth and affluence have had enormous social benefits. These are all too easily forgotten in a society with little sense of history. Our lives are substantially better than those of any previous generations. Anne Krueger, first deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), looked at some of the key global indicators over the previous half century in a speech in 2002. She is worth quoting at length 'Infant mortality has declined from 180 per 1000 births in 1950 to 60 per 1000 births. Literacy rates have risen from an average of 40 per cent in the 1950s to over 70 per cent today. World poverty has declined, despite still-high population growth in the developing world. Since 1980, the number of poor people, defined as those living on less than a dollar a day, has fallen by about 200 million, much of it due to the rapid growth of China and India. 'If there is one measure that can summarise the impact of these enormous gains, it is life expectancy. Only 50 years ago, life in much of the developing world was pretty much what it used in be in the rich nations a couple of centuries ago: "nasty, brutish and short." But today, life expectancy in the developing world averages 65 years, up from under 40 years in 1950. Life expectancy was increasing even in sub-Saharan Africa until the effects of years of regional conflicts and the AIDS epidemic brought about a reversal. The gap between life expectancy between the developed and developing world has narrowed, from a gap of 30 years in 1950 to only about 10 years today.' (22)

### Impact - Democracy

#### Growth is key to democracy

Beckerman 95

Wilfred, Emeritus Fellow at Balilol College, Oxford, 1995 [Small is Stupid, pg. 20]

Most criticism of economic growth not only contain errors of logic or fact. They are also divorced from political reality. Even if it could be demonstrated that economic growth deos not lead to a rise in welfare, it would still not follow that we should try to bring growth to a halt. For, in the absence of some transformation in human attitudes, the like of which has never been seen in spite of constant admonitions by powerful religions for thousands of years, human nature has not yet abandoned the goal of increased prosperity. To some people this goal is a denial of holiness. But to others it is a testament of the infinite variety of the human spirit. And to some it is an opportunity to rid the world of poverty and drudgery. This means that if growth were to be abandoned as an objective of policy, democracy too would have to be abandoned. And, as the experience of the 1980s has demonstrated, even totalitarian regimes cannot, in the end, survive if they fail to deliver the increase in living standards to which their populations aspire.

#### Democracy and open markets is key to avoid extinction

Koopman 9

Colin, University of Oregon, “Morals and Markets: Liberal Democracy Through Dewey and Hayek,” The Journal of Speculative Philosophy, New Series, Volume 23, Number 3, 2009, project muse

But, Deweyan democrats will wonder at this point, what insures that in reorganized conditions our democratic values will not go missing? Nothing does. In a democracy the flourishing of democracy is incumbent on us. Democracy is a politics of hunches, hedges, and hopes. It is not a politics of certainty. Democracy requires that we put forth our energies in all of the public contexts where we find our lives being organized (these include states, markets, schools, churches, even friendships). Lippmann and Hayek thought that we frail humans are generally incapable of purposive democratic self-organization. Perhaps we are. But we shall better equip ourselves to experimentally test our democratic hopes if we understand with Dewey that democracy is a way of life that must be practiced throughout our lives, in our halls of government as officials and voters, in our marketplaces as managers and consumers, and in many other venues besides. Democracy and pragmatism are tailored to one another because at the core of both is a meliorism according to which we can achieve political betterment only by our own lights.[50](http://muse.jhu.edu.er.lib.k-state.edu/journals/journal_of_speculative_philosophy/v023/23.3.koopman.html" \l "f50) There is no guarantee that democracy will win out over the many formidable alternative ethics now competing [End Page 173] against it. But those who favor democracy ought to make full use of all the tools available to them to further their democratic aspirations. There is much to be gained for a democratic ethics by making simultaneous use of both governments and markets in our democratic practices. Failing this difficult work, our increasing complacency can only result in the desiccation of our ever fragile futures.

#### Poverty Makes Global Nuclear War Inevitable

Caldwell 03

(Joseph George Caldwell, PhD, The End of the World, and the New World Order, updae of an article published 10/26/00, March 6, 2003, [www.foundation.bw/TheEndOfTheWorld.htm](http://www.foundation.bw/TheEndOfTheWorld.htm).

It would appear that global nuclear war will happen very soon, for two main reasons, alluded to above.  First, human poverty and misery are increasing at an incredible rate.  There are now three billion more desperately poor people on the planet than there were just forty years ago.  Despite decades of industrial development, the number of wretchedly poor people continues to soar.  The pressure for war mounts as the population explodes.  Second, war is motivated by resource scarcity -- the desire of one group to acquire the land, water, energy, or other resources possessed by another.  With each passing year, crowding and misery increase, raising the motivation for war to higher levels.

## Adv – Smuggling

#### Increased activity in the arctic is giving rise to terrorism, illegal fishing and smuggling

Rastopsoff 12

(GW, Alaska Native News, “As Arctic Ice Melts, Race begins to exploit region”, 04/24/2012

<http://alaska-native-news.com/world_news/5300-as-arctic-ice-melts-race-begins-to-exploit-region.html>)

Experts warn that along with these legitimate activities taking place, there is an increasing threat of terrorism, illegal fishing and smuggling as the arctic opens up to more traffic. Lt. General Walter Semianiw, head of Canada Command said of the situation unveiling itself in the Arctic, "By bringing more human activity into the Arctic you bring both the good and the bad. You will see the change whether you wish to or not." As more nations, such as Canada, Norway, and Russia, move assets into the Arctic area, the United States is moving in the opposite direction, moving its assets away from the region. While Russia maintains the largest fleet of Arctic Icebreakers with at least 34 such vessels, the United States struggles to keep even one online as the Arctic race heats up. Sweden to gain energy resources from the region. In a February 15th letter to the Homeland Security Appropriations Subcommittee that has a scheduled hearing on May 9th on the Coast Guard budget, Alaska Senator Murkowski said, “One of the areas I’m particularly interested in is the Coast Guard’s mission to safeguard U.S. interests in the Arctic. The Arctic offers new opportunities for resource development and shipping routes that may reshape the global transport system … I believe we should consider whether the Coast Guard has the operational resources, support facilities and the calculated locations for their Arctic and other missions.” In a written statement, Senator Murkowski stated, “Alaskans and Americans are born pioneers – and the Arctic is one of the last frontiers to be fully understood and developed,” said Murkowski. “As the waters begin opening to possibilities in research, resource development and revenue, we need the Coast Guard’s help in protecting all that we hold dear. Part of that is by making sure my Senate colleagues fully understand we are an Arctic Nation, and that the Coast Guard’s mission in the Arctic must be a top priority.”

#### Increased activity in the arctic opens the doors to crime and security threats including human trafficking, terror, and smuggling

Arctic Portal 9

(27 July 2009 Arctic Portal, News source compiled from a set of Arctic Universities, <http://arcticportal.org/news/26-features?start=65>)

The Arctic is rapidly changing and has been doing so for the last couple of decades. During the cold war many regions of the Arctic were a no-mans land crammed full of radar equipment. The Arctic is increasingly opening up on many frontiers. The ice sheet is receding, increasing industrial production and the quest for oil and increased participation in the global market system has increased the role of cash within local economies. Megaprojects have brought in considerable amounts of staff; often single men with a disposable income further increasing the role of the cash economy. Following this development organized crime has been on the rise in the Arctic, and organized crime syndicates are believed to have acquired a firm foothold in the Arctic and are involved in the human- drug- and weapons trafficking, fraud, violent crimes bootlegging and other illegal activities. The rise of drug trafficking has been prominent in the Arctic. Recently the Greenlandic police confiscated 118 kilos of Cannabis that is the largest amount that has been confiscated so far in Greenland. The street value of the drugs is estimated to be around 60 million Danish Krona. In the Canadian North the authorities have become almost become incapable of monitoring activities within its own Arctic boundaries, which are the size of continental Europe, due to increased tourism and industrial production effecting criminal activity. Currently there are just 200 military personnel and 400 police working in the region. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) has called for up to 30 new intelligence officers into the Canadian Arctic. Currently there is only one intelligence officer in charge of all three of Canada’s Arctic territories. Chief Supt. Pierre Perron, the RCMP’s director of criminal intelligence, said “To say that we have no capacity in the North is not necessarily true,” he said, “because every officer we do have does operate in some capacity as an intelligence officer.” “However, we would like to implement dedicated criminal intelligence officers.” Human trafficking is a problem that is often difficult to identify and address. A special task force has been operating since 2005 within the Barents Euro Arctic Region (BEAC) to cooperate in battling human trafficking in the European part of the Arctic. Very few cases of human trafficking have been put on trial in the Arctic but can be expected to rise as the industry rises and the awareness of the problem increases. Both Canada and the U.S have voiced concerns about the Arctic being used as a portal for Arms trafficking into the U.S by terrorists as border control is challenging due to the immense the size of the area. With the increased activities within the Arctic following global warming it is highly likely that crime as well is on the rise, as accessibility increases and profitability vs. risks continue to rise. The eight Arctic states are however very well aware of the opening up of the Arctic so increased measures in law enforcements would come as a surprise to no one. The Nordic countries, Russia and U.S.A are increasing their military presence in the Arctic, which serves as another form of increased surveillance which one could imagine would be backed up with increased police activities as well.

#### Coast Guard has policed the seas for decades, but their control in the Arctic is waning due to the outdated fleet of icebreakers.

Cantwell ‘07

Maria Cantwell, Ex-Washington State Senator, Congressional Record from July 2007 in reference to a passed bill, Government printing office 7/25/07,<http://books.google.com/books?id=ht4QmoOTphIC&pg=PA578&lpg=PA578&dq=coast+guard+icebreaker+smuggling&source=bl&ots=cSF27cu5zQ&sig=Rz59fClWz2Ypkfey0G_mSEzXKjk&hl=en&sa=X&ei=Ze3xT8ScMuLW0QG-0-T6Ag&ved=0CFIQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=coast%20guard%20icebreaker%20smuggling&f=false>,“Congressional Record”, p. 21012, V. 153, 7/2/12, GL

A bill to reauthorize the Coast Guard for fiscal year 2008, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce the Coast Guard Authorization Act for the fiscal year 2008 along with Senator Snowe, Inouye, Stevens, Lautenberg, and Lott. This comprehensive legislation will provide the Coast Guard with needed resources to carry out missions critical to our nation’s security, environmental protection, and fisheries enforcement. The U.S. Coast Guard plays a critical role in keeping our oceans, coasts, and waterways safe, secure, and free from environmental harm. After September 11and Hurricane Katrina, the Coast Guard has been a source of strength. As marine traffic grows, the number of security threats in our ports increases. Climate change is raising the stakes of another Katrina happening. The Coast Guard faces many challenges, and those serving in the Coast Guard routinely serve with discipline and courage. From saving lives during natural disasters like Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, to protecting our shores in a post-911 world, the Coast Guard has served America well, and continues to serve us every day. Each year, maritime smugglers transport thousands of aliens to the U.S. with virtual impunity because the existing law does not sufficiently punish or deter such conduct. During fiscal years 2004 and 2005, over 840 mariners made $13.9 million smuggling people into the U.S. illegally. Less than 3 percent of those who were interdicted were referred for prosecution. This bill gives the Coast Guard the authority it needs to prosecute maritime authority who intentionally smuggle aliens on board their vessels with a reckless disregard of our laws. It also provides protection for legitimate mariners who encounter stowaways or those who may need medical attention. Our nation relies heavily on polar icebreakers to conduct missions in the Arctic and Antarctic. They conduct vital research on the oceans and climate, resupply U.S. outposts in Antarctica, and provide one of our nation’s only platforms for carrying out security and rescue missions in some of the world’s most rapidly changing environments. Currently, the United States’ icebreaking capabilities lie with the Coast Guard’s three vessels: the Healy, the Polar Sea, and the Polar Star. But the fleet is aging rapidly and requires extensive maintenance. In fact, the Polar Star is currently not even operational because the Coast Guard lacks the resources required to maintain this vessel. With increased climate change, the role of icebreakers is changing.

#### Organized crime causes global economic decline, WMD terrorism and conflicts

Wechsler 2

William F., former Special Advisor to the Secretary of the Treasury, Director for Transnational Threats at the National Security Council and Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Spring 2002, The National Interest, “Law in order: Reconstructing U.S. national security,” p17(12), infotrac

As technology advanced and borders became increasingly porous after the Cold War, it became increasingly evident that international crime in all of its various forms threatened U.S. national security interests. Sometimes the threats were direct. Terrorists groups like AlQaeda, no longer as dependent on state sponsorship, began targeting Americans at home and abroad. They also engaged in a host of criminal activities apart from terrorism, from arms trafficking to people smuggling to securities fraud. Vast networks of criminals based in Russia, Nigeria, Latin America, East Asia and elsewhere went global, infiltrating the United States as one of the world’s most lucrative targets. Hackers halfway around the world broke into U.S. computer systems, including sensitive systems belonging to the military and intelligence agencies. International crime also poses indirect threats to U.S. national security. Criminal syndicates have corrupted government officials, undermined democratic governance, and hindered economic development in many countries. This has been well documented in post-communist states like Russia, developing countries like Nigeria, post-conflict societies like Bosnia and countries of particular concern to the United States like Mexico. In Colombia, groups engaged in drug trafficking, terrorist activity and other serious crimes even challenge the government itself for control over territory and the population, just as typical communist insurgencies did a few decades ago. Criminal syndicates have also helped to undermine regional stability. In Sierra Leone, for instance, the illegal smuggling of “conflict” diamonds helped finance a brutal civil war. Elsewhere in Africa and around the world, arms trafficking by organized criminal networks has stoked regional conflicts that might otherwise have died down. Criminal syndicates have been instrumental in violating U.S. and international sanctions regimes in such places as Iraq and Serbia. Russian criminal organizations are reportedly involved in smuggling materials for weapons of mass destruction--chemical, biological and nuclear. In other places, such as in Albania, criminal organizations have driven regime change, as when the collapse of a pyramid scheme precipitated anarchy and flooded next-door Kosovo with small weapons. Financial crimes such as money laundering and counterfeiting have the potential to undermine national banking systems and thereby to destabalize the global financial system. Economic crimes such as piracy--both physical and intellectual--affect U.S. companies’ competitiveness in foreign markets.

#### Arctic terror is a real threat and the arctic can provide an entry point for terrorists into North America

Canadian Press 10

(November 10, 2010 The Canadian Press

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/story/2010/11/10/cp-arctic-security-threats.html>)

"The Arctic is changing is so much. To simply pretend that we'll just constantly live in the state of the 1990s when no one could get there and nothing could happen is just wrong." The possibility of a terrorist attack in the North is highly unlikely, he said. However, foreign extremists could take advantage of spotty surveillance in the region as a means of entering North America. "They're not going to attack a small-level target when they can attack a big-scale target. But the big concern has always been the North as an entry point." Huebert recalls the 1999 arrival of the Xue Long, a scientific research vessel, at Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T., catching Canadian officials off guard — an event that suggests slipping into an Arctic port undetected is not as far-fetched as it might seem. The RCMP has previously underscored the rapid loss of ice shelves in the Canadian Arctic due to rising temperatures. The opening of viable shipping and navigation routes will lead to soaring levels of marine traffic of all kinds in the area, the force predicted three years ago. In addition, labour market shortages in the North have prompted employers to turn to a foreign work force which "for the most part is not subjected to security screening prior to entering Canada," the Mounties said. A January 2009 U.S. presidential directive on Arctic policy also flagged the possibility of security threats. It said Washington had fundamental homeland security interests in "preventing terrorist attacks and mitigating those criminal or hostile acts that could increase the United States vulnerability to terrorism in the Arctic region."

#### Terrorism results in extinction

Alexander 3

Yonah, professor and director of the Inter-University Center for Terrorism Studies in Israel and the United States, August 28, 2003, The Washington Times, “Terrorism myths and realities,” p. A20

Last week’s brutal suicide bombings in Baghdad and Jerusalem have once again illustrated dramatically that the international community failed, thus far at least, to understand the magnitude and implications of the terrorist threats to the very survival of civilization itself. Even the United States and Israel have for decades tended to regard terrorism as a mere tactical nuisance or irritant rather than a critical strategic challenge to their national security concerns. It is not surprising, therefore, that on September 11, 2001, Americans were stunned by the unprecedented tragedy of 19 al Qaeda terrorists striking a devastating blow at the center of the nation’s commercial and military powers. Likewise, Israel and its citizens, despite the collapse of the Oslo Agreements of 1993 and numerous acts of terrorism triggered by the second intifada that began almost three years ago, are still “shocked” by each suicide attack at a time of intensive diplomatic efforts to revive the moribund peace process through the now revoked cease-fire arrangements [hudna]. Why are the United States and Israel, as well as scores of other countries affected by the universal nightmare of modern terrorism surprised by new terrorist “surprises”? There are many reasons, including misunderstanding of the manifold specific factors that contribute to terrorism’s expansion, such as lack of a universal definition of terrorism, the religionization of politics, double standards of morality, weak punishment of terrorists, and the exploitation of the media by terrorist propaganda and psychological warfare. Unlike their historical counterparts, contemporary terrorists have introduced a new scale of violence in terms of conventional and unconventional threats and impact. The internationalization and brutalization of current and future terrorism make it clear we have entered an Age of Super Terrorism [e.g. biological, chemical, radiological, nuclear and cyber] with its serious implications concerning national, regional and global security concerns. Two myths in particular must be debunked immediately if an effective counterterrorism “best practices” strategy can be developed [e.g., strengthening international cooperation]. The first illusion is that terrorism can be greatly reduced, if not eliminated completely, provided the root causes of conflicts - political, social and economic - are addressed. The conventional illusion is that terrorism must be justified by oppressed people seeking to achieve their goals and consequently the argument advanced by “freedom fighters” anywhere, “give me liberty and I will give you death,” should be tolerated if not glorified. This traditional rationalization of “sacred” violence often conceals that the real purpose of terrorist groups is to gain political power through the barrel of the gun, in violation of fundamental human rights of the noncombatant segment of societies. For instance, Palestinians religious movements [e.g., Hamas, Islamic Jihad] and secular entities [such as Fatah’s Tanzim and Aqsa Martyr Brigades]] wish not only to resolve national grievances [such as Jewish settlements, right of return, Jerusalem] but primarily to destroy the Jewish state. Similarly, Osama bin Laden’s international network not only opposes the presence of American military in the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq, but its stated objective is to “unite all Muslims and establish a government that follows the rule of the Caliphs.” The second myth is that strong action against terrorist infrastructure [leaders, recruitment, funding, propaganda, training, weapons, operational command and control] will only increase terrorism. The argument here is that law-enforcement efforts and military retaliation inevitably will fuel more brutal acts of violent revenge. Clearly, if this perception continues to prevail, particularly in democratic societies, there is the danger it will paralyze governments and thereby encourage further terrorist attacks. In sum, past experience provides useful lessons for a realistic future strategy. The prudent application of force has been demonstrated to be an effective tool for short- and long-term deterrence of terrorism. For example, Israel’s targeted killing of Mohammed Sider, the Hebron commander of the Islamic Jihad, defused a “ticking bomb.” The assassination of Ismail Abu Shanab - a top Hamas leader in the Gaza Strip who was directly responsible for several suicide bombings including the latest bus attack in Jerusalem - disrupted potential terrorist operations. Similarly, the U.S. military operation in Iraq eliminated Saddam Hussein’s regime as a state sponsor of terror. Thus, it behooves those countries victimized by terrorism to understand a cardinal message communicated by Winston Churchill to the House of Commons on May 13, 1940: “Victory at all costs, victory in spite of terror, victory however long and hard the road may be: For without victory, there is no survival.”

## Ext – Inherency

#### The Coast Guard is only planning on building one more ice-breaker, and they won’t get it for another decade

O’Rourke 6/14

(Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>)

The Coast Guard’s proposed FY2013 budget includes$8 million in acquisition funding to initiate survey and design activities for a new polar icebreaker. The Coast Guard’s Five Year Capital Investment Plan includes an additional $852 million in FY2014-FY2017 for acquiring the ship. The Coast Guard anticipates awarding a construction contract for the ship “within the next five years” andtaking delivery on the ship “within a decade.” The project to design and build a polar icebreaker is a new acquisition project initiated in the FY2013 budget.

#### That means we’ll only have two ice-breakers over the next decade, with limited capabilities

O’Rourke 6/14

(Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>)

The Coast Guard’s two existing heavy polar icebreakers**—**Polar Star and Polar Sea— have exceeded their intended 30-year service lives, and neither is currently operational**.** Polar Star was placed in caretaker status on July 1, 2006. Congress in FY2009 and FY2010 provided funding to repair it and return it to service for 7 to 10 years; the Coast Guard expects the reactivation project to be completed in December 2012. On June 25, 2010, the Coast Guard announced that Polar Sea had suffered an unexpected engine casualty; the ship was unavailable for operation after that. The Coast Guard placed Polar Sea in commissioned, inactive status on October 14, 2011, and plans to decommission it in FY2012. The Coast Guard’s third polar icebreaker—Healy—entered service in 2000. Compared to Polar Star and Polar Sea, Healy has less icebreaking capability (it is considered a medium polar icebreaker), but more capability for supporting scientific research. The ship is used primarily for supporting scientific research in the Arctic. The reactivation of Polar Star and the decommissioning of Polar Sea will result in an operational U.S. polar icebreaking fleetconsisting for the next 7 to 10 years of one heavy polar icebreaker(Polar Star) and one mediumpolar icebreaker (Healy).

#### Inherency – no funding now

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Regarding the third factor above, a January 17, 2011, press report stated that while the current Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Robert Papp, remained committed to funding the procurement of eight National Security Cutters (NSCs),45 “the admiral was less optimistic about the prospects of replacing the Coast Guard’s heavy polar icebreakers, both of which are currently in port for restoration or repairs. He estimated that replacing them would cost $800 million each, and he does not see a national will to provide that kind of funding right now.” The article stated: “There is no room in the Coast Guard budget to do that,” [Papp] said. “Nor is there a national will or consensus at this point about what we should be doing in the Arctic, who should be doing it, how we do it and how we resource it, so we’re continuing to make the case that in order to project our sovereignty in the Arctic, and with the evolving activities that are going on up there, there’s a need for a whole range of Coast Guard operational capability up there.”46

## Ext – Solvency

#### Lack of ice-breakers means polar missions can’t be completed – our national interests in the polar regions are at risk

O’Rourke 6/14  
(Ronald, Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>, [CL])

In July 2011, the Coast Guard provided to Congress a study on the Coast Guard’s missions and capabilities for operations in high-latitude (i.e., polar) areas. The study, commonly known as the High Latitude Study, is dated July 2010 on its cover.17 The High Latitude Study concluded the following: [The study] concludes that future capability and capacity gaps will significantly impact four [Coast Guard] mission areas in the Arctic: Defense Readiness, Ice Operations, Marine Environmental Protection, and Ports, Waterways, and Coastal Security. These mission areas address the protection of important national interests in a geographic area where other nations are actively pursuing their own national goals.... The common and dominant contributor to these significant mission impacts is **the gap in polar icebreaking capability**. The increasing obsolescence of the Coast Guard’s icebreaker fleet will further exacerbate mission performance gaps in the coming years.... The gap in polar icebreaking capacity has resulted in a lack of at-sea time for crews and senior personnel and a corresponding gap in training and leadership. In addition to providing multi-mission capability and intrinsic mobility, a helicopter-capable surface unit would eliminate the need for acquiring an expensive shore-based infrastructure that may only be needed on a seasonal or occasional basis. The most capable surface unit would be a polar icebreaker. Polar icebreakers can transit safely in a variety of ice conditions and have the endurance to operate far from logistics bases. The Coast Guard’s polar icebreakers have conducted a wide range of planned and unscheduled Coast Guard missions in the past. Polar icebreakers possess the ability to carry large numbers of passengers, cargo, boats, and helicopters. Polar icebreakers also have substantial command, control, and communications capabilities. The flexibility and mobility of polar icebreakers would assist the Coast Guard in closing future mission performance gaps effectively.... Existing capability and capacity gaps are expected to significantly impact future Coast Guard performance in two Antarctic mission areas: Defense Readiness and Ice Operations. Future gaps may involve an inability to carry out probable and easily projected mission requirements, such as the McMurdo resupply, or readiness to respond to less-predictable events. By their nature, contingencies requiring the use of military capabilities often occur quickly. As is the case in the Arctic, the deterioration of the Coast Guard’s icebreaker fleet is the primary driver for this significant mission impact. This will further widen mission performance gaps in the coming years. The recently issued Naval Operations Concept 2010 requires a surface presence in both the Arctic and Antarctic. This further exacerbates the capability gap left by the deterioration of the icebreaker fleet.... The significant deterioration of the Coast Guard icebreaker fleet and the emerging mission demands to meet future functional requirements in the high latitude regions dictate that the Coast Guard acquire material solutions to close the capability gaps.... To meet the Coast Guard mission functional requirement, the Coast Guard icebreaking fleet must be capable of supporting the following missions: • Arctic North Patrol. Continuous multimission icebreaker presence in the Arctic. • Arctic West Science. Spring and summer science support in the Arctic. • Antarctic, McMurdo Station resupply. Planned deployment for break-in, supply ship escort, and science support. This mission, conducted in the Antarctic summer, also requires standby icebreaker support for backup in the event the primary vessel cannot complete the mission. • Thule Air Base Resupply and Polar Region Freedom of Navigation Transits. Provide vessel escort operations in support of the Military Sealift Command’s Operation Pacer Goose; then complete any Freedom of Navigation exercises in the region.

## Ext – Adv – Research

### Ext – plan saves ATS

#### Plan is key to US security capability and international influence

O'Rourke 11

(Ronald, Specialist in Naval Affairs, Signed by Victor E. Renuart General, USAF Commander U.S. Northern Command, Norton A. Schwartz General, USAF Commander U. S. Transportation Command, Timothy J. Keating Admiral, USN Commander U.S. Pacific Command--Congressional Research Service <http://www.uscg.mil/history/docs/CRS_RL34391.pdf>)

The United States has enduring national, strategic, and economic interests in the Arctic and Antarctic. In the north, the United States is an Arctic nation with broad and fundamental national security interests. In addition to the essential requirements for homeland security and maritime domain awareness, the effects of climate change and increasing economic activity require a more active presence in this maritime domain. In the south, the United States maintains three scientific stations. While the mission of the stations is largely scientific, their presence secures the United States’ influential role in the Antarctic Treaty decision making process and maintains the balance necessary to maintain our position on Antarctic sovereignty. 2. To assert our interests in these regions, the United States needs assured access with reliable icebreaking ships. Today, however, two of the three Coast Guard icebreakers are nearing the end of their service lives, with one relegated to caretaker status. Over the past 10 years some routine maintenance has been deferred and there is no service life extension program for these ships. As a result, the nation’s icebreaking capability has diminished substantially and is at risk of being unable to support our national interests in the Arctic regions. An example of our reduced icebreaking capability is last season’s McMurdo Station resupply mission where USNS GIANELLA spent 50 hours in pack-ice awaiting escort from a leased Swedish icebreaker. 3. In summary, icebreakers are essential instruments of United States policy in the Polar Regions. We therefore recommend Joint Chiefs of Staff support for the following: —A program for the construction of new polar icebreakers to be operated by the Coast Guard. —Coast Guard funding to keep existing icebreakers viable until the new ships enter service. —Sufficient Coast Guard operations funding to provide increased, regular and reliable icebreaker presence in the Polar Regions.

### Ext – species I/L

#### And, keystone species loss makes your resiliency turns irrelevant

Perrings 95

(Charles, Prof. at U. of NY, Biological Loss)

The contributors to this volume have argued that the fundamental goal of biodiversity conservation is not species preservation for its own sake, but the protection of the productive potential of those ecosystems on which human activity depends. This, it has been argued, is a function of the resilience of such ecosystems. Ecosystem resilience has been shown to be a measure of the limits of the local stability of the self- organization of the system. Hence a system may be said to be resilient with respect to exogenous stress or shocks of a given magnitude if it is able to respond without losing self- organization. Where species or population deletion jeopardizes the resilience of an ecosystem providing essential services, then protection of ecosystem resilience implies species preservation. This is not to say that we should dismiss arguments for species preservation for its own sake. The identification of existence or nonuse value in contingent valuation exercises indicates that people do think in such terms. But it does make it clear that there is both an economically and ecologically sound rationale for ensuring the conservation of species that are not currently in use. More particularly, species which are not now keystone species but may become keystone species under different environmental conditions have insurance value, and this insurance value depends on their contribution to ecosystem resilience.

#### And, put away your alt causes – climate change amplifies external factors. Migration tracking is key to adapt conservation strategies to climate change.

Hansen in 8

(Hansen, head of NASA Goddard Institute and prof. of Environmental Sciences, Columbia University, 2008 James E. Hanson. Head of the NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies in New York City and adjunct professor in the Department of Earth and Environmental Science at Columbia University. Al Gore’s science advisor. Introductory chapter for the book State of the Wild. “Tipping point: Perspective of a Scientist.” April. <http://www.columbia.edu/~jeh1/2008/StateOfWild_20080428.pdf>, [CL])

Climate change is emerging while the wild is stressed by other pressures— habitat loss, overhunting, pollution, and invasive species—and it will magnify these stresses. Species will respond to warming at differing paces, affecting many others through the web of ecological interactions. Phenological events, which are timed events in the life cycle that are usually tied to seasons, may be disrupted. Examples of phenological events include when leaves and flowers emerge and when animals depart for migration, breed, or hibernate. If species depend on each other during those times—for pollination or food— the pace at which they respond to warmer weather or precipitation changes may cause unraveling, cascading effects within ecosystems. Animals and plants respond to climate changes by expanding, contracting, or shifting their ranges. Isotherms, lines of a specific average temperature, are moving poleward by approximately thirty-five miles (56 km) per decade, meaning many species ranges may in turn shift at that pace.4 Some already are: the red fox is moving into Arctic fox territory, and ecologists have observed that 943 species across all taxa and ecosystems have exhibited measurable changes in their phenologies and/or distribution over the past several decades.5 However, their potential routes and habitat will be limited by geographic or human-made obstacles, and other species’ territories. Continued business-as-usual greenhouse gas emissions threaten many ecosystems, which together form the fabric of life on Earth and provide a wide range of services to humanity. Some species face extinction. The following examples represent a handful. Of particular concern are polar species, because they are being pushed off the planet. In Antarctica, Adelie and emperor penguins are in decline, as shrinking sea ice has reduced the abundance of krill, their food source.6 Arctic polar bears already contend with melting sea ice, from which they hunt seals in colder months. As sea ice recedes earlier each year, populations of polar bears in Canada have declined by about 20 percent, with the weight of females and the number of surviving cubs decreasing a similar amount. As of this writing, the US Fish and Wildlife Service is still considering protecting polar bears, but only after it was taken to court for failure to act on the mounting evidence that polar bears will suffer greatly due to global warming. 7 Life in many biologically diverse alpine regions is similarly in danger of being pushed off the planet. When a given temperature range moves up a mountain, the area with those climatic conditions becomes smaller and rockier, and the air thinner, resulting in a struggle for survival for some alpine species. In the Southwest US, the endemic Mount Graham red squirrel survives on a single Arizona mountain, an “island in the sky,” an isolated green spot in the desert. The squirrels, protected as an endangered species, had rebounded to a population of over 500, but their numbers have since declined to between 100 and 200 animals.8 Loss of the red squirrel will alter the forest because its middens are a source of food and habitat for chipmunks, voles, and mice. A new stress on Graham red squirrels is climatic: increased heat, drought, and fires. Heat-stressed forests are vulnerable to prolonged beetle infestation and catastrophic fires. Rainfall still occurs, but it is erratic and heavy, and dry periods are more intense. The resulting forest fires burn hotter, and the lower reaches of the forest cannot recover. In the marine world, loggerhead turtles are also suffering. These great creatures return to beaches every two to three years to bury a clutch of eggs. Hatchlings emerge after two months and head precariously to the sea to face a myriad of predators. Years of conservation efforts to protect loggerhead turtles on their largest nesting area in the US, stretching over 20 miles of Florida coastline, seemed to be stabilizing the South Florida subpopulation. 9 Now climate change places a new stress on these turtles. Florida beaches are increasingly lined with sea walls to protect against rising seas and storms. Sandy beaches seaward of the walls are limited and may be lost if the sea level rises substantially. Some creatures seem more adaptable to climate change. The armadillo, a prehistoric critter that has been around for over 50 million years, is likely to extend its range northward in the US. But the underlying cause of the climatic threat to the Graham red squirrel and other species—from grizzlies, whose springtime food sources may shift, to the isolated snow vole in the mountains of southern Spain—is “business-as-usual” use of fossil fuels. Predicted warming of several degrees Celsius would surely cause mass extinctions. Prior major warmings in Earth’s history, the most recent occurring 55 million years ago with the release of large amounts of Arctic methane hydrates, resulted in the extinction of half or more of the species then on the planet. Might the Graham red squirrel and snow vole be “saved” if we transplant them to higher mountains? They would have to compete for new niches— and there is a tangled web of interactions that has evolved among species and ecosystems. What is the prospect that we could understand, let alone reproduce, these complex interactions that create ecological stability? “Assisted migration” is thus an uncertain prospect. 11 The best chance for all species is a conscious choice by humans to pursue an alternative energy scenario to stabilize the climate.

### Impact - Fisheries

#### Antarctic science is key to replace diminishing returns from fisheries – no turns – Antarctic science is a key modeling point

Joyner 98

(Christopher C. Joyner, Professor and MA in International Relations Government @ Georgetown University, “Governing the frozen commons: the Antarctic regime and environmental protection” Published By University of South Carolina Press, 1998, Online @ Google Books [HT])

A fourth policy objective furthered by Antarctic science is deriving reasonable economic benefits from living and nonliving resources of the Antarctic, albeit excluding extraction of minerals by mining or hydrocarbons by drilling. One economic benefit derived largely from Antarctic scientific activities is the enhancement of agriculture from improved weather and climate prediction services that use Antarctic data in computer prediction models. In addition, in the future, Southern Ocean fisheries might greatly supplement the world’s growing need for protein. However, such economic development **depends upon the scientifically accurate assessment of resources** and the capacities of those fisheries to withstand intensified harvesting. More and better data from the Southern Ocean should greatly improve these services in coming years. Science is, therefore, essential for responsible stewardship in the Antarctic. Over the past four decades Antarctic science has thrived, expanded in scope, and taken on new responsibilities. Science has become the means for making “reasoned, forward-looking decisions based on scientific knowledge for the preservation, protection, and conservation of Antarctica for current and future generations, and for Earth as a system. While scientific research is the main activity in the Antarctic commons, its mission has recently taken on a broader purpose. Antarctic science has become more globally directed not only because of scientific imperatives. Rather, the critical place of the polar South in global affairs has given added dimension to Antarctic science. A convergence of interests has emerged among scientific researchers, environmental groups, and the general public asserting that the Antarctic commons, including its circumpolar seas, must be preserved and protected as a means to and a **model** of global environmental protection. **Science is the lynchpin to promoting that responsible stewardship.**

## Ext – Adv – Drilling

### Lots of Arctic oil

#### There is an abundance of untapped oil in the Arctic Circle.

King ‘12

Hobart King, Geology.com, April 2012, <http://geology.com/articles/arctic-oil-and-gas/>, “Oil and Natural Gas Resources of the Arctic”, 7/2/12, GL

The area above the Arctic Circle is underlain by sedimentary basins and continental shelves that hold enormous oil and natural gas resources. Most of this area is poorly explored for oil and natural gas, however, the United States Geological Survey estimates that the Arctic contains approximately 13 percent of the world's undiscovered conventional oil resources and about 30 percent of its undiscovered conventional natural gas resources. This makes the Arctic an incredibly rich area. It is about the same geographic size as the African continent - about 6% of Earth's surface area - yet it holds an estimated 22 percent of Earth's oil and natural gas resource. [3] Most of the exploration in the Arctic to-date has taken place on land. This work has resulted in the Prudhoe Bay Oil Field in Alaska, the Tazovskoye Field in Russia and hundreds of smaller fields, many of which are on Alaska's North Slope. Land accounts for about 1/3 of the Arctic's area and is thought to hold about 16% of the Arctic's remaining undiscovered oil and gas resource. [4] About 1/3 of the Arctic area is continental shelves which have been very lightly explored. The Arctic continental shelves are the largest geographic area on Earth with enormous probable resources that remains virtually unexplored. The remaining 1/3 of the Arctic is deep ocean waters over 500 meters deep and this area is unexplored. [4] The United States Geological Survey has estimated the undiscovered technically recoverable, conventional oil, natural gas and natural gas liquids resources north of the Arctic Circle to be approximately 412 billion barrels oil equivalent. Their estimates place over 87% of the resource (360 billion barrels oil equivalent) into seven Arctic basin provinces: Amerasia Basin, Arctic Alaska Basin, East Barents Basin, East Greenland Basin, West Greenland East Canada Basin, East Greenland Rift Basin, West Siberian Basin and the Yenisey-Khatang Basin. These seven Arctic basin provinces are shown on the map at the top of this page and their resource distributions are presented as Table 1 below. [4] It is clear from this data that most of the Arctic area resource is natural gas and that the Asian side of the Arctic area has the highest proportion of natural gas and natural gas liquids. Portions of eight countries are situated above the Arctic Circle: Canada, Denmark (via Greenland), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States. Six of them border the Arctic Ocean and thus have a jurisdictional claim to portions of the Arctic seafloor: Canada, Denmark (via Greenland), Iceland, Norway, Russia and the United States. Their claims to oil and gas beneath the Arctic Ocean seafloor have historically been determined by unilateral decrees, however the Law of the Sea Convention provides each country an exclusive economic zone extending 200 miles out from its shoreline. Under certain conditions the exclusive economic zone can be extended out to 350 miles if a nation can demonstrate that its continental margin extends more than 200 miles beyond its shore. Russia, Canada and the United States are currently working to define the extent of their continental margin. This provision has led to some overlapping territorial disputes and disagreements over how the edge of the continental margin is defined and mapped. For example, Russia claims that their continental margin follows the Lomonosov Ridge all the way to the North Pole. In another, both the United States and Canada claim a portion of the Beaufort Sea in an area that is thought to contain significant oil and natural gas resources.. The Arctic's vast oil resource and the high price of oil are what currently attract attention to the Arctic area. Where ice-free water is available, oil can be produced from a well, placed on a ship and transported to refineries.

### Oil Dependence Bad

#### Oil dependency costs the American economy billions of dollars a year – it is money not reinvested

Lovaas 5

Deron is the Vehicles Campaign Director at the Natural Resources Defense Council. THE BUSINESS CASE FOR REDUCED OIL DEPENDENCE, In Business. May-June **2005** Vol 27 No. 3 p. 30

The real price of oil is reflected in all sectors of our economy and is much costlier when we take into account the military, environmental, job loss, and other expenses associated with our intense dependence on oil. In 2004 alone, Americans spent roughly $270 billion to feed our oil appetite, nearly half of last year's trade deficit according to government statistics. The National Defense Council Foundation finds that the total economic penalty of our oil dependence, including loss of jobs, output, and tax revenue is estimated to be $297 to $305 billion annually.

#### US oil dependence causes terrorism and global economic collapse

SecureEnergy.org, No Date

Oil Dependence: A Threat to U.S. Economic & National Security

Oil dependence endangers U.S. economic and national security. In addition to hundreds of billions of dollars each year in direct costs, oil dependence feeds the growth of Islamist terrorism; provides vast amounts of money to unstable, undemocratic governments; increases the likelihood of international conflict; puts American troops in harm’s way; and exposes Americans to the risk of severe economic dislocation. For example: > Al Qaeda has targeted and continues to target oil infrastructure as a way of “bleeding” the U.S. econo- my. Numerous key chokepoints along the oil supply and distribution chain are predisposed to accidents, piracy, or terrorism, and the effects of a major attack at one of these points could devastate the global economy. > Oil’s influence on U.S. foreign policy puts considerable leverage in the hands of hostile powers and undemocratic regimes and weakens our capacity to prevail in the war on terrorism. > Growing demand for oil could heighten geopolitical tensions and spark international conflict. > Transfers of national wealth to foreign oil producers account for approximately one-third of the U.S. current account deficit, which soared to $792 billion in 2005. 3 > Terrorism, natural disasters, and numerous other plausible events could interrupt global supplies and send prices sharply higher, threatening the stability of the global economy. History provides ample evidence of the potential economic consequences of oil dependence. At best, short term measures offer limited protection against the effects of oil supply disruptions, but there are long-term policy options available that would significantly reduce our exposure to the tremendous costs and potentially devastating effects of oil dependence. It is these long-term reforms that must be imple- mented to improve U.S. economic and national security.

### AT – Drilling Bad - species

#### All drilling will be put into designated areas with low resource conflicts

Murphy 6/26

(6/26/12 Kim Murphy LA Times. “Salazar: U.S. to open more of Arctic Ocean to oil, gas drilling” <http://www.latimes.com/news/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-arctic-drilling-salazar-20120626,0,5503849.story>)

Salazar said the upcoming Outer Continental Shelf leasing program for the Arctic is being drafted under a new approach in which federal managers are identifying specific high-resource, low-conflict areas for leasing. That approach will allow drilling to go forward in areas where there is the most oil but fewest conflicts with wildlife or with species on which Native Alaskans rely for food and clothing.“We are defining a targeted leasing program with the aim of really focusing for potential leasing … on areas that have the highest resource potential and that we’ve endeavored to de-conflict by taking out areas of particular environmental sensitivity**,** as well as areas that potentially conflict with subsistence use,” said Tommy Beaudreau, director of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management.Officials said the following two areas would not be immediately offered for leasing: an existing 25-mile buffer along the Chukchi Sea and an area north of Barrow. They also used an example of an area known as Hanna Shoal, a part of the Chukchi with an unusually productive concentration of marine life (for reasons not completely understood) to show that some areas will undergo study before any determinations are made about leasing.Eleanor Huffines, U.S. Arctic program manager for the Pew Environment Group, said the restricted zone north of Barrow most likely will be Barrow Canyon -- well known for ice seals, bowhead whales, beluga and walrus. That area is considered critical not only for the Arctic ecosystem, but for native subsistence hunters.

### AT – Drilling Bad - spills

#### New safety standards will be put into place to prevent accidents

Murphy 6/26

( 6/26/12 Kim Murphy LA Times. “Salazar: U.S. to open more of Arctic Ocean to oil, gas drilling” <http://www.latimes.com/news/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-arctic-drilling-salazar-20120626,0,5503849.story>

“This five-year program will show that we can move confidently — with comprehensive safety standards in place — to continue to grow our energy economy at home while protecting the environment and human health,” Salazar said at the conference in Norway. Federal officials also announced that Shell Alaska on Monday completed testing of a newly designed capping stack, of the kind that finally halted the flow of oil from the Deepwater Horizon. That capping stack is designed to halt a blowout [should one occur](http://www.latimes.com/news/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-arctic-oilspill-20120217,0,3943782.story) during drilling in the Arctic. “I can confirm that it has been tested,” Salazar said, though he did not discuss the outcome. The test, carried out off the coast of Bellingham, Wash., demonstrated that the capping stack could be deployed at a depth of about 150 feet and form a seal sufficient to hold back oil at the pressure that might emerge from an uncontrolled well, Shell spokeswoman Kelly op de Weegh told the Los Angeles Times. “It was successful from our standpoint, in that we deployed it and tested it for integrity, and everything went smoothly,” she said.

### **AT - Backstopping**

#### Higher Oil Prices Increase Poverty and Famine in Developing Nations, and do not spur investment in alternative energy

Learsy 5

Commodities trader and member of the Wilson Council at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, **2005**

Raymond J., “Over a Barrel: Breaking the Middle East Oil Cartel”

These costs land disproportionately on those least equipped to bear them, the people in the developing world. Already treading a precarious path of existence, Third World countries lack the money and technology to introduce energy-efficient techniques and processes, and typically have little or no access to energy sources that can be substituted for oil. With nothing to shield them from the full brunt of rising prices, the world's poorest people are thus forced to spend more of their meager resources on food, fuel, and transport. The hole they're in just gets deeper. For the thievery of all the world's citizens, we can blame OPEC, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. Though OPEC's eleven member states (Algeria, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela) account for an estimated 40 percent of world oil production, their brazen market manipulations largely determine the price for all the rest. Blame must also go to OPEC'S co-conspirators-non-member countries like Mexico and Russia, the Western oil companies and their minions who collude with the cartel, Western governments (including, at key junctures, the United States) that actively support the conspiracy, the media with its willingness to swallow and regurgitate OPEC's propaganda, and all of us who have stood by and passively watched this disaster unfold.

#### High prices spur investment in unconventional sources of oil, not renewables – making our environmental impact worse as prices rise

Union of Concerned Scientists 6

7/7/06, Alternative Fuels Ethanol: Frequently Asked Questions

A: Innovation has been at the heart of economic growth in America and innovation focused on renewable energy and efficient vehicles will be no different. A combination of sustainably grown renewable fuels, renewable electricity, and more efficient vehicles can lead to economic prosperity in the parts of our country that feed us, build our cars and trucks, or both. Our analysis has shown that a 10 percent national renewable electricity standard would generate $5.7 billion in income to farmers, ranchers, and rural landowners from biomass energy production and wind-power lease payments, nearly three billion dollars in new property tax revenues for local communities, and more than 90,000 new jobs throughout the country by 2020. The findings are similar for increasing fuel economy to 40 miles per gallon over the next 10 years, which would create more than 40,000 new jobs in the auto industry alone and more than 160,000 throughout the country. The picture for biofuels would look pretty similar—though with a somewhat longer timetable—if the nation committed to a reasonable renewable fuels pathway. We should not fool ourselves, however, and think that existing industries will take advantage of these benefits on their own. High oil prices could also lead to investments in tar sands, oil shale, and motor fuel made from coal, all of which would only make our environmental problems much worse while setting ourselves up for another hard fall as these finite resources are gobbled up.

#### A short-term increase in oil prices, no matter how high, will not be enough to cause meaningful reduction in consumption

Wells 7

Director, Natural Resources and Environment, February 28th, Jim, Congressional Quarterly GAO Report, “Crude Oil: Uncertainty about Future Oil Supply Makes It Important to Develop a Strategy for Addressing a Peak and Decline in Oil Production”, Accessed through LexisNexis

The extent to which consumers are willing and able to reduce their consumption of oil in response to price increases depends on the cost of switching to activities and lifestyles that use less oil. Because there are more options available in the longer term, consumers respond more to changes in oil prices in the longer term than in the shorter term. For example, in the short term, consumers can reduce oil consumption by driving less or more slowly, but in the longer term, consumers can still take those actions, but can also buy more fuel- efficient automobiles or even move closer to where they work and thereby further reduce their oil consumption.

## Ext – Adv - Oil Spills

### Ext – Spills coming now

#### During the winter, 65% of oil spills can’t be responded to

Nuka Research and Planning Group 7

(October, World Wildlife Foundation, “Oil Spill Response Challenges in Arctic Waters”, <http://www.worldwildlife.org/what/wherewework/arctic/WWFBinaryitem24363.pdf>)

A response gap analysis was conducted for two points on the Prince William Sound tanker transit route in Alaska. Datasets on wind, sea state, temperature and visibility were built using buoy observations from the previous five years. The operating limits of the open-water mechanical response system described in the tanker owners’ oil spill contingency plans were estimated based on literature, manufacturer ratings and best professional judgement. These limits were applied to the historical datasets in three categories – response possible, response impaired, and response impossible. Limiting factors were considered both in terms of independent and cumulative impacts. When two or more factors existed to make a response ‘impaired,’ then response was considered ‘impossible’ for that time period. The Prince William Sound response gap analysis found that a response gap – during which no oil spill response activities would be safe or feasible due to one of the four environmental factors considered – existed for 38% of the time on average. During the winter season, the response gap existed 65% of the time. This analysis did not consider ice conditions, which could exacerbate the response gap in areas where sea ice may be present.

#### Arctic conditions increase risk of spill and need for solution

Nuka Research and Planning Group 7

(October, World Wildlife Foundation, “Oil Spill Response Challenges in Arctic Waters”, <http://www.worldwildlife.org/what/wherewework/arctic/WWFBinaryitem24363.pdf>)

Arctic conditions, such as dynamic ice cover, low temperatures, reduced visibility or complete darkness, high winds, and extreme storms add to the probability of an accident or error that might cause a spill to occur (Anderson and Talley, 1995). There are several characteristics of the arctic environment and arctic wildlife species that exacerbate the potentially negative consequence of an oil spill to arctic waters. Oil persists longer in arctic conditions because it evaporates more slowly or may be trapped in or under ice and is thus less accessible to bacterial degradation. Population recovery after an incident may be slowed because many species have relatively long life spans and slower generational turnover (AMAP 1998). Recent research published in the U.S. suggests that long-term consequences of oil spills to temperate and sub-arctic coastal environments may persist well beyond initial projections. Compared to the world’s temperate oceans, arctic marine waters have lower temperatures and lower salinity profiles. Typical winter conditions include cold temperatures, the formation and movement of sea ice, extreme and unpredictable weather conditions, and long periods of darkness. Any of these conditions may increase the risks of a significant accidental oil spill while limiting the potential effectiveness of cleanup options.

#### Risk of disaster high now

Apps 12

Peter Apps, Reuters Political Risk Correspondent Tue Apr 3, 2012 “Melting Arctic may redraw global geopolitical map” http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/03/us-arctic-resources-idUSBRE8320DR20120403. Date accessed 6-27-12

"I see the Arctic as ultimately more of a venue for cooperation than confrontation," says Christian le Miere, senior fellow for maritime affairs at London's International Institute for Strategic Studies. "China, Northern Europe, Russia will all benefit in particular from the new sea routes. The only real losers will be countries much further south that cannot take advantage." For U.S. Coast Guard captain Bert, having spent much of her career in the north, the greatest real enemies remain the vast distances, harsh climate and lack of resources. Even with the icecaps gone for some of the year, icebergs will still drift through shipping lanes and harsh storms and poor maps provide ever present danger. "I don't worry about a war in the Arctic," she says. "But I do worry that we're not prepared to deal with a major disaster there. No one is, but as more people go there, it becomes much more likely.".

### Ext – plan solves spills

#### Heavy icebreakers are key to oil spill response, cleanup, and search-and-rescue

Rufe 12

(Roger T., 5.27.12, The Portland Press Herald, “Oil Spill in Arctic Ocean would tax our capabilities”, <http://www.pressherald.com/opinion/oil-spill-in-arctic-ocean-would-tax-our-capabilities_2012-05-27.html>)

The second anniversary of the Deepwater Horizon disaster passed with little fanfare last month. But with our government on the brink of allowing the oil industry to explore in America's remote Arctic Ocean this summer, it is worth revisiting some of the lessons learned from the biggest oil spill in the nation's history. Stopping that spill took three months, even though it occurred in the relatively calm waters of the Gulf of Mexico near Coast Guard stations, cleanup equipment and abundant shoreside support. Subsequently, I was asked to chair a panel of federal, state, industry and environmental experts to review our nation's response. Our recommendations are especially important for the Arctic. The Arctic Ocean has one of the harshest climates on Earth. Even in the summer, conditions are volatile, with sudden, violent storms and shifting sea ice. The shoreline is sparsely populated, with no roads connecting the eight main villages to each other or to the rest of Alaska. The nearest major seaport is 1,300 nautical miles away; the nearest Coast Guard air station is 950 air miles. A spill cleanup effort could take weeks to mount and then could suffer endless delays because of foul weather. Although preventing and containing an oil spill in these extreme conditions is the priority, we must also have a plan for response. After the Gulf, we witnessed firsthand that the middle of an emergency is not the time to come up with one. Fully developed and detailed procedures, agreed to in advance, are essential to an effective response. These must address the impact of a spill on environmentally sensitive areas and species, as well as on local economies. This requires a great deal of scientific research along with full and early consultation with indigenous peoples. After all, it is their livelihoods that are at risk. Even then, response plans are only as good as the men and women who will implement them. So it is critical that they provide for an adequate number of trained personnel and proper equipment to deal with a worst-case scenario. If this was a problem in the early going of the Gulf spill, imagine what a challenge it could be in the Arctic. Finally, such contingency planning must be tested in real-life conditions. Although we learned from the Gulf disaster what is needed for an effective spill response plan, we are on the brink of drilling in a much more remote and extreme location without these hard-won lessons in place. Important habitat and key subsistence areas in the U.S. Arctic Ocean have yet to be set off-limits. The U.S. Coast Guard's two heavy-duty icebreakers -- needed for search-and-rescue missions and to support oil spill response and recovery -- have outlived their original life span; the only remaining ice-capable vessel was built for scientific research and is not adequate for heavy icebreaking.

#### Companies inadequacies on oil spill are attributed to knowledge gaps – investment in science and research is key

[Kollewe](http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/juliakollewe) & [Terry](http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/terrymacalister) 12

cites report from Lyods(Julia, Macalister) [The Guardian](http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian), Wednesday 11 April 2012((Arctic oil rush will ruin ecosystem, warns Lloyd's of London)(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/12/lloyds-london-warns-risks-arctic-oil-drilling>)

**The Lloyd's report says the "inadequacies" of both company and government in the event of a disaster were demonstrated after the Macondo blowout. A smaller company than BP, faced with estimated $40bn clean-up and compensation costs, might have gone bankrupt, leaving the state to foot the bill, it notes.Lloyd's says it is essential that there is more investment in science and research to "close knowledge gaps, reduce uncertainties and manage risks". It calls for sizeable investment in infrastructure and surveillance to enable "safe economic activity" and argues that "full-scale exercises based on worst-case scenarios of environmental disaster should be run by companies".**

## Ext – Adv – Shipping

### Ext – plan saves shipping

#### More icebreakers key to uninterrupted shipping

Konovalov 12

Alexei, Candidate of Sciences, head of the World’s Ocean Center at the State Research

Institution “Council for the Study of the Productive Forces” (SOPS), Ministry of Economic Development of

the Russian Federation and Russian Academy of Sciences, and the Section for Public–Private Partnership

Issues at the Science-Expert Council of the Government’s Marine Board. May 1, 2012, “The Arctic”http://www.institutenorth.org/assets/images/uploads/articles/The\_issues\_and\_prospects\_of\_an\_expanded\_arctic\_transportation\_network.pdf, accessed 6-28-12, CD

A number of key problems hinder the Northern Sea Route’s full incorporation into the system of international transportation corridors. First of all, this approach implies the all-out degradation of coastal infrastructure, which is absolutely unprepared for the possible consequences of global climate change, and a specialized fleet. Such degradation has been sharply aggravated during the post-Soviet period. Of the ports in the Russian Arctic zone’s eastern sector, only Dudinka is in a satisfactory condition. The rudimentary and sometimes completely non-existent transportation and logistics infrastructure creates a discrepancy between the significance of tapping the natural-resource potential of Russia’s Arctic zone and the Arctic continental shelf and the requirements of facilitating national security and Russia’s impaired global competitiveness. Moreover, there are increasingly fewer chances for avoiding the onset of an “icebreaker pause” in 2016, due to the decommissioning of the operational icebreaker fleet, even if the keels of several versatile, multi-role and variable-draft nuclear-powered icebreakers are promptly laid. But demand for icebreakers will not diminish even with global warming, or it will decrease less intensively than other operational parameters of marine transportation and its support elements. It appears that small ice-resistant transport vessels will be replaced with larger and lighter vessels at a snail’s pace. There are several explana-tions for this. First, Arctic navigation is becoming increasingly longer. Consequently, the line icebreaker fleet comprising nuclear-powered and diesel vessels, as well as combined icebreakers/transport vessels, should expand considerably in order to facili-tate uninterrupted shipping. Second, all climatology forecasts usually mention sev-eral-year-old pack ice formations. At the same time, 12-month pack ice floes had been formed in the past and continue to form now not only in the shallow Arctic with its severe winters but also in the Caspian, Yellow and other seas located thousands of kilometers to the south. Third, the full-scale exploitation of hydrocarbon deposits on the continental shelf is inexorably drawing nearer. Consequently, demand for ice-breaker-assisted petroleum transshipment in freezing seas, such as the Baltic Sea, the White Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk, will increase. Fourth, highseas ice formations will become thinner and smaller. Quite possibly, such ice formations will become more dynamic in numerous regions where fast shore ice had previously formed, and where relatively stable navigation conditions had existed. This will require better ser-vice support, including icebreaker escorts, as well as more accurate ice-floe forecasts and improved technology for mapping ice migration. Fifth, the involvement of for-eign operators in the NSR will require more stringent ice-navigation standards for Arctic vessels as compared to other blue-water vessels. Sixth, navigation may be complicated by more mobile ice formations along narrow shipping lanes. Various hypothetical global climate-change scenarios notwithstanding, sea-going transporta-tion in the northern latitudes of the Arctic and sub-Arctic zones is beginning to facili-tate shipments, regardless of the political situation, as well as a certain flexibility in theThe issues and prospects of an expanded arctic transportation geography of Russian fuel and energy exports. Less importantly, it is becoming the most cost-effective means for delivering equipment and production machinery, food and the other materials required to support the life of the regional population and the operation of local territorial-production complexes.

#### Ice-breakers needed to make NSR viable

EU Parliament 10

(DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE UNION, DIRECTORATE B, POLICY DEPARTMENT, STANDARD BRIEFING “OPENING OF NEW ARCTIC SHIPPING ROUTES”, 31 August, <http://tepsa.be/Arild%20Moe_%C3%98ystein%20JENSEN.pdf>)

All indications are that there will be less ice along the NSR in the years to come. This will make it possible to sail with regular ships in some areas in the summer season and to go with icestrengthened ships without icebreaker assistance in larger areas and for longer periods. Vessels may also be able to choose routes further north, avoiding some of the shallower straits. It is this realization that has spurred the renewed interest in trans-arctic shipping in the last few years. But even if the ice situation improves on average, much variation from year to year is expected and also within the same season. In other words, shipping companies face a high level of unpredictability and must plan for possible ice problems, which may or may not occur in practice. They will have to use ice-strengthened vessels all the time and will have to have icebreaker backup available most of the year. All this amounts to serious cost factors. Moreover, they will have to reckon with ice problems that may delay the transit. Punctuality has become more and more important in international shipping – cargoes are delivered ‘just in time’. NSR shipping will not be able to run on exact schedules. If shippers have to include a time buffer to make up for possible delays, much of the saving initially promised by the shorter route will be eaten up.

#### Arctic shipping cuts fuel cost, in turn save money

Bockmann 12

(Michelle Wiese Bockmann, London shipping reporter for Bloomberg News, 6/13/12)

http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-06-13/arctic-ship-cargoes-saving-650-000-on-fuel-set-for-record-high.html

Cargoes of dry-bulk commodities hauled through Arctic waters are set to rise to a record this year as shipping companies use the route to almost halve journey times compared with Suez Canal shipments. Nordic Bulk Carriers A/S plans to transport about six to eight 70,000 metric-ton shipments of iron ore to China from the Russian port of Murmansk starting in July, according to director Christian Bonfils. Using the so-called Northern Sea Route for the journey instead of the canal saves 1,000 tons of fuel, or $650,000, he said today by phone. “We plan to use the Northern Sea Route if it makes sense and we can rely on it,” Bonfils said. Nordic Bulk Carriers, based in Hellerup, Denmark, has four ships with the world’s heaviest hull reinforcing for plying icy waters and will become the biggest user of the route in terms of volumes transported by year-end, he said. Russia is promoting the Arctic voyage as a lane to ship oil, natural gas and minerals to the Pacific Ocean from the northern Atlantic as ice melts and scientific knowledge of marine transportation in the region advances. Any dry-bulk cargoes to be sent to Asia from ports north of Rotterdam may be able to use the route when it’s open, Bonfils said. The route follows the Russian coast from the island archipelago of Novaya Zemlya in the west to the Bering Strait in the east, according to the website of the United Nations Environment Programme’s GRID-Arendal affiliate. A voyage through Arctic waters is as much as 40 percent shorter than a journey via the Panama or Suez canals, the site showed.

#### Ice-breakers key to keeping major New England ports open

Morgan 11

Spring, LT Benjamin Morgan has served in the U.S. Coast Guard for nine years, including tours aboard domestic and polar icebreakers and in waterways management, “Domestic Icebreaking Operations,” http://www.uscg.mil/proceedings/Spring2011/articles/39\_Morgan.pdf

Under typical winter conditions, icebreaking may only be needed in the freshwater or brackish rivers and tributaries. However, during more severe conditions, coastal waterways leading to Boston, New York, Portland, the Cape Cod Canal, and isolated communities dependent on ferry services such as Nantucket may also require substantial icebreaking efforts. These efforts also benefit commercial fishing fleets by providing access in and out of port.

#### Northwest passage will open up new financial markets

Mayer 7

[Chris, The Daily Reckoning,](http://www.dailyreckoning.com.au/northwest-passage/2007/10/10/) October 10th, 2007, <http://www.dailyreckoning.com.au/northwest-passage/2007/10/10/>, “Northwest Passage Reopens Shipping Routes With Global Economic Impact,” accessed 6-28-12, CD

More than 90% of all goods in the world, measured by tonnage, make their way by sea. And as I’ve noted in the past, the rapid surge in trade with China and India is putting a lot of strain on ports around the world. In recent years, the volume of container shipments has grown 5-7% annually - basically, doubling every 10-15 years. The ships carrying those containers are getting bigger, and the old canals can’t hold these new seafaring beasts of burden as they once did. The Suez Canal can still handle the largest current container ships, but not the next generation. The Panama Canal is even smaller. It’s too small for ships that are now common on longer shipping routes. Panama plans to deepen its channels and make them wider. But even so, the new Panama Canal won’t be able to service the next generation of ships. So it looks like the world will have a new navigable ocean with the Northwest Passage. The effects on trade could be immense. Much shorter shipping distances and quicker shipping times will lower the cost of doing business. It could lead to big increases in trade and, certainly, a major shift in sea lanes. A freer-flowing Arctic Ocean would also bring fish stocks north - with fishing fleets not far behind. It could mean a new boom in fishing for salmon, cod, herring and smelt. It could also mean that sleepy old ports could become important new hubs in international trade. As the Financial Times recently wrote, “Leading world powers have an unprecedented chance to win navigation rights and ownership of resources in the Arctic seabed untouched since its emergence during the twilight of the dinosaurs.” The U.S. alone could lay claim to more than 200,000 square miles of additional undersea territory. The specific investment implications of this are still too early to say. But the cracking open of new trade routes or reopening of old ones - and their impact on global trade - always has ripple effects across financial markets. As for the Arctic, the Northwest Passage has got to be one of the most important new developments on that front in a long time.

### I/L – Competitiveness

#### Ice Breakers are key to competiveness in the global stage.

Beilinson 12

Jerry. Popular Mechanics deputy editor. Popular Mechanics. 2-17, 2012, <http://www.popularmechanics.com/technology/engineering/infrastructure/why-the-us-must-build-more-icebreakers-now-6693195>. Date Accessed: July 2. LY.

China, a country with no Arctic coast, is building icebreakers—and that should get America’s attention. It’s one thing for Russia, with the world’s longest Arctic coastline, to operate a couple dozen of the ships. (Fortunately, they’re available for leasing, at a price.) It’s understandable, maybe, for Finland, Sweden, and Canada to surpass the United States in this area. But why is China constructing an 8000-ton vessel capable of breaking through 4.5 ft of ice at a steady clip, to join the *XueLong*, its existing ice-class vessel? In fact, China’s interest is unsurprising given its role as a world economic power. Commercial ships are already traversing the Northern Sea Route above Russia, carrying goods between Europe and East Asia. Often, icebreakers go along as insurance against bad conditions. And soon, ships will start carrying liquefied natural gas from Norway along the route. Traffic through the Northwest Passage above Canada is building more slowly, and talk of the Arctic sea routes competing with the Suez Canal is overblown. Nevertheless, the Bering Strait between Alaska and Russia is already getting crowded. According to Rear Adm. Thomas P. Ostebo, who commands the U.S. Coast Guard in Alaska, about 1000 vessel transits take place in the Strait each summer. That’s America’s backyard.

### Impact – shipping industry

#### It’s ninety percent of global trade.

Conathan 11

(Michael Conathan, Director of Ocean Policy at the Center for American Progress, former staff member on the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation’s Subcommittee on Oceans, Atmosphere, Fisheries, and Coast Guard, holds an M.A. in Marine Affairs from the University of Rhode Island, 2011 (“A Forecast for Disaster: Stormy Conditions Await if NOAA Funding Is Cut,” Center for American Progress, February 18th, Available Online at

http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/02/noaa\_funding.html, Accessed 07-30-2011)

Consider the following numbers: \* The $700 billion maritime commerce industry moves more than 90 percent of all global trade, with arrival and departure of quarter-mile long container ships timed to the minute to maximize revenue and efficiency. Shipping companies rely on accurate forecasts to set their manifests and itineraries**. \*** Forecasting capabilities are particularly strained at high latitudes and shippers have estimated that the loss of satellite monitoring capabilities could cost them more than half a billion dollars per year in lost cargo and damage to vessels from unanticipated heavy weather**.**

Shipping industry key to global economic strength

US Commission on Ocean Policy 4

(“SUPPORTING MARINE COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION” 2004; <http://www.oceancommission.gov/documents/prepub_report/chapter13.pdf> //STRONG])

The U.S. marine transportation system is the nation’s link to global commerce and an essential and growing component of the national economy. The movement of manufacturing jobs from the United States to overseas, the nation’s dependence on raw materials from other countries, global competition to provide high quality goods at competitive prices, and consumer demand have combined to increase the nation’s dependence on the import of foreign materials and goods. At the same time, increasing affluence in foreign nations, coupled with worldwide population growth, has stimulated international demand for U.S. agricultural and manufactured products. The world’s oceans and inland waterways are the highways of choice for the global movement of this vast international trade. As the world’s largest trading nation, the United States imports and exports more merchandise than any other country and has one of the most extensive marine transportation systems in the world (Table 13.1).1 U.S. marine import-export trade accounts for nearly 7 percent of the nation’s gross domestic product.2 Domestically, coastal and inland marine trade amounts to roughly one billion tons of cargo, worth more than $220 billion a year.3 The U.S. marine transportation system is a complex public–private partnership with many participants. It consists of state, territorial, local, and privately-owned facilities managed, financed, and operated by federal, state, territorial, and local governments. The system is a highly complex and interconnected mix of waterways, ports and terminals, water- and land-based intermodal connections, vessels, vehicles, equipment, personnel, support service industries, and users. This system provides a number of services, including: supporting the waterborne movement of foreign and domestic cargo; moving passengers and vehicles through numerous ferry systems; serving recreational boating, commercial fishing vessels, and cruise liners; and generating millions of jobs for Americans and for the nation’s international trading partners. The U.S. marine transportation system also plays an important national security role as a point of entry for foreign shipment and a conduit for the movement of military equipment, supplies, and personnel to and from overseas locations.

#### Maritime shipping key to U.S. economy

Coble and Larsen 11

(Representatives in the U.S. House (Federal News Service 5/24. “HEARING OF THE COAST GUARD AND MARITIME TRANSPORTATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE COMMITTEE; SUBJECT: "CREATING U.S. MARITIME INDUSTRY JOBS BY REDUCING REGULATORY BURDENS"; CHAIRED BY: REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD COBLE -Search using: Biographies Plus News News, Most Recent 60 Days (R-NC); WITNESSES: REAR ADMIRAL KEVIN COOK, DIRECTOR OF PREVENTION POLICY, U.S. COAST GUARD; COAST GUARD DEPUTY JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL CALVIN LEDERER; LOCATION: 2167 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.”, URL: <http://0-www.lexisnexis.com.wizard.umd.umich.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/?verb=sr&csi=297373>. DA: 7/31/11)

The subcommittee is meeting today to review the Coast Guard's regulatory program and examine ways to improve the service's rulemaking process. We're also interested in the status of various pending rules and the impact they will have on maritime safety and commerce. The Coast Guard has broad authority to regulate maritime commerce, including establishing and enforcing rules to ensure mariner safety and vessel and facility safety and security, and the protection of the environment. With such vast authority comes great responsibility to regulate industry in a fair and reasonable way. This hearing will focus on ensuring that Coast Guard rulemaking is just that, fair and reasonable. It's important to remember that the United States economy is fueled by maritime commerce. While regulations must address concerns related to safety, security and stewardship, they must also balance the importance of maintaining the free flow of maritime commerce. Domestic shipping alone is responsible for over 500,000 American jobs and $100 billion in annual economic output. Additionally, 90 percent of all global trade and over 25 percent of our gross domestic product moves via sea. With the water treatment systems aboard -- strike that. With the economy still in a fragile state and unemployment at record levels, it is imperative that federal government can foster an atmosphere where our maritime industry can compete and expand. To that end, I'm concerned about the cost and impact of several forthcoming Coast Guard rulemakings, specifically rules requiring fishing vessel examinations. The purchase of automatic identification systems for small vessels and the installation of ballast water treatment systems aboard vessels could have tremendous impacts on the economy. If these and other rules are not done on a commonsense manner, I'm concerned that they could drastically increase operating costs for businesses, hamper growth and kill jobs at a time when our nation can ill afford economic setbacks. Finally, just as we're facing tough decisions on how to cut the deficit, these and other pending regulations will require additional personnel and funding for the Coast Guard. I look forward to hearing from our witnesses how the Coast Guard intends to fund the -- to find the resources to pay for the expansion of its regulatory mission, as well as what steps it is taking to ensure rules are put forth in an efficient and commonsense manner. I thank you all for appearing today. And I'm now pleased to recognize the distinguish gentleman from Washington for his opening statement. REPRESENTATIVE RICK LARSEN (D-WA): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good morning and thank you for convening today's hearing to examine the status of major rulemaking activities by the U.S. Coast Guard, and their impact on job creation in our domestic maritime industries and the overall economy. Revitalizing and growing our maritime economy is a high priority for me, and I want to thank you for taking interest in this matter this morning, Mr. Chairman. REP. COBLE: You're welcome. REP. LARSEN: The Coast Guard is a multi-mission maritime military service of the United States. It is the principal federal agency responsible for ensuring marine safety, preserving maritime and port security, enhancing maritime commerce and protecting the marine environment.

### Ext – Shipping sucks now

#### Shipping industry crashing now – ship-building bubble

Deb-as-hak-tuni and Kennedy 12

(Sai S. Dev­ab­hak­tuni, and Gre­gory Kennedy (Mr. Devabhaktuni is anexecutive vice president in the Newport Beach office and head of corporate distressed portfolio management. Mr. Kennedy is a vice president and distressed credit analyst in the Newport Beach office.)  May 21st, 2012

<http://advisoranalyst.com/glablog/tag/bloomberg/>)

The global ship­ping industry is in the midst of its worst cycle since the 1980s. A recent Bloomberg arti­cle high­lighted that “the combined mar­ket value of the world’s 80 biggest publicly traded shipping companies plunged by $101.7 billion in the four years to March 23, 2012.” What caused so much value destruc­tion? The combination of an excess supply of new vessels that were financed at the peak of the market and a global recession from which there has been an uneven recovery has led to persistently low charter rates and plummeting ship values. In its wake is nearly $500 bil­lion of debt, the over­whelm­ing major­ity of which is held by Euro­pean banks. Over 90% of world trade activ­ity depends on the ship­ping industry’s global fleet of 58,000 ships, accord­ing to Clark­sons and J.P. Mor­gan. The fleet includes tankers, dry bulk ships, con­tainer ships, chem­i­cal tankers, liq­ue­fied nat­ural gas (LNG) tankers and other cargo ships across what is a highly frag­mented indus­try. As the global econ­omy expanded and inter­na­tional trade increased after the end of the Cold War, world seaborne trade increased by nearly 50% from 1990 to 2000, from about four bil­lion tonnes to six bil­lion tonnes annu­ally, which helped the ship­ping indus­try recover from the ves­sel over­sup­ply it faced in the 1980s (see Fig­ure 1). The global ship­ping indus­try has long cycles and was his­tor­i­cally dri­ven by demand and GDP growth in devel­oped economies. But by 2003, demand from emerg­ing economies like China began accel­er­at­ing, which pushed global seaborne trade to over eight bil­lion tonnes by 2008. China’s demand for coal and iron increased nearly 20% per year from 2004 to 2011, and the coun­try is now a net importer rather than exporter of coal. This insa­tiable emerg­ing mar­ket demand, com­bined with increased pros­per­ity due in part to the credit bub­ble in devel­oped mar­kets, led to a ves­sel short­age, dri­ving ship­ping rates to new highs (see Fig­ure 2). The ship­ping indus­try responded to these his­tor­i­cally high ship­ping rates by order­ing what turned out to be an exces­sive num­ber of ves­sels. From 2003 to 2008, over $800 bil­lion of new ships were ordered, with half of the orders placed in 2007–2008, when ves­sel prices were at their peak, accord­ing to Clark­sons. Dur­ing these boom years, bank lend­ing was widely avail­able for new ships, as banks offered financ­ing of up to 80% loan-to-value (LTV) for new ves­sels (ver­sus 50% to 60% today), leav­ing lit­tle mar­gin for error in ves­sel val­ues. Most of those ves­sels were sched­uled for deliv­ery in the years imme­di­ately fol­low­ing the finan­cial cri­sis of 2008–2009, com­pound­ing the over­sup­ply issue.

#### Shipping sector in a slump year – recession

Khalid 12

(Nazery Khalid is a senior fellow at the Maritime Institute of Malaysia Jan 16, 2012, <http://thestar.com.my/maritime/story.asp?file=/2012/1/16/maritime/10259415&sec=maritime>)

The shipping sector is set to go through some rough waters in the year ahead. Transporting some 90% of the world’s trade by volume, the shipping sector provides a reliable barometer on the health of global trade and economy. Thus, the sector is heavily influenced by the drumbeats of world trade and given that the global economy continues to be in rough waters, the shipping industry is expected to register slower growth this year. Since the global economy started to slump, triggered by the Wall Street crisis in 2008, the shipping industry has taken a big hit as demand for goods and services dropped. Although there have been flashes of rebounds, such as in the container and dry bulk trades, they have not occurred on a sustained basis for pundits to be convinced that the shipping sector is well and truly on a path of recovery. It would take a betting person to wager a bet on the shipping sector to turn the corner in the next 12 months. The world economy is expected to grow very moderately in 2012. World Bank has trimmed down its initial forecast on global economic growth in 2012 from 2.7% to 1.9%. This revision was made on the back of the eurozone debt crisis which shows no sign of a resolution, despite the best attempts by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Nicolas Sarkozy to keep the euro intact and prevent the eurozone as a unified fiscal entity from collapsing. Throw in other potential spanners in the work of the global economic recovery such as recession in the United States, soft landing of China’s economy, prolonged crisis in the Middle East from the Arab Uprising, and tension in the Straits of Hormuz and South China Sea, it is hard to be bullish about the prospect of the global economy roaring and breathing fire in the Year of the Dragon. Forecast from renowned shipping brokers and research houses point to slower growth in the year ahead for the shipping sector. In the dry bulk cargo sector, trade growth is expected to moderate from 5% in 2011 to 3% in 2012, no thanks to expected slower demand of iron ore from China. Should China’s economy grow slower than expected (Swiss bank UBS recently pared down its forecast of China’s GDP growth in 2012 from 8.3% to 8%), the dry bulk sector would take a bigger hit. December 2011 figures for China’s imports showed slower growth at 11.8%, the lowest in two years. It is not just China’s economy that will be under scrutiny in 2012. World Bank has suggested that the world economy will grow this year largely on the back of the performance of developing countries, as matured economies such as the United States, the eurozone and Japan reel from the global recession and financial crises. Should the developing countries, especially the economies of the BRIC group of nations (Brazil, Russia, India, China) grow slower than expected, even the modest 1.9% global economic growth forecast would prove hard to attain.

### Ext – Plan saves shipping industry

#### Arctic Lanes could save the shipping industry billions

ISN 11

(International Relations and Security Network (ISN) is one of the world’s leading open access information services for international relations (IR) and security professionals.8 December 2011, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/DigitalLibrary/SpecialFeature/Detail?lng=en&id=134822&contextid774=134822&contextid775=134823&tabid=1451532519>)

The main driver of all this is the 'great melt.' Under what used to be dense, hard “perennial” ice is, according to the US Geological Survey, “as much as one-quarter of the world’s remaining undiscovered oil and gas deposits.” While it is estimated that the Alaskan Arctic could contain up to 27 billion barrels of oil, the most significant deposits would most likely be claimed by Russia. In all, the Russian Ministry of National Resources estimates that the Arctic territory it claims may contain up to 586 billion barrels of oil– more than twice the current proven reserves of Saudi Arabia. But an even bigger deal than all that oil, or so Borgerson argues, would be the opening of new sea lanes. The once-fabled Northwest Passage above North America would cut thousands of miles off journeys from Europe to the West Coast of the United States. Moreover, the corresponding route above Eurasia would cut shipping distances from Europe to China and Japan in half. Besides saving the shipping industry billions of dollars a year, Arctic routes would also allow commercial and military vessels to avoid sailing through “politically unstable Middle Eastern waters and the pirate-infested South China Sea.” In an era of trans-Arctic shipping, current chokepoints such as the Suez and Panama canals and the Strait of Malacca would no longer dictate global shipping patterns and would decline dramatically in geopolitical significance. So important is the melting of Arctic ice, in other words, that it could change the geopolitics of the entire planet. To this day, however, the Arctic is not governed by an overarching political or legal structure. The Arctic Council, an intergovernmental forum created for this very purpose in 1996, has proven unable to perform the function. Indeed, the Council was “emasculated” (in Borgerson’s words) by US insistence that it not discuss security-related matters. As a result, the constellation of new shipping routes, trillions of dollars in possible oil and gas resources, and poorly defined ideas of ‘ownership’ makes, in Borgerson’s words, for “a toxic brew.” With no historical precedents to serve as a guide, avoiding conflict in the Arctic may require an imaginative institutional solution. Until one is found, however, the Arctic countries are likely to grab as much territory as possible and exert sovereign control over opening sea-lanes wherever they can.

### Ext – Shipping competition now

#### Russia is investing heavily in Arctic sea routes – gives them a competitive advantage

Bryanski 11

(Gleb, Sep 22, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/22/us-russia-arctic-idUSTRE78L5TC20110922>)

Russian plans to revive the Soviet-era shipping lane as polar ice cover receded to near record lows this summer could speed energy deliveries to China and boost business for cargo suppliers such as state-owned Sovkomflot. Officials at the Arctic Forum in the White Sea port city of Arkhangelsk said Russia must develop infrastructure to guard against oil spills, revamp ports and build more icebreakers to realize Putin's vision of year-round shipments. "The shortest route between Europe's largest markets and the Asia-Pacific region lie across the Arctic. This route is almost a third shorter than the traditional southern one," Putin told participants, who included Iceland President Olafur Grimsson. High energy prices fueled by demand from China and other emerging economies are helping spur interest in the Northern Sea Route, which trims 4,000 nautical miles off the southern alternative via the Suez Canal. "I want to stress the importance of the Northern Sea Route as an international transport artery that will rival traditional trade lanes in service fees, security and quality," Putin said. "States and private companies who chose the Arctic trade routes will undoubtedly reap economic advantages."

## Ext – Adv – Smuggling

### High risk now

#### Risk of terrorism, smuggling, and illegal fishing is high now

Apps 12

Peter Apps, Reuters Political Risk Correspondent Tue Apr 3, 2012 “Melting Arctic may redraw global geopolitical map” http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/03/us-arctic-resources-idUSBRE8320DR20120403. Date accessed 6-27-12

This year's frenzy of oil and gas exploration in newly accessible Arctic waters could be the harbinger of even starker changes to come. If, as many scientists predict, currently inaccessible sea lanes across the top of the world become navigable in the coming decades, they could redraw global trading routes -- and perhaps geopolitics -- forever. This summer will see more human activity in the Arctic than ever before, with oil giant Shell engaged in major exploration and an expected further rise in fishing, tourism and regional shipping. But that, experts warn, brings with it a rising risk of environmental disaster not to mention criminal activity from illegal fishing to smuggling and terrorism. "By bringing more human activity into the Arctic you bring both the good and the bad," Lt Gen Walter Semianiw, head of Canada Command and one of Ottawa's most senior military officers responsible for the Arctic, told an event at Washington DC think tank the Centre For Strategic and International Studies last week. "You will see the change whether you wish to or not."

#### High risk of non-state security threats

Byers 9

Michael, “Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North,” ISBN 978-1-55365-499-5, page 72

When the Department of National Defence sold the idea of Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships to the Cabinet, the idea was to have naval vessels that could stand up to foreign states. Russian scientists had just planted their titanium flag at the North Pole, and the media was playing up the prospects for a New Cold War. Now, with all the Arctic countries working peacefully to resolve their disputes, it has become apparent that the security threat- such as it is- comes from non-state actors such as drug smugglers and illegal immigrants. In response, the navy had, before the suspension of the project, already scaled back the planned size and speed of the vessels, as well as the caliber of the deck-mounted guns.

#### Terrorists and smugglers will switch to Arctic routes – increases the risk of proliferation

Byers 9

Michael, “Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North,” ISBN 978-1-55365-499-5, page 68

The submarine threat still exists today, but it pales in comparison with concerns about “rogue states” and terrorist groups using the Northwest Passage to traffic in weapons of mass destruction (WMD), equipment for enriching nuclear isotopes, and missiles. Unlikely as these risks might seem at first, it is not difficult to imagine a captain in charge of this kind of cargo choosing an ice-free, under-policed Northwest Passage over a closely scrutinized Panama Canal. For this reason, transnational criminal activity and other threats from non-state actors were central to an Arctic Capabilities Study conducted by the Canadian Directorate of Defence in 2000.

### Coast Guard does interdiction

#### The Coast Guard continues to stop smugglers across the United States.

Papp ‘12

Admiral Robert J. Papp Jr., Commandant of U.S. Coast Guard, Testimony on Coast Guard 2013 budget before House Committee on maritime transportation, United States Coast Guard, 3/7/12, <http://www.uscg.mil/seniorleadership/DOCS/Coast%20Guard%20Written%20Statement%20on%20USCG%20FY%202013%20Budget_FINAL(CGMT).pdf>, “Testimony of Admiral Robert J. Papp Jr.”, p.1-2, 7/2/12, GL

I am here today to discuss the Coast Guard’s FY 2013 Budget Request. Before discussing the details of the request, I would like to take this opportunity to discuss some of the Coast Guard’s recent operational successes, our value and role in the Department of Homeland Security, and in service to the Nation. Over the past year, Coast Guard men and women – Active Duty, Reserve, Civilian and Auxiliarists alike – continued to deliver premier service to the public. In the Midwest, Coast Guard Disaster Assistance Response Teams were among the first responders to residential areas impacted by severe flooding. In the Western Caribbean, Coast Guard Medium Endurance Cutters and Seagoing Buoy Tenders interdicted and supported the multi-agency recovery of SelfPropelled Semi-Submersible vessels. These “drug subs” are designed for one specific purpose – to deliver multi-ton loads of pure cocaine bound for our shores, streets and schools. While the use of drug subs is increasingly popular in the Eastern Caribbean, these interdictions mark the first time we have encountered drug subs in the Western Caribbean. In the Arctic, the Coast Guard icebreaker HEALY and her crew broke their way through 800 miles of Bering Sea ice to enable the Motor Vessel Renda to deliver 1.3 million gallons of fuel to the 3,600 people of Nome, Alaska after extreme weather and ice formation precluded safe delivery of this vital commodity. Last year, the Coast Guard responded to 20,510 Search and Rescue cases and saved over 3,800 lives; seized over 75 metric tons of cocaine and 18 metric tons of marijuana destined for the United States; seized 40 vessels, detained 191 suspected smugglers; conducted over 10,400 annual inspections of U.S. flagged vessels; conducted 6,200 marine casualty investigations; conducted more than 9,000 Port State Control and Security examinations on foreign flagged vessels; and responded to 3,000 pollution incidents. I am pleased to advise you that the Coast Guard recently accepted delivery of the lead Sentinel Class Fast Response Cutter, the BERNARD C. WEBBER. Sixty years ago, on February 18, 1952, Boatswain's Mate First Class Webber and his three-man 36-foot motorized lifeboat crew rescued 32 souls, one by one, from the 503-foot Tank Vessel Pendleton after it broke in two in a Nor’easter off Cape Cod featuring 60-foot seas, 70-knot winds and blinding snow. Petty Officer Webber’s seamanship, courage and leadership serve as an enduring reminder of the Coast Guard’s value to the Nation. The FY 2013 Budget represents a critical inflection point – the ships, boats and aircraft we are investing in today are vital to ensuring the Coast Guard remains ready to respond to maritime threats and hazards, well into the future. Indeed, these resources will not just shape, but in a large part will define the Coast Guard’s next fifty years of capability. We are also exercising resource and operational stewardship while simultaneously preparing for the future. We recently completed a review of doctrine, policy, and our operations and mission support structure to ensure we are focusing resources and forces where they are most needed. This prioritization is reflected in our FY 2013 budget submission, which focuses on balancing current operations with our need to recapitalize for the future. However, we must do so in a manner that sustains our capability to safeguard lives, protect the environment and facilitate safe and secure commerce throughout our Maritime Transportation System – a system which carries 95 percent of all U.S. foreign trade and accounts for nearly $700 billion of the U.S. gross domestic product and 51 million U.S. jobs.

#### The Coast Guard has proven successful in drug interdiction

Botelho ‘11

Greg Botelho; writer for CNN; 12-29-12; CNN; Coast Guard unit intercepts over $10 billion tied to drug trade; retrieved 7-1-12; http://articles.cnn.com/2011-12-29/justice/justice\_coast-guard-drugs\_1\_drug-traffickers-illegal-drugs-drug-trade?\_s=PM:JUSTICE

A U.S. Coast Guard unit that uses armed helicopters to go after maritime drug runners announced on Thursday that, working with federal partners, it has intercepted more than $10 billion in illegal drugs and related assets since it was commissioned in 1998. The milestone for the Coast Guard Helicopter Interdiction Tactical Squadron (HITRON) includes intercepts in and around the Caribbean and eastern Pacific. "There's been a lot of blood, sweat and tears that went into this," said Capt. Donna Cottrell, who took command of the squadron in June. The Jacksonville, Florida-based squadron is the only fully operating unit of its kind in the Coast Guard. Its 10 helicopters are armed, allowing them to shoot out the engines of boats -- but not at their passengers -- if those on board fail to heed verbal requests and warning shots to stop, according to Cottrell. The squadron works closely with a host of other agencies, including the Drug Enforcement Administration and the U.S. Navy, whose planes may be used to spot suspect ships -- they typically don't fly under any nation's flag, have numerous packages and carry large fuel barrels -- from high above. "This was really thinking outside the box," said Cottrell, noting the dual challenges of preventing drug shipments and not harming those aboard ships in international waters. Before, we could catch (suspected drug traffickers), but we couldn't make them stop." The $10 billion milestone over the past 13 years, notably, marks a fraction of the total amount of illegal drugs that get into the United States each year. HITRON is one of many initiatives aimed at curbing the flow of illegal drugs, many of which comes into the country by sea.

#### The Coast Guard has an unblemished record of performing successful drug busts.

Tester ‘12

Hank Tester, Article from NBC Miami, NBC Universal, 6/29/12, <http://www.nbcmiami.com/news/local/Coast-Guard-Brings-Off-Board-Cocaine-Worth-48-Million-at-Miami-Beach-Base-160890665.html>, “Coast Guard Brings Off Board Cocaine Worth $48 Million at Miami Beach Base”, 7/2/12, GL

The crew of the Coast Guard cutter Valiant offloaded more than 3,000 pounds of cocaine worth more than $48 million at its Miami Beach base Friday. The massive amount of drugs was seized by the Valiant and three other ships in three different busts in the Caribbean beginning on May 31, the Coast Guard said. They were part of Operation Martillo, an interagency operation that seeks to deny international criminal organizations Central American shipment routes for illicit drugs, weapons and cash. The 45-year-old Miami Beach-based cutter eased into port at midday Friday, and within minutes crewmen were bringing the cocaine, still in its original black plastic wrapping, off board. When the Coast Guard seized $32.5 million worth of cocaine from a go-fast boat on May 31, crew members were forced to shoot on the vessel, Commander John Dettleff said. "They didn’t stop, they started jettisoning the contraband overboard,” he said. “Then we proceeded to what’s called disabling fire, where we actually had the marksmen fire .50-caliber rounds into the engine cowling of the outboard. That stopped the vessel.” In another incident on June 15, a Coast Guard law enforcement detachment on the Navy frigate the USS Carr intercepted a 40-foot drug runner off the coast of Colombia. Three suspects were arrested along with about $3 million worth of cocaine. And on June 10, the Coast Guard teamed up with the Navy frigate the USS Elrod to stop a suspected smuggling vessel carrying more than 1,000 pounds of cocaine worth about $13 million. Four suspected smugglers were taken into custody, the Coast Guard said. "The 100-kilo interdiction was actually on a U.S.-flagged sailing vessel that we interdicted, took in custody, towed from south of Jamaica,” said Dettleff, after returning to port from his last mission aboard the Valiant. The cocaine will be destroyed, the Coast Guard said.

#### Coast Guard counter-smuggling missions date back to the Vietnam War, and has been the linchpin of such operations ever since.

United States Coast Guard ‘12

United States Coast Guard, Division of United States Armed Forces, Department of Homeland Security, 6/25/12, <http://www.uscg.mil/hq/cg5/cg531/drug_interdiction.asp>, “Drug Interdiction”, 7/2/12, GL

The Coast Guard is the lead federal agency for maritime drug interdiction and shares lead responsibility for air interdiction with the U.S. Customs Service. As such, it is a key player in combating the flow of illegal drugs to the United States. The Coast Guard's mission is to reduce the supply of drugs from the source by denying smugglers the use of air and maritime routes in the Transit Zone, a six million square mile area, including the Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico and Eastern Pacific. In meeting the challenge of patrolling this vast area, the Coast Guard coordinates closely with other federal agencies and countries within the region to disrupt and deter the flow of illegal drugs. In addition to deterrence, Coast Guard drug interdiction accounts for nearly 52% of all U.S. government seizures of cocaine each year. For Fiscal Year 2002 the rate of Coast Guard cocaine seizures alone had an estimated import value of approximately $3.9 billion. In 1870, Chinese immigrants became the first known drug smugglers when they began smuggling opium in merchant ship cargoes and baggage. Since then, drug smuggling by maritime routes has grown in size, scope and sophistication as demand skyrocketed. For example, around the turn of the century, when cocaine use was first in vogue, a relatively limited amount of the population was directly affected by the problems of cocaine abuse. But in later years, as the drugs of choice shifted from cocaine to heroin and opium, then later to marijuana and back to cocaine, drug smugglers began utilizing maritime sea and air routes to transport larger shipments of drugs to the U.S. For nearly a century, the maritime drug smuggling business slowly evolved while the Coast Guard focused its attention on the major events of the day, including World War I, Prohibition, World War II, the Korean and Vietnam wars. During the 1920's Congress tasked the Coast Guard with enforcing the 18th Amendment, necessitating a dramatic increase in resources and funding for the Coast Guard. The massive effort needed to curtail the substantial level of alcohol smuggling required the single largest appropriation for personnel and new ship construction in its history. In addition, the Navy transferred more than 20 WWI-era destroyers and minesweepers for conversion to the Coast Guard's battle with rum-runners, which ended with the 21st Amendment repealing Prohibition. The Coast Guard's unique expertise in countering smuggling operations also came into play during the Vietnam War, when the Navy asked for our expertise to support "Operation Market Time," an intensive multi-year campaign to stop the Communist flow of arms and supplies by sea. The Coast Guard utilized its expertise in stopping smuggling while facilitating legitimate commerce. Our patrol boats and cutters patrolled 1,200 miles of coastline and had to contend with more than 60,000 junks and sampans. The Coast Guard and Navy's success in "Operation Market Time," substantially reduced the amount of at- sea smuggling, forcing the Viet Cong to use the longer and more difficult land route of the infamous Ho Chi Minh Trail. Shortly after the war in Vietnam ended, the Coast Guard found itself fighting another war--a war that is still going on today with a determined, well-financed opposition. In the early 1970's maritime drug smuggling became a much more significant problem for the Coast Guard and we began making seizures while engaged in other operations, like Search and Rescue and Fisheries Law Enforcement. 1973 saw a dramatic increase in smuggling attempts and the Coast Guard conducted its first Coast Guard-controlled seizure on March 8, 1973, when the USCGC Dauntless boarded a 38-foot sports fisherman, the Big L and arrested its master and crew, with more than a ton of marijuana on board. Since then, the Coast Guard has seized countless tons of marijuana and cocaine. Since Fiscal Year 1997 to present, the Coast Guard has seized 806,469 pounds of cocaine and 333,285 pounds of marijuana.

#### Highly developed smuggling and ship inspection procedures already exist within the Coast Guard.

United States Coast Guard ‘01

United States Coast Guard, Division of United States Armed Forces, Pamphlet on Coast Guard Law enforcement from the 1st Coast Guard District, United States Department of Homeland Security, 2001, <http://www.uscg.mil/d1/prevention/NavInfo/navinfo/documents/Enforcement.PDF>, “Law Enforcement”, p. 1-2, 7/2/12, GL

An important Coast Guard mission is maritime law enforcement on the high seas and on water subject to Federal laws. Of particular interest are laws dealing with the 200-mile Fishery Conservation Zone, drug smuggling, illegal immigration, and safety and water pollution. To enforce these laws, the Coast Guard is empowered to board and inspect vessels. Many of the laws can be successfully enforced only by boarding a vessel while it is underway. Boardings are not necessarily based on suspicion that a violation already exists aboard the vessel. Their purpose is to prevent violations. The courts have consistently upheld this authority. All Coast Guard officers and petty officers are Federal law enforcement officers and they may board any United States vessel anywhere. The Coast Guard boarding team is armed. Although most mariners that are boarded are engaged in legitimate recreational or commercial pursuits, even a seemingly innocent pleasure boat boarding sometimes turns into a dangerous confrontation. The Coast Guard follows a standard procedure before boarding. Coast Guard personnel will always properly identify themselves, will always be in uniform, coveralls, or survival suit displaying Coast Guard insignia, and will always operate from a marked Coast Guard or Navy vessel flying the Coast Guard Ensign. Significant amounts of contraband, specifically narcotics, enter the United States transported on vessels. The most common drugs smuggled are marijuana, hashish, cocaine and heroin. The Coast Guard aims to prevent drug traffic by interdicting drug-carrying vessels at sea. Mariners observing or having information that a vessel may be involved in narcotics trafficking are requested to contact the nearest Coast Guard unit.

### Plan key to solve trafficking

#### Policing presence key to solve weapons trafficking through the Arctic

Byers 9

Michael, “Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North,” ISBN 978-1-55365-499-5, page 85

The United States’ security interests in the Arctic havem as discussed, been changed by the end of the Cold War, 9/11, and the disappearing sea-ice. Washington is now less concerned about the presence of Russian submarines than about terrorists finding a back door to North America, or rogue states using the Northwest Passage to transport the components for wmd. And the fact is that these new threats would best be dealt with through Canadian domestic law, enforced by an enhanced Coast Guard, RCMP and Canadian Forces presence. It simply does not benefit the United States – and other responsible countries and reputable shipping companies- to have foreign vessels shielded from scrutiny and reasonable regulations by maintaining that the Northwest Passage is an international strait.

## Add-On – Safety

#### Ice-breakers key to Arctic safety

CRS 2008

“Report to Congress: U.S. Coast Guard Polar Operations,” www.uscg.mil/history/docs/2008CRSUSCGPolarOps.pdf

If more vessels operate in the nascent “open water” of the Arctic Ocean, the risk of a vessel becoming beset by an ice ridge or unexpectedly impacting thicker multi-year ice increases. This brings a corresponding increase in risk to their crews and the environment as well. Even icebreakers and ice-strengthened vessels may encounter unexpected conditions that could cause vessel damage or loss. If changes in summer Arctic conditions continue the trend observed in the past six years, we may expect incidents and casualties to occur with greater frequency and/or farther from U.S. shores. The USCG’s ability to respond to these incidents, provide access to support other agencies and governments, and enforce laws and treaties in the region will be driven by the availability of icebreakers, ice-strengthened vessels and cold-weather air support. The logistics and basing infrastructure in the region must be enhanced to provide extended operational presence.

#### Safety should always come first in transportation policy – role-playing requires that you prioritize this impact

Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety 4

July 16, “Victory For Truck Safety,” http://www.saferoads.org/victory-truck-safety

July 16, 2004. In a unanimous decision, a 3-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., today struck down the government hours of service (HOS) rule for truck drivers. Today's ruling is an important victory for highway safety and the public because the HOS rule - which limits the maximum hours of driving to ensure safety - allowed truck drivers to spend many more hours behind the wheel than under the previous rule, allowing drivers to become even more fatigued, and posing a safety danger to other motorists. The decision came in a lawsuit brought by Public Citizen and a number of safety organizations, in which Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety (Advocates) and the Insurance Institute for Highway safety filed amicus (friend of the court) briefs. The Court ruled for the plaintiffs on all counts, vacating the entire rule that was issued in April, 2003, and went into effect earlier this year. In its opinion, the Court first ruled that the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration (FMCSA) failed to consider the effect that longer working and driving hours permitted by the rule would have on the health and physical condition of truck drivers. The linchpin of Advocates' brief was that the agency ignored its legal duty to consider the impact of the HOS rule on the health and physical condition of truck drivers. Advocates argued that Congress specifically made the health of truck drivers a mandatory factor that had to be taken into account. The court agreed with Advocates that the agency's rule was arbitrary and capricious since it failed to consider this fundamental statutory factor. Judith L. Stone, President of Advocates, stated that "The court's action is a victory for protecting truck drivers from being forced to operate very long hours without adequate sleep and rest. The rule would undermine the health of truck drivers and degrade safety on our nation's highways." The Court went on to criticize the FMCSA for its flawed rulemaking on all the issues raised by the plaintiffs. It explicitly rejected the agency's attempt to justify longer driving shifts and many more cumulative hours of driving over a 7- or 8-day tour of duty. It found the FMCSA's benefit-cost analysis to be dubious because it attempted to "explain away" the fundamental issue of how increased time spent working and driving under the rule could be just as safe as fewer hours of work. The court also rejected the agency's resurrection of split sleeping time for drivers who try to sleep in their trucks as unsupported and irrational, especially in light of the agency's previous proposed rule in 2000 arguing that solo drivers needed a single, uninterrupted off-duty period each day to get sufficient opportunities for adequate sleep and rest. Finally, the court roundly criticized the FMCSA for having no good reason for backing away from its previous proposal to require electronic on-board recorders (EOBRs), and from evading its statutory duty to evaluate seriously whether EOBRs should be required. Stone added, "This ruling reassures us that public health and safety should always come first and must be the highest priority of government transportation officials."

## AT – Melting Ice Solves

#### AT – melting ice means we don’t need icebreakers

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Although polar ice is diminishing due to climate change, observers generally expect that this development will not eliminate the need for U.S. polar icebreakers, and in some respects might increase mission demands for them. Even with the diminishment of polar ice, there are still significant ice-covered areas in the polar regions. Diminishmentof polar ice could lead in coming years to increased commercial ship, cruise ship, and naval surface ship operations, as well as increased exploration for oil and other resources, in the Arctic—activities that could require increased levels of support from polar icebreakers.2 Changing ice conditions in Antarctic waters have made the McMurdo resupply mission more challenging since 2000.3 An April 18, 2011, press report states that the Commandant of the Coast Guard, Admiral Robert Papp, sees plenty of reasons the United States will need polar icebreakers for the “foreseeable future,” despite speculation that thinning ice in the Arctic could make the icebreakers replaceable with other ice-hardened ships, the admiral said last week…. “I don’t see that causing us to back down on some minimal level of polar icebreakers,” Papp told Inside the Navy. “The fact of the matter is, there’s still winter ice that’s forming. It’s coming down pretty far. We don't need to get up there just during summer months when there’s open water.

#### AT – melting ice solves

CRS 2008

“Report to Congress: U.S. Coast Guard Polar Operations,” www.uscg.mil/history/docs/2008CRSUSCGPolarOps.pdf

Greater access to the Arctic and potential increased activity in both Polar Regions presents additional risks for people, vessels, and the environment. In the Arctic, there is now water part of the year where there used to be ice; however, more open water does not equate to a safer operating environment. Indeed, it may mean more hazardous conditions for vessels and their crews and passengers if greater access is accompanied by larger, more numerous ice floes, limited navigation information, and harsh and unpredictable weather patterns.

#### Melting ice means more icebreakers needed

Miller 12

(Craig Miller, 5/7/12, <http://blogs.kqed.org/climatewatch/2012/05/07/iconic-icebreaker-makes-last-voyage-to-scrapyard/> )

Glaciers are slipping away everywhere. It was tough to see this one go. I’m talking about a ship, not an actual river of ice. This morning I watched the retired Coast Guard icebreaker Glacier cast off on what is likely to be its final voyage, from a Vallejo dry dock to a scrapyard in Brownsville, Texas. It seemed like a poignant moment, given the decline of the U.S. icebreaker fleet. Just as Arctic seas are opening up to unprecedented shipping activity, the Coast Guard is left with just one icebreaker in working order. Icebreakers are important research platforms and could play a vital role in responding to oil spills from offshore drilling in far northern waters. Ben Koether sees it as more than poignant. “It’s a tragedy and a crisis,” he told me by phone from Connecticut. “It’s just ludicrous.” Koether is an electronics executive who was the Glacier’s navigator for two Antarctic voyages, in 1959 and 1962. In its heyday, the ship participated in annual re-supply missions to Antarctic bases and was used as a platform for oceanographic research in polar waters. Launched in 1954, the Glacier was decommissioned more than 20 years ago and is well beyond seeing active service. But Koether has been leading an effort to save the Glacier from the blowtorch and turn it into a floating museum of oceanography. Seeing the ship’s 300-foot rusting form depart ADR’s Mare Island shipyard between two tugs, one might reasonably conclude that the battle has been lost. “Absolutely not,” says Koether, who says the dismantling contractor has agreed in principle to swap the Glacier for another one in the U.S. reserve fleet, managed by the federal Maritime Administration (MARAD), but MARAD has yet to approve the deal. Craig Miller The Glacier rests in a Mare Island drydock while its hull is prepared for towing to Texas. Each of its twin propellers was 17 feet across. Koether says the Glacier’s design is “unequaled even today.” Built originally for the Navy, the Glacier had a “heeling” system that could free it from heavy ice by rapidly pumping 140,000 gallons of water from side-to-side. Her power came from giant diesel engines and twin 17-foot propellers and Koether says she was built more stoutly than subsequent breakers in the fleet, with thicker steel and more ribbing. As for beefing up the U.S. polar fleet, prospects appear dim, though the Coast Guard has asked for funding to build at least one more icebreaker. “As the ice melts, you need more icebreakers instead of less,” says Koether, noting that the Russians have more than a dozen in the works, some nuclear-powered.

## AT – CP – Alaska

#### Alaska Native Corporations allocate no-bid government contracts to the indigenous and are unique to the state of Alaska.

O'Harrow 10

Robert. reporter on the Investigative Unit of the Washington Post. Washington Post. Thursday, November 18, 2010, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/17/AR2010111707236.html. Date Accessed: July 2, 2012. LY.

More than 200 of the corporations, known as ANCs, were created by Congress in 1971 to settle land claims and help improve life for tens of thousands of impoverished native people. The Pentagon and other agencies have spent more than $29 billion over the past decade on contracts with ANCs, which can receive deals of any size without competition and do not have to be run by Alaska natives, under rules pushed through in the late 1980s by then-Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska).

#### This leads to Alaskan contracts being susceptible to fraud and general incompetence.

FBI 12

Washington Field Office. Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Former U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Manager Pleads Guilty in Alleged $20 Million Bribery and Kickback Scheme” U.S. Attorney’s Office February 13, 2012. Date Accessed: July 2, 2012. LY.

WASHINGTON—Michael A. Alexander, 55, a former program manager for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, pled guilty today to federal charges of bribery and conspiracy to commit money laundering in a scheme that allegedly involved more than $20 million in bribes and kickback payments and the planned steering of a $780 million government contract. The plea was announced by U.S. Attorney Ronald C. Machen Jr.; James W. McJunkin, Assistant Director in Charge of the FBI’s Washington Field Office; Peggy E. Gustafson, Inspector General for the Small Business Administration (SBA); Robert E. Craig, Special Agent in Charge of the Mid-Atlantic Field Office of the Defense Criminal Investigative Service (DCIS); Eric Hylton, Acting Special Agent in Charge of the Washington Field Office of the Internal Revenue Service-Criminal Investigation (IRS-CI), and James K. Podolak, Director of the U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command’s (CID) Major Procurement Fraud Unit (MPFU). Alexander, of Woodbridge, Va., pled guilty before the Honorable Emmet G. Sullivan in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. A sentencing date has not been set. The bribery charge carries a statutory maximum of 15 years in prison and the conspiracy charge carries up to 20 years of incarceration. The charges also carry potential fines, an order of restitution, and forfeiture of a money judgment for $1.25 million and specific property including cash, real property, bank account funds, and jewelry. As part of his plea agreement, Alexander agreed to cooperate in the government’s ongoing investigation. At a separate and related hearing earlier today, also before Judge Sullivan, Robert L. McKinney, 51, pled guilty to bribery. McKinney was the president of Alpha Technology Group, one of the companies involved in the contracting scam. Alpha Technology Group was not one of the companies referenced in the original indictment returned against Alexander and others on September 16, 2011. A sentencing date for McKinney also has not been set. As part of his plea agreement, McKinney agreed to forfeit about $245,000, representing the illegal proceeds he retained from the crime. He also agreed to cooperate in the government’s ongoing investigation. \*\*\* “Today’s bribery and money laundering pleas relate to one of the largest procurement fraud scandals in our nation’s history and demonstrate this office’s steadfast commitment to holding accountable unscrupulous government officials, as well as the contractors who entice them with bribes and kickbacks,” said U.S. Attorney Machen. “Protecting the American taxpayer is one of our highest priorities and we will remain vigilant in the pursuit of those both inside and outside of the government who attempt to cheat the system and loot the public treasury.” “Bribery and kickbacks have no place in government contracting,” said Assistant Director in Charge McJunkin. “The FBI and our partner agencies will continue to pursue those who engage in such criminal activity, as we work to protect federal funds and American taxpayers. We ask anyone with information about government fraud to contact the FBI.” “Today’s announcement demonstrates the resolve of law enforcement to aggressively identify and prosecute individuals considering defrauding the federal government by deceit and bribery,” said SBA Inspector General Gustafson. “There are severe consequences associated with this form of criminal conduct, as this case uniquely demonstrates.

#### ANC’s privileges help facilitate fraud.

DeMarban 11

Alex | Oct 05, 2011. Alaska Dispatch. http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/heels-eyaktek-scandal-renewed-8a-scrutiny. Date Accessed: July 2, 2012. LY.

Rep. Ed Markey, a Democrat from Massachusetts, says he's calling for a Congressional hearing on the [**"kickback scandal" involving**](http://www.alaskadispatch.com/article/article/eyak-swiftly-fires-employee-allegedly-involved-8a-kickback) the U.S. Army Corps and an Alaska Native corporation. The U.S. Attorney's Office in Washington, D.C. released information yesterday about the alleged scheme, noting that four people had attempted to defraud the federal government of $20 million. Criminal charges were brought against two Army Corps contracting officers and Harold Babb, an executive from [**EyakTek**](http://www.eyaktek.com/). The company is a subsidiary of an Alaska Native village corporation representing Cordova. Rod Worl, chief executive of parent company Eyak, said in a written statement Tuesday that Babb was "immediately terminated."  Markey made the request in a letter to Rep. Doc Hastings, chair of the Natural Resources Committee and a Republican from Washington state. The letter immediately raises issues about the controversial  8(a) program that offers Native corporations an edge when they bid for federal contracts. Markey wonders whether the program includes enough oversight to protect U.S. taxpayers and Alaska Natives who are shareholders in the companies.   "The exposure of a massive bribery and kickback scam involving Eyak Technology (EyakTek), an Alaska Native Corporation (ANC) subsidiary that served as prime contractor for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, raises questions about whether there are adequate controls in place to prevent fraud and abuse at ANCs and protect U.S. taxpayers and Alaska Native shareholders," Markey wrote in the letter dated this morning. The letter names only Babb, and focuses on EyakTek. It doesn't mention the others who are charged: Army Corps contracting officers Michael A. Alexander and Kerry F. Khan, as well as Khan's son, Lee A. Khan.  "I am concerned that EyakTek's status as an ANC may have facilitated this scam," Markey writes.

#### Giving a business ANC status makes it unfair to their non-indigenous competitors.

Weigelt 12

Matthew, Feb 02, 2012, http://washingtontechnology.com/articles/2011/02/02/senator-claire-mccaskill-alaska-native-corporation-status-bill.aspx. Date Accessed: July 2, 2012. LY.

Under the current rules, agencies can limit competition for a contract to only ANCs, and even award a sole-source contract to an ANC. In addition, the companies do not have to be certified small businesses to get the contracts, even though the special rules fall under a small business development program. McCaskill's [**investigative report on ANCs**](http://mccaskill.senate.gov/pdf/071509/ANC.pdf) among other things found ANCs’ share of government contracts has grown six times the rate of overall federal spending since 2000. Also four ANCs were among the top 100 recipients of contract awards, and in 2009 six companies made [**Washington Technology’s Top 100**](http://washingtontechnology.com/toplists/top-100-lists/2009.aspx) list of IT contractors. The debate over the unique treatment of ANCs heats up both sides of the issue—the Alaskans and other small business owners who are under the more restrictive regulations. During the 2009 hearing, Sarah Lukin, executive director of the Native American Contractors Association, said 11 large ANCs provided more than $530 million to more than 67,000 shareholders in fiscal 2008 and 2009. The point of ANCs’ status is to help the tribes in the northernmost state, which is economically depressed. However, business owners say the ANC status is a boondoggle and obstructs other small businesses from opportunities to succeed in the federal marketplace. They don’t have a chance to compete against an ANC or protest an award.

## AT – CP – Canada

#### US-Canada relations are low – the burden is on the Neg to prove that they’d do the CP

Potter 6/26

Mitch, “Are Canada-U.S. relations on the rocks?,” http://www.thestar.com/news/world/article/1217707--are-canada-u-s-relations-on-the-rocks

Canada is nothing if not 34 million experts on the United States. But only a select few have the credentials to pronounce on our cross-border condition quite like Derek Burney. As former chief of staff to Brian Mulroney and then, right after, Canadian ambassador to Washington, Burney participated actively in the era of smiling Irish eyes, when Mulroney and Ronald Reagan warmed the bilateral bed like never before. Small wonder, then, the stormy fallout from a provocative new essay by Burney in the prestigious journal Foreign Affairs under the bombshell headline, “How Obama Lost Canada.” Burney and co-author Fen Osler Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, place Barack Obama’s “mishandling” of the Keystone XL pipeline as central to the thesis that this president has effectively squandered Canada’s love. Nowhere in the article did Foreign Affairs — nor, for that matter, the Canadian news outlets that quickly picked up on the furor — mention another key element of Burney’s staggering resume. Burney has since 2005 served on the board of directors of TransCanada Corp., the company behind Keystone XL. He also owns shares of the company. Obama’s delay of the pipeline to carry Alberta bitumen to the U.S. is far from the only irritant cited by Burney and Hampson. But among the laundry list of other perceived slights — from Buy America-style protectionism to disrespect for Canada’s contributions in Afghanistan and Libya — Keystone XL ranks uppermost. “It will take a long time to undo the damage (Keystone XL’s) delay has done to U.S.-Canadian relations,” they write, in language that appears to tread along the edges of the fever swamp of American politics, where the Keystone XL debate now resides. Late Tuesday afternoon, Burney said in an email to The Star that his ties to TransCanada have always been transparent. “The fact that I am a Director (of TransCanada) was featured in iPolitics, was in bio given to Foreign Affairs and has now been added to their website as well,” wrote Burney. “What we have said on Keystone has been said by many others. I do not see why I, as a Director, should be denied to state the obvious, especially as I have other credentials to anchor our more basic analysis.” Foreign Affairs prides itself as the “leading forum for serious discussion of American foreign policy and global affairs.” A spokesman for the Council on Foreign Relations, the Washington think-tank behind the magazine, emailed The Star to confirm it changed the article to reflect Burney’s ties. “Foreign Affairs has made the appropriate correction, which will be reflected in the piece moving forward,” wrote spokesman David Mikhail. It’s not yet clear how deep a ripple this essay has caused. But among the tiny chattering class of academics who specialize in Canada-U.S. relations, the noise was significant — as was the pushback. “Frankly, it strikes me as a naïve misreading of American politics,” said David Biette, director of Canada Institute at Washington’s Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. “Just from the very first sentence — where they argue Obama’s approval of Keystone XL would have been an ‘easy diplomatic and economic decision’ — that just ignores how huge the pipeline has blown up as a political issue here. “The Keystone XL debate is a domestic issue for us. And just because Canadians still like Barack Obama doesn’t mean he’s not vulnerable. His hold on office is tenuous, it is not a given that he will be re-elected, and Keystone XL is one of the issues at the heart of it. It’s not about Canada; this is domestic, election-year politics.” Chris Sands, a bilateral affairs specialist and senior fellow at the Hudson Institute, laughed away the essay’s premise, noting that the White House has “never failed to give Canada a hearing” throughout this administration. “It’s not all roses and daffodils — there will always be issues in a relationship as complex as that of Canada and the U.S.,” Sands said. “I, too, have criticisms of Obama. But it just sounds whiny to me. The fact is, Stephen Harper has more meetings with Obama than some of the president’s own cabinet does.” He said the idea that Canada-U.S. relations are in trouble “sort of hearkens back to that era of people thinking ‘we’re special,’ ‘we’re better than the other friends,’ ‘we have a special relationship’ — and that was always a bit of a fantasy.” Birgit Matthiesen, who lobbies on behalf of the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters, agreed with the Burney-Hampson thesis — but not the context in which it was framed. “I can just see Canadians’ blood boil over a headline saying, ‘How Obama lost Canada.’ But the fact is, Canadians need to realize this is a different United States today,” Matthiesen said. “If you see things through American eyes, they’ve got two wars, a looming crisis from Europe, 8 per cent unemployment that jumps to double digits among the youth and Latino populations — all adding up to a world of worries that takes the focus off everything else, including Canada. “So I don’t overly worry about the issues Mr. Burney raises. Those days of cherishing the ‘strongest relationship’ are over. The world has gotten bigger. If nothing else, I consider it a timely reminder that our backyard requires continual nuts-and-bolts work. “It’s easy for Americans to forget that 34 out of 50 states sell more to Canada than any other partner. We’ve got to keep reminding them. Constantly.”

## AT – CP - Privatization

#### Normal means is private contracting

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Polar Star (WAGB-10) and Polar Sea (WAGB-11),5 sister ships built to the same general design (Figure 1 and Figure 2), were procured in the early 1970s as replacements for earlier U.S. icebreakers. They were designed for 30-year service lives, and were built by Lockheed Shipbuilding of Seattle, WA, a division of Lockheed that also built ships for the U.S. Navy, but which exited the shipbuilding business in the late 1980s. Neither ship is currently in operational condition.

#### Normal means is private contracting

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Healy (WAGB-20) (Figure 3) was procured in the early 1990s as a complement to Polar Star and Polar Sea**,** and was commissioned into service on August 21, 2000. The ship was built by Avondale Industries, a shipyard located near New Orleans, LA, that has built numerous Coast Guard and Navy ships, and which now forms part of Huntington Ingalls Industries (HII).

#### Private companies can’t solve Coast Guard mission

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

The multi-mission nature of the Coast Guard may provide opportunities to conduct some subset of its missions with non government-owned vessels. However, serious consideration must be given to the fact that the inherently governmental missions of the Coast Guard must be performed using government-owned and operated vessels. An interpretation of the national policy is needed to determine the resource level that best supports the nation’s interests.... The existing icebreaker capacity, two inoperative heavy icebreakers and an operational medium icebreaker, does not represent a viable capability to the federal government. The time needed to augment this capability is on the order of 10 years. At that point, around 2020, the heavy icebreaking capability bridging strategy expires.18

#### Private ship building and leasing to the Coast card costs more and doesn’t solve the Aff

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Another witness at the hearing—Jeffrey Garrett, a retired Coast Guard admiral who spent much of his career on polar icebreakers—stated: The perspective I could offer was when I was a member of the Cameron [sic: Commandant’s?] staff back in the last ‘80s here in Washington, we were directed to pursue exactly the same sort of lease versus buy analysis, and in fact, the Coast Guard had a two track procurement strategy to compare leasing a new Polar icebreaker or buying it. And after over a year of analysis, studies, discussion with other agencies looking around, what became clear was, number one, there was no off-the-shelf asset readily available. And secondly, that in the long run, if you—when you cost it all out and the value of the stream of payments, leasing would actually cost more. And when we did the recapitalization analysis recently, we also reviewed leasing again, and the I think the findings in that report indicate more expensive over the life of the vessel by about 12 percent.63 When asked why this was the finding, Garrett stated: A couple of technical things. First of all, whoever builds the ship—and again, this will have to be ship built for the Coast Guard since there’s not something off-the-shelf out there that you could lease. Whoever builds it has to raise capital, and nobody can raise capital more inexpensively than the federal government. Secondly, whoever leases the ship is obviously going to make—want to make a profit on that lease. So just like as Admiral Papp referred to leasing your car, you know, there’s going to be a profit involved. And so, if you take the net present value of all of those, of those payments, you got come out with the more expensive package for the same, if you're comparing the same vessel. The other, the other issue I think is more intangible and that’s just the fact that we're really not talking about an auxiliary like the Naval, like the Navy leases a supply ship or something like that. We're talking about a frontline Coast Guard capital asset, if you will, capital ship that’s going to be doing frontline government missions projecting U.S. sovereignty. And you know, the Navy doesn't lease those kinds of ships for its frontline fleet and the Coast Guard doesn't lease those kinds of ships for its mission capabilities, and that’s what we're really talking about in terms of the ship we need here. So while a lease may look attractive, I think there are several things that indicate it may not be the right way to go. And the—I think that’s what we came down to. And again, this is all documented in the past and that late ‘80s analysis was re-summarizing the president’s 1990 report to Congress which basically says leasing is more expensive and it’s not the way to go for a new ship. That was the ship that actually became the Healy then.64

#### Private building and leasing CP doesn’t solve the case – it builds worse ships that cost more money

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

The prepared statement of Stephen Caldwell, the GAO witness at the hearing, states: The three reports discussed earlier in this [GAO] statement all identify funding as a central issue in addressing the existing and anticipated challenges related to icebreakers. In addition to the Coast Guard budget analysis included in the Recapitalization report, all three reports reviewed alternative financing options, including the potential for leasing icebreakers, or funding icebreakers through the National Science Foundation (NSF) or the Department of Defense (DOD). Although DOD has used leases and charters in the past when procurement funding levels were insufficient to address mission requirements and capabilities, both the Recapitalization report and the High Latitude Study determined that the lack of existing domestic commercial vessels capable of meeting the Coast Guard’s mission requirements reduces the availability of leasing options for the Coast Guard. Additionally, an initial costbenefit analysis of one type of available leasing option included in the Recapitalization report and the High Latitude Study suggests that it may ultimately be more costly to the Coast Guard over the 30-year icebreaker lifespan.65

#### Admiral Papp doesn’t know what he’s talking about

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Another potential issue for Congress is whether future polar icebreakers should be acquired through a traditional acquisition (i.e., the government procuring the ship and owning it throughout its service life) or through a leasing arrangement (under which the icebreakers would be privately built and privately owned, leased to the Coast Guard, and crewed by an all-Coast Guard crew or a mix of Coast Guard personnel and civilian mariners). Factors to consider in assessing this issue include the comparative costs of the two options and the potential differences between them in terms of factors such as average number of days of operation each year and capability for performing various missions. Comparing the potential costs of leasing versus purchasing a capital asset often involves, among other things, calculating the net present value of each option. At a December 1, 2011, hearing that focused on the polar icebreaker fleet (see “December 1, 2011, Hearing” in “Background”), Admiral Robert Papp, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, stated: As far as we can determine, there are no icebreakers available—no heavy icebreakers available for leasing right now. They would have to be constructed [and then leased]. If we were to lease an icebreaker, I’m sure that a company building an icebreaker outside of the government does not have to contend with the same federal acquisition rules that we have to if we were to construct an icebreaker. It could probably be done quicker. Personally, I’m ambivalent in terms of how we get an icebreaker for the Coast Guard. We’ve done the legal research. If we lease an icebreaker, we can put a Coast Guard crew on it and still have it as a U.S. vessel supporting U.S. sovereignty. But the—but they aren’t available right now. And the other challenge that we face is the federal acquisition rules and [Office of Management and Budget Circular] A-11 requirements that [direct how to] score the money [in the budget] for leasing. We’d have to put up a significant amount of upfront money even with a lease that we don’t have room for within our budget currently.58 At another point in the hearing, Admiral Papp stated: We have looked at various business case scenarios, each and every time looking at, once again, from our normal perspective, the Coast Guard perspective, which has been owning ships forever. And generally, we keep ships 30-40 years or beyond. There is a point where leasing becomes more expensive, it’s at or about the 20-25-year timeline. I just don’t have the experience with leasing to be able to give you a good opinion on it. And once again, I'm ambivalent. We just need the icebreaking capability, I think it’s for people who can do the analysis, the proper analysis of—but also have to take into account the capabilities required and we need to get about the business of determining the exact capabilities that we need which would take into account National Science Foundation requirements, Coast Guard requirements, requirements to break-in at McMurdo, to come up with a capable ship.59 At another point in the hearing, he stated: As I said, sir, I am truly ambivalent to this except from what I experienced. I do have now two points, yes the Navy leases some ships, but we've got a Navy that has well over 300 ships. So if they lose a leased vessel or something is pulled back or something happens, they have plenty of other ships they can fall back upon. Right now, all I am falling back on is the Coast Guard cutter Healy. And it feels good to know that we own that and that is our ship for 30 or 40 years and we can rely upon it. In terms of leasing, I don't know. My personal experience is I lease one of my two cars and I pay a lot of money leasing my car. But at the end of the lease period, I have no car and I've spent a lot of money. So I don’t know if that’s directly applicable to ships as well, but right now I got half my garage is empty because I just turned one in.60 At another point in the hearing, he stated: We’ve looked through the legal considerations on this, as long as we have a Coast Guard crew. In fact, you can even make a mixed crew of civilians and Coast Guard people. But as long as it’s commanding by—commanded by [a] commissioned officer, you can assert sovereignty, you can take it into war zones and, in fact, the Navy does that as well.61 Another witness at the hearing—Mead Treadwell, the lieutenant governor of Alaska—stated: [Regarding] The issue of the ships, the company that is building these ships for Shell [Oil] has visited with me and other state officials, and that’s why you heard us say in our testimony that we think the leasing option should be considered. We don’t have a way to judge the relative cost. But if on the face of it, it seems like it may be a way to get us the capability that the admiral needs.62

## AT – CP – Consult Inuits

#### Arctic communities say no

Murphy 9

Kim Murphy. Los Angeles Times Northwest correspondent. Los Angeles Times. Published 04:00 a.m., Sunday, October 18, 2009.  http://www.sfgate.com/green/article/Melting-ice-could-transform-Alaska-economy-3214116.php Retrieved July 25, 2012.

"Our argument ... is that we're already established; our port is already here. We just need to go out a little deeper," Mayor Denise Michels said. But where will it lead, many here wonder, in a region whose villages have been among the most isolated on Earth? "There is increasing talk of Arctic shipping lanes, expanded fisheries, new tourism opportunities and other competing uses," Barrow's mayor, Edward Itta, told a panel of senior Obama administration officials who traveled to Anchorage in August to deliberate what approach the government should take to the northern seas. "In the midst of all these claims, we are trying to preserve our traditional use of our land," he said. "We are not afraid of change as Inupiat Eskimos. ... But all of us know that change involves risk, and the risk of some of these potential activities in the Arctic are substantial." Traditional whalers worry that increased shipping and offshore oil and gas operations could injure or scare away the whales that have supported residents of the Arctic slope for generations

#### Inuits will say no

Mohawk Nation News 9

August 5, “Arctic Grab -- Something Rotten in Denmark, Norway, Russia, US, Canada,” http://narcosphere.narconews.com/notebook/brenda-norrell/2011/02/wikileaks-arctic-belongs-inuit

More colonial subterfuge! Canada, US, Russia, Norway, Denmark and other imperialist entities are trying to steal the Indigenous area of northern Great Turtle Island. Climate change is causing the ice to recede. They all want to cart away our minerals, oil and gas. Ruskie and US subs have surfaced in the far north. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper is standing around the North Pole, waving his arms and screaming, “I was the first crook here. So it’s all mine, mine, mine!” He wants the true inhabitants, the Inuit, to live there year round to assert Indigenous sovereignty. They can hold back the other foreigners while he and his friends gouge out the riches. To him Canada is the only imperialist that can rob us as it’s under the usurpation of the colony of Canada! On January 28, 2006, the Women Title Holders of the Kanion’ke:haka issued a public notice of objection to this attempted seizure of our inherent right to the “Arctic Region” by these foreign states, corporations, “outsiders” and non-Indigenous interests. The Inuit, our family, are the natural custodians of this area which belongs to our unborn generations. According to Wampum 44 of the Kaianereh’ko:wa, the Ongwehonwe Women Title Holders are the “progenitors of the soil” of Great Turtle Island. We are the Caretakers of the land, water and air. We told these capitalist blood suckers to stay away, that they have no business here. Self-determination is a universal human right. The denial of a nation’s existence constitutes genocide, according to the many international covenants these states have pledged to uphold. Modern international law protects small peoples from incursions by aggressive states who use military and economic force to impose their will. Their turf war over our territory, waters and resources violates our customs, practices, occupation and rights. We cannot surrender our birthright. This land is who we are. The Western Sahara decision provides that a territory cannot be incorporated in another state without the informed consent of the majority of its people. This was not done because they know that we will never agree to give up our identity. No one made a treaty of cession with us to enter our Arctic waters and territory. International, federal, state and provincial entities cannot violate international law and the rule of law by superseding our jurisdiction over territory that we never surrendered. Colonialism is illegal. Past agreements and treaties only allowed foreigners to live peacefully on our land. Any foreigner wishing to enter our territory must deal with us through nation-to-nation protocol. No foreign entity and their corporate bodies and associated or visitor such as the colony of Canada can invite outsiders onto our territory or sell off our resources. In Canada we took an action in the Supreme Court of Canada – Kanion’ke:haka Kaianereh’ko:wa Kanon’ses:neh v. Attorney General of Canada and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Ontario, Court File: 05-CV-030785. We brought this constitutional jurisdiction issue before the U.S. Supreme Court. See No. 05-165: 2005. In The Supreme Court of the United States In re Kanion’ke:haka Kaianereh’ko:wa Kanon’ses:neh, Non-party, Petitioner/Movant/Appellant, The Canadian St. Regis Band of Mohawk Indians, Plaintiffs, Respondents, v. The State of New York, Defendants, Respondents. Petition for Writs of Certiorari and Quo Warranto with Prohibition and Mandamus in Aid to Prevent Genocide. Rules 17.1 and 20.1. There are two camps: our enemy and ourselves. The increasing dependence of international capitalists on neo-colonial theft makes their existence and future uncertain. They are facing serious economic and social difficulties making them desperate. Some of the symptoms are rising prices, balance of payments problems, unemployment and social unrest. Their use of more violence, armed force and coercion indicates their panic and decline in their power. The masses are resisting the might is right strategy. The capitalists are finding themselves in an unhealthy position. We must keep confronting them with the truth, which they’re saying is unpeaceful and annoying to them. The Arctic has become unlivable due to the environmental destruction caused by the imperialists. The Inuit have the same duties to care for our mother, Great Turtle Island. We are brothers and sisters. We follow your issues and feel all the stresses that you are going through. We hope you won’t allow yourselves to be used by any of these foreign invaders. They are trying to exploit you and nothing good will come of it.

## AT – CP – Incremental Funding

#### Normal means is incremental funding – OMB exception

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Another potential oversight issue for Congress concerns the Coast Guard’s proposal to fund the acquisition of a new icebreaker using incremental funding (i.e., a series of annual funding increments—see “Funding in FY2013 Budget for New Polar Icebreaker” in “Background”) rather than full funding (i.e., placing most or all of the ship’s acquisition cost into a single year). Section 31.6 of Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Circular A-1147 normally requires executive branch agencies to use full funding for acquiring capital assets such as a new ship. The Coast Guard appears to have received permission from OMB to propose the use of incremental funding for acquiring a new polar icebreaker; Congress may choose to approve, reject, or modify this proposal.

## AT – DA – Politics

#### DC think tanks support the plan

Ewing 11

Philip, DoD Buzz, November 4, “White House: We must keep our icebreakers,” http://www.dodbuzz.com/2011/11/04/white-house-we-must-keep-our-icebreakers/

Although all the fashionable D.C. think-tanks and white-paperists love to talk about the growing importance of the melting Arctic, the discussions over the past few years have been mostly disconnected from the reality of America’s ability to operate at the top of the world. The Coast Guard has three Arctic-capable ships: The Polar Star, its sibling Polar Sea and an ice-strengthened research ship, the Healy. The Polars are purpose-built, heavy-duty icebreakers. They’re remarkable ships; they were designed with complex internal water tanks, for example, that enable them to ride up on heavy ice and rock themselves back and forth to crush it, clearing a path for other ships.

## AT – DA – DOD budget t/o

#### Cuts coming now

WSJ 6/28

Market Watch, “Homeland Security FY2013 IT Budget Request Focuses on Mobility, Data Center Consolidation,” http://www.marketwatch.com/story/homeland-security-fy2013-it-budget-request-focuses-on-mobility-data-center-consolidation-2012-06-28

The Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) FY2013 IT spending requests are roughly even with FY2012 levels, with budget drivers emphasizing commodity IT, mobility, and data center consolidation. The overall 2013 DHS budget request is just under $40 billion. The department's IT budget request is just over $5.75 billion; down from $5.79 billion in FY2012. These financial statistics and technology trends were discussed at a DHS Market Intelligence Briefing hosted by immixGroup on June 19. immixGroup's Market Intelligence organization, which prepared the content of the briefing, provides actionable information that helps commercial technology manufacturers, resellers, and solution providers identify relevant opportunities to do business with the federal government. While at $40 billion, the total budget request for DHS in FY2013 is significantly lower than in previous years. More cuts are expected in FY2014 -- the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is requesting a 10 percent overall reduction in IT budgets across every agency.

#### Funding would be through DHS – it’s the most predictable

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

The prepared statement of the GAO witness at the December 1, 2011, hearing states: Another alternative option addressed by the Recapitalization report would be to fund new icebreakers through the NSF. However, the analysis of this option concluded that funding a new icebreaker through the existing NSF budget would have significant adverse impacts on NSF operations and that the capability needed for Coast Guard requirements would exceed that needed by the NSF. The Recapitalization report noted that a funding approach similar to the approach used for the Healy, which was funded through the fiscal year 1990 DOD appropriations, should be considered. However, the report did not analyze the feasibility of this option. We have previously reported that because of the Coast Guard’s statutory role as both a federal maritime agency and a branch of the military, it can receive funding through both the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and DOD. For example, as we previously reported, although the U.S. Navy is not expressly required to provide funding to the Coast Guard, the Coast Guard receives funding from the Navy to purchase and maintain equipment, such as self-defense systems or communication systems, because it is in the Navy’s interest for the Coast Guard systems to be compatible with the Navy’s systems when the Coast Guard is performing national defense missions in support of the Navy. However, according to a Coast Guard budget official, the Coast Guard receives the majority of its funding through the DHS appropriation, with the exception of reimbursements for specific activities. Also, as the Recapitalization plan acknowledges, there is considerable strain on the DOD budget. A recent DOD report on the Arctic also notes budgetary challenges, stating that the near-term fiscal and political environment will make it difficult to support significant new U.S. investments in the Arctic. Furthermore, DOD and the Coast Guard face different mission requirements and timelines. For example, DOD’s recent report states that the current level of human activity in the Arctic is already of concern to DHS, whereas the Arctic is expected to remain a peripheral interest to much of the national security community for the next decade or more. As a result, the Coast Guard has a more immediate need than DOD to acquire Arctic capabilities, such as icebreakers. For example, with preliminary plans for drilling activity approved in 2011, the Coast Guard must be prepared to provide environmental response in the event of an oil spill. Similarly, as cruise ship traffic continues to increase, the Coast Guard must be prepared to conduct search and rescue operations should an incident occur. For these reasons, it is unlikely that an approach similar to the one that was used to build the Healy would be feasible at this time.54

#### Deterrence fails—forces don’t prevent terrorism, and countries can defend themselves—at worst we can spot them assistance to prevent escalation

Friedman and Preble 10

Benjamin Friedman is a research fellow in defense and homeland security studies at the Cato Institute, and Christopher Preble is director of foreign policy studies at Cato (6/14, Benjamin Friedman and Christopher Preble, “Defense Cuts: Start Overseas”, http://www.cato.org/pub\_display.php?pub\_id=11896)

But the dirty secret of American defense politics is that we are fairly safe. We are surrounded by vast seas and friendly neighbors. But our military spending is nearly equal to half the world's, and our allies spend most of the other half. Russia, China, North Korea, Syria and Iran collectively spend about a fourth of what we do on defense, according to statistics compiled by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Even if we cut our military in half, it would still be far bigger than that of any conceivable rival. Encouragingly, members of President Obama's bipartisan commission on the deficit and debt have said that the military ought to be among the items on the table for possible spending cuts. Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) and Reps. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), Walter B. Jones (R-N.C.) and Ron Paul (R- Texas) last month sent a joint letter to the commissioners arguing that the trims to the Pentagon budget should flow from cuts in overseas commitments. The commissioners should take that advice. The Cold War is over. While we were defending our allies in Europe and Asia, they got wealthy. The new status quo is that we offer them perpetual security subsidies — and risk being drawn into wars that do not serve our security interests. The recent trouble regarding the sinking of a South Korean naval ship by Pyongyang is illustrative. Odious as North Korea is, we have no obvious interest in fighting for South Korea, which has grown far richer and militarily capable than its northern rival. South Korea can defend itself. So can our European and Japanese friends. Nor can terrorism justify a huge military. Most of our military spending goes to conventional forces adept at destroying well-armed enemies. Terrorists are lightly armed and mostly hidden. The trick is finding them, not killing or capturing them once they are found. Counterinsurgency enthusiasts claim that we can only be safe from terrorists by using ground forces to rebuild the states where they operate. But we have learned the hard way that theory badly overestimates our ability to organize other nations' politics. Even if we could master that imperial art, it would not be worth the cost. By avoiding the occupation of failing states and shedding commitments to defend healthy ones, we could plan for far fewer wars, allowing cuts in force structure, manpower, procurement spending and operational costs. The resulting force would be more elite, less strained and far less expensive. Even if the commission calls for cutting defense commitments, the Obama administration has shown little interest in following such recommendations. When the Japanese government recently asked us to remove our Marines from Okinawa after 65 years, for example, the administration hectored Tokyo into letting us keep our base rather than wishing the Japanese well and bringing the troops home. Instead of looking to shed missions, Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates recently advocated maintaining current funding levels while cutting overhead costs by a few billion to fund frontline forces. Good idea, except that it won't offset the rapidly rising cost of the military's personnel, healthcare and operational spending. The likely result will be that these accounts will continue to take funds needed for manpower and force structure, leaving a shrinking force overburdened even in peacetime. Our deficit problem is an opportunity to surrender the pretension that we are the world's indispensable nation, preventing instability, shaping the international system and guiding history. We should be content to settle for being the big kid on the block that looks out for itself and occasionally helps friends in a bad spot. That approach would take advantage of the security we have, and save money we don't.

## AT – DA - Nuclear

#### Normal means is non-nuclear

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, “Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Polar Star (WAGB-10) and Polar Sea (WAGB-11),5 sister ships built to the same general design (Figure 1 and Figure 2), were procured in the early 1970s as replacements for earlier U.S. icebreakers**.** They were designed for 30-year service lives, and were built by Lockheed Shipbuilding of Seattle, WA, a division of Lockheed that also built ships for the U.S. Navy, but which exited the shipbuilding business in the late 1980s. Neither ship is currently in operational condition. The ships are 399 feet long and displace about 13,200 tons.6 They are among the world’s most powerful non-nuclear-powered icebreakers**,** with a capability to break through ice up to 6 feet thick at a speed of 3 knots. Because of their icebreaking capability, they are considered heavy polar icebreakers. In addition to a crew of 134, each ship can embark a scientific research staff of 32 people.

#### The ships won’t be nuclear

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

The Coast Guard estimated in February 2008 that new replacement ships for the Polar Star and Polar Sea might cost between $800 million and $925 million per ship in 2008 dollars to procure.31 The Coast Guard said that this estimate is based on a ship with integrated electric drive, three propellers, and a combined diesel and gas (electric) propulsion plant. The icebreaking capability would be equivalent to the POLAR Class Icebreakers [i.e., Polar Star and Polar Sea] and research facilities and accommodations equivalent to HEALY. This cost includes all shipyard and government project costs. Total time to procure a new icebreaker [including mission analysis, studies, design, contract award, and construction] is eight to ten years.32

## AT – DA – Global Warming

#### Can’t solve without international cooperation – China is the biggest CO2 emitter in the world, and India’s output is significant – industrialization in the developing world trade off with US reductions

Hawkins 2009

(John, July 16, “Why Cap And Trade Is A Waste Of Time: Poor Countries Won't Curb Their Emissions”, accessed 9/6/2010 http://rightwingnews.com/mt331/2009/07/why\_cap\_and\_trade\_is\_a\_waste\_o.php)

Here's the issue: the United States is just one nation out of many. Even if the environmentalist kooks and the people lining their pockets with global warming profits, like Al Gore, are right -- we need the whole world, especially large developing nations like India and China, to reduce greenhouse gasses to make a difference. However, as [Shikha Dalmia](http://www.forbes.com/2009/07/14/g8-climate-change-india-opinions-columnists-shikha-dalmia.html) notes in a column at Forbes, it's simply not going to happen, In fact, there is a perfectly good reason developing countries are unwilling to act on climate change: What they are being asked to do is more awful than climate change's implications--even if one accepts all the alarmist predictions. Consider what would be necessary to slash global greenhouse-gas emissions just 50% below 2000 levels by 2050--a far less aggressive goal than what the enviros say is necessary to avert climate catastrophe. According to U.S. Chamber of Commerce calculations, even if the West reduced its emissions by 80% below 2000 levels, developing countries would still have to return their emissions to 2000 levels to meet the 50% target. However, Indians currently consume roughly 15 times less energy per capita than Americans--and Chinese consume seven times less. Asking them, along with the rest of the developing world, to go back to 2000 emission levels with a 2050 population would mean putting them on a very drastic energy diet. The human toll of this is unfathomable: It would require these countries to abandon plans to ever conquer poverty, of course. But beyond that it would require a major scaling back of living standards under which their middle classes--for whom three square meals, cars and air-conditioning are only now beginning to come within reach--would have to go back to subsistence living, and the hundreds of millions who are at subsistence would have to accept starvation. In short, the choice for developing countries is between mass death due to the consequences of an overheated planet sometime in the distant future, and mass suicide due to imposed instant starvation right now. Is it any surprise that they are reluctant to jump on the global-warming bandwagon? ...The Waxman-Markey climate change bill that just passed the U.S. House of Representatives wants to force developing countries to accept this fate by resorting to the old and tired method of protectionism. Should this monstrosity become law, starting in 2020 the United States will impose carbon tariffs on goods from any country that does not accept binding reductions. But this is a path to mutually assured economic destruction--not to combating climate change. For starters, by 2020, when these tariffs go into effect, India and China--with GDPs projected to grow anywhere from 6% to 10% annually--will have much bigger economies with huge domestic markets that they are increasingly opening to each other. Thus they might well be better off forgoing access to the U.S. market than accepting crippling restrictions on their growth. Also, by then they will also have more economic clout on the world stage to enforce their own ideas of who ought to take moral responsibility for climate change. The West's case for restricting Indian and Chinese exports rests on the claim that these countries' total emissions will exceed those from the West within the next few decades. (China's emissions are already at par with those of the U.S., the biggest emitter). But these countries have, and will continue to have, far lower emissions on a per-capita basis, given that China's are now around one-fifth those of the United States and India's one-twentieth. Thus they would have an equally valid case for imposing countervailing restrictions on American exports based on per-capita emissions. The West might well be the bigger loser in this economic warfare if it is barred from accessing new, growing markets. What environmental activists are demanding is that nations like China and India commit to permanently living in grinding poverty and miserable conditions in hopes that it'll stop global warming, which wouldn't be as bad grinding poverty for those nations, is set to occur in a hundred years, and probably won't happen anyway.

#### It’s too late to solve global warming – but we’ll adapt anyway

Hewitt 8/17/10

Alison**.** August 17, 2010.Capitalism Will Help Us Adapt to Climate Change, Economist Says. <http://www.international.ucla.edu/news/article.asp?parentid=116933>. Writer UCLA today

Kahn, an environmental economist, takes a pessimistic view of climate change — it's too late to avoid rising sea levels and hotter summers, he wrote — but he believes cities can cope with the changes. "Many people are fixated on how we can reduce greenhouse gases, and acting like adapting to a warmer climate is still in the sci-fi future," Kahn said. "But we've passed the point of no return. Certain urban places — like Los Angeles — will suffer. But I'm optimistic that Los Angeles will also adapt."

## AT – DA - Spending

#### Their link is exaggerated - plan is more cost effective than Squo acquisitions – the more we build, the more we save

Ewing 11

(Philip; December 1; Staff writer for DoDBuzz; http://www.dodbuzz.com/author/philewing/)

Per CRS, one new icebreaker could cost $856 million; two could cost $1.7 billion;three would cost $2.4 billion; four would cost $3.2 billion; five would cost around $4 billion; and six would cost about $4.7 billion. The iron laws of shipbuilding apply — unit costs go down as total quantities go up. But first somebody would have to stand up and make a case to Congress to spend that kind of money in Austerity America.

#### Faster shipping routes saves companies money

Bockmann 6/13

(Michelle Wiese, London shipping reporter for Bloomberg News, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-06-13/arctic-ship-cargoes-saving-650-000-on-fuel-set-for-record-high.html>)

Cargoes of dry-bulk commodities hauled through Arctic waters are set to rise to a record this year as shipping companies use the route to almost halve journey times compared with Suez Canal shipments. Nordic Bulk Carriers A/S plans to transport about six to eight 70,000 metric-ton shipments of iron ore to China from the Russian port of Murmansk starting in July, according to director Christian Bonfils. Using the so-called Northern Sea Route for the journey instead of the canal saves 1,000 tons of fuel, or $650,000, he said today by phone. “We plan to use the Northern Sea Route if it makes sense and we can rely on it,” Bonfils said. Nordic Bulk Carriers, based in Hellerup, Denmark, has four ships with the world’s heaviest hull reinforcing for plying icy waters and will become the biggest user of the route in terms of volumes transported by year-end, he said. Russia is promoting the Arctic voyage as a lane to ship oil, natural gas and minerals to the Pacific Ocean from the northern Atlantic as ice melts and scientific knowledge of marine transportation in the region advances. Any dry-bulk cargoes to be sent to Asia from ports north of Rotterdam may be able to use the route when it’s open, Bonfils said. The route follows the Russian coast from the island archipelago of Novaya Zemlya in the west to the Bering Strait in the east, according to the website of the United Nations Environment Programme’s GRID-Arendal affiliate. A voyage through Arctic waters is as much as 40 percent shorter than a journey via the Panama or Suez canals**,** the site showed.

#### You can’t prove a link to your spending or budget trade-off DA – normal means includes a bunch of different funding options

O’Rourke 6/14

Specialist in Naval Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Quote from July 2010 Coast Guard High Latitude Study,“Coast Guard Polar Icebreaker Modernization: Background and Issues for Congress,” <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc85474/>

Another potential issue for Congress, if it is determined that one or more new icebreakers should be procured by the government through a traditional acquisition, is whether the acquisition cost of those ships should be funded entirely through Coast Guard’s Acquisition, Construction, and Improvements (AC&I) account, or partly or entirely through other parts of the federal budget, such as the Department of Defense (DOD) budget, the NSF budget, or both.51 Within the DOD budget, possibilities include the Navy’s shipbuilding account, called the Shipbuilding and Conversion, Navy (SCN) account, and the National Defense Sealift Fund (NDSF), which is an account where DOD sealift ships and Navy auxiliary ships are funded.

## AT – DA - Marine Life

#### Collisions avoidable

International Maritime Incorporation ‘11

Marine Environment Protection Committee, May 6th 2011, http://libcloud.s3.amazonaws.com/93/1c/9/1143/MEPC\_62-11-6\_Arctic\_shipping\_and\_cetaceans\_WWF\_FOEI\_and\_IFAW.pdf, Arctic Shipping and Cetaceans: Recommendations regarding mitigation measures and the development of the mandatory Polar Code 6/27/12 EW

There are several measures that can be taken to avoid the risk of ship strikes. A 2010 joint IWC-ACCOBAMS workshop on reducing collisions between vessels and cetaceans4 recommended that wherever practical, vessels should be separated from whales using measures such as re-routing or areas/times to be avoided. The workshop agreed that re-routing should be the first option, but recommended that where separating vessels from whales is not practical, measures to reduce speed should be considered. For large whales, it has been shown that the probability of a collision being lethal is reduced at slower speeds, and the risk of a lethal collision is substantially reduced at speeds below 10 knots. Slower speeds may also improve the ability of operators of some types of vessel to take avoiding action (by increasing the amount of time available for maneuvering vessels away from whales), and may also improve the ability of cetaceans to avoid collisions.

#### Cryo-preservation solves species loss

Cannell 99

Michael, freelance writer, October 10, 1999, The Washington Post, “Ice Age at the Zoo,” p. W14

With his beard and khaki safari shirt, Wildt, 49, could pass as Ken Burns’s rugged older brother. He operates from a scrupulously neat office perched on a broad, open hill in the zoo’s 3,100-acre Conservation and Research Center in Front Royal. Fifty years ago, the Army bred cavalry horses on these sloping pastures overlooking the Shenandoah Valley. Today, in a complex of laboratories built within unassuming red-roofed barns, Wildt is summoning the tools of cryo-preservation -- the storage of living tissue in extreme cold -- to amass a frozen zoo, a 21st-century ark that offers hope of survival to species on the brink of extinction. It is the stuff of science fiction: Hundreds of six-inch glass straws loaded with sperm and embryos are chilled in vaporous freezers to minus 196 degrees centigrade, colder than the lunar night. The frozen zoo’s repositories, samples from some 300 species, are genetic time capsules. As long as the reproductive cells reside in their coolers, the donor species -- from Indian elephants to black-footed ferrets -- cannot go genetically extinct. These samples can lie in a suspended state for hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years. Someday they could be used to restart a species long after it has disappeared from the face of the earth. In the meantime, Wildt and his colleagues at the National Zoo, along with cryobiologists at half a dozen other U.S. zoos, are drawing on the samples to increase today’s animal populations and alleviate inbreeding by injecting genetic “booster shots” into isolated groups.

#### Claims of ecosystem destruction are false – ecosystems empirically recover

Boucher 96

Douglas, Department of Biology at Hood College, Appalachian Environmental Laboratory at the University of Maryland, Fall 1996, Science & Society, “Not with a bang but a whimper,” Vol. 60, Iss. 3, proquest

The political danger of catastrophism is matched by the weakness of its scientific foundation. Given the prevalence of the idea that the entire biosphere will soon collapse, it is remarkable how few good examples ecology can provide of this happening - even on the scale of an ecosystem, let alone a continent or the whole planet. Hundreds of ecological transformations, due to introductions of alien species, pollution, overexploitation, climate change and even collisions with asteroids, have been documented. They often change the functioning of ecosystems, and the abundance and diversity of their animals and plants, in dramatic ways. The effects on human society can be far-reaching, and often extremely negative for the majority of the population. But one feature has been a constant, nearly everywhere on earth: life goes on. Humans have been able to drive thousands of species to extinction, severely impoverish the soil, alter weather patterns, dramatically lower the biodiversity of natural communities, and incidentally cause great suffering for their posterity. They have not generally been able to prevent nature from growing back. As ecosystems are transformed, species are eliminated - but opportunities are created for new ones. The natural world is changed, but never totally destroyed. Levins and Lewontin put it well: “The warning not to destroy the environment is empty: environment, like matter, cannot be created or destroyed. What we can do is replace environments we value by those we do not like” (Levins and Lewontin, 1994).

## AT – K – Generic

### AT – Ontology First

#### Placing ontology before ethical action to quell suffering enables mass extermination and produces a flawed ontology

Davidson 1989

Arnold I., Critical Inquiry, Vol. 15, No. 2, Winter, pg. 425-426, “Questions concerning Heidegger: Opening the Debate”

I understand Levinas’ work to suggest another path to the recovery of the human, one that leads through or toward other human beings: The dimension of the divine opens forth from the human face…Hence metaphysics is enacted where the social relation is enacted on our relations with men…the Other is not the incarnation of God, but precisely by his face, in which he is disincarnate,is the manifestation of the height in which God is revealed. It is our relations with [people]…that give to theological concepts the sole signification they admit of. Levinas places ethics before ontology by beginning with our experience of the human face; and, in a clear reference to Heidegger’s idolatry of the village life of peasants, he associates himself with Socrates, who preferred the city where he encountered men to the country with its trees. In his discussion of skepticism and the problem of others, Cavell also aligns himself with this path of though, with the recovery of the finite human self through the acknowledgement of others: As long as God exists, I am not alone. And couldn’t the other suffer the fate of God? ... I wish to understand how the other now bears the weight of God, shows me that I am not alone in the universe. This requires understanding the philosophical problem of the other as the trace or scar of the departure of God. [CR, p. 470]. The suppression of the other, the human, in Heidegger’s thought accounts, I believe, for the absence, in his writing after the war, of the experience of horror. Horror is always directed toward the human; every object of horror bears the imprint of the *human* will. So Levinas can see in Heidegger’s silence about the gas chambers and death camps “a kind of consent to the horror.” And Cavell can characterize Nazis as “those who have lost the capacity for being horrified by what they do.” Where was Heidegger’s horror? How could he have failed to know what he had consented to? Hannah Arendt associates Heidegger with Paul Valery’s aphorism, “ ‘Les evenements ne sontl’ecume des choses’ (‘Events are but the foam of things’)”. I think one understands the source of her intuition. The mass extermination of human beings, however, does not produce foam, but dust and ashes; and it is here that questioning must stop.

#### You can’t tell us what our ontology is, and assuming you can is the worst kind of managerial thought because it denies the signal variation in seemingly synonymous terms

Shirky 2005

Clay, decentralization and technology consultant to Nokia, GBN, the Library of Congress, the Highlands Forum, the Markle Foundation, and the BBC, adjunct professor in NYU's graduate Interactive Telecommunications Program, has had regular columns in Business 2.0, FEED, OpenP2P.com and ACM Net\_Worker, and his writings have appeared in the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Harvard Business Review, Wired, Release 1.0, Computerworld, and IEEE Computer, the original Professor of New Media in the Media Studies department at Hunter College, “Ontology is Overrated: Categories, Links, and Tags”, http://www.shirky.com/writings/ontology\_overrated.html#the\_only\_group

The mind-reading aspect shows up in conversations about controlled vocabularies. Whenever users are allowed to label or tag things, someone always says "Hey, I know! Let's make a thesaurus, so that if you tag something 'Mac' and I tag it 'Apple' and somebody else tags it 'OSX', we all end up looking at the same thing!" They point to the signal loss from the fact that users, although they use these three different labels, are talking about the same thing. The assumption is that we both can and should read people's minds, that we can understand what they meant when they used a particular label, and, understanding that, we can start to restrict those labels, or at least map them easily onto one another.This looks relatively simple with the Apple/Mac/OSX example, but when we start to expand to other groups of related words, like movies, film, and cinema, the case for the thesaurus becomes much less clear. I learned this from Brad Fitzpatrick's design for LiveJournal, which allows user to list their own interests. LiveJournal makes absolutely no attempt to enforce solidarity or a thesaurus or a minimal set of terms, no check-box, no drop-box, just free-text typing. Some people say they're interested in movies. Some people say they're interested in film. Some people say they're interested in cinema. The cataloguers first reaction to that is, "Oh my god, that means you won't be introducing the movies people to the cinema people!" To which the obvious answer is "Good. The movie people don't want to hang out with the cinema people." Those terms actually encode different things, and the assertion that restricting vocabularies improves signal assumes that that there's no signal in the difference itself, and no value in protecting the user from too many matches. When we get to really contested terms like queer/gay/homosexual, by this point, all the signal loss is in the collapse, not in the expansion. "Oh, the people talking about 'queer politics' and the people talking about 'the homosexual agenda', they're really talking about the same thing." Oh no they're not. If you think the movies and cinema people were going to have a fight, wait til you get the queer politics and homosexual agenda people in the same room. You can't do it. You can't collapse these categorizations without some signal loss. The problem is, because the cataloguers assume their classification should have force on the world, they underestimate the difficulty of understanding what users are thinking, and they overestimate the amount to which users will agree, either with one another or with the catalogers,about the best way to categorize.They also underestimate the loss from erasing difference of expression, and they overestimate loss from the lack of a thesaurus.

#### The ontological question is impossible to answer. The kritik will lock us into an infinitely regressive cycle destroying political praxis.

Levinas and Nemo 1985

Emmanuel (professor of philosophy) and Philippe (professor of new philosophy), Ethics and Infinity, 1985, pg. 6-7

Are we not in need of still more precautions? Must we not step back from this question to raise another, to recognize the obvious circularity of asking what is the “What is . .?“ question? It seems to beg the question. Is our new suspicion, then, that Heidegger begs the question of metaphysics when he asks “What is poetry?” or “What is thinking?”? Yet his thought is insistently anti-metaphysical. Why, then, does he retain the metaphysical question par excellence? Aware of just such an objection, he proposes, against the vicious circle of the *petitio principi,* an alternative, productive circularity: hermeneutic questioning. To ask “What is. . .?“ does not partake of onto-theo-logy if one acknowledges (1) that the answer can never be fixed absolutely, but calls essentially, endlessly, for additional “What is . . .?“ questions. Dialectical refinement here replaces vicious circularity. Further, beyond the openmindedness called for by dialectical refinement, hermeneutic questioning (2) insists on avoiding subjective impositions, on avoiding reading into rather than harkening to things. One must harken to the things themselves, ultimately to being, in a careful attunement to what is. But do the refinement and care of the hermeneutic question — which succeed in avoiding ontotheo-logy succeed in avoiding all viciousness? Certainly they convert a simple fallacy into a productive inquiry, they open a path for thought. But is it not the case that however much refinement and care one brings to bear, to ask what something is leads to asking what something else is, and so on and so forth, ad infinitum*?* What is disturbing in this is not so much the infinity of interpretive depth, which has the virtue of escaping onto-theo-logy and remaining true to the way things are, to the phenomena, the coming to be and passing away of being. Rather, the problem lies in the influence the endlessly open horizon of such thinking exerts on the way of such thought. That is, the problem lies in what seems to be the very virtue of hermeneutic thought, namely, the doggedness of the “What is . . .?“ question, in its inability to escape itself, to escape being and essence.

#### EXISTENCE PRECEDES ONTOLOGY

Wapner 3

Paul**,** associate professor and director of the Global Environmental Policy Program at American University, Winter ‘3

[“Leftist criticism of "nature", [Dissent](http://proquest.umi.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/pqdweb?RQT=318&pmid=27468&TS=1221104020&clientId=42567&VInst=PROD&VName=PQD&VType=PQD), Vol. 50, Iss. 1, JT]

All attempts to listen to nature are social constructions--except one. **Even the most radical postmodernist must acknowledge the distinction between physical existence and nonexistence.** As I have said, **postmodernists accept that there is a physical substratum to the phenomenal world even if they argue about the different meanings we ascribe to it. This acknowledgment of physical existence is crucial.** We can't ascribe meaning to that which doesn't appear. What doesn't exist can manifest no character. Put differently, yes**, the postmodernist should rightly worry about interpreting nature's expressions. And all of us should be wary of those who claim to speak on nature's behalf** (including environmentalists who do that). But **we need not doubt the simple idea that a prerequisite of expression is existence.** This in turn suggests that preserving the nonhuman world-in all its diverse embodiments-must be seen by eco-critics as a fundamental good. Eco-critics must be supporters, in some fashion, of environmental preservation.

### AT – Epistemology First

#### Epistemology alternatives fail – they inevitably devolve to hegemonic educational structures and are no more accurate than SQuo methods

Ilan Gur-Ze’ev NoDate

(Haifa University) “Toward a non-repressive critical pedagogy.” No date. Accessed 1/19/11.

<http://construct.haifa.ac.il/~ilangz/Critpe39.html>

From this perspective, the consensus reached by the reflective subject taking part in the dialogue offered by Critical Pedagogy is naive, especially in light of its declared anti-intellectualism on the one hand and its pronounced glorification of “feelings”, “experience”, and self-evident knowledge of the group on the other. Critical Pedagogy, in its different versions, claims to inhere and overcome the foundationalism and transcendentalism of the Enlightenment’s emancipatory and  ethnocentric arrogance, as exemplified by ideology critique, psychoanalysis, or traditional metaphysics. Marginalized feminist knowledge, like the marginalized, neglected, and ridiculed knowledge of the Brazilian farmers, as presented by Freire or Weiler, is represented as legitimate and relevant knowledge, in contrast to its representation as the hegemonic instrument of representation and education. This knowledge is portrayed as a relevant, legitimate and superior alternative to hegemonic education and the knowledge this represents in the center. It is said to represent an identity that is desirable and promises to function “successfully”. However, neither the truth value of the marginalized collective memory nor knowledge is cardinal here. “Truth” is replaced by knowledge whose supreme criterion is its self-evidence, namely the potential productivity of its creative violence, while the dialogue in which adorers of “difference” take part is implicitly represented as one of the desired productions of this violence. My argument is that the marginalized and repressed self-evident knowledge has no superiority over the self-evident knowledge of the oppressors. Relying on the knowledge of the weak, controlled, and marginalized groups, their memory and their conscious interests, is no less naive and dangerous than relying on hegemonic knowledge. This is because the critique of Western transcendentalism, foundationalism, and ethnocentrism declines into uncritical acceptance of marginalized knowledge, which becomes foundationalistic and ethnocentric in presenting “the truth”, “the facts”, or “the real interests of the group” - even if conceived as valid only  for the group concerned. This position cannot avoid vulgar realism and naive positivism based on “facts” of self-evident knowledge ultimately realized against the self-evidence of other groups.

### AT – Root Cause

#### Policymaking can ameliorate the impacts even if it’s incorrect about the root cause

Walt 5

(“The relationship between theory and policy in international relations” Annual review of political science, 23-48)

Policy decisions can be influenced by several types of knowledge. First, **policy makers invariably rely on purely factual knowledge** (e.g., how large are the opponent’s forces? What is the current balance of payments?). Second, decision makers sometimes employ “rules of thumb”: simple **decision rules acquired through experience** rather than via systematic study (Mearsheimer 1989).3 A third type of knowledge consists of typologies, which classify phenomena based on sets of specific traits. Policy makers can also rely onempirical laws. **An empirical law is an observed correspondence between** two or more **phenomena that systematic inquiry has shown** to be **reliable.** **Such laws** (e.g., “democracies do not fight each other” or “human beings are more risk averse with respect to losses than to gains”) **can be useful guides even if we do not know why they occur, or if our explanations** for them **are incorrect**.

### AT – Value to Life Impacts

#### SURVIVAL KEY TO ANY VALUE TO LIFE

Emrich, ‘5

Kerry[http://all-about.typer.ys.pl/health/defeat-fear-of-death-14174.htm, August 1, “Defeat Fear of Death,” Accessed 1-12-05, JT]

**The only realistic fear related to death would be to be afraid of dying from things we can avoid, such as lions, tigers, or war.** We can prepare and make plans to avoid such things, to increase the time we have left on this planet. We must live out each day free from the fear of death but still plan to avoid the factors that we can control.

This danger avoidance helps us to prepare and make plans so that we are not currently in any danger. This can be achieved by learning how to swim to help avoid drowning (which of course is a cause of death) and to make to further prepare to learn to avoid or minimize other dangers. Another example of this would be to wear our seatbelt while driving to reduce the risk of injury or death if we are involved in an accident.

**Death is a natural part of life, and we must remember that all things will die one day.** We can prepare ourselves spiritually for death. This can be formal such as going to church, or other religious temple, or as simple as meditation or simply being a good person.

It is also quite common to have regrets when we die. We can do many things other than to simply have a fear of death to prepare for it, and to reduce the pain of our friends and family when that day comes. Paying our bills, making sure we have insurance to cover our funeral, planning our funeral, these are all things that will reduce the stress and anxiety of others. **Each day we can do good things to make our life more meaningful and give us a sense of purpose.**

**Life is a prerequisite to value**

**Piper 79**

John, Pastor, June 1, 1979 (“the Ethics of Ayn Rand,”) <http://www.desiringgod.org/ResourceLibrary/Articles/ByDate/1979/1486_the_ethics_of_ayn_rand/>

Rand argued that “life is the only phenomenon that is an end in itself” (VS, 17). She did not mean mere existence, but rather the life appropriate to the nature of the organism. No more ultimate value than life can be conceived for any given organism when life is defined as the fullness of existence appropriate to one’s nature. But not only is life the highest value of any given organism; life is also that alone which makes the concept of values possible (VS, 16). For, since a “value is that which one acts to gain and/or keep . . . it presupposes an entity capable of acting to achieve a goal in the face of an alternative” (VS, 15). Therefore, without life values are not possible, and so life must be valuable since on it hangs the very validity of the concept of values. If one is to conceive of values at all, they must ascribe value to life or else contradict himself by devaluing that which makes his very devaluation possible.

#### EVEN IN THE MIDST OF BARE LIFE, STRUGGLE KEEPS US ALIVE. ANY HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE IS BETTER THAN THE ALTERNATIVE

Thomas 6

Abraham, Jan. 24, [http://ezinearticles.com/?On-Failing-To-Discover-The-Meaning-Of-Life&id=133561, “On Failing To Discover The Meaning Of Life,” ACC. 1-13-10, JT]

**The famed psychiatrist, Frankl, survived the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, to narrate the dreaded moment, when a fellow prisoner ceased to struggle for life**. Usually, **the prisoner** refused to go out on to the parade grounds. “He just lay there, hardly moving. No entreaties, no blows, no threats had any effect. He **simply gave up**. There he remained, lying in his own excreta, and nothing bothered him any more.” **His life had lost its meaning. Such people died soon after.**

**But, despite the meaningless torture and beatings, thousands of inmates still struggled against all odds to eke out a life.** Frankl submitted that **it was a purpose in life, whatever it was, which helped them to survive. These were not large purposes. A hope of meeting a son after the war was a purpose. Even a decision to harden oneself against suffering was a sufficient purpose.** After the war, Frankl established a major field in psychiatry, assisting thousands of suicidal patients around the world to recover by discovering an acceptable purpose in life.

Value to life is perspective dependent and operates in a co-existent manner: you can say x has no meaning and still grant equal moral status

Thaddeus Metz,‘7

[Asst. Prof. of Philosophy, Univ. of Missouri-St. Louis, May 15**, “**The Meaning of Life,” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/life-meaning, acc 3-13-09]  
Returning to topics on which there is consensus**, most writing on meaning believe that it comes in degrees such that some periods of life are more meaningful than others and that some lives as a whole are more meaningful than others** (perhaps contra Britton 1969, 192). Note that **one can coherently hold the view that some people's lives are less meaningful than others, or even meaningless, and still maintain that people have an equal moral status.** Consider a consequentialist view according to which **each individual counts for one in virtue of having a capacity for a meaningful life** (cf. Railton 1984), or a Kantian view that says that people have an intrinsic worth in virtue of their capacity for autonomous choices, where meaning is a function of the exercise of this capacity (Nozick 1974, ch. 3). On both views, morality could counsel an agent to help people with relatively meaningless lives, at least if the condition is not of their choosing.

### AT – Nuclear Fear Bad

Collective fear of death is key to check genocide and extinction

Beres 96

Louis Rene (PhD Princeton), “No Fear, No Trembling Israel, Death and the Meaning of Anxiety,” www.freeman.org/m\_online/feb96/beresn.htm

Fear of death, the ultimate source of anxiety, is essential to human survival. This is true not only for individuals, but also for states. Without such fear, states will exhibit an incapacity to confront nonbeing that can hasten their disappearance. So it is today with the State of Israel. Israel suffers acutely from insufficient existential dread. Refusing to tremble before the growing prospect of collective disintegration - a forseeable prospect connected with both genocide and war - this state is now unable to take the necessary steps toward collective survival. What is more, because death is the one fact of life which is not relative but absolute, Israel's blithe unawareness of its national mortality deprives its still living days of essential absoluteness and growth. For states, just as for individuals, confronting death can give the most positive reality to life itself. In this respect, a cultivated awareness of nonbeing is central to each state's pattern of potentialities as well as to its very existence. When a state chooses to block off such an awareness, a choice currently made by the State of Israel, it loses, possibly forever, the altogether critical benefits of "anxiety." There is, of course, a distinctly ironic resonance to this argument. Anxiety, after all, is generally taken as a negative, as a liability that cripples rather than enhances life. But anxiety is not something we "have." It is something we (states and individuals) "are." It is true, to be sure, that anxiety, at the onset of psychosis, can lead individuals to experience literally the threat of self-dissolution, but this is, by definition, not a problem for states. Anxiety stems from the awareness that existence can actually be destroyed, that one can actually become nothing. An ontological characteristic, it has been commonly called Angst, a word related to anguish (which comes from the Latin angustus, "narrow," which in turn comes from angere, "to choke.") Herein lies the relevant idea of birth trauma as the prototype of all anxiety, as "pain in narrows" through the "choking" straits of birth. Kierkegaard identified anxiety as "the dizziness of freedom," adding: "Anxiety is the reality of freedom as a potentiality before this freedom has materialized." This brings us back to Israel. Both individuals and states may surrender freedom in the hope of ridding themselves of an unbearable anxiety. Regarding states, such surrender can lead to a rampant and delirious collectivism which stamps out all political opposition. It can also lead to a national self-delusion which augments enemy power and hastens catastrophic war. For the Jewish State, a lack of pertinent anxiety, of the positive aspect of Angst, has already led its people to what is likely an irreversible rendezvous with extinction.

#### Imagining nuclear death is a project of survival – their alternative promotes life-denying repression and denial

Lenz 90

Millicent (Assis. Prof Science and Policy @ SUNY), Nuclear Age Literature for Youth, p. 9-10

A summary of Frank’s thought in “Psychological Determinants of the Nuclear Arms Race” notes how all people have difficulty grasping the magnitude and immediacy of the threat of nuclear arms and this psychological unreality is a basic obstacle to eliminating that threat. Only events that people have actually experienced can have true emotional impact. Since Americans have escaped the devastation of nuclear weapons on their own soil and “nuclear weapons poised for annihilation in distant countries cannot be seen, heard, smelled, tasted, or touched,” we find it easy to imagine ourselves immune to the threat. Albert Camus had the same phenomenon in mind when he wrote in his essay *Neither Victims nor Executioners* of the inability of most people really to *imagine* other people’s death (he might have added “or their own”). Commenting on Camus, David P. Barash and Judith Eve Lipton observed that this distancing from death’s reality is yet another aspect of our insulation from life’s most basic realities. “We make love by telephone, we work not on matter but on machines, and we kill and are killed by proxy. We gain in cleanliness, but lose in understanding.” If we are to heed Camus’s call to refuse to be either the victims of violence like the Jews of the Holocaust, or the perpetrators of it like the Nazi executioners of the death camps, we must revivify the imagination of what violence really entails. It is here, of course, that the literature of nuclear holocaust can play a significant role. Without either firsthand experience or vivid imagining, it is natural, as Frank points out, to deny the existence of death machines and their consequences. In psychiatric usage denial means to exclude from awareness, because “letting [the instruments of destruction] enter consciousness would create too strong a level of anxiety or other painful emotions.” In most life-threatening situations, an organism’s adaptation increases chances of survival, but ironically, adapting ourselves to nuclear fear is counterproductive. We only seal our doom more certainly. The repressed fear, moreover, takes a psychic toll.

#### Death imagery affirms life

Fox 85

Michael Allen (Assoc. Prof Phil. @ Queens), “Nuclear War: Philosophical Perspectives,” ed. Fox and Groarke, p. 127

There remains but one choice: we must seek a reduction of world tensions, mutual trust, disarmament, and peace.35 Security is not the absence of fear and anxiety, but a degree of stress and uncertainty with which we can cope and remain mentally healthy. For security, understood in this way, to become a feature of our lives, we must admit our nuclear fear and anxiety and identify the mechanisms that dull or mask our emotional and other responses. It is necessary to realist that we cannot entrust security to ourselves, but, strange as it seems and however difficult to accept, must entrust it to our adversary Just as the safety and security of each of us, as individuals, depends upon the good will of every other, any one of whom could harm us at any moment, so the security of nations finally depends upon the good will of other nations, whether or not we willingly accept this fact. The disease for which we must find the cure also requires that we continually come face to face with the unthinkable in image and thought and recoil from it. 36 In this manner we can break its hold over us and free ourselves to begin new initiatives. As Robert J. Lifton points out, “confronting massive death helps us bring ourselves more in touch with what we care most about in life. We [will then] find ourselves in no way on a death trip, but rather responding to a call for personal and professional actions and commitments on behalf of that wondrous and fragile entity we know as human life.

#### Fear of death key to recognizing a value to life and its spiritual element

Kelsang 99

(Geshe, internationally renowned teacher of Buddhism ), <http://www.tharpa.com/background/fear-of-death.htm>)

A healthy fear of death would be the fear of dying unprepared, as this is a fear we can do something about, a danger we can avert. If we have this realistic fear, this sense of danger, we are encouraged to prepare for a peaceful and successful death and are also inspired to make the most of our very precious human life instead of wasting it. This "sense of danger" inspires us to make preparations so that we are no longer in the danger we are in now, for example by practicing moral discipline, purifying our negative karma, and accumulating as much merit, or good karma, as possible. We put on a seat belt out of a sense of danger of the unseen dangers of traffic on the road, and that seat belt protects us from going through the windshield. We can do nothing about other traffic, but we can do something about whether or not we go through the windscreen if someone crashes into us. Similarly, we can do nothing about the fact of death, but we can seize control over how we prepare for death and how we die. Eventually, through [Tantric](http://www.tharpa.com/background/about-tantra.htm) spiritual practice, we can even attain a deathless body. In [Living Meaningfully, Dying Joyfully](http://www.tharpa.com/lmdj.htm), Geshe Kelsang says: Dying with regrets is not at all unusual. To avoid a sad and meaningless end to our life we need to remember continually that we too must die. Contemplating our own death will inspire us to use our life wisely by developing the inner refuge of spiritual realizations; otherwise we shall have no ability to protect ourself from the sufferings of death and what lies beyond. Moreover, when someone close to us is dying, such as a parent or friend, we shall be powerless to help them because we shall not know how; and we shall experience sadness and frustration at our inability to be of genuine help. Dying with regrets is not at all unusual. To avoid a sad and meaningless end to our life we need to remember continually that we too must die. Contemplating our own death will inspire us to use our life wisely by developing the inner refuge of spiritual realizations; otherwise we shall have no ability to protect ourself from the sufferings of death and what lies beyond

### AT – Science Bad

#### Objective reality exists and can be learned even if it is only controlled by senses that are subjective

Paul's Tips 6

Does objective reality exist?. May 16, 2006 <http://www.paulstips.com/brainbox/pt/home.nsf/link/15052006-Does-objective-reality-exist>

From Scientologists, to The Matrix, to a recent post by Steve Pavlina there are a lot of people out there who seem to be claiming that objective reality doesn’t exist. Or at least, that it only exists in the way you choose it to. This is a seductive theory, but it's also nonsense. Here’s why: What is objective reality? For the purposes of this discussion, I’m going to define objective reality in the terms that most people understand it. That is, that there's an underlying reality which exists independently of our perceptions and thoughts. There is a physical world out there with rules that limit what we can and can’t do. An example of such reality is the Earth’s gravity. As long as we are on the Earth’s surface, its gravity will keep us here unless we consume some form of energy to overcome that gravitational pull. We experience this reality through our five senses: sight, smell, sound, touch and taste. I’m going to expand this definition to say there are also other people and animals who share this reality with us. Our perceptions of what’s going on can differ, but using the scientific method, we can find common ground on what’s real and what’s not. Of course, some phenomena remain unexplained, but we can at least use science to agree that they exist. If something exists in objective reality, we should be able to prove it to others using science. This is the best way of establishing what the characteristics of the reality we share are. On the other side of the coin, we should not insist that something exists simply because it hasn't be disproved. The burden of proof lies with those who support a particular theory, not those who are sceptical about it. Humanity doesn't have the resources to disprove every crackpot idea that gets thrown out there, so this is the only sensible was of understanding the universe. For example: if I say Elvis's ghost is living on Pluto, President Bush is the reincarnation of Julius Caesar, and there's an alien spacecraft buried 50 miles below Manhattan, it's going to be very difficult for you to prove me wrong. This is not, however, grounds for my insisting I'm right until such disproof is offered. But what if it’s all just a trick? There is, of course, another interesting possibility. Since we're relying on our senses to establish the truth of objective reality – it’s possible that our senses are being deceived. Perhaps, like in The Matrix, it’s all just a big computer simulation. Steve Pavlina sums up this point of view in his post: “In an objective universe, consciousness is made secondary, so you must take a huge leap of faith that something actually exists outside your conscious experience, even though you can’t prove it. No one can actually prove that objective reality exists — it’s an unprovable assumption". This is absolutely correct, but it’s a pointless statement as it demands disproof. It's easy to get some evidence that reality exists outside yourself - just poke your skin with a pin. It's more difficult to prove the reality you experience is a fantasy. Once again, to demand that a theory requires disproving is to get things backwards. Perhaps reality isn’t exactly how we believe it to be, but that's always been the case and will continue to be in the future. Prehistoric people had no understanding of galaxies, germs, or atoms, but that didn’t make those phenomena any less real. Their ignorance of these basic truths cost them dearly in hunger, poverty and disease. Science has since enlightened us, and allowed us to use its understanding to improve reality for ourselves. This improvement came by using sound practices for establishing what was true, not fantasizing about what would be “nice” to be true.

#### All arguments are accepted within the scientific realm, they just must be observable, verifiable and withstand the scientific method—this ensures the truth is found

Expelled Exposed 9

Challenging Science. 2009 <http://www.expelledexposed.com/index.php/the-truth/challenging>

No one denies it is difficult to get a new scientific idea accepted, but that isn’t the same as claiming that the doors of science are slammed shut to those who challenge the *status quo*. When scientists question facets of existing theories or propose new ones, they present the best evidence available and make the strongest arguments they can to their colleagues. Colleagues in turn challenge that evidence and reasoning. The rigor of this process is what makes science such a powerful tool. Because scientists have to fight hard to get their ideas accepted, good ideas win out – when they are proven to be sound. Intelligent design advocates, in contrast, have no research and no evidence, and have repeatedly shown themselves unwilling to formulate testable hypotheses; yet they complain about an imagined exclusion, even after having flunked the basics. The scientific enterprise is open to new ideas, however much they initially may be challenged. Here are some examples of people who have challenged the scientific status quo and, far from being “expelled” from science, were lauded as visionaries – once they had successfully proven their ideas. **Barbara McClintock** Barbara McClintock’s research on maize in the 1940s and 1950s showed that sequences of DNA called transposons can change positions within a chromosome, and in doing so, can regulate the expression of other genes. This discovery went against the accepted view that DNA was merely a static set of instructions, and the initial response to her research was so skeptical that, after several years of developing her ideas, she stopped publishing about them out of concern that she would alienate the scientific mainstream. Unlike intelligent design proponents, however, she did not claim discrimination and attempt to circumvent the peer review process. Rather, she continued to research the evolution and genetics of maize. As new technology developed, other scientists verified her discoveries. McClintock was the recipient of many awards, including the National Medal of Science, the first MacArthur Foundation grant, and the Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine. **Lynn Margulis** Lynn Margulis wrote a paper, “The Origin of Mitosing Eukaryotic Cells,” which argued that eukaryotic cells – those with a true nucleus – arose when cells with no nucleus symbiotically incorporated other such cells to make new cells that could perform more functions. The paper was rejected by many journals, and when eventually published by The Journal of Theoretical Biology it was highly criticized. Margulis spent decades defending her work, but scientists now accept her suggested mechanism through which organelles such as mitochondria and chloroplasts evolved. Her suggestions about other organelles have not stood up to experimental tests, and are not as widely accepted. Margulis strongly opposes the idea, widely held within the scientific community, that the driving force in evolution is competition, and thinks cooperative and symbiotic relationships are underemphasized by many evolutionary scientists. Despite holding views different from many in the scientific community, because of her research, she is well respected, and has been elected to the National Academy of Sciences and awarded the National Medal of Science. **Barry Marshall** Prior to Barry Marshall’s discovery that peptic ulcers are caused by the bacteria *Helicobacter pylori*, the accepted explanation was that they were the result of stress, diet, and an excess of acid in the stomach. When Marshall presented his research, it was greeted with skepticism, and it took many years for his theories to become widely accepted. Although Marshall [suggested that a conspiracy prevented acceptance of his work](http://www.csicop.org/si/2004-11/bacteria.html) (in his case, pharmaceutical companies which stood to lose money on ulcer treatments), he did not respond by withdrawing from the scientific process, but by continuing to run experiments that would allow others to replicate his findings. Because he did so, scientists were able to evaluate his work and conduct their own experiments to test his proposals. Whether or not there was a pharmaceutical company conspiracy, scientists were willing to pursue Marshall’s idea and to publish results that supported it. In time, the community of science came to accept his results.. Marshall received many awards, including the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine, and was made a Companion of the Order of Australia. As Marshall himself [observed](http://www.achievement.org/autodoc/printmember/mar1int-1), “Although people were skeptical, and they all went home with the aim of trying to prove me wrong, that’s how science moves forward. Someone has a hypothesis and you say, ‘Okay, if I can prove it wrong, I can publish a paper saying he’s wrong.’ Gradually, over the next few years, one by one, these people trying to prove me wrong fell by the wayside and actually converted over to my side.” In contrast, scientists who have responded to the claims of intelligent design proponents have all found that evidence for ID claims was lacking and that ID advocates’ hypotheses – in the rare situations where they offered them – did not stand up to scrutiny. **Stanley Prusiner** In 1982, Stanley Prusiner published an article on his research into scrapie – a disease in sheep related to Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease – which argued that the infectious agent was not a virus but a protein, which Prusiner called a “prion”. Because no one had heard of a protein replicating without a nucleic acid like DNA or RNA, many virologists and scrapie researchers reacted to the article with incredulity. When the media picked up the story, “the personal attacks of the naysayers at times became very vicious,” [according to Prusiner](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/1997/prusiner-autobio.html). However, his critics failed to find the nucleic acid they were sure existed, and less than two years later, Prusiner’s lab had isolated the protein. Subsequent research provided even more support for prions, and in 1997 Prusiner was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine. The Nobel Prize Committee explained: The hypothesis that prions are able to replicate without a genome and to cause disease violated all conventional conceptions and during the 1980s was severely criticised. For more than 10 years, Stanley Prusiner fought an uneven battle against overwhelming opposition. Research during the 1990s has, however, rendered strong support for the correctness of Prusiner’s prion hypothesis. The mystery behind scrapie, kuru, and mad cow disease has finally been unravelled. Additionally, the discovery of prions has opened up new avenues to better understand the pathogenesis of other more common dementias, such as Alzheimer’s disease. **Motoo Kimura** In 1967, Motoo Kimura published a paper showing that the genetic content of the genome must have been influenced substantially by selectively neutral genetic drift. Other authors built on this work to argue that molecular evolution might be dominated by neutral drift, and not by natural selection. As William Provine writes, “The initial reaction to the neutral theory of Kimura, King and Jukes was generally very negative” (”The Neutral Theory of Molecular Evolution, Random Drift and Natural Selection.” In Cain A.J. and Provine W.B. “Genes and ecology in history.” Reprinted in Berry R.J. et al (eds) 1991. Genes in ecology: the 33rd Symposium of the British Ecological Society. Blackwell, Oxford, p. 23-25). Provine adds, “when DNA sequence data began to pour in after the early 1980s, the situation changed dramatically.” The abundance of selectively neutral differences within populations and among species matched the predictions of the neutral theory, and could not be explained by selection alone. “By 1990,” Provine continues, “molecular evolutionists had largely abandoned the null hypothesis of selection to explain observed molecular differences and accepted the neutral theory…. Even the molecular evolutionists who argue for the importance of selection at the DNA level construct and use models for which the neutral theory is the assumption.” This represented a radical change in the scientific approach to evolution, which had formerly considered natural selection to be paramount. Clearly, evolution at the molecular level operated by different rules. Although the neutralist hypothesis was a break with traditional neodarwinism, its incorporation into evolutionary biology was smooth — once researchers had the ability to gather DNA sequence data and test the predictions of the theory. So the scientific consensus can be and is challenged regularly. There is no unchallengeable orthodoxy, which is what Expelled would have you believe. The preceding stories are just a few well-known examples of biologists who challenged the scientific consensus, including principles of Mendelian genetics and of Darwinian evolution. These scientists prevailed because they did good science: they backed their challenges with successful predictions and empirical evidence. And, they were right. Scientists are constantly questioning, refining, and expanding theories, including evolution – and natural selection theory.

#### Science is good because it is self correcting -- without it we won’t and can’t act on global warming

Johnson 6

Tad, a graduate of UW-Madison in Computer Science and currently work in the IT field, but my interests include urban planning, energy policy, photography, and entrepreneurship. Science, TadFad.com. Nov 14th, <http://www.tadfad.com/2006/11/14/science/>

Science is one of the few places one can find Truth. It is not based on conjecture, opinion, hearsay, myth, or faith. Science is not politics. Science is not journalism. Science is certainly not religion. Science is built exclusively on truths that combine to make Truth. One of the most important facets of science is the (aptly named) scientific method. The scientific method requires measurable, repeatable, documented observations that together prove or disprove a hypothesis. By following the scientific method, scientists can remove the human element from the end result. Any properly trained and equipped scientist could repeat an experiment to confirm some assertion. Before any scientific study is published, it must endure the scrutiny of peer review to ensure its merit. I cannot stress this last point enough. Unlike politics, religion, journalism, etc., this ensures that the end result of the scientific method is entirely separated from the scientist. There is no room for spin, interpretation, bias, or opinion. This is why I capitalize Truth. Science is the closest thing to Truth that we will ever know. A common counter-argument to the merits of science is that scientific Truth changes. That is, what was once considered Truth is now rejected as a flawed theory. To the contrary, the ability for science to correct prior errors makes it all the more powerful. The continuous search for Truth is what makes science so important. Now the hook: the Bush administration has been very hostile towards science. They have cut funding at the EPA and NASA (among others) to the point where important studies cannot be done. They have stifled reports and attempted to discredit important findings by countering with opposing “studies”. Case in point: global warming. There are over one thousand peer reviewed studies in print that conclude that humans are drastically altering the composition of the earths atmosphere and, therefore, climate. There are zero peer reviewed studies that conclude otherwise. Yet by finding a handful of scientists to go on national television and refute this conclusion, the Bush administration has convinced the American public that the issue is still up for debate. You might notice an important distinction: there may be plenty of scientists that think global warming is a myth. You will find exactly zero peer reviewed scientific studies that conclude the same. Unfortunately, most people are not familiar enough with science to understand this fundamental difference.

### AT – Rejection Alts

#### The alternative needs to extend beyond criticism to specific policy prescriptions - otherwise it reinforces the SQuo

Huysmans ‘2

[Jef (Lecturer at Open); “Defining social constructivism in security studies: the normative dilemma of writing security”; Alternatives: Global, Local, Political 27.1 //nick]

Another related problem is that the approach assumes that indicating the mere existence of alternative practices challenges the dominance of the dominant discourse. This is problematic since the alternative constructions do not exist in a vacuum or in a sheltered space. To be part of the game, they must, for example, contest political constructions of migration. Alternative practices are thus not isolated but engage with other, possibly dominant, constructions. This raises the question of how the "engagement" actually works. It involves relations of power, structuring and restructuring the social exchanges. Staging alternative practices does not necessarily challenge a dominant construction. The political game is more complex, as Foucault's interpretation of the "sexual revolution"-- the liberation from sexual repression--of the second half of the twentieth century showed. (28) In a comment on human-rights approaches of migration, Didier Bigo raises a similar point--that opposing strategies do not necessarily radically challenge established politicizations: "It is often misleading to counterpose the ideology of security to human rights because they sometimes have more in common than their authors would like to admit. They often share the same concept of insecurity and diverge only in their solutions." (29)

The main point is that alternative discourses should not be left in a vacuum. The way they function in the political struggle should be looked at. How are the alternative discourses entrenched in a specific political game? Are they possibly a constitutive part of the mastery of the dominant construction?

#### Pure rejection reproduces sovereignty and exploitation. Only political action solves

Agathangelou and Ling 97

Anna M., Dir. Global Change Inst. And Women’s Studies Prof @ Oberlin, and L.H.M. Ling, Inst. For Social Studies @ Hague, Fall 1997, Studies in Political Economy, v. 54, p 7-8

Yet, ironically if not tragically,dissident IRalsoparalyzes itself into non-action.While it challenges the status quo, dissident IR fails to transform it.Indeed, dissident IR claims that a “coherent” paradigm or research program — even an alternative one — reproduces the stifling parochialism and hidden power-mongering of sovereign scholarship. “Any agenda of global politics informed by critical social theory perspectives,”writes Jim George “must forgo the simple, albeit self-gratifying, options inherent in ready-made alternative Realisms and confront the dangers, closures, paradoxes, and complicities associated with them. Even references to a “real world, dissidents argue, repudiate the very meaning of dissidence given their sovereign presumption of a universalizable, testable Reality.What dissident scholarship opts for, instead,is a sense of disciplinary crisis that “resonates with the effects of marginal and dissident movements in all sorts of other localities.”Despite its emancipatory intentions, this approach effectively leaves the prevailing prison of sovereignty intact. It doubly incarcerates when dissident IR highlights the layers of power that oppress without offeringa heuristic, not to mentiona program, for emancipatory action. Merely politicizing the supposedly non-political neither guides emancipatory action nor guards it against demagoguery. At best, dissident IR sanctions a detached criticality rooted (ironically) in Western modernity. Michael Shapiro, for instance, advises the dissident theorist to take “a critical distance” or “position offshore’ from which to “see the possibility of change.” But what becomes of those who know they are burning in the hells of exploitation, racism, sexism, starvation, civil war, and the like while the esoteric dissident observes “critically” from offshore?What hope do they have of overthrowing these shackles of sovereignty?In not answering these questions, dissident IR ends up reproducing despite avowals to the contrary, the sovereign outcome of discourse divorced from practice, analysis from policy, deconstruction from reconstruction, particulars from universals, and critical theory from problem-solving

#### Failure to institute pragmatic reforms dooms critical solvency

Bronner 4

[Stephen Eric, Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University, Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement, p. 124-125]. JLH

But the battles between the supporters of late critical theory and post-modernism and those of Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, and the rest—when it comes to the subjectivity of the subject—are so esoterically ferocious precisely because they reflect little more than what Freud termed “the narcissism of small differences.” Other than for academic pedants, **it is immaterial whether subjectivity is secured through a fleeting moment of aesthetic-philosophic experience** in resisting the “totally administered society,” the experimental moment fueling the ”eternal recurrence,” the “insight into the essence” of reality, **or the feeling of angst in the face of death**. Whether **the culprit is** “herd society” or “mass society” or the inherently mediocre “public” or the “culture industry” is actually **far less relevant than** academic **philosophers make it out to be**. Strange is how the left critique of Enlightenment, supposedly undertaken from the standpoint of Enlightenment itself, should wind up harboring affinities with the thinking of right-wing irrationalists and neo-romantics. But stranger still is how, using the original willingness of critical theory to lump opposites together, it becomes evident that “the battle against positivism was common to all the various spiritualist currents that put their stamp, positive or negative, on the culture of the time.. and that criticism of postivism, whether it came from ‘noble’ culture or lower quarters, was always accompanied by criticism of socialism, democracy, and political radicalism of all varieties.” **Too much time has been spent by fashionable philosophy on the evils of neo-positivism** and positivism, which is mistakenly identified with the philosophical spirit of Enlightenment, and too little with whether an imperiled subjectivity is indeed the central problem of modernity: **this has**, in my view, **had a disastrous impact on the critical tradition**. Plato had already recognized that politics should not attempt to “care for the soul.” But that warning was ignored. Even Herbert Marcuse, whose radicalism contradicted the politics of more cautious friends in the Frankfurt School, showed little awareness of the dangers in privileging subjectivity and the importance of fostering what Karl Popper termed “the open society.” This, indeed, is where the genuinely new efforts in radical thinking should begin. **Reinvigorating critical theory calls for asserting its public aims**, reconsidering its understanding of subjectivity, and beginning the critique of those romantic and metaphysical pre**occupations** **that** seek to **present themselves as political**. The problem of **subjectivity has** concretely—that is to say historically and politically—**had far less to do with** some utopian **transcendence of** the given **order** or the potential integration of reforms, **than the demand for including the excluded**, **extending** the rule of law, civil rights, and economic **justice to those suffering the** arbitrary **exercise of power**. **The disempowered** and the disenfranchised **wish**ed not to cultivate their subjectivity like a hothouse plant, but exercise it in the public realm. They wished **their unheard voices to be heard and their ignored interests to be articulated**: the **critique** of the culture industry **should begin where it contributes to the repression of these voices**, the misrepresentation of their interests, and the vulgarity of the life they live.

#### The kritik’s attempt to create long-term social vision makes us blind to the next step in pragmatic sequence and generates resistance—change now requires small pragmatic steps.

Russ 92

[Joel, “Transition and Translation in the Greening Process,” Trumpeter, Vol. 9, No. 1, Accessed 9/10/08, <http://trumpeter.athabascau.ca/index.php/trumpet/article/view/439/721>]. JLH

"Transition" has at least one thing in common with making a living. Just as planning in the world of work is taken a step at a time, transition requires that we see quite clearly where we are and where we want to go next. We can't let our long-term ecological social visions (those resembling, perhaps, the sort of societies broadly sketched by Sale in Dwellers in the Land,.7. or painted in multi-faceted detail by Ernest Callenbach in Ecotopia).8. entrance us to the point that we are blind to the next step in a pragmatic sequence. I certainly don't mean to stifle dreams; I enjoy sharing mine and hearing or reading those of others. But there is the danger that in seeking our holy grail, we will careen and stumble along rather blindly over the path now under our feet - the one, through the world of daily reality, on which genuine steps can be taken. The pragmatic approach which I favour, instead, can be applied to countless circumstances. Here's an example. While a long-term goal for a region might be to greatly reduce the size of its largest city, to deconcentrate the population somewhat, an appropriate near-term goal might be to convince the municipal government to install a new sewage-treatment plant, so that primary-treated sewage isn't being pumped into the nearest large body of water. Call this a "stopgap measure," if you like. Though worth pursuing, encouraging a population exodus from the city is an enormous task, one with many complex dimensions, including economic ones. There can be no doubt that it is far easier to simply savour that long-term vision, to dream that dream, than to take the steps necessary to induce a municipal government to invest in new sewage-treatment facilities. For the latter sort of goal, achievable though it may be, requires a pragmatic, flexible approach - and dogged persistence. While not abandoning the more distant goals, we need to develop plans of action that can work with graspable situations. As well, we need to publicly honour steps actually taken, even though these may seem imperfect in certain respects and the gains, at any given time, seem small. To come back to an earlier point, the kinds of large-scale regulatory changes that will be required to deal with the more glaring biospheric and ecological problems will undoubtedly generate social and technological change. I don't expect government-enacted policy changes to be enough, in themselves. But if we were to attempt to force changes too rapidly (had we that power), we would produce, in individuals and social groups, undue resistance to change; more rapidly still, and we'd surely produce social chaos - again, had we that power. Our problems are obviously systemic, and their remedies must be systemic, as well. The idea of a turnaround decade is a good one, for people require time to adapt. Generally speaking, at a given period we can only go so far, as individuals, households, and communities, before we run into the limits posed by the system.

#### The Alternative justifies apathy towards atrocities – voting Aff is key to ethics

Ketels 96

[Violet. Prof of English @ Temple. “Havel to the Castle!” The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol 548, No 1. Nov 1996]JFS

Intellectuals can choose their roles, but cannot not choose, nor can we evade the full weight of the consequences attendant on our choices. "It is always the intellectuals, however we may shrink from the chilling sound of that word ... who must bear the full weight of moral responsibility."55 Humanist intellectuals can aspire to be judged by more specifically ex-acting criteria: as those whose work is worthwhile because it has human uses; survives the test of reality; corresponds to history; represses rationalizing in favor of fact; challenges the veracity of rulers; refuses the safety of abstraction; recognizes words as forms of action, as likely to be lethal as to be liberating; scruples to heal the rupture between words and things, between things and ideas; re-mains incorruptibly opposed to the service of ideological ends pursued by unnecessary violence or inhumane means; and, finally, takes risks for the sake of true witness to events, to the truth even of unpopular ideas or to the lies in popular ones. Above all, intellectuals can resist the dreary relativism that neutralizes good and evil as if in defense of the theoretical pseudo-notion that distinguishing between them is not possible. The hour is too late, the situation too grave for such pettifoggery. Bearing witness is not enough, but it is something. At the dedication of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum inWashington, D.C., Elie Wiesel spoke. "We must bear witness," he said. "What have we learned? ... We are all responsible. We must do some-thing to stop the bloodshed in Yugoslavia." He told a story of a woman from the Carpathian Mountains who asked of the Warsaw Uprising, "Why don't they just wait quietly until after the war?" In one year she was packed into a cattle car with her whole family on the way to Auschwitz. "That woman was my mother," Wiesel said. Viclav Havel, the humanist intellectual from Bohemia, spoke too: of the Holocaust as a memory of democratic appeasement, live memory of indifference to the danger of Hitler's coming to power, of indifference to the Munich betrayal of Prague. "Our Jews went to concentration camps. . . . Later we lost our freedom." We have lost our metaphysical certainties, our sense of responsibility for what comes in the future. For we are all responsible, humanly responsible for what happens in the world. Do we have the right to interfere in internal conflict? Not just the right but the duty. Remember the Holocaust. To avoid war, we watched-silently and, so, complicitly, unleashing darker, deadlier demons. What should we have done about Yugoslavia? Something. Much earlier. We must vigilantly listen for the early warning signs of threats to freedoms and lives everywhere. We must keep the clamorous opposition to oppression and violence around the world incessant and loud. Cry out! Cry havoc! Call murderers murderers. Do not avoid violence when avoidance begets more violence. There are some things worth dying for. Do not legitimize the bloodletting in Bosnia or anywhere by negotiating with the criminals who plotted the carnage. Do not join the temporizers. Take stands publicly: in words; in universities and boardrooms; in other corridors of power; and at local polling places. Take stands prefer-ably in written words, which have a longer shelf life, are likelier to stimu-late debate, and may have a lasting effect on the consciousnesses of some among us.

#### The impact is extinction

Ketels 96

[Violet. Prof of English @ Temple. “Havel to the Castle!” The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol 548, No 1. Nov 1996]JFS

Characteristically, Havel raises lo-cal experience to universal relevance. "If today's planetary civilization has any hope of survival," he begins, "that hope lies chiefly in what we understand as the human spirit." He continues: If we don't wish to destroy ourselves in national, religious or political discord; if we don't wish to find our world with twice its current population, half of it dying of hunger; if we don't wish to kill ourselves with ballistic missiles armed with atomic warheads or eliminate ourselves with bacteria specially cultivated for the purpose; if we don't wish to see some people go desperately hungry while others throw tons of wheat into the ocean; if we don't wish to suffocate in the global greenhouse we are heating up for ourselves or to be burned by radiation leaking through holes we have made in the ozone; if we don't wish to exhaust the nonrenewable, mineral resources of this planet, without which we cannot survive; if, in short, we don't wish any of this to happen, then we must-as humanity, as people, as conscious beings with spirit, mind and a sense of responsibility-somehow come to our senses. Somehow we must come together in "a kind of general mobilization of human consciousness, of the human mind and spirit, human responsibility, human reason." The Prague Spring was "the inevitable consequence of a long drama originally played out chiefly in the theatre of the spirit and the con-science of society," a process triggered and sustained "by individuals willing to live in truth even when things were at their worst." The process was hidden in "the invisible realm of social consciousness," conscience, and the subconscious. It was indirect, long-term, and hard to measure. So, too, its continuation that exploded into the Velvet Revolution, the magic moment when 800,000 citizens, jamming Wenceslas Square in Prague, jingled their house keys like church bells and changed from shouting 'Truth will prevail to chanting" Havel to the castle."

### AT – Language/Representations

#### THEIR FIXATION ON REPRESENTATIONS DEBILITIATES THE POLICIES IT’S SUPPOSED TO INFORM AND GIVES WAY TO HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES WITHIN FOREIGN POLICY CIRCLES

Stokes 6

Doug, Prof. at Bristol Univ. Politics Dep.t, Mar. 11**,** ‘6

[http://www.aqnt98.dsl.pipex.com/hats.htm, “Gluing the Hats On: Power, Agency, and Reagan's Office of Public Diplomacy.1, accessed 10-12-07, JT]

In her discursive practices approach, Doty argues that more poststructurally inclined questions as to "how" foreign policy is made possible (that is, an examination of the prior conditions of possibility) provides a more nuanced account of foreign policy formation than questions which ask "why" (that is, why a particular decision or policy was pursued). She rightly argues that "why" questions pre-suppose a discursive matrix, a mode of being and a background of social practices. Furthermore, these "why" questions fail to account for "how these meanings, subjects, and interpretative dispositions are constructed".66 However, in **arguing for the superiority of analyses of possibility conditions,** she **misses a crucial point and simplifies the very nature of the "how" of foreign policy practice. Whilst it is important to analyse the discursive conditions of possibility of policy formation**, in **failing to account for how various discourses were employed and through what institutional mechanisms, how some discourses gained ascendancy and not others, and how social actors intervene in hegemonic struggles to maintain various discourses,** Doty **seriously compromises the critical potential of** her **analysis.** By **working with a notion of power free from any institutional basis and rejecting a notion of power that "social actors possess and use",**67 she **produces a narrative of foreign policy whereby the differential role of social actors is erased from foreign policy processes and decision making.** For Doty it seems, power resides in discourses themselves and their endless production of and play on meaning, not in the ability on the part of those who own and control the means of social reproduction to manipulate dominant social and political discourses and deploy them institutionally and strategically. **The ability to analyse the use of discourses by foreign policy elites for purposeful ends and their ability to deploy hegemonic discourses within foreign policy processes is lost through a delinking of those elites and discursive production** (her "dispersed" notion of power).

#### Discursive analysis leads to political paralysis and fails to affect meaningful change

Jarvis 00

(Darryl, Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of British Columbia, International relations and the challenge of postmodernism, p. 190, AD: 7-11-9) BL

The simple and myopic assumption that social change can be engineered through linguistic policing of politically incorrect words, concepts and opinions, is surely one of the more politically lame (idealist) suggestions to come from armchair theorists in the last fifty years. By the same token, the suggestion that we engage in revisionism of the sort that would "undo" modernist knowledge so that we might start again free of silences, oppressions, and inequalities also smacks of an intelligentsia so idealist as to be unconnected to the world in which they live. The critical skills of subversive postmodernists, constrained perhaps by the success of the West, of Western capitalism, if not liberal democracy, as the legitimate form of representation, and having tried unsuccessfully through revolution and political uprising to dethrone it previously, have turned to the citadel of our communal identities and attacked not parliaments, nor forms of social-political-economic organization, but language, communication, and the basis of Enlightenment knowledge that otherwise enables us to live, work, and communicate as social beings. Clever though this is, it is not in the end compatible with the project of theory knowledge and takes us further away from an understanding of our world. Its greatest contribution is to celebrate the loss of certainty, where, argues John O'Neill, "men (sic) are no longer sure of their ruling knowledge and are unable to mobilize sufficient legitimation for the master-narratives of truth and justice." To suppose, however, that we should rejoice collectively at the prospects of a specious relativism and a multifarious perspectivism, and that absent any further constructive endeavor, the great questions and problems of our time will be answered or solved by this speaks of an intellectual poverty now famed perversely as the search for "thinking space."

### AT – Security Discourse

#### We can solve all the reasons why criticism is good while still practicing caution in case power politics prove to be resilient – realism is key to the successful transition to the alternative – no cooptation DA to the PERM

Murray 97

(Alastair, Professor in the Politics Department at the University of Wales Swansea, Reconstructing Realism)

For the realist, then, if rationalist theories prove so conservative as to make their adoption problematic, critical theories prove so progressive as to make their adoption unattractive. If the former can justifiably be criticised for seeking to make a far from ideal order work more efficiently, thus perpetuating its existence and legitimating its errors, reflectivist theory can equally be criticised for searching for a tomorrow which **may never exist**, thereby **endangering** the possibility of establishing any form of **stable order** in the **here and now**. Realism's distinctive contribution thus lies in its attempt to drive a path between the two, a path which, in the process, suggests the basis on which some form of **synthesis** between rationalism and reflectivism might be achieved. Oriented in its genesis towards addressing the shortcomings in an idealist transformatory project, it is centrally motivated by a concern to reconcile vision with practicality, to relate utopia and reality. Unifying a technical and a practical stance, it combines aspects of the positivist methodology employed by problem-solving theory with the interpretative stance adopted by critical theory, avoiding the monism of perspective which leads to the self-destructive conflict between the two. Ultimately, it can **simultaneously** acknowledge the **possibility of change** in the structure of the international system and the need to **probe the limits of the possible**, and yet also **question the proximity** of any international transformation, emphasise the **persistence of problems** after such a transformation, and serve as a **reminder** of the need to grasp whatever **semblance of order** can be obtained in the **mean time.** Indeed, it is possible to say that realism is uniquely suited to serve as such an orientation. Simultaneously to critique contemporary resolutions of the problem of political authority as unsatisfactory and yet to support them as an attainable measure of order in an unstable world involves one in a contradiction which is difficult to accept. Yet, because it grasps the **essential ambiguity** of the political, and adopts imperfectionism as its dominant motif, realism can relate these two tasks in a way which allows **neither to predominate**, achieving, if not a reconciliation, then at least a **viable synthesis.** Perhaps the most famous realist refrain is that **all politics are power politics.** It is the all that is important here. Realism lays claim to a relevance across systems, and because it relies on a conception of human nature, rather than a historically specific structure of world politics, it can make good on this claim. If its observations about human nature are even remotely accurate, the problems that it addresses will transcend contingent formulations of the problem of political order. Even in a genuine cosmopolis, conflict might become technical, but it **would not be eliminated** altogether. The primary manifestations of power might become more economic or institutional rather than (para)military, but, where disagreements occur and power exists, the employment of the one to ensure the satisfactory resolution of the other is inevitable short of a wholesale transformation of human behaviour. Power is ultimately of the essence of politics; it is not something which can be banished, only **tamed and restrained.** As a result, realism achieves a universal relevance to the problem of political action which allows it to relate the **reformist zeal** of critical theory, without which advance would be impossible, with the problem-solver's **sensible caution** that, before reform is attempted, whatever measure of **security** is possible under contemporary conditions must first be ensured.

#### Security discourse isn’t inherently bad—presenting it in debate solves the impact

Williams 3

(Michael, Professor of International Politics at the University of Wales, “Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics,” International Studies Quarterly, 47(4), AD: 7-10-9) BL

I have argued thus far that recognizing the roots of securitization theory within the legacy of a Schmittian-influenced view of politics explains a number of its key and most controversial features. Charges of an ethically and practically irresponsible form of objectivism in relation to either the act of securitization or the concept of societal security are largely misplaced. Locating the speech-act within a broader commitment to processes of discursive legitimation and practical ethics of dialogue allows the most radical and disturbing elements of securitization theory emerging from its Schmittian legacy to be offset. Seen in this light, the Copenhagen School is insulated from many of the most common criticisms leveled against it.

#### Case outweighs—evaluate issue-specific securitization first

Floyd 7

(Rita Floyd, University of Warwick, Review of International Studies, Vol 33 p 327-250)

Towards a consequentialist evaluation of security Considering the two brief overviews of the different schools provided in the first section, it could be argued that Wæver has an overly negative conception of security, whereas Booth and Wyn Jones have an overly positive conception of security. This article will aim to show that what form security takes is entirely issue-dependent, leaving both camps having something important and valid to contribute to the study of security as both camps can potentially be right. Issue-dependent hereby does not mean that, for example, all securitisations in one particular sector are always positive (negative) – indeed this article will show how differently securitisations in the environmental sector can turn out – it rather means that every incidence of securitisation is unique. Since this is the case, however, security in general is neither as good nor as bad as the two camps argue, but rather it is a mixed bag. In the approach proposed here, principles that determine whether a securitisation is positive or negative can only be derived by considering what would have been the alternative solution. Given that for the Copenhagen School, securitisation is nothing but ‘an extreme version of politicisation’,45 the question to consider in evaluating the nature of securitisation must be: did the securitisation in question achieve more, and/or better results than a mere politicisation of the issue would have done? It is important to note here, that ‘more and better’, is not equivalent to the success of the speech act (successful securitisation can still be negative), but rather it refers to whether the consequences of, and the gains from, the securitisation are preferable relative to the consequences and gains from a politicisation. The idea that the moral rightness (or wrongness) of a securitisation depends on its consequences corresponds to what in moral philosophy is known as a consequentialist ethics. Consequentialism46 referring to a set of moral philosophies, which hold ‘that the rightness of an action is to be judged solely by consequences, states of affairs brought about by the action’.47 Or, put slightly differently ‘a consequentialist theory [. . .] is an account of what justifies an option over alternatives – the fact that it promotes values.’48 These premises capture well what is meant by positive and negative securitisation in this article, for the adjectives positive and negative do not refer to the relative success of the speech act that is securitisation, but rather to how well any given security policy addresses the insecurity in question. The approach introduced in this article will henceforth be referred to as a consequentialist evaluation of security. In moral philosophy the idea that the moral rightness (or wrongness) of an action is attributable to its consequences alone is of course contentious (see also fn. 46). The question that arises is thus, why, in the evaluation of security/ securitisation, focus on consequences as opposed to, for example, rights as deontologists would have it, or indeed virtues, as virtue theorists suggest? Much of the answer to this question already lies in the argument of this article. Thus it is not only this author’s opinion that the key to security evaluation lies with its consequences, rather scholars from both the schools discussed above, with their respective positive and negative views of security, themselves already focus on what they take to be the consequences of security. That is to say these scholars themselves are consequentialists. However, and as this article aims to show, the consequentialism proposed by them is neither very balanced nor, in the long run, particularly helpful, as in both cases, consequentialism is constricted by the nature of their respective theoretical frameworks. Frameworks, whereby one promotes security as emancipation, therefore generating a necessarily positive view of security, whilst the other school’s framework for analysis is void of emancipation altogether, therefore partial to a negative view of security. That security is neither always positive nor negative but rather issue dependent is the key hypothesis of this article. If this hypothesis holds true we are – as a discipline – much in need of a more balanced and indeed critical evaluation of security than proposed by either school, a provision of which is the purpose of this article. Given what has been said so far it should have become clear that the herewith proposed consequentialist evaluation of security is also the key to rendering the above-mentioned ‘normative dilemma of speaking and writing security’ less important, as it enables the analyst to critically evaluate his/her speaking and writing security, rather than his/her simply speaking and writing security. This approach thus enables the previously solely analytical securitisation analyst to step into the security equation and on behalf of the actors encourage some securitisations and renounce others, depending on the moral rightness of the respective securitisation’s consequences. It is precisely at this point where the emancipatory nature of the Welsh School’s security studies becomes crucially relevant for a consequentialist evaluation of security, for – under this approach – it is the task of the analyst to fight ignorance (or, put differently, false consciousness) on the part of existing and/or potential securitising actors and inform (or better enlighten) them of the best possible actions. But how does the analyst know what the best possible actions are? Or, put differently, with what standards in mind are the consequences to be evaluated? Is it enough to problematise securitisation by elites for elites, and make majority consensus the measuring unit behind the principles for positive/negative securitisation? One should think not. Although it is useful to assume, that the narrower the interest group behind the securitisation, the more likely it is to be negative, this cannot be ascertained as the only general principle. After all, majority consensus does not prevent the effective securitisation of something that is morally/ethically wrong. But how to determine what is morally/ethically right? In security studies, one way of doing so, is by entering the evaluation of positive/negative through the discourses of security prevalent in the different sectors of security. Here, by working out the specific security relations in the competing discourses that make up the individual sector – who or what is the referent object of security, who is the securitising actor and what is the nature of the threat – it should be possible to determine the most and the least advantageous strategies in addressing insecurity; thereby determining which approach to security (in the individual sector) is the best (most positive) all-round – morally, ethically, effective – strategy. A consequentialist evaluation of security thus postulates the maximisation of genuine security as its overarching value. The invocation of values itself is perfectly legitimate, particularly considering that ‘every moral theory invokes values such that it can make sense to recommend in consequentialist fashion that they be promoted or in non-consequentialist fashion that they be honoured,

### Theory Arguments

#### Must defend the SQuo or a Legit government CP – it’s a voting issue

**(a) Reciprocity – we are stuck with the USFG. If they are able to defend non-governmental actors in a utopian world, then they have an unequal amount of imaginatory power**

**(b) Limits – there are an INFINITE number of actors beyond the USFG – we can never be prepared to defend each movement, individual or school of thought**

#### The Alternative is vague – it’s a voting issue

**(a) Can’t determine the political implications of the alternative – justifies the PERM**

**(b) Can skew out of any offense we read – block clarification is illegitimate**

**(c) Justifies severance and intrinsic PERMs to preserve reciprocity and test the alternative**

### Switch-side debate good

#### A one sided view of an issue is actually a less effective tool for political change than one with counter-arguments.

Underwood 3

Prof of Communication Studies, (Psychology of Communication, http://www.cultsock.ndirect.co.uk/MUHome/cshtml/psy/hovland3.html)

Whether or not you should include arguments for and against your case depends very much on your audience.If you know that they already agree with you, a one-sided argument is quite acceptable. If they are opposed to your point of view, then **a one-sided message will actually be less effective, being dismissed as biased. Even if your audience don't know much about the subject, but do know that there are counter-arguments** (even if they don't know what they are) **will lead them to reject your views as biased.** Hovland's investigations into mass propaganda used to change soldiers' attitudes also suggests that the intelligence of the receivers is an important factor, **a two-sided argument tending to be more persuasive with the more intelligent audience.**

### Policy-making good

#### Role-playing is a form of defiant deliberative politics that reclaims the political sphere

Kulynych 97

Jessica, Asst Professor of Political Science at Winthrop University, Polity, Winter, n2 p315(32)

When we look at the success of citizen initiatives from a performative perspective, we look precisely at those moments of defiance and disruption that bring the invisible and unimaginable into view. Although citizens were minimally successful in influencing or controlling the outcome of the policy debate and experienced a considerable lack of autonomy in their coercion into the technical debate, the goal-oriented debate within the energy commissions could be seen as a **defiant moment of performative politics**. The existence of a goal-oriented debate within a technically dominated arena defied the normalizing separation between expert policymakers and consuming citizens. Citizens momentarily **recreated themselves as policymakers** in a system that defined citizens out of the policy process, thereby **refusing their construction as passive clients**. The disruptive potential of the energy commissions continues to defy technical bureaucracy even while their decisions are non-binding. SHE CONTINUES… Consider, for example, a public hearing. When seen from a discursive legitimation perspective, deliberation and debate are about the sincere, controlled attempt to discern the best, most rational, least biased arguments that most precisely express an interlocutor’s ideas and interests. In practice, however, **deliberation is** a much less deliberative and much more **performative activity**. The literary aspects of debate – irony, satire, sarcasm, and wit – work precisely on the slippage between what is said and what is meant, or what can be said and what can be conceived. Strategies such as humor are not merely rational, but visceral and often uncontrollable, as is the laughter that is evoked from such strategies. **Performative actions are not alternative ways of deliberating**; rather they are agonistic expressions of what cannot be captured by deliberative rationality. As such, they resist the confines of that rationality and gesture toward places where words, arguments, and claims are not enough. Without an understanding of the performative aspects of political action, Hager cannot explain how citizens are able to introduce genuinely new and different “ways of perceiving and naming the world” into a realm where such epistemic standards are unimaginable. It is in **the process of acting as citizens** in a technical bureaucratic setting, where citizen action is by definition precluded, that alternative, epistemic standards of evaluation become possible. Only when scholars recognize the performative will they be able to grasp the intricacies of contemporary political actions and the possibilities for an actually diverse and participatory democracy.

#### Your criticism of framework seeks the perfect ideal too – the genocide impact is non-unique – our investment in institutional politics is critical to solving marginalization and oppression – the Aff’s critique leads to totalitarianism

Lutz 2k

Donald S., Professor of Polisci at Houston, 2000 Political Theory and Partisan Politics p. 43-4

To the extent that critical theorists have attacked empiricism per se, to that extent it is an attack on all of political theory, since the questions asked by empirical political science are an important and necessary part of the entire enterprise. To the extent critical political theory has attacked a free-floating empiricism isolated from the broader enterprise, it has sought to reintegrate the enterprise. Critical political theory works from the logic of deficiency. It attacks the actual state of affairs in the name of human aspiration for that which is in some sense better. To denounce something as deficient is to compare that reality with an ideal, or else there is no grounding to the critique. In this way, critical theory returns us to the total logic of the continuum. A critical stance is natural for political theory, and expresses the inevi­table conflict between political theory and politics as practiced. It is a healthy, necessary antidote to politics as usual inside the cave, and practiced well serves as a means of motivating politicians to enter into a discussion with political theorists. Practiced badly, critical theory is only the contemporary manifestation of the age-old pathology to seek the creation of the ideal in an actual world that will not bear the weight of the enterprise without seriously harming the human aspira­tions that political theory exists to serve. This is the kind of political theory that gets political theorists banished, killed, or reduced to inef­fectual sniping. Practiced badly, critical theory also needlessly under­mines respect for all institutions, including those that are in fact basically healthy and helpful. The hallmark of the latter pathology is the sophistic stance that there are no discoverable truths transcending culture and ideology upon which we can rest institutional design. This stance, ostensibly in the service of the downtrodden and marginalized, leaves us with no arguments with which to contest the assaults of power and the powerful, and in the long run quietly justifies the rule of the stronger and demoralizes those who would oppose and tame raw power with enduring principles of justice, now reduced to mere expressions of competing ideologies. To the extent politicians do listen to political theorists who fail to practice the entire project of political philosophy, to that extent we stand in danger of contributing to one of the natural pathologies in­herent in raw politics. Failure to inform politics with discourse about ideals enhances the pathology of pursuing mere power indifferent to justice. At best politics remains reactive and without purpose, and at worst it pursues only the ends imposed by the most powerful among us. Authoritarianism is the child of this pathology. Failure to inform politics with discourse about the best possible contributes to the pa­thology of fanaticism by leaving politics open to the pursuit of fanati­cal ends, of which communism and fascism are the most recent exemplars. Totalitarianism is the child of this pathology. Failure to address the current empirical realities or the means of improving on them contributes to the pathology of political alienation. Not knowing where we are at the moment, and therefore what needs improvement, or not knowing what effective means are available for achieving such improvement, leads to policies and institutions that are increasingly viewed as irrelevant to human needs and aspirations. The child of this pathology is political instability. Critical theory provides the impetus to use empirical analysis for improving institutions and for moving us from the status quo, but practiced badly it merely undercuts belief in any institutions and contributes to the political alienation that enhances instability. Ironically, critical theory in this guise also contributes to the loss of linkage between ends and means, which undermines the hope for movement toward any ideal, and thereby aids those who would provide at least stability whether justice is part of the result or not. On the other hand, a political theory that serves the integrated questions just outlined is comprehensible to politicians, if not always welcomed by them, and leaves open the possibility that political theorists may contribute to the marriage of justice with power by providing argu­ments, grounded in human aspiration as well as in empirically sup­ported analysis and philosophically sound logic, that can be used by constitutionally oriented political actors to address the needs and as­pirations of the poorer, less powerful, more marginal parts of society as well as the rest of society. Either we accept the possibility of such politicians coming to the fore, and the efficacy of constitutional poli­tics, or abandon the project of political theory entirely and resign ourselves, at best, to a mutual yet sterile stance of rhetorical moral superiority.

#### Cultural critique is most productive when combined with an understanding and analysis of institutions – policy debate is key to political possibility

Mclean 1

(The Cultural Left and the Limits of Social Hope. http://www.americanphilosophy.org/archives/past\_conference\_programs/pc2001/Discussion%20papers/david\_mcclean.htm)

Leftist American culture critics might put their considerable talents to better use if they bury some of their cynicism about America's social and political prospects and help forge public and political possibilities in a spirit of determination to, indeed, achieve our country - the country of Jefferson and King; the country of John Dewey and Malcom X; the country of Franklin Roosevelt and Bayard Rustin, and of the later George Wallace and the later Barry Goldwater. To invoke the words of King, and with reference to the American society, the time is always ripe to seize the opportunity to help create the "beloved community," one woven with the thread of agape into a conceptually single yet diverse tapestry that shoots for nothing less than a true intra-American cosmopolitan ethos, one wherein both same sex unions and faith-based initiatives will be able to be part of the same social reality, one wherein business interests and the university are not seen as belonging to two separate galaxies but as part of the same answer to the threat of social and ethical nihilism. We who fancy ourselves philosophers would do well to create from within ourselves and from within our ranks a new kind of public intellectual who has both a hungry theoretical mind and who is yet capable of seeing the need to move past high theory to other important questions that are less bedazzling and "interesting" but more important to the prospect of our flourishing - questions such as "How is it possible to develop a citizenry that cherishes a certain hexis, one which prizes the **character** of the Samaritan on the road to Jericho almost more than any other?" or "How can we square the political dogma that undergirds the fantasy of a missile defense system with the need to treat America as but one member in a community of nations under a "law of peoples?" The new public philosopher might seek to understand labor law and military and trade theory and doctrine as much as theories of surplus value; the logic of international markets and trade agreements as much as critiques of commodification, and the politics of complexity as much as the politics of power (all of which can still be done from our arm chairs.) This means going down deep into the guts of our quotidian social institutions, into the grimy pragmatic details where intellectuals are loathe to dwell but where the officers and bureaucrats of those institutions take difficult and often unpleasant, imperfect decisions that affect other peoples' lives, and it means making honest attempts to truly understand how those institutions actually function in the actual world before howling for their overthrow commences. This might help keep us from being slapped down in debates by true policy pros who actually know what they are talking about but who lack awareness of the dogmatic assumptions from which they proceed, and who have not yet found a good reason to listen to jargon-riddled lectures from philosophers and culture critics with their snobish disrespect for the so-called "managerial class."

#### Instrumental policy debate is key to solve totalitarianism

Torgerson 99

Douglas, professor of poli sci, 1999 “The promise of Green Politics” p. 154-6

One rationale for Arendt’s emphasis on the intrinsic value of politics is that this value has been so neglected by modernity that politics itself is threatened. Without a celebration of the intrinsic value of politics, neither functional nor constitutive political activity has **any apparent rationale** for continuing once its ends have been achieved. Functional politics might well be replaced by a technocratic management of advanced industrial society. A constitutive politics intent on social transformation might well be eclipsed by the coordinated direction of a cohesive social movement. In neither case would any need be left for what Arendt takes to be the essence of politics, **there would be no need for debate**. Green authoritarianism, following in the footsteps of Hobbes, has been all too ready to reduce politics to governance. Similarly, proponents of deep ecology, usually vague about politics, at least have been able to recognize totalitarian dangers in a position that disparages public opinion in favor of objective management? Any attempt to plot a comprehensive strategy for a cohesive green movement, moreover, ultimately has to adopt a no- nonsense posture while erecting clear standards by which to identify and excommunicate the enemy that is within. Green politics from its inception, however, has challenged the officialdom of advanced industrial society by invoking the cultural idiom of the carnivalesque. Although tempted by visions of tragic heroism, as we saw in chapter , green politics has also celebrated the irreverence of the comic, of a world turned upside down to crown the fool. In a context of political theater, instrumentalism is often attenuated, at least momentarily displaced by a joy of performance. The comic dimension of political action can also be more than episodic. The image of the Lilliputians tying up the giant suggests well the strength and flexibility of a decentered constitutive politics. In a functional context, green politics offers its own technology of foolish ness in response to the dysfunctions of industrialism, even to the point of exceeding the comfortable limits of a so-called responsible foolishness. Highlighting the comic, these tendencies within green politics begin to suggest an intrinsic value to politics. To the extent that this value is recognized, politics is **inimical to authoritarianism and offers a poison pill to the totalitarian propensities of an industrialized mass society**. To value political action for its own sake, in other words, at least has the significant extrinsic value of defending against the antipolitical inclinations of modernity. But what is the intrinsic value of politics? Arendt would locate this value in the virtuosity of political action, particularly as displayed in debate. Although political debate surely has extrinsic value, this does not exhaust its value. Debate is a language game that, to be played well, cannot simply be instrumentalized for the services it can render but must also be played for its own sake. Any game pressed into the service of external goals tends to lose its playful quality; it ceases to be fun. It was in reflecting on the social movements of the 1960s that Arendt proclaimed the discovery that political action was fun. It was fun even though it sprang from moral purposes and even though political debate also enhanced the rationality of opinion formation. Arendt’s affirmation of the apparently frivolous value of fun sharply contrasts with her earlier celebration of glory, even of public happiness. The affirmation nonetheless suggests a particular promise of politics, a promise especially contained in the comic dimension of green politics.

### Crisis Politics good

#### Crisis politics is necessary to any understanding of international history and IR

Robinson 96

P. Stuart, 1996 Associate Professor, International Politics, University in Norway, former Research Fellow, School of Politics, International Relations and the Environment (SPIRE), Keele University, ( The Politics of International Crisis Escalation: Decision-making under pressure, p. 1)

Our concern is the phenomenon of international crisis, loosely defined as a period of extraordinary military tension between states, distinct form normal peaceful relations on the one hand, and all-out warfare on the other. Two reasons explain and justify our attention to this topic. First, crises are important: their events have a significant impact on the course of international history. Without an understanding of crisis, our general understanding of international relations will be seriously deficient. This assumes that events are not entirely determined by underlying economic or other structural conditions, and that the volatile and variable conditions of crisis are relevant. They are relevant, in particular, to whether or not states resort to arms to settle their differences; that is, to the traditional concern of the international relations scholar. Second, most of the existing theoretical work on crisis deals inadequately with this concern. Crisis scholars have either not seriously attempted to make sense of the relationship between crisis, escalation and war, or have tried and failed. They provide their too partial account of foreign policy-making in crisis via two main analytical paths.

### Policy/state good

#### Disengagement from traditional politics is the worst in cynical leftist garbage and spectator politics, devoid of action for real social change. Debating the inner-workings of government policymaking is key to creating space for the critique

McClean ‘1

[David E. McClean, Ph.D., Philosophy, The New School for Social Research, Lecturer in Philosophy, Molloy College, and Rutgers Univ., “The Cultural Left and the Limits of Social Hope,” Presented at the 2001 Annual Conference of the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy, www.american-philosophy.org/archives/past\_conference\_ programs/pc2001/Discussion% 20papers/david\_mcclean.htm, ACC. 11-7-09]

Yet for some reason, at least partially explicated in Richard Rorty's Achieving Our Country, a book that I think is long overdue, **leftist critics continue to cite and refer to the eccentric** and often a priori **ruminations of people like** those just mentioned, and a litany of others including **Derrida, Deleuze, Lyotard, Jameson, and Lacan,** who are to me hugely more irrelevant than Habermas in their narrative attempts to suggest policy prescriptions (when they actually do suggest them) aimed at curing the ills of homelessness, poverty, market greed, national belligerence and racism. I would like to suggest that it is time for American social critics who are enamored with this group, those who actually want to be relevant, to recognize that they have a disease, and a disease regarding which I myself must remember to stay faithful to my own twelve step program of recovery. The disease is **the need for elaborate theoretical "remedies" wrapped in neological and multi-syllabic jargon. These elaborate theoretical remedies are more "interesting,"** to be sure**, than the pragmatically settled questions about what shape democracy should take in various contexts,** or whether private property should be protected by the state, or regarding our basic human nature (described, if not defined (heaven forbid!), in such statements as "We don't like to starve" and "We like to speak our minds without fear of death" and "We like to keep our children safe from poverty"). As Rorty puts it, "When one of today's academic leftists says that some topic has been 'inadequately theorized,' you can be pretty certain that he or she is going to drag in either philosophy of language, or Lacanian psychoanalysis, or some neo-Marxist version of economic determinism. . . . **These futile attempts to philosophize one's way into political relevance are a symptom of what happens when a Left retreats from activism and adopts a spectatorial approach to the problems of its country. Disengagement from practice produces theoretical hallucinations"**(italics mine).(1) Or as John Dewey put it in his The Need for a Recovery of Philosophy, "I believe that philosophy in America will be lost between chewing a historical cud long since reduced to woody fiber, or an apologetics for lost causes, . . . . or a scholastic, schematic formalism, unless it can somehow bring to consciousness America's own needs and its own implicit principle of successful action."

Those who suffer or have suffered from this disease Rorty refers to as the Cultural Left, which left is juxtaposed to the Political Left that Rorty prefers and prefers for good reason. Another attribute of the Cultural Left is that its members fancy themselves pure culture critics who view the successes of America and the West, rather than some of the barbarous methods for achieving those successes, as mostly evil, and who view anything like national pride as equally evil even when that pride is tempered with the knowledge and admission of the nation's shortcomings. In other words, **the Cultural Left, in this country, too often dismiss American society as beyond reform and redemption.** And Rorty correctly argues that this is a disastrous conclusion, i.e. disastrous for the Cultural Left. I think it may also be disastrous for our social hopes, as I will explain.

**Leftist American culture critics might put their considerable talents to better use if they bury some of their cynicism about America's social and political prospects and help forge public and political possibilities in a spirit of determination** to, indeed, achieve our country - the country of Jefferson and King; the country of John Dewey and Malcom X; the country of Franklin Roosevelt and Bayard Rustin, and of the later George Wallace and the later Barry Goldwater. To invoke the words of King, and with reference to the American society, **the time is always ripe to seize the opportunity to help create the "beloved community,"** one woven with the thread of agape into a conceptually single yet diverse tapestry that shoots for nothing less than a true intra-American cosmopolitan ethos, one wherein both same sex unions and faith-based initiatives will be able to be part of the same social reality, one wherein business interests and the university are not seen as belonging to two separate galaxies but as part of the same answer to the threat of social and ethical nihilism. **We who fancy ourselves philosophers would do well to create from within ourselves and from within our ranks a new kind of public intellectual who has both a hungry theoretical mind and who is yet capable of seeing the need to move past high theory to other important questions that are** less bedazzling and "interesting" but **more important to the prospect of our flourishing** - questions such as "How is it possible to develop a citizenry that cherishes a certain hexis, one which prizes the character of the Samaritan on the road to Jericho almost more than any other?" or "How can we square the political dogma that undergirds the fantasy of a missile defense system with the need to treat America as but one member in a community of nations under a "law of peoples?"

The new public philosopher might seek to understand labor law and military and trade theory and doctrine as much as theories of surplus value; the logic of international markets and trade agreements as much as critiques of commodification, and the politics of complexity as much as the politics of power (all of which can still be done from our arm chairs.) **This means going down deep into the guts of our** quotidian **social institutions, into the grimy pragmatic details where intellectuals are loathe to dwell but where the officers and bureaucrats of those institutions take difficult and often unpleasant, imperfect decisions that affect other peoples' lives, and it means making honest attempts to truly understand how those institutions actually function in the actual world before howling for their overthrow commences. This might help keep us from being slapped down in debates by true policy pros who actually know what they are talking about but who lack awareness of the dogmatic assumptions from which they proceed, and who have not yet found a good reason to listen to jargon-riddled lectures from philosophers and culture critics with their snobish disrespect for the so-called "managerial class."**

#### REALIZING PROGRESSIVE VISIONS FOR CHANGE REQUIRES DEMANDS ON THE STATE. WE CAN INCORPORATE THEIR VISION OF CHANGE WITH POLICY DISCUSSIONS

Themba-Nixon 2000

(Makani-, July 31, Colorlines, “Changing the Rules: What Public Policy Means for Organizing”, Vol. 3 #2)

**Much of the work of framing what we stand for takes place in the shaping of demands. By getting into the policy arena in a proactive manner, we can take our demands to the next level. Our demands can become law, with real consequences if the agreement is broken.** After all the organizing, press work, and effort, a group should leave a decisionmaker with more than a handshake and his or her word. **Of course, this work requires a certain amount of interaction with "the suits," as well as struggles with the bureaucracy, the technical language, and the all-too-common resistance by decisionmakers. Still, if it's worth demanding, it's worth having in writing-whether as law, regulation, or internal policy.**

From ballot initiatives on rent control to laws requiring worker protections, organizers are leveraging their power into written policies that are making a real difference in their communities. **Of course, policy work is just one tool in our organizing arsenal, but it is a tool we simply can't afford to ignore.**

**Making policy work an integral part of organizing will require a certain amount of retrofitting. We will need to develop the capacity to translate our information, data, and experience into stories that are designed to affect the public conversation. Perhaps most important, we will need to move beyond fighting problems and on to framing solutions that bring us closer to our vision of how things should be.** And then we must be committed to making it so.

### Stable truth good

#### DENYING ALL STABLE TRUTHS MEANS WE RISK REPEATING EVENTS LIKE THE HOLOCAUST

Skube 97

Michael November 16, 1997

[Pg. 12L, HEADLINE: BOOKS;REVIEWS AND OPINION; Law's radical academics get thrashing they deserve, The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, JT]

**The Holocaust matters because it did happen, not because someone imagined it. Yet there are those who deny anything unusual was going on in those ovens.** Would Patricia Williams say it isn't so important? You wonder. **These are people who make no distinction between lies and truths. Truth is contingent, resting in one's point of view.** Hal Crowther, a North Carolina columnist, had them in mind when he wrote:

**"For every lie, for every silence,** some horrible crime goes unremarked and unpunished, **some dreadful mistake lies waiting to be repeated.** This is no daydream. This is more than your point of view, your angle of vision**. It matters, profoundly, just How It Was. Lee surrendered, not Grant. The smoke from Auschwitz carried an unbearable smell.** Anne Boleyn's head was severed from her body. Between which two vertebrae the blade fell, that alone is a matter for conjecture." **When the truth no longer matters, everything else falls by the wayside with it, and barbarism wins out**. But in the best law schools in the country, nihilists like those Daniel Farber and Suzanna Sherry bravely criticize in "Beyond All Reason" are given tenure, authority, even credibility. Am I supposed to laugh?

### Extinction outweighs

#### Maximizing all lives is the only way to affirm equal and unconditional human dignity. Their criticism trades-off with action to save all life and value

Cummiskey ‘96

[David Cummiskey, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Bates College, Kantian Consequentialism, p 145-146]  
**We must not obscure the issue by characterizing this type of case as the sacrifice of individuals for some abstract "social entity."** **It is not a question of some persons having to bear the cost for some elusive "overall social good."** Instead, **the question is whether some persons must bear the inescapable cost for the sake of other persons.** Robert Nozick, for example, argues that "to use a person in this way does not sufficiently respect and take account of the fact that ~~he~~ is a separate person, that ~~his~~ is the only life he has." 12 But why is this not equally true of all those whom we do not save through our failure to act? **By emphasizing solely the one who must bear the cost if we act, we fail to sufficiently respect and take account of the many other separate persons, each with only one life, who will bear the cost of our inaction.** In such a situation, what would a conscientious Kantian agent, an agent motivated by the unconditional value of rational beings, choose? **A morally good agent recognizes that the basis of all particular duties is the principle that "rational nature exists as an end in itself"** ( GMM429). Rational nature as such is the supreme objective end of all conduct. **If one truly believes that all rational beings have an equal value, then the rational solution to such a dilemma involves maximally promoting the lives and liberties of as many rational beings as possible** (chapter 5). In order to avoid this conclusion, the non-consequentialist Kantian needs to justify agent-centered constraints. As we saw in chapter 1, however, even most Kantian deontologists recognize that agent-centered constraints require a nonvalue-based rationale. But we have seen that Kant's normative theory is based on an unconditionally valuable end. How can a concern for the value of rational beings lead to a refusal to sacrifice rational beings even when this would prevent other more extensive losses of rational beings? If the moral law is based on the value of rational beings and their ends, then what is the rationale for prohibiting a moral agent from maximally promoting these two tiers of value? If I sacrifice some for the sake of others, I do not use them arbitrarily, and I do not deny the unconditional value of rational beings. **Persons may have "dignity**, that is, **an unconditional** and **incomparable worth"** that transcends any market value ( GMM436), **but persons also have a fundamental equality that dictates that some must sometimes give way for the sake of others** (chapters 5 and 7). The concept of the end-in-itself does not support the view that we may never force another to bear some cost in order to benefit others. **If one focuses on the equal value of all rational beings, then equal consideration suggests that one may have to sacrifice some to save many.**

#### Extinction overrides all other moral considerations – their generic consequences arguments are unresponsive to the magnitude of this claim

Kateb 1992

[George Kateb is William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Politics, Emeritus, at Princeton University “The Inner Ocean” http://books.google.com/books?id=MtGJdmzqLZoC&dq=kateb+%22what+does+a+theory%22&source=gbs\_navlinks\_s]

What does a theory of rights leave undecided? Many issues of public policy do not affect individual rights, despite frequent ingeniuous efforts to claim that they do. Such issues pertain to the promotion of a better life, whether for the disadvantaged or for everyone, or involve the clash of interests. So long as rights are not in play, advocates of rights can rightly allow a loose utilitarianism as the proper guide to public policy, though they should always be eager to keep the state’s energy under suspicion. One can even think, against utilitarianism, that any substantive outcome acheived by morally proper procedure is morally right and hence acceptable (so long as rights are not in play). The main point, however, is that utilitarianism has a necessary place in any democratic country’s normal political deliberations. But its advocates must know its place, which ordinarily is only to help to decide what theory of rights leave alone. When may rights be overridden by the government? I have two sorts of cases in mind: overriding a particular right of some persons for the sake of preserving the same right of others, and overriding the same right of everyone for the sake of what I will clumsily call “civilization values.” An advocate of rights could countenance, perhaps must countenance, the state’s overriding of rights for these two reasons. The subject is painful and liable to dispute every step of the way. For the state to override-that is, sacrifice- a right of some so theat others may keep it, the situations must be desperate. I havein mind, say, circumstances in which the choice is between sacrificing a right of some and letting a right of all be lost. The state (or some other agent) may kill some or allow them to be killed), if the only alternative is letting everyone die. It is the right to life which most prominently figures in thinking about desperate situations. I cannot see any resolution but to heed the precept that numbers count. Just as one may prefer saving one’s own life to saving that of another when both cannot be saved, so a third party-let us say, the state- can (perhaps must) choose to save the greater number of lives and at the cost of the lesser number, when there is otherwise no hope for either group. That choice does not mean that those to be sacrificed are immoral if they resist being sacrificed. It follows, of course, that if a third party is right to risk or sacrifice the lives of the lesser for the lives of the greater number when the lesser would otherwise live, the lesser are also not wrong if they resist being sacrificed. I suppose that permitting numbers to count in desperate situations is to accept utilitarianism (in some loose sense) as a necessary supplement It thus should function when rights arc not at stake and when they are most cruelly at stake; It should function innocently, or when all hope of innocence is gone. I emphasize, above all, however, that every care must be taken to ensure that the precept that numbers of lives count does not become a license for vaguely conjectural decisions about inflicting death and saving life and that desperation be as strictly and narrowly understood as possible. (But total numbers killed do not count if members of one group have to kill members of another group to save themselves from threatened massacre of enslavement or utter degradation or misery; they may kill their attackers in an attempt to end the threat.)

#### Extinction outweighs because of future generations– we must take preventative action

Bostrom 2

(Nick Professor of Philosophy and Global Studies at Yale.. www.transhumanist.com/volume9/risks.html.)

Risks in this sixth category are a recent phenomenon. This is part of the reason why it is useful to distinguish them from other risks. We have not evolved mechanisms, either biologically or culturally, for managing such risks. Our intuitions and coping strategies have been shaped by our long experience with risks such as dangerous animals, hostile individuals or tribes, poisonous foods, automobile accidents, Chernobyl, Bhopal, volcano eruptions, earthquakes, draughts, World War I, World War II, epidemics of influenza, smallpox, black plague, and AIDS. These types of disasters have occurred many times and our cultural attitudes towards risk have been shaped by trial-and-error in managing such hazards. But tragic as such events are to the people immediately affected, in the big picture of things – from the perspective of humankind as a whole – even the worst of these catastrophes are mere ripples on the surface of the great sea of life. They haven’t significantly affected the total amount of human suffering or happiness or determined the long-term fate of our species. With the exception of a species-destroying comet or asteroid impact (an extremely rare occurrence), there were probably no significant existential risks in human history until the mid-twentieth century, and certainly none that it was within our power to do something about. The first manmade existential risk was the inaugural detonation of an atomic bomb. At the time, there was some concern that the explosion might start a runaway chain-reaction by “igniting” the atmosphere. Although we now know that such an outcome was physically impossible, it qualifies as an existential risk that was present at the time. For there to be a risk, given the knowledge and understanding available, it suffices that there is some subjective probability of an adverse outcome, even if it later turns out that objectively there was no chance of something bad happening. If we don’t know whether something is objectively risky or not, then it is risky in the subjective sense. The subjective sense is of course what we must base our decisions on.[[2]](#_ftn2)At any given time we must use our best current subjective estimate of what the objective risk factors are.[[3]](#_ftn3)A much greater existential risk emerged with the build-up of nuclear arsenals in the US and the USSR. An all-out nuclear war was a possibility with both a substantial probability and with consequences that mighthave been persistent enough to qualify as global and terminal. There was a real worry among those best acquainted with the information available at the time that a nuclear Armageddon would occur and that it might annihilate our species or permanently destroy human civilization.[[4]](#_ftn4)  Russia and the US retain large nuclear arsenals that could be used in a future confrontation, either accidentally or deliberately. There is also a risk that other states may one day build up large nuclear arsenals. Note however that a smaller nuclear exchange, between India and Pakistan for instance, is not an existential risk, since it would not destroy or thwart humankind’s potential permanently. Such a war might however be a local terminal risk for the cities most likely to be targeted. Unfortunately, we shall see that nuclear Armageddon and comet or asteroid strikes are mere preludes to the existential risks that we will encounter in the 21st century. The special nature of the challenges posed by existential risks is illustrated by the following points: Our approach to existential risks cannot be one of trial-and-error. There is no opportunity to learn from errors. The reactive approach – see what happens, limit damages, and learn from experience – is unworkable. Rather, we must take a proactive approach. This requires foresight to anticipate new types of threats and a willingness to take decisive preventive action and to bear the costs (moral and economic) of such actions. We cannot necessarily rely on the institutions, moral norms, social attitudes or national security policies that developed from our experience with managing other sorts of risks. Existential risks are a different kind of beast. We might find it hard to take them as seriously as we should simply because we have never yet witnessed such disasters.[[5]](#_ftn5) Our collective fear-response is likely ill calibrated to the magnitude of threat. Reductions in existential risks are global public goods [13] and may therefore be undersupplied by the market [14]. Existential risks are a menace for everybody and may require acting on the international plane. Respect for national sovereignty is not a legitimate excuse for failing to take countermeasures against a major existential risk. If we take into account the welfare of future generations, the harm done by existential risks is multiplied by another factor, the size of which depends on whether and how much we discount future benefits [15,16]. In view of its undeniable importance, it is surprising how little systematic work has been done in this area. Part of the explanation may be that many of the gravest risks stem (as we shall see) from anticipated future technologies that we have only recently begun to understand. Another part of the explanation may be the unavoidably interdisciplinary and speculative nature of the subject. And in part the neglect may also be attributable to an aversion against thinking seriously about a depressing topic. The point, however, is not to wallow in gloom and doom but simply to take a sober look at what could go wrong so we can create responsible strategies for improving our chances of survival. In order to do that, we need to know where to focus our efforts.

### Consequentialism good

**Pure deontology is an impossible standard for practical ethics – the Neg can prioritize a value, but ultimately the only ethical decision is based on consequences**

**Schuck 8**

Simon E., Simeon E. Baldwin Professor of Law, Yale University, THEMORALITY OF IMMIGRATION POLICY, San Diego Law Review, 45 San Diego L. Rev. 865, fall, lexis

That said, I believe that any deontological claim in the realm of practical or applied ethics, the subject of this Article, must ultimately devolve for its proof on some set of consequentialist claims. [n4](http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.txstate.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1281899400939&returnToKey=20_T9929295278&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.205697.71190001818#n4) If the content of what is right-in-itself is, say, some notion of human flourishing, then in assessing a policy alternative in light of that norm, it becomes necessary at some point to defend that alternative in consequentialist terms by showing that certain conduct does, or does not, in fact conduce to human flourishing, however defined. If one seeks to justify a law permitting gay marriage, for example, as moral action on deontological grounds because it instantiates the value of, say, dignity or equality, then at some pivotal point in the argument one must show that the law's effects will in fact promote the dignity or equality of the couple - perhaps by giving them as much pleasure or self-respect as other couples receive from marriage. The deontological claim may constrain the kinds of consequences that are relevant to its justification, but once the claim is elaborated conceptually and normatively as deeply as the analysis permits, the claim's validity must ultimately rest on propositions about its actual effects in the real world. n5 [\*869]  By adopting a consequentialist approach, I emphatically do not dismiss the importance of deontological approaches. Indeed, consequentialism would be less attractive without an underlying, perhaps deontological, conception of the good. [n6](http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.txstate.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1281899400939&returnToKey=20_T9929295278&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.205697.71190001818#n6) Deontological approaches help us to decide which ends we wish to pursue a priori. I do not, therefore, subscribe to consequentialism monistically. I simply argue that as a descriptive matter, consequentialism can shed much light on which among the competing ends we should choose. As Shelly Kagan notes, "the goodness of an act's consequences is at least one morally relevant factor in determining the moral status of that act," but the goodness of consequences requires a theory of the good to ground the comparison. [n7](http://www.lexisnexis.com.libproxy.txstate.edu/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1281899400939&returnToKey=20_T9929295278&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.205697.71190001818#n7)

### Perm solvency

#### THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE AFF. AND KRITIKAL EVALUATION CAN’T BE DONE AT THE SAME TIME. ONLY THE PERMUTATION OPENS SPACE FOR CRITICAL THEORY TO HAVE A REAL IMPACT

McClean ‘1

[David E. McClean, Ph.D., Philosophy, The New School for Social Research, Lecturer in Philosophy, Molloy College, and Rutgers Univ., “The Cultural Left and the Limits of Social Hope,” Presented at the 2001 Annual Conference of the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy, www.american-philosophy.org/archives/past\_conference\_ programs/pc2001/Discussion% 20papers/david\_mcclean.htm, ACC. 11-7-09, JT]

**Is it really possible to philosophize by holding Foucault in one hand and the Code of Federal Regulation or the Congressional Record in the other?** Given that whatever it has meant to be a philosopher has been under siege at various levels, **I see no reason why referring to the way things are actually done in the actual world** (I mean really done, not done as we might imagine) **as we think through issues of public morality and social issues of justice shouldn't be considered a viable alternative to the way philosophy has proceeded in the past. Instead of replacing epistemology with hermeneutics** or God knows what else as the foundation of philosophical practice, **we should move social philosophers in the direction of becoming more like social and cultural auditors rather than further in the direction of mere culture critics. We might be able to recast philosophers who take-up questions of social justice in a serious way as the ones in society able to traverse not only disciplines but the distances between the towers of the academy and the bastions of bureaucracies** seeking to honestly and sometimes dishonestly assess both their failings and achievements. This we can do with a special advantage over economists, social scientists and policy specialists who are apt to take the narrow view of most issues. We do have examples of such persons. John Dewey and Karl Popper come to mind as but two examples, but in neither case was there enough grasp of the actual workings of social institutions **that** I believe **will be called for in order to properly minister to a nation in need of helpful philosophical insights in policy formation. Or it may just be that the real work will be performed by philosophically grounded and socially engaged practitioners rather than academics.** People like George Soros come to mind here.

#### PERM is the only way to solve – pure criticism fails

Gunning 07

(Government and Opposition Volume 42 Issue 3, Pages 363 - 393 Published Online: 21 Jun 2007 A Case for Critical Terrorism Studies?1 Jeroen Gunning.

The notion of emancipation also crystallizes the need for policy engagement. For, unless a 'critical' field seeks to be policy relevant, which, as Cox rightly observes, means combining 'critical' and 'problem-solving' approaches, it does not fulfil its 'emancipatory' potential.94 One of the temptations of 'critical' approaches is to remain mired in critique and deconstruction without moving beyond this to reconstruction and policy relevance.95 Vital as such critiques are, the challenge of a critically constituted field is also to engage with policy makers – and 'terrorists'– and work towards the realization of new paradigms, new practices, and a transformation, however modestly, of political structures. That, after all, is the original meaning of the notion of 'immanent critique' that has historically underpinned the 'critical' project and which, in Booth's words, involves 'the discovery of the latent potentials in situations on which to build political and social progress', as opposed to putting forward utopian arguments that are not realizable. Or, as Booth wryly observes, 'this means building with one's feet firmly on the ground, not constructing castles in the air' and asking 'what it means for real people in real places'.96 **Rather than simply critiquing the status quo, or noting the problems that come from an un-problematized acceptance of the state, a 'critical' approach must, in my view, also concern itself with offering concrete alternatives. Even while historicizing the state and oppositional violence, and challenging the state's role in reproducing oppositional violence, it must wrestle with the fact that 'the concept of the modern state and sovereignty embodies a coherent response to many of the central problems** of political life', and in particular to 'the place of violence in political life'. Even while 'de-essentializing and deconstructing claims about security', it must concern itself with 'howsecurity is to be redefined', and in particular on what theoretical basis.97 Whether because those critical of the status quo are wary of becoming co-opted by the structures of power (and their emphasis on instrumental rationality),98 or because policy makers have, for obvious reasons (including the failure of many 'critical' scholars to offer policy relevant advice), a greater affinity with 'traditional' scholars, the role of 'expert adviser' is more often than not filled by 'traditional' scholars.99 The result is that policy makers are insufficiently challenged to question the basis of their policies and develop new policies based on immanent critiques. A notable exception is the readiness of European Union officials to enlist the services of both 'traditional' and 'critical' scholars to advise the EU on how better to understand processes of radicalization.100 But this would have been impossible if more critically oriented scholars such as Horgan and Silke had not been ready to cooperate with the EU. Striving to be policy relevant does not mean that one has to accept the validity of the term 'terrorism' or stop investigating the political interests behind it. Nor does it mean that each piece of research must have policy relevance or that one has to limit one's research to what is relevant for the state, since the 'critical turn' implies a move beyond state-centric perspectives. End-users could, and should, thus include both state and non-state actors such as the Foreign Office and the Muslim Council of Britain and Hizb ut-Tahrir; the zh these fragmented voices can converge, there are two further reasons for retaining the term 'terrorism'. One of the key tasks of a critically constituted field is to investigate the political usage of this term. For that reason alone, it should be retained as a central marker. But, even more compellingly, the term 'terrorism' is currently so dominant that a critically constituted field cannot afford to abandon it. **Academia does not exist outside the power structures of its day.** However problematic the term, it dominates public discourse and as such needs to be engaged with, deconstructed and challenged, rather than abandoned and left to those who use it without problematization or purely for political ends. Using the term also increases the currency and relevance of one's research in both funding and policy circles, as well as among the wider public. **It is because of this particular constellation of power structures that a 'critical' field cannot afford, either morally or pragmatically, to abandon** the term 'terrorism'. This leads to the twin problems of policy relevance and cultural sensitivity. A critically conceived field cannot afford to be policy irrelevant while remaining true to the 'emancipatory' agenda implicit in the term 'critical', nor can it be uncritically universalist without betraying its 'critical' commitment.

## AT – K - Virilio

#### VIRILIO BASES HIS WORK ON PSUEDUOSCIENCE

Sokal & Bricmont, ‘97

[Alan Sokal, prof. of physics at New York Univ., and Jean Bricmont, Belgian theoretical physicist, philosopher of science and a professor at the Université catholique de Louvain, Interllectual Imposters, Postmodern Philosophers’ Abuse of Science, p. 159, JT]

**The writings of** Paul **Virilio** revolve principally around the themes of technology, communication and speed. They **contain a plethora of references to physics,** particularly the theory of relativity. Though Vir­ilio's sentences are slightly more meaningful than those of Deleuze–Guattari, **what is presented as 'science' is a mixture of monu­mental confusions and wild fantasies.** Furthermore**, his analogies be­tween physics and social questions are the most arbitrary imaginable, when he does not simply become intoxicated with his own words.** We confess our sympathy with many of Virilio's political and social views; but **the cause is not**, alas, **helped by his pseudo-physics.**

## AT – K – Coercion

**Private governance results in slavery, anarchy, and permanent states of war and would not protect individual rights.**

**Kangas 93**

(Steve, Editor of Liberalism Resurgent, “The Proper Size and Role of Government” [http://home.att.net/~Resurgence/L-governmentsize.html](http://home.att.net/%7EResurgence/L-governmentsize.html))

Public goods are best provided by public institutions like government. The government requires citizens to pay for the good by law; citizens then become *forced riders*, or compelled taxpayers. This "coercion" is justified because the majority of voters prefer it to the alternative, which is defeat and enslavement by the Hitlers and Stalins of the world.  Examples of public goods include environmental protection, public parks, law and order, standardizing weights and measures, a common education, a common language, public health, printing and controlling a national currency, and more. Examples of public goods provided by private merchants include fireworks displays and street musician performances — although getting paid for these services by all who enjoy them is impossible. The ultimate public good: law and order:  Imagine a land with no law and order. Everyone would be free to commit violence and aggression without worrying about police retaliation. Greed would spur individuals to rob, cheat and steal at every opportunity. Jealous lovers could kill with impunity. Nothing could stop your neighbor from driving you off your land and taking your property, except your own use of defensive force.  In such anarchy, only the fittest and luckiest would survive. But even after these survivors won their first battles, they would only find themselves in a new round of conflict, this time against proven and battle-tested survivors. The price of continual war isn’t worth it, even to the survivors. Society avoids this bleak scenario by agreeing to cooperate for survival, or at least limiting the competition to fairer and less harmful methods. This more stable and peaceful approach makes everyone richer in the long run. But cooperation requires rules that everyone lives by. Unfortunately, private markets cannot provide such law and order. Take, for example, the law against murder. How could the market enforce such a law? With government, the answer is simple: the police enforce it. But how would the free market provide police protection? Some libertarians have proposed imaginative solutions, like having private police agencies compete on the free market. You might subscribe to Joe’s Security Forces, and I might subscribe to Bill's Police Agency. But suppose one day I steal your car. You could call your police agency to come and arrest me. But I could claim the car is rightfully mine, thanks to a bad business deal between us, and call my own police agency to defend against your theft of my property. The result is tribal warfare. What’s worse, the richest citizens would be able to afford the largest private armies, and use them to acquire yet more riches, which in turn would fund yet larger armies. Libertarian scholars have attempted to save their idea with even more imaginative arguments, but the exercise only proves the unworkability of the idea, and the vast majority of scholars reject the whole approach.  The folly of this exercise becomes even more apparent when you consider how the free market would provide the law *itself*. Again, some libertarians propose private legislative companies competing on the free market. By paying a legislative company a few hundred dollars a year, you could buy whatever slate of laws you would like to live by. Unfortunately, two people might claim sole ownership of the same property, and point to their different slate of laws awarding them ownership. In that case, the law is of no help in identifying the true owner, and the two parties are left to negotiate. These negotiations would occur under conditions of anarchy, and the side with the most power, influence or police force would win the negotiations. This would be a society of power politics, where might makes right.  True law and order can only be provided by a single entity covering the entire group in question. That is, law and order is a natural monopoly. A *single* private company can’t run this natural monopoly for two reasons. First, it would have no competition, unlike government, which could restore competition through voting. In other words, governments are democracies, but private companies are dictatorships, and if only one company provides law and order, you might as well have a monarchy. Second, true law and order is also a public good, much like national defense, but one that offers protection against internal enemies instead of external ones. Free riders could enjoy the benefit of the private company’s law and order without paying for it. Having democratic government provide law and order is the only way to solve these problems.