# Nativism

### **Overview**

#### Hate groups are weak now, as they don’t have a particular or specific message/purpose (Reid, Ross, and Burley), but immigration gives nativists a cause to rally around (extend Abrajano & Hajnal). When provoked by immigration, these far-right terrorists use weapons of mass destruction, nuclear escalation (that’s Beutel & Pifer).

### Extensions

#### Extend our uniqueness card Reid, Ross, and Burley: hate groups are weak now, because they lack a proper message, but they could be reignited at any point.

#### Extend our link card Abrajano/Hajnal: that immigration spurs increased terrorist activity, opening the door for more serious attacks

#### Extend our Beutel and Pifer cards: Far-right terrorists have access to WMDs, and can use them, which escalates to nuclear lashout.

#### Extend Perliger

### Impact Calc

#### Nativism is wins probability - terrorists can acquire WMDs, and are willing to use them, as well as high on magnitude as a nuclear wars, and WMDs themselves can lead to extinction. The timeframe is low, as the white nativist movement *will* rise rapidly, and soon after, WMDs will be employed. Because WMDs quickly escalate, we win on timeframe too.

## Answers

### AT: No Link - Immigration not important/not perceived

#### They say that immigration is not important / not perceived, therefore we have no link. However, our evidence shows that immigration is huge for white political calculus—it’s impossible for them to miss it.

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

Nevertheless, we believe that immigration and the Latino population do impact whites’ core political calculus. We offer a theory of how large scale immigration can result in real partisan shifts in the white population. First, the sheer size of the racial and demographic change that has occurred and that continues to occur is impossible for white Americans to miss. All of this demographic change is accompanied by the extensive presence of Latinos, Asians, and other immigrants in the media and almost daily interactions with non-native speakers in the nation’s streets, workplaces, and neighborhoods. It would be surprising if such a massive change in the makeup of the nation did not result in immigration playing a more central role in the minds of white Americans. Second, irrespective of the actual fiscal consequences of immigration, there is an on- going and oft repeated threat narrative that links America’s immigrant and Latino populations to a host of pernicious fiscal, social, and cultural consequences (Perez forthcoming, Chavez 2008, Hopkins 2010, Brader et al 2008, Santa Ana 2004). This narrative emphasizes cultural decline, immigrants’ use of welfare, health, and educational services, their propensity to turn to crime, and their tendency to displace native citizens from jobs (Huntington 2005, Borjas 2001, Gimpel and Skerry 2008). Each of these concerns has been spelled out repeatedly and in great detail in the media, in the political sphere, and in scholarly outlets (Perez forthcoming, Brader et al 2012, Chavez 2008, Santa Ana 2004). Moreover, although many inside and outside of the political arena dispute the threat narrative, it appears that the narrative has been absorbed by a significant segment of the white population. Across the white population attitudes on Latinos and immigration are diverse, but there is little doubt that many white Americans express real concerns about immigration and hold negative attitudes toward Latinos. Recent polls suggest that well over half of white Americans feel that immigrants are a burden on the nation, a slight majority think they add to the crime problem, and about half believe they take jobs away from Americans (CNN 2010). For many, the changes that are occurring in America represent a real threat. Third, and critically for our account, this threat narrative has recently taken on increasingly clear partisan implications. Although there is still considerable variation within each party’s leadership on the issue of immigration, empirical studies demonstrate growing partisan divergence on immigration between leaders of the two parties (Jeong et al 2011, Miller and Schofield 2008). As we will see, these divergent stances on immigration are borne out by interest group ratings, voting patterns in state legislatures, elite partisan rhetoric, and the perceptions of the public. When Republican and Democratic leaders take divergent stances on immigration and other issues of special relevance to the Latino community and when Republicans stand more strongly against immigration, the two parties present individual white Americans with a stark choice. For those who are concerned about the Latino population and the growth of immigration, this may be reason enough to support the Republican Party.

#### Even if whites don’t notice on-the-ground immigration, biased reporting will push them to the right

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

There are, we believe, clear partisan implications to all of this. By focusing on immigration and highlighting its negative aspects, the media not only generates fears and concerns, it also increases the motivation for many Americans to side with the Republican Party. For those whose fears are sparked or amplified by the media, the Republican Party’s increasingly tough stance on the immigration becomes ever more attractive. One of the main goals in this chapter will then be to demonstrate that the media is one of the main mechanisms helping to shape partisan identities.

### AT: No Link – Undocumented vs. Documented

#### Nativists don't distinguish between illegal and legal immigrants—they conflate them

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

At the same time, we believe that most white Americans who are concerned about immigration tend not to make important distinctions between different segments of the Latino population. Although in theory categories like undocumented immigrant, immigrant, Mexican American, and Latino are all distinct, in the practice and rhetoric of American politics these concepts often blur together. In surveys, Americans tend to reserve their most negative sentiments for ‘illegal immigrants’ but when asked about ‘immigrants’ as a whole, Mexican Americans, or even Latinos, answers tend not to differ all that much. And as we will see, attitudes towards these different categories of immigrants tend to be highly correlated. What we think about undocumented immigrants seems intricately interconnected with what we think about immigrants and the broader Latino population. Critically, in the analysis that follows, it will typically not matter which of these categories we use. We expect to find that whether we employ a question on ‘illegal’ immigrants, one on immigrants, or another that assesses views of the Latino population, our results will be strikingly similar. When Americans talk about undocumented immigrants, Latinos, or immigrants in general, the images in their heads are likely to be the same.29

#### Documented versus undocumented doesn't matter—white Americans simply don't draw a distinction

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

In theory, categories like undocumented, legal, Latino, and Mexican American are all distinct. But as we noted earlier, in the practice and rhetoric of American politics, these categories largely overlap with one another. When politicians talk about immigrants, it is often synonymous with undocumented migrants and each is often accompanied with images of Latinos and Mexican Americans (Perez 2009; Chavez 2008). Likewise, when members of the American public think about immigration they are very likely to have a picture of a Latino or of a Mexican American, and an impression that they are in this country without legal documentation (Perez 2009). In the minds of many white Americans these different categories simply blur together.

#### Perception matters—white Americans backlash to immigrants without regard for legal status

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

Up to this point, we have been deliberately imprecise about defining exactly which immigrants or which aspect of immigration threatens white Americans. Are white Americans most opposed to some specific aspect of immigration policy (e.g. the number of immigrants, the education levels of immigrants, or border security issues) or are they more concerned about the immigrants themselves? And if immigrants are at the heart of the response, is it all immigrants or a subset of immigrants like illegal immigrants or Mexican immigrants? Another possibility is that restrictive policy is directed more at a racial group that is most closely associated with the negative side of immigration (e.g. Latinos). Our imprecision stems largely from the fact that we believe these different categories tend to be muddled together in the minds of individual white Americans. In theory, categories like illegal or undocumented immigrant, legal immigrant, and Latino are all distinct from each other. But in the practice of American politics, these concepts often blur together. Media coverage and the rhetoric of the two major parties and other political elites often conflate these different groups. It is, therefore, likely that for most individual Americans, immigration is not a precise threat but rather more of a general concern generated by the changes that immigration is bringing to America. In light of these muddled categories, we will undertake tests that in different ways measure attitudes towards Latinos, Asian Americans and other immigrant-related groups to try to get a clearer sense of just who or what it is that white Americans are reacting to.

#### Whites still hate legal immigration—it's about race not legal status

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

Another question we have yet to address is exactly who or what Whites are threatened by? Are their concerns focused on the undocumented or do their fears extend to the entire immigration population? Is fear concentrated on a single nation-origin group like Mexican Americans who represent a large share of immigrants and hail from a neighboring country with a large, porous border? Or alternatively, are concerns much broader? Do the children of immigrants and even those who appear to be immigrants spur similar anxiety? On a related point, are concerns most fixed on the growing Latino population or does the discontent that Americans feel about immigration also stem from the rapidly expanding Asian American population? In theory, white Americans could make important distinctions between each of these different immigrant groups. In reality, we think they tend to make only one real distinction – between Latinos and Asian Americans. We argue that Latinos and Asian Americans should be examined separately because the two groups hold very different structural locations in American society and are viewed in distinct ways by white Americans. In terms of status, Asian Americans tend to fall near the top of the racial hierarchy while Latinos are disproportionately likely to fall near the bottom. Latinos are two or three times more likely than Asian Americans to be classified as living at or below the poverty line. Median Latino household income is only about half of median Asian American household income –the figures were roughly $60,000 and $30,000 in 2005. Differences in educational outcomes are just as stark. While only about 20 percent of Latinos currently graduate from college, almost 60 percent of Asian Americans do (United States Department of Education 2008).

### AT: No Link – Our Immigrants are Rich

#### Americans oppose immigration regardless of immigrants' socioeconomic standing

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

Are white Americans, as much of the political rhetoric implies, really only concerned about the undocumented? Or about immigrants from Mexico? Here our tests are much more inconclusive. When we substituted in the state undocumented population or the state Mexican origin population into our regression models, both measures were generally significant and in both cases the size and direction of effects was similar to what we saw with our measure of the Latino population. A large percentage of undocumented/Mexican immigrants is associated with more conservative policy views, greater identification with the Republican Party, and increased support for Republican candidates. 125 All of this helps to demonstrate the robustness of our story but given the high degree of correlation between each of these different measures of the immigrant population, it unfortunately does not help to tell us which group white Americans see as most problematic. We also looked to see if the socioeconomic standing of the local Latino population affected white reactions. Perhaps Americans aren’t concerned about change in general but are instead worried about the influx of poor, unskilled, and uneducated immigrants? However, when we re-ran the analyses adding a measure for the state Latino poverty rate and an interaction between the Latino poverty rate and Latino population size, we uncovered no new significant results. White Americans tended to be more regressive when they live in states with large Latino populations whether the Latino population was largely poor or not. The overall picture at this point appears to be one of a less than discerning white public. As far as we can tell, white Americans tend to react negatively regardless of who comprises the Latino population.

### AT: Link Turn – Immigrant Voters

#### In the long term immigrant votes might counterbalance a white backlash, but in the short term the white reaction will be decisive

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

Immigration is undoubtedly one of the most important forces shaping the nation today. But what role does immigration play in the political life of this nation? Few clear answers to this question have emerged. We know much about the actions and allegiances of immigrants themselves (Wong et al 2011, Hajnal and Lee 2011, Abrajano and Alvarez 2010, Alvarez and Garcia Bedolla 2003). The 40 million foreign-born residents of the United States have undoubtedly become an important player in electoral contests across the nation (Abrajano and Alvarez 2010). The immigrant voice in American politics is no longer a hope. It is very much a reality. But that immigrant vote still represents a small fraction of the nation’s active electorate. Fewer than five percent of the voters in this country are foreign born.4 If immigration is going to have a deeper impact on the politics of the nation, it will be with the larger, native born population.

#### More immigrant and Latino voters won't translate into political power—many factors limit Latino influence on politics

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

We do, however, readily admit that there are real questions as to just how much influence the Latino population has in American politics. A range of factors limit Latino participation in the electoral arena to the point where Latinos often participate at half the rate of whites (Verba et al 1995, Hajnal 2010). Latinos are also hampered by more limited economic resources. If money is a factor in American politics, Latinos simply have less of it to give (Verba et al 1995). The end result is that politicians may simply be less receptive to Latinos. Indeed Griffin and Newman (2009) find that legislators are less responsive to the views of Latino constituents than they are to white constituents.

### AT: Link Turn - Contact Thesis

#### Contact theory won't help nativists—it only applies to left-wing citizens who are already predisposed to like immigrants

Jonathan Homola, Washington Univ. – Saint Louis, and Margit Tavits, Washington Univ. – Saint Louis, 2017

["Contact Reduces Immigration-Related Fears for Leftist but not Rightist Voters," Comparative Political Studies <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0010414017740590> CBO DUDA]

One prominent explanation for variance in prejudice and hostility against out-groups is the contact theory (Allport, 1954). This theory predicts that contact with out-group members reduces prejudice toward them. The mecha- nism runs as follows: through contact, individuals are exposed to new infor - mation about the out-group. Such new information can improve the understanding of the other group’s concerns and interests, help develop affec- tive ties that reduce feelings of threat toward out-group members, disprove negative stereotypes, and consequently lead to more positive views of the out-group. Originally developed for the study of racial and ethnic groups, contact theory has since been applied to a wide range of different group set- tings. In a comprehensive meta-analysis of over 500 contact theory studies written between 1940 and 2000, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) find strong sup- port for the notion that intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice across a broad range of different types of out-groups and contact settings. However, previous studies that have applied contact theory to under - stand natives’ attitudes toward immigrants arrive at mixed conclusions. Some studies find that having friends or colleagues from ethnic minority groups or living in areas where frequent contact with immigrants is more likely reduces perceived threats and anti-immigrant attitudes (Ellison, Shin, & Leal, 2011; Fetzer, 2000; McLaren, 2003; Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010). Other studies report the opposite or null findings (Gravelle, 2016; see also Ford, 1986, for a review). For example, Fetzer (2000) finds support for the contact hypothesis in France and the United States but not in Germany. Other studies find that local contact with immigrants can heighten rather than reduce feelings of cultural threat, which in turn increases anti-immi- grant sentiment (Berg, 2010; Enos, 2014; Hopkins, Tran, & Williamson, 2014; Johnston, Newman, & Velez, 2015; Karreth, Singh, & Stojek, 2015; Newman, Hartman, & Taber, 2012; see also Newman, 2013). Proponents of contact theory concur that some factors can curb the positive effect of con- tact on prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2011). These factors are cur - rently “the most problematic theoretically, yet the least understood” (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 767). 1 In this article, we respond to the calls for further theoretical development of the factors that curb the positive effect of contact by focusing on political predispositions. We do so by incorporating insights from the study of moti- vated reasoning. Specifically, an extensive literature in psychology shows that individuals process information with a directional bias toward reinforc- ing their preexisting positions on a given issue (see Kunda, 1990, for a review). That is, individuals use motivated reasoning, favoring arguments and evidence that support their existing views, while dismissing those that contradict them (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010; Rogowski, 2016; Taber & Lodge, 2006). We argue that this affects not only how people deal with new informa- tion but also how they interpret and generalize their contacts and real-world experiences with out-group members. Liberal or leftist partisan affinities pre- dispose individuals to openness and tolerance. Individuals with leftist parti- san affinities are therefore more likely to respond to contact with out-group members in a manner expected by contact theory: They are likely to posi- tively update their views of immigrants in general. However, individuals with conservative or rightist partisan affinities are more likely to find that positive encounters with immigrants contradict their predisposition to oppose social change and equality. Therefore, they are more likely to reject those experi- ences as sufficient evidence to change their preexisting views on immigrants in general.

#### Studies that show contact with immigrants improves attitudes towards immigration are inconclusive, and don't assume the impact on political behavior that our evidence shows

Marisa Abrajano, University of California San Diego and Zoltan Hajnal, University of California San Diego, 2017

[White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics <http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/resources/white-backlash-manuscript.pdf> CBO DUDA]

There is, in fact, growing evidence to suggest that this kind of racial threat mechanism is in place. A range of contextual studies has shown that concerns about immigrants and opposition to immigration both increase as the size of the local immigrant population grows (Ha and Oliver 2010, Ayers et al 2008, Campbell et al 2006, Hood and Morris 1998, Citrin et al 1997). However, more research needs to be conducted before we can firmly connect an immigrant contextual threat to white political behavior. For one, the results, to this point, are not always consistent. Some studies have found no relationship between immigrant context and views (Fennelly and Federico 2008, Dixon 2006, Taylor 1998, Burns and Gimpel 2000). Others have even found a positive relationship (Ha 2010, Hood and Morris 1998, 2000, Fox 2004). For another, existing studies of immigrant or Latino context are too narrow. None of these contextual studies has looked at the impact of immigrant context on partisanship and other core political decisions. 24

### AT: No Impact – Far-Right terror is small scale

#### The nativist far right has been paying attention to the tactics of al Qaeda and other Islamist groups—they want to produce terrorist attacks just as impactful as 9/11

PM Currie, Senior Visiting Fellow at the School of International Relations, St Andrews University, 2013

[“Conclusion,” in *Extreme Right Wing Political Violence and Terrorism* CBO DUDA]

The threats posed by Islamist terrorism as perceived by recent manifestations of the extreme right and counter-jihad movement are likely to seem more real, compelling and requiring of action to them than those posed by the Zionist Occupying Government and other such imagined enemies. But we should, perhaps, remember that even the latter aspect of the threat has not been something that could wisely be ignored. Leonard Weinberg notes that, aside from 9/11, the most lethal act of terrorism in American history was the attack on the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in April 1995. FBI figures on hate crimes, according to Weinberg, suggest that ‘prior to Al Qaeda’s attack on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, terrorist violence in the United States was significantly a right-wing activity measured both in terms of the frequency of incidents and the fatalities inflicted’. But now the stakes may be rather higher. The new enemy can be seen by the new extreme right to have proved itself competent in its chosen forms of attack (9/11, 7/7 and the Madrid bombings being particularly resonant in the US and Europe) and so to have moved beyond rhetoric to murderous action. As Holbrook writes, ‘ardent followers of white-supremacist movements that underline the perceived intelligence and superiority of members will be loath to admit their militancy is less effective than those on the extremist Islamist fringe’.

### AT: No Impact--Far-Right terror is small scale

#### Far-right terrorists are looking to escalate their attacks—chemical and cyber attacks are likely to be next

Linda Schlegel, MA in Terrorism, Security and Society (distinction) from King's College London, 1/1/2018

[“Right-wing extremism in America: A Growing Threat?” Global Risk Insights <https://globalriskinsights.com/2018/01/right-wing-extremism-united-states/> CBO DUDA]

In the near term, lower-level criminal attacks such as beatings will continue to be the most prominent form of far-right extremist violence. This can also extend to attacks on businesses owned by what these groups perceive as ‘foreigners’ and ‘foreign’ employees individually. There does appear to be intent among to stage larger-scale attacks, but the evidence once again is thin on the ground. The far-right [Christian CSA](https://muse.jhu.edu/book/11041) gathered toxic materials to poison the water supplies of large cities – back in the 1980s, and it’s not clear whether this was ever realistically going to be carried out. That said, the motive to attack state infrastructure or utilities makes sense given that far-right extremists often have an anti-government aim, contrasting with Islamist terrorism, which often seeks to instill terror via civilian casualties. As such, cyber attacks may prove to be a more effective and appealing method for the far right to achieve its aims. Right-wing groups in the US are increasingly [monitored](https://www.splcenter.org/issues/hate-and-extremism) by civil society organisations, which is a necessary first step to combat the lack of data on these groups and improve the ability to pre-empt their activities. But it remains a worrying trend, especially if far right ideology continues to influence [mainstream U.S. political thought](https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_trump_100_days_report_final_web.pdf) and gain seeming legitimacy, emboldening its adherents.

#### Far-right terrorists are always updating their methods

Linda Schlegel, MA in Terrorism, Security and Society (distinction) from King's College London, 1/1/2018

Terrorism is constantly evolving, not only in its tactics, but also in its ideological sources. In the case of right-wing extremism, criminal violence has the potential to evolve into broader terrorist activity. Indicators seem to be pointing in this direction, not least the fact that flags with swastikas, German iron crosses and other far-right symbols are displayed in

an increasingly open manner in the United States.

## Extensions

### Impact – Nativist Terror = “Known Unknown”

#### White nationalist terror is so dangerous precisely because it’s under-studied—anti-terror agencies aren’t ready for it

Linda Schlegel, MA in Terrorism, Security and Society (distinction) from King's College London, 1/1/2018

[“Right-wing extremism in America: A Growing Threat?” Global Risk Insights <https://globalriskinsights.com/2018/01/right-wing-extremism-united-states/> CBO DUDA]

A risk analysis of these groups needs to take into account our current lack of knowledge, their long-term behaviour, and the probability of successful attacks. There is a [lack of data](https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/16/opinion/the-other-terror-threat.html) on far-right groups within the United States. The scant [figures](https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/challengers-from-the-sidelines-understanding-americas-violent-far-right) that are available show an average of 337 attacks per year, which far outstrips Islamist extremism. Their operations and capabilities remain elusive, though there are rough estimates of their numbers. We do know that right-wing extremists increasingly [organize through online forums](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/white-nationalist-movement-twitter-faster-growth-isis-islamic-state-study-a7223671.html), similarly to their Islamist counter-parts. This behavior increases the potential risk posed by these groups, as such communication is harder for intelligence services to monitor. In addition to trying to recruit online, the far-right is [radicalizing their own children](https://rowman.com/ISBN/9781442241381/American-Swastika-Inside-the-White-Power-Movement's-Hidden-Spaces-of-Hate-Second-Edition). Although the effectiveness of such indoctrination is unproven, it does imply that the threat from right-wing extremism. is likely to be persistent across time.

### Impact – Islamist Terror Attacks

#### Far right extremism breeds Islamic extremism and vice versa—leading to a feedback loop that makes large-scale terror attacks inevitable.

Julia Ebner, research fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2017

[The Rage: The Vicious Circle of Islamist and Far-Right Extremism, IB Taurus, CBO DUDA]

On our trip into the minds of extremist sympathisers, former extremists, terrorism victims and voters, we have found clear links between far-right and Islamist extremists’ stories – the two strands of extremism feed off one another. In this sense, the conflict between far-right and Islamist extremists today mirrors that of communists and fascists in 1920s Italy – but on a much bigger scale. Rapidly changing economic, political and cultural environments have led to a global identity crisis that is further exacerbated by modern technology and the new media. Resulting grievances, uncertainty and a lack of perspective have formed a bitter cocktail of rage, which has been the elixir of life for extremists. This book has demonstrated that far-right and Islamist extremist narratives (‘The West is at war with Islam’ and ‘Muslims are at war with the West’) complement and amplify each other, leading to a bizarre form of interdependency between the two. Far-right and Islamist extremists succeed in penetrating each other’s echo chambers because their messages are mutually useful. This effectively makes the two extremes ‘rhetorical allies’. Far-right and Islamist extremist incidents correlate in terms of their timing, and areas with a strong far-right presence are more likely to breed Islamist extremists and vice versa. One side tends to provoke a retaliatory reaction from the other. The extremes thus escalate, resulting in a spiralling violence effect. With those on each side feeling the need to defend themselves from the offences of the other side, their predictions become a self-fulfilling prophecy: an increasing number of Muslims are lured into embracing Islamist views and a rising number of non-Muslims turn to far-right parties. Our society’s drift towards extremes is effectively validating the claim that we are facing a global cultural war between Muslims and non-Muslims, which extremists on both sides are propagating. This further strengthens extremists’ credibility and appeal; we see that the war between far-right and Islamist extremists is increasingly turning into a war between the West and Islam. This is the vicious circle that we need to interrupt. Otherwise, we will not only live in an increasingly divided, polarised and extreme society, but we will also see more terrorist attacks, both from far-right and Islamist extremists. Extremism is about grievances, identities and ideologies. Since the chief two opposing camps of today – far-right and Islamist extremists – reinforce each other’s grievances, identities and ideologies, fighting one without simultaneously combating the other will be ineffective. We therefore need to reduce societies’ overall vulnerability, to challenge both sides’ binary worldviews and to create a stronger sense of collective identity that reunites rather than divides our societies. The Age of Rage has only just begun unless we tackle its underlying sources by adopting new, innovative approaches to politics, education, communication and activism.

### Impact – Global Instability

#### The circle of violence instigated by far right movements poses an existential threat to liberal democratic nations

Julia Ebner, research fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2017

[The Rage: The Vicious Circle of Islamist and Far-Right Extremism, IB Taurus, CBO DUDA]

If today’s terrorism threat can indeed be seen as a vicious circle, in which far-right and Islamist extremist narratives amplify each other, this has major implications for prevention and counter- terrorism efforts: in a circle, the ‘after’ equals the ‘before’, meaning that reaction equals prevention. Reaction takes place on all levels: politics, the media and civil society all determine what ‘after’ looks like. They all shape the narrative. Political and societal reactions to terrorist attacks have allowed illegitimate players to dominate the debate and effectively rule the game. Jack Buckby, press officer at Liberty GB, understands this dynamic. ‘Exit polls suggest a left-wing coalition in the Netherlands. Horrible thing to think, but only terror attacks can save Netherlands now. Wake up,’ he tweeted a few days before the Westminster attack. ‘Fear of terrorist attacks and mass refugee flows are driving many Western governments to roll back human rights protections’, the Director of Human Rights Watch, Kenneth Roth, wrote in the ‘World Report 2016’.2 Bombing Raqqa, curbing immigration, militarising streets, banning burkinis and voting for far-right parties will not only be ineffective but will also most likely be harmful. It further widens the rifts within our societies, validating extremists’ narratives that know no grey zones between ‘good and bad’, ‘innocent and guilty’ and ‘true and false’. By forgetting that preventing also means responding we might be turning extremists’ binary worldviews that are based on identity creation through common victimhood into self-fulfilling prophecies. Politicians, the media, voters have all been following the rules of the roulette that extremists want to play. In their attempt to stop them winning, they have ended up playing by the rules of extremists: terrorism itself does not pose an existential threat to Western countries, but inconsiderate and disproportionate reactions to it can. Today’s widening divisions, between and within institutions as well as between and within communities, are driving both pull and push factors of violent extremism. They increase extremists’ demand by fostering grievances and identity crises and feed extremists’ supply by making their narratives more credible. They deprive communities of their resilience against violent extremism, and rob liberal, democratic pleas of their credibility.

### Bioterror Extension

#### Far right groups have the technical know-how to carry out a WMD attack – we’ve gotten lucky before

Beutel, Southern Poverty Law Center, 18 [Alejandro; 2-20-18; "The radical right and weapons of mass destruction - an enduring threat to the American homeland"; https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/radical-right-and-weapons-mass-destruction-—-enduring-threat-american-homeland; accessed 6-14-18; PAC]

As these examples suggest, far-right extremists and others have been seeking to acquire highly destructive weapons capabilities which could be used on American soil. The operational sophistication and potentially deadly nature of these cases varies greatly.

Some examples, like the 2011 Georgia militia ricin plot and the KKK “ death ray” gun plot, show conspirators who lacked the technical know-how for a sophisticated attack. William Krar and would-be “Nazi dirty bomber” James Cummings are the exact opposite; highly skilled individuals with highly destructive weapons material that were only discovered by accident.

#### Bioweapons outweigh nuclear weapons – our impacts have greater magnitude and high probability, we win impact calc

Gat, University of Tel Aviv national security professor, 2012 [Azar, Journal of Peace Research 50(2), “Is war declining – and why?” Sagepub, p.156, accessed 1-20-14]   
One more point: Pinker wisely argues that he is not prophesying the future but simply describing past trends and their historical explanations. He agrees that such trends, however deep-rooted – and they are – may reverse, as with the potential changes in the global balance of power with the weakening of US and Western hegemony, the rise of a non-democratic, non-liberal China (if it so remains) and the like. In discussing the prospect of unconventional terror, Pinker claims, like some others, that the threat is much overrated, emphasizing the difficulties surrounding the acquisition and successful use of nuclear weapons by terrorists. However, he ignores the more relevant threat, that of biological weapons, magnified and widely disseminated thanks to today’s biotechnological revolution. Biological weapons are potentially as lethal as nuclear weapons, and far easier to acquire and use even by non-state individuals or small groups. Not only might a successful attack result in casualties on a par with the USA’s greatest wars; it is likely to target its main centers of population and the economy. I would not underestimate this threat. More generally, we are clearly experiencing the most peaceful times in history by far, a strikingly blissful and deeply grounded trend. Yet the observation that at least since 1945 this is also the most dangerous world ever, with mankind for the first time possessing the ability to destroy itself completely, civilian populations held hostage to MAD (mutually assured destruction) deterrence, and even individuals and small groups gaining the ability to cause mass death, is far from a cliche.

# Brain Drain

### Overview

#### Brain drain is decreasing now, as immigrants are returning to their homelands (extend Hirsch). However, the plan will make immigrants come to the US (that’s Raveesh), which hurts the Indian and world economies (that’s Krishnadas and Srivastava). This economic decline would cause war. Also, Indian econ growth, which the aff prevents, stops conflict in South Asia(Mamoon/Murhsed), the aff flips that.

### Extensions

#### Extend our uniqueness card Hirsch, that brain drain of countries is low right now, and not a problem.

#### Extend our link card Raveesh, that the aff plan causes immigrants to come to the US, activating the problem of brain drain

#### Extend our internal link cards Krishnadas and Srivastavas, brain drain causes economic decline in India and the world as a whole.

#### Extend Mamoon and Mushed, a strong Indian economy prevents South Asian war-the aff only causes South Asian war.

### Impacts—Nuke War With Pakistan

#### Brain drain causes developing countries to lose the migrants most capable of providing future economic growth.

Jemimah Joanne C. Villaruel & Jeremy Dexter B. Mirasol, 2017 (Senior Foreign Affairs Research Specialist with the Center for International Relations and Strategic Studies of the Foreign Service Institute, & Foreign Affairs Research Specialist with the Center for International Relations and Strategic Studies of the Foreign Service Institute), Boosting Growth Through Reverse Brain Drain: India’s Know-how, Dec. 2017. Retrieved Apr. 11, 2018 from <http://www.fsi.gov.ph/boosting-growth-through-reverse-brain-drain-indias-know-how/>, kdd

A common argument about brain drain is that many migrants from less developed countries are the very ones that these countries can least afford to lose: the highly educated and skilled. This contributes to the constraints on the future economic progress of the developing countries. As such, although it is the right of every person to migrate, international labor migration can be seen as a zero-sum game.

#### Indian economic decline risks conflict with Pakistan.

Dawood Mamoon & S. Mansoob Murshed, 2010 (Institute of Social Studies at the Hague, & The Birmingham Business School, University of Birmingham), ECONOMICS OF GOVERNANCE, April 2010. Retrieved Apr. 11, 2018 from <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10101-010-0074-y.pdf>, kdd

Graph 1f is the standard representation of India-Pakistan conflict, and not only best fits historical trends but also explain the rationale behind recent IndiaPakistan peace initiatives with decreasing hostilities when not only India but Pakistan also has had economic growth rates as high as 7% per annum. The forecasts suggest that conflict will rise, even if there is a significant increase in combined democracy scores, if growth rates plummet. Both Pakistan and India have seen many such years, when hostilities between both countries rose significantly when at least one of the countries is performing poorly, but were channeling more resources on the military as the conflict mitigating effects of trade as a proportion of their GDPs. The forecasts favour the economic version over the democratic version of the liberal peace. Thus one may look at current peace talks between both countries with optimism as both are performing well on the economic front and channeling fewer resources on the military as a proportion of national income, while at the same time having a divergent set of political institutions, though recently Pakistan has edged towards greater democracy with elections in February 2008.

#### An India-Pakistan war goes nuclear.

Ratnesh Dwivedi, 2017 (NASA Certified Educator and Consultant with 15 plus years in teaching and corporate), Russia and Beyond. June 20, 2017. Retrieved Apr. 11, 2018 from http://russiancouncil.ru/en/blogs /ratnesh-dwivedi-en/who-will-win-if-a-war-breaks-out-between-india-and-pakistan-expert-unb/, kdd

But a prominent US expert on South Asia also warned that the roughly two-to-one military advantage of the Indian armed forces makes it more likely that a cornered Islamabad could lash out with a nuclear strike. "If you had a full war between India and Pakistan, not just skirmishes on the border, India would start winning," said former US ambasador Dennis Kux, who has served in both India and Pakistan. "And at a certain point Pakistan, rather than going under, would push the button," he said on CNN's The Capital Gang show.

### Impact Calc

#### Brain drain wins probability – empirical evidence proves certainty. We win on magnitude as well – economy decline and lack of skill creates an atmosphere in which war is not only probable, but inevitable and quickly escalates to have high-magnitude and low-timeframe, extend [AUTHOR] as well. Furthermore, Magnitude is high, as a war between South Asian countries could be catastrophic, as countries like Pakistan and India have nuclear weapons they’re willing to deploy.

## Answers

### AT Remittances

#### Skilled workers sending remittance does not compensate for the lost skill and training – remittances should not be evaluated

Cerovic and Beaton ’17 (Svetlana Cerovic and Kimberly Beaton, economists in the IMF’s Western Hemisphere Department and , June 29, 2017, IMF, Migration and Remittances in Latin America and the Caribbean: Brain Drain Versus Economic Stabilization, <https://blogs.imf.org/2017/06/29/migration-and-remittances-in-latin-america-and-the-caribbean-brain-drain-versus-economic-stabilization/>)

The United States is by far the most important destination for Latin American and Caribbean migrants, with about two thirds of them living and working in the United States. This high dependence on a single destination country makes the economic fortunes of the region’s migrants—and the remittances they send back home—susceptible to the economic ups and downs and immigration policy changes in the United States. Who are these emigrants? Emigrants from Mexico and Central America tend to be younger (on average, about 20 years old) and have lower levels of education compared with those from South America and the Caribbean. Of the latter groups, about 40 percent have attended college (or beyond). With a high share of skilled workers leaving their home countries, the Caribbean in particular has been suffering from “brain drain.” With lower levels of education, emigrants from Mexico and Central America tend to work in lower-skilled occupations and have lower wages, but they also send a higher share of their income back to their families. The departure of people of working age reduces the labor force and weakens the growth of the home country, and this effect is likely to be strongest for countries facing a brain drain. But the money migrants send home brings a number of benefits to their families and provides financial resources for trade and investment. Our analysis suggests that the overall impact of these forces depends on the profile of migrants and the amount of money they send home—with different net effects on growth across the region. For countries with highly skilled emigrants like Caribbean countries and, to a lesser extent, South American countries, the negative impact on growth from emigration is not fully compensated by the money migrants send home**.**

#### Remittances turn - Remittance cause a reduction in education levels in other countries

Oberman ’13 (Kieran Oberman, “Can Brain Drain Justify Immigration Restrictions?” Ethics, vol. 123, no. 3, 2013, pp. 427–455. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/669567.)

Skilled migrants tend to have higher incomes and can afford to send more remittances back to their families at home. On the other hand, they tend to come from better off families whose demand for remittances is lower relative to poorer ones. Furthermore, skilled migrants are able to bring their families along with them, as they tend to enjoy more secure legal status at the destination. All of these factors reduce the incentives to send remittances. Thus, the net impact of an increase in migrants' level of education on remittances is ambiguous a priori (see RAPOPORT and DOCQUIER [2006] for further details). Empirical studies have so far been unable to resolve the debate on this issue. This paper's main contribution is to show that remittances actually decrease with an increase in migrants' overall level of education. The main reason for the growing attention on remittances in the migration and development literature is their dramatic increase. Officially recorded remittances - measured as the sum of workers' remittances, compensation of employees and migrant transfers - are estimated to have increased from US$58 billion in 1 995 to US$ 1 67 billion in 2005, with recent estimates putting their level at over $200 billion.

### AT Remittances – India

#### Recent trends disprove remittances for India specifically – prefer our evidence for specificity

Athreya Mukunthan & Eashwar Nagaraj 17 (Athreya Mukunthan, Programme Officer in the Public Policy Research Group in the Public Affairs Centre, Bangalore, masters in Economics from Symbiosis International University, Pune & Eashwar Nagaraj, student @ Miami University, 7-15-2017, "The Great Indian Brain Drain, and Nothing to Come Back To," Quint, https://www.thequint.com/voices/blogs/india-brain-drain-and-no-jobs, Accessed: 7-10-2018 //kent - wh)

Fall in Remittances One of the arguments used as a shield against the critique of brain drain is that it brings in money to our country, especially directly into the households, as remittances. The fact, however, is that in recent years the outward migration has increased and remittances have fallen. The US can be considered a reliable sample when gauging brain drain because over half of all emigrants from India settle down in the States. It is the number one destination for high-skilled emigrants from most developing countries in Asia, including China, South Korea and Vietnam. There is even a joke cracked often that in Silicon Valley, the most spoken languages are Hindi and Telugu. In fact, the pace has picked up since 2009. On the other end, though India stands on top of the world in absolute numbers for remittances, there is a declining trend evident recently. Even when we consider total remittances received by India as a percentage of GDP, the number has declined from about 4.2 percent in 2008 to 3.2 percent in 2015. Therefore, it is clear that as more and more people are leaving the country, the income inflow from abroad is gradually decreasing.

### AT Brain Gain Turns

#### High skill never returns to other countries due to a lack of capability to support these workers

Dodani and LaPorte N.d. (Dr Sunita Dodani, Associate Professor of Medicine at the University of Florida MD, MSc, FCPS, PhD, FAHA and Ronald E. LaPorte, Ph.D., professor at the University of Pittsburgh in both the departments of Pediatrics and Epidemiology. He also serves as director of Disease Monitoring and Telecommunication for the World Health Organization's (WHO) Collaborating Center for Diabetes Registries., Brain drain from developing countries: how can brain drain be converted into wisdom gain?, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1275994/)

These statistics suggest that if developing countries provided world-class education and training opportunities, as well as opportunities for career advancement and employment, the migratory flow could be reduced.21 However, in reality, this may not make much difference. On the plus side, foreign-born graduates acquire expensive skills which are not available within their countries. On the negative side, these skills and knowledge never migrate back to their own countries. Besides the pull–push factors described earlier, some researchers from developing countries cite other reasons for not returning after training which include: lack of research funding; poor facilities; limited career structures; poor intellectual stimulation; threats of violence; and lack of good education for children in their home country.20 Incentives for migrants to return to developing countries have been insufficient to override the limitations at home—both real and perceived—and the attraction of opportunities found abroad. Many of these countries have made significant investments in infrastructure and education but have not achieved the scientific development, technological and innovative capability either to retain or to recover the human capital that they have generated. Is there a solution to this problem? This raises the question of whether one can justify losing human capital or whether one should make the additional investment in science and technology and bring about the innovations that will stop the loss and convert it into wealth generation.

#### Brain Drain continues to outweigh Brain Gain

Lien and Wang ’05 (Donald Lien, world-renowned researcher who has published more than 250 papers in academic journals in the fields of economics, finance and statistics, and Yan Wang, Senior Applied Scientist, Microsoft, “Brain Drain or Brain Gain: A Revisit,” Journal of Population Economics, vol. 18, no. 1, 2005, pp. 153–163. JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/20007948](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20007948).)

Instead of concerns for brain drain, recent literature has turned to the brain gain effect that emigration may bring to a source country. This paper, however, suggests brain drain remains a likely outcome. More specifically, we provide conditions to help predict whether a brain drain or a brain gain will occur when a country accommodates for immigration opportunity. Our results are driven by the interactions of imperfect human capital transferability, investment in improving immigration probability and the budget constraint. When language skill affects the degree of human capital transferability, an individual has to choose between investing in human capital or language skill facing a budget constraint. Similarly, an individual can improve his expected utility by increasing his chance to go abroad instead of human capital accumulation. If the resource is sufficient, neither investment needs to be sacrificed. The budget constraint may lead to reduction in human capital investment. Suppose that foreign language skill affects an individual productivity when working abroad. A brain drain may occur when the (exogenously determined) probability of immigration is large. It enhances the incentives for an individual to replace human capital investment by language skill acquisition. When the probability is small, we observe a brain gain. As expected, high return to language skill, low cost of language acquisition, tight budget constraint, all contribute to the occurrence of a brain drain. We also consider the case that the probability of immigration is determined by a signal (such as a test or an interview). Once again we provide a condition under which the individual will under invest in education by improving his test skills. It results in a brain drain for the source country.

### A2: Helps Africa

#### While the brain drain has benefitted some places – Africa has not seen these benefits and is still in a dire situation

Lundvall, emeritus professor in economics at the Department Business and Management at Aalborg University, 16

(Bengt-Åke, “The Learning Economy and the Economics of Hope”, Anthem Press, 12/1/18, JT)

Recently this outflow of scholars from China and India has begun to be combined with a flow back to the countries of origin. The successful industrial transformations in the North- east Asia (Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and China) have all benefited from the absorption of returnees who have brought both specific scientific and technological capabilities and insights in how to organize finance, marketing and research back from experience- based learning abroad. Additionally, the returnees have been instrumental in building network relationships between their new home base and the enterprises and institutions abroad. The original brain drain has, to some degree, turned into brain circulation.

This beneficial effect cannot be seen in Africa. The rather small proportion of well- trained professionals, scientist and engineers in Africa are attracted to OECD countries offering better working and living conditions. In some African countries, around half of all doctors and nurses work in Europe while there is acute shortage of health personnel in the country of origin. So far, there are few signs of a flow back from the rich countries. While there are ample problems in Africa that require high- level expertise, the effective demand for this kind of knowledge is weak. Lundvall ( 2008 ) argues that the low level of effective demand for knowledge in less developed countries reflects lack of innovation, and that expanding higher education without a major drive for innovation and structural change tends to result in further brain drain.

### AT Brain Circulation

#### Brain drain produces a domino effect — collapsing global economy.

Srivastava 18 — Babita Srivastava, Adjunct Professor of Micro and Macro Economics @ William Paterson University, 2018 ("Economic Impact of Brain Drain in Developed and Developing Countries," American Economics Accusation, 2018, Available Online at https://www.aeaweb.org/conference/2018/preliminary/paper/r5STr4yk, Accessed 7-3-2018)

One such nation that suffers from this effect is India. India is one of the main countries that experiences brain drain. Indian-Americans are amongst the most highly educated; many of them who are Indian-born, have completed college and most have at least a bachelor’s degree (Davis & Hart, 2010, p.516). India has a massive population but ranks globally 163rd in terms of capita income at US$1070 (Davis & Hart, 2010, p. 516). India has three million college graduates per year, which is problematic because there is a lack of educated work (Davis & Hart, 2010, p. 516). Indian’s cannot get work for the degrees they obtain. They then must look elsewhere, hence the brain drain issue. Additionally, Indians often suffer from a quality of life issue, where many regions are plagued with poverty and rolling blackouts.

Professor of Economics John Gibson and Senior Economist David McKenzie emphasize in their article Eight Questions about Brain Drain that the issue of brain drain should be taken very seriously by economists, due to its potential implications not just for a developing country’s economy, but for both the world’s economy and social sphere (p. 111). Basically, brain drain has the potential to cause a dangerous “domino” effect. Logically speaking, overloading developed nations with highly educated workers while simultaneously draining developing nations of such workers is highly detrimental to both. The below data showcases which occupations are held by educated migrants, which also hail from developing countries.

Developed nations will have too many workers for not enough jobs, causing a decrease in average pay and an increase in either unemployment or highly educated workers in low education work. Meanwhile, developing nations, upon losing educated workers, continue to fall behind and have their economies weakened. As both these scenarios lead to a weaker economy, brain drain has the potential to be quite devastating to the world economy. After all, it damages all nations involved.

As Gibson and McKenzie (2011) note in their article, brain drain is not a new problem and has been written about in some top economic journals that regard it, rightfully, as an area of great worry and serious economic impact. Economists have a responsibility to carefully examine brain drain because it affects not only a single nation’s economy, but also the whole world’s economic system. Supply and demand could be imbalanced if supply outweighs demand. Developing countries are impacted from brain drain at more of a detriment. Skilled workers immigrate to more devolved countries to practice their professions. In a 2010 study, Gibson and McKenzie studied five countries and their top academic students to find their income would increase by $40,000-$60,000 per year if the gifted students were to move to a country more developed than their own. They believed these “barriers also restrict the extent to which lessskilled workers can react to the migration decisions of the higher-skilled,” due to limits in opportunity (2011). The migration of talented workers leads to fiscal decline when those students who relied on government subsidies leave and therefore no longer contribute as taxpayers (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011).

Brain drain does not show damaging results right away; rather, it takes time to produce any significant economic effects. The worry of economists is that this problem will balloon to unmanageable levels and action will not be taken against the growth of Brain Drain. The issue is the highly education individuals who leave for better opportunities are the only source that can improve their countries’ economic systems. Developing nations rely on equilibrium, where they benefit from other countries’ stronger economies without those same economies drawing away all their resources, which include educated workers. Without this balance, there is no reinvestment back into their economy.

#### Indian growth strong now—brain drain reverses trend affecting key sectors

Bhavthankar ’16 (“Brain drain now brain gain in ‘impatient’ India?:The growing strength of the Indian economy amidst a gloomy global scenario has made many Non Resident Indians (NRIs) to pack their bags and head back to India in search of better opportunities, writes ANIKET BHAVTHANKAR, http://theindiandiaspora.com/news-details/Spotlight/primary\_news/brain-drain-now-brain-gain-in-%E2%80%98impatient%E2%80%99-india.htm)

The growing strength of the Indian economy amidst a gloomy global scenario has made many Non Resident Indians (NRIs) to pack their bags and head back to India in search of better opportunities. Findings of a joint research by Duke University, University of Berkeley and the Kauffman Foundation for Entrepreneurship in the US confirm this trend. The report claimed that 60 percent of the Indian immigrants contacted by the researchers acknowledged that impressive growth numbers made returning home an attractive proposition to establish new businesses. Sweetening the prospects is Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s great diaspora push that encouraged Indian immigrants to consider their country of origin as land of opportunities. “We must reverse the brain drain into brain gain,” Prime Minister Modi had said on September 28 last year at a jam-packed SAP Center in San Jose (Silicon Valley). The trend of reverse brain drain into India is not limited to the IT sector, the country’s flagship growth driver. According to recruitment experts, it is very broad based and encompasses sectors like banking and finance, pharmaceutical, automobiles and textiles. According to a recent report in Live Mint, among those who relocated to India recently and took up critical roles include Bharat Bhanushali who joined Fino Paytech as technology head and Krishna Hedge who was recently hired by Paytm to lead its consumer investment products. The expats have found that together with the improvement in the economy, the eagerness of the Indian companies to expand globally has worked as key catalyst. In January this year, the Modi government launched a Start-Up India program to boost entrepreneurship and encourage new enterprises. As per NAASCOM, a trade association of Indian IT industry, India has the third largest Start-UP ecosystem in the world. This opens up unprecedented avenues for NRIs. Oversees Indians have shown keen interest to participate in this campaign and relocate in India. Akshay Ghulati, former head of Trade-In Amazon, is now Chief Business Officer of Kraftly mobile marketplace, a new business. Vineet Rao, who was with Microsoft in the US, has joined Start-Up campaign in an e-commerce space from Bengaluru. "Just everyone wants to be part of the chaos here in the Indian Start-Up industry, especially the Indians who left about 10 to 15 years ago and are now in their 30s or early 40s," said Navnit Singh, chairman and managing director at executive search firm Korn/Ferry International was quoted as saying in The Economic Times. The west has witnessed a slower economic growth in recent times, shrinking career opportunities. On the other hand, India is a dynamic market with better job prospects. Also remunerations offered by Indian companies are more competitive than earlier. Taking cognizance of better opportunities in India, about 50 young Indian scientists gathered at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology last October to discuss ways for getting the best of minds back to India. Mallikharjuna Rao Komarneni, who came to the US in 2008 to do his PhD at the North Dakota University said with the better research opportunities in India and improvement in the environment to conduct scientific research, he aspires to return to India. Finance Minister Arun Jaitley said in Washington this week that compared to the rest of the world, the Indian economy was growing much faster and, in fact, the fastest. “At 7.5% growth rate any other country in the world would be celebrating but it is a tribute to India's growth story that at this rate "we are still impatient because we know that our potential is to do distinctively better", he said.

# Espionage

### Overview

#### Currently, Trump’s policies restrict Chinese immigration, thwarting any chance of espionage – extend Smith 18. The aff reverses this because they cause an increase in high-skilled Chinese technological immigrants. Employed in AI, they have the power to espionage US military capabilities – that’s bad – extend Caruso 18. Furthermore, espionage of military destroys US tech and military superiority – turns case – that’s MILLER 18. This is a serious national security threat – cross-apply the evidence they read about global crises which require US military intervention – therefore the US losing military power allows this to occur.

### Extensions

#### UQ - Restrictions high

LUIS SANCHEZ 18 – Reporter for the Hill. [“Trump administration to tighten restrictions on some Chinese visas”, The Hill, May 29th, <http://thehill.com/policy/international/389809-trump-administration-to-tighten-restrictions-on-some-chinese-visas>, AZ]

The Trump administration is expected to impose new limitations on some visas given to Chinese citizens entering the U.S. A State Department official confirmed to The Hill on Tuesday that the new security measures will go into effect beginning June 11. “Although the large majority of visas issued to Chinese nationals are issued for the maximum validity, consular officers may limit the validity of visas on a case-by-case basis, as appropriate to the circumstances of each case,” the official said. The changes are part of the national security strategy that attempts to prevent U.S. intellectual property from being transferred to competitors, the official said, without offering more specifics. The new policies were first reported by The Associated Press. Officials told the AP that the instructions sent to U.S. embassies and consulates call for Chinese graduate students studying fields like robotics, aviation and high-technology manufacturing to receive visas valid only for one year. Such areas of study were marked as priorities by China’s “Made in China” 2025 manufacturing plan, according to the AP. President Trump had said that such changes could happen in a national security strategy issued in December. Chinese citizens seeking visas who work as researchers or managers for specific companies flagged by the U.S. Commerce Department will need special clearance from a number of U.S. agencies, according to the AP. The State Department said the visa application process won’t change. However, an official told the AP that clearances are expected to take months.

#### Link - China is using students, researchers, and spies – example: they

Bill Gertz 18 – is an American editor, columnist and reporter for The Washington Free Beacon and The Washington Times. [“Chinese Spies Engaged in Massive Theft of U.S. Technology”, The Washington Free Beacon, April 12th, <https://freebeacon.com/national-security/chinese-spies-engaged-massive-theft-u-s-technology/>, AZ]

China is engaged in large-scale theft of American research and technology from universities, using spies, students, and researchers as collectors, experts told Congress on Wednesday. Compounding the technology theft, the administration of President Barack Obama weakened U.S. counterintelligence efforts against foreign spies by curbing national-level counterspy efforts, a former counterintelligence official disclosed during a House hearing. Michelle Van Cleave, former national counterintelligence executive, said shortly after the creation of the office of the director of national intelligence in 2004, a national counterspy program against foreign spies was restricted during the administration of President George W. Bush. "Unfortunately, the backsliding continued under President Obama," Van Cleave told two subcommittees of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee. Van Cleave said a directive issued by then-DNI James Clapper in 2013 and still in force reduced the national counterintelligence program authority by directing all counterspy programs to be run by individual departments or agencies. "The national head of counterintelligence was rebranded director of a security and CI center, his duties further dissipated by the fixation on leaks and insider threats driven by the grievous harm done by Snowden, Manning, et al," Van Cleave said, referring to intelligence leakers Edward Snowden, an NSA contractor, and Army Sgt. Bradley Manning. "Gone was any dedicated strategic [counterintelligence] program, while elite pockets of proactive capabilities died of neglect," she said. "Read between the lines of existing CI guidance and you will not find a whiff of a national-level effort left, other than caretaker duties such as taking inventory and writing reports." Several intelligence and security experts testified during the hearing that China poses the most significant threat of technology theft from an estimated $510 billion spent annually on U.S. research and development. "China has a government-directed, multi-faceted secret program whose primary task is technology acquisition, as well as a highly refined strategy to develop and exploit access to advantageous information through the global telecommunications infrastructure," Van Cleave said. Along with Russian intelligence agents, Chinese technology spies have developed specific lists of technology for theft. Beijing uses clandestine agents, front companies, and joint research ventures in the theft program. "Indeed, the United States is a spy's paradise," Van Cleave said. "Our free and open society is tailor-made for clandestine operations." Michael Wessel, chairman of the congressional U.S.-China Economic Security Review Commission, testified that the Chinese are focused on stealing American advanced technology related to artificial intelligence, robotics, and other cutting edge technology. Beijing has national-level programs to obtain advanced technologies with both military and commercial applications. They include acquisition of know-how related to new energy vehicles, advanced information technology, biotechnology, new materials, aerospace, ocean engineering, railway systems, robotics, power equipment, and agricultural machinery. "In the case of robotics and AI, two fields of study with the potential to fundamentally change the international economy as well as the future of war-fighting, China has released the Robotics Industry Development Plan and Next Generation Artificial Intelligence Development Plan with the goals of China assuming global leadership in the coming decades," Wessel said. China also is infiltrating American universities by funding language and cultural centers called Confucius Institutes that are being used as cover for technology theft. About 100 of the institutes are operating on American campuses and use their funding as part of "soft power" efforts in the United States. China is also using some of the 350,000 Chinese students in the United States for intelligence work. Chinese spies recruit students with appeals such as "can you help China?" Wessel said. Recent spy cases have included an electrical engineering professor at the University of Tennessee, John Reese Roth, who in 2008 was convicted of illegally sending defense technology through Chinese students back to China. In 2009, Ruopeng Lieu, a researcher at Duke University, passed sensitive technology data to China. The information helped Beijing create the Kuang-Chi Science Ltd, a multibillion metamaterials company engaged in wireless internet and mobile payment fields. In 2015, Chinese professors were among six defendants charged with economic espionage by the Justice Department. An indictment charged stolen American trade secrets were used to assist Chinese universities and state-run companies in China. Wessel said 20 percent of those working on advanced artificial intelligence at the Berkeley Artificial Intelligence Research Lab are Chinese nationals. Also, 30 of the 38 post-doctorial researchers at the University of Maryland's Bing Nano Research Group are from China, he said. "While we should continue to work to contribute to the world's efforts to address the most vexing problems facing the world, we must take greater steps to protect the fruits of our work," Wessel said. "Efforts to infiltrate our universities and labs and exfiltrate their work must be a greater priority." Van Cleave, the former counterintelligence official, said greater efforts are needed to stem the loss of technology to China. "Counterintelligence—identifying, assessing, and neutralizing foreign intelligence threats—has been little more than an afterthought in U.S. national security strategy, a legacy of neglect that has cost us dearly in lives lost, resources squandered, and dangers unchecked," she said. Counterspy efforts currently are divided among the FBI, CIA, and Pentagon. The division has created gaps allowing foreign spies to operate in the United States with impunity. Congress passed the Counterintelligence Enhancement Act in 2002 to fix the problems, but intelligence bureaucracies resisted the reforms and as a result counterspying has been weakened, not improved, Van Cleave said. "U.S. counterintelligence is finely tuned to work individual cases, but it is not postured globally to detect, deter, or disrupt the intelligence activities of China or any other foreign power, or to execute strategic counterintelligence operations," she said.

### 2NC---UQ

#### Trump restricting visas for Chinese in tech and engineering

Taylor Hatmaker 18 – Reporter for Tech. [“ Trump’s visa restrictions aimed at Chinese STEM students to start in June”, Tech Crunch, May 30th, <https://techcrunch.com/2018/05/30/chinese-visas-state-department-trump-june-11/>, AZ]

In a policy change set for next month, the Trump administration is moving to shorten visas for Chinese students in fields like tech and engineering. While most visas are issued for the longest possible length of time under law, the new policy will allow U.S. officials to put a one-year cap on visas for Chinese graduate students who are “studying in fields like robotics, aviation and high-tech manufacturing,” according to the Associated Press. A State Department official told The Hill that “Although the large majority of visas issued to Chinese nationals are issued for the maximum validity, consular officers may limit the validity of visas on a case-by-case basis” under the new rules. Beyond the student limits, U.S. consulates and embassies reportedly received instructions that any Chinese citizen applying for a visa will need to secure additional special permission form the U.S. if they work in research or management for any company the U.S. Commerce Department lists as an entity “requiring higher scrutiny.” The new visa policy shifts come as Trump is knee-deep in a controversial new tariff plan targeting Chinese trade and is intended to protect against the theft of U.S. intellectual property, or so the reasoning goes. The visa change was signaled in the National Security Strategy report that the Trump administration issued in December. That document explains the rationale clearly: The United States will review visa procedures to reduce economic theft by non-traditional intelligence collectors. We will consider restrictions on foreign STEM students from designated countries to ensure that intellectual property is not transferred to our competitors, while acknowledging the importance of recruiting the most advanced technical workforce to the United States. The State Department noted these changes will go into effect starting on June 11.

#### Restrictions high

LUIS SANCHEZ 18 – Reporter for the Hill. [“Trump administration to tighten restrictions on some Chinese visas”, The Hill, May 29th, <http://thehill.com/policy/international/389809-trump-administration-to-tighten-restrictions-on-some-chinese-visas>, AZ]

The Trump administration is expected to impose new limitations on some visas given to Chinese citizens entering the U.S. A State Department official confirmed to The Hill on Tuesday that the new security measures will go into effect beginning June 11. “Although the large majority of visas issued to Chinese nationals are issued for the maximum validity, consular officers may limit the validity of visas on a case-by-case basis, as appropriate to the circumstances of each case,” the official said. The changes are part of the national security strategy that attempts to prevent U.S. intellectual property from being transferred to competitors, the official said, without offering more specifics. The new policies were first reported by The Associated Press. Officials told the AP that the instructions sent to U.S. embassies and consulates call for Chinese graduate students studying fields like robotics, aviation and high-technology manufacturing to receive visas valid only for one year. Such areas of study were marked as priorities by China’s “Made in China” 2025 manufacturing plan, according to the AP. President Trump had said that such changes could happen in a national security strategy issued in December. Chinese citizens seeking visas who work as researchers or managers for specific companies flagged by the U.S. Commerce Department will need special clearance from a number of U.S. agencies, according to the AP. The State Department said the visa application process won’t change. However, an official told the AP that clearances are expected to take months.

### 2NC---Link

#### Immigration increases espionage

John R. Schindler 16 – is a security expert and former National Security Agency analyst and counterintelligence officer. [“The Unpleasant Truth About Chinese Espionage”, Observer, April 22nd, <http://observer.com/2016/04/the-unpleasant-truth-about-chinese-espionage/>, AZ]

Chinese espionage, both online and old-fashioned, represents a serious threat to American security and prosperity, as Washington, DC, has stated many times. Cyber theft and online pilfering of American intellectual property was castigated as “the greatest transfer of wealth in history” by the director of the National Security Agency back in 2012, and things have only gotten worse since then, with China taking the lead in stealing our secrets for profit and strategic advantage. Last year, the FBI reported a shocking rise of 53 percent in economic espionage, with the “vast majority” of those cases originating in China. Using immigrants to enable such theft is a serious problem, as evidenced by the recent case of a wealthy Chinese entrepreneur who moved to Canada, where he assisted hackers back in China with stealing Pentagon secrets, particularly relating to advanced aircraft designs. Beijing’s interest in our secrets extends far beyond national security and advanced technology. Chinese espionage aims at many sectors of our economy, even agriculture. Our government recently warned farmers to be wary of Chinese businessmen showing interest in genetically engineered seed and other commercial secrets—they may be spies. In January, Mo Hailong, one of six Chinese nationals Federal authorities accused of digging up seeds from Iowa farms to send back to China, pleaded guilty in a case that the Justice Department treated as a national security matter—not a normal criminal prosecution. This agricultural espionage ring was acting at Beijing’s direction, according to authorities familiar with the case, constituting the norm these days as Chinese spies seek any commercially valuable secrets they can pilfer from unsuspecting Americans. While Chinese espionage against the United States is hardly new, it has taken on fresh intensity. Since few Chinese spies get caught, thanks to weak American counterintelligence and limited public awareness of this threat, the risk to Beijing is low while the rewards can be high. Relying on quantity of spies rather than quality is not especially cost-effective by Western standards but makes sense here. The 300,000 Chinese students at American universities include a fair share of spies and very few (if any) James Bonds. Many may not even be spying willingly, since offering up purloined baubles to the regime is often the price of studying overseas for Chinese students. Yet their task is to serve as low-level collectors of trade and other secrets that happen to cross their collegiate path, and that’s very difficult for American authorities to even notice, much less stop.

#### China is using students, researchers, and spies---only terminating immigration solves

Bill Gertz 18 – is an American editor, columnist and reporter for The Washington Free Beacon and The Washington Times. [“Chinese Spies Engaged in Massive Theft of U.S. Technology”, The Washington Free Beacon, April 12th, <https://freebeacon.com/national-security/chinese-spies-engaged-massive-theft-u-s-technology/>, AZ]

China is engaged in large-scale theft of American research and technology from universities, using spies, students, and researchers as collectors, experts told Congress on Wednesday. Compounding the technology theft, the administration of President Barack Obama weakened U.S. counterintelligence efforts against foreign spies by curbing national-level counterspy efforts, a former counterintelligence official disclosed during a House hearing. Michelle Van Cleave, former national counterintelligence executive, said shortly after the creation of the office of the director of national intelligence in 2004, a national counterspy program against foreign spies was restricted during the administration of President George W. Bush. "Unfortunately, the backsliding continued under President Obama," Van Cleave told two subcommittees of the House Science, Space, and Technology Committee. Van Cleave said a directive issued by then-DNI James Clapper in 2013 and still in force reduced the national counterintelligence program authority by directing all counterspy programs to be run by individual departments or agencies. "The national head of counterintelligence was rebranded director of a security and CI center, his duties further dissipated by the fixation on leaks and insider threats driven by the grievous harm done by Snowden, Manning, et al," Van Cleave said, referring to intelligence leakers Edward Snowden, an NSA contractor, and Army Sgt. Bradley Manning. "Gone was any dedicated strategic [counterintelligence] program, while elite pockets of proactive capabilities died of neglect," she said. "Read between the lines of existing CI guidance and you will not find a whiff of a national-level effort left, other than caretaker duties such as taking inventory and writing reports." Several intelligence and security experts testified during the hearing that China poses the most significant threat of technology theft from an estimated $510 billion spent annually on U.S. research and development. "China has a government-directed, multi-faceted secret program whose primary task is technology acquisition, as well as a highly refined strategy to develop and exploit access to advantageous information through the global telecommunications infrastructure," Van Cleave said. Along with Russian intelligence agents, Chinese technology spies have developed specific lists of technology for theft. Beijing uses clandestine agents, front companies, and joint research ventures in the theft program. "Indeed, the United States is a spy's paradise," Van Cleave said. "Our free and open society is tailor-made for clandestine operations." Michael Wessel, chairman of the congressional U.S.-China Economic Security Review Commission, testified that the Chinese are focused on stealing American advanced technology related to artificial intelligence, robotics, and other cutting edge technology. Beijing has national-level programs to obtain advanced technologies with both military and commercial applications. They include acquisition of know-how related to new energy vehicles, advanced information technology, biotechnology, new materials, aerospace, ocean engineering, railway systems, robotics, power equipment, and agricultural machinery. "In the case of robotics and AI, two fields of study with the potential to fundamentally change the international economy as well as the future of war-fighting, China has released the Robotics Industry Development Plan and Next Generation Artificial Intelligence Development Plan with the goals of China assuming global leadership in the coming decades," Wessel said. China also is infiltrating American universities by funding language and cultural centers called Confucius Institutes that are being used as cover for technology theft. About 100 of the institutes are operating on American campuses and use their funding as part of "soft power" efforts in the United States. China is also using some of the 350,000 Chinese students in the United States for intelligence work. Chinese spies recruit students with appeals such as "can you help China?" Wessel said. Recent spy cases have included an electrical engineering professor at the University of Tennessee, John Reese Roth, who in 2008 was convicted of illegally sending defense technology through Chinese students back to China. In 2009, Ruopeng Lieu, a researcher at Duke University, passed sensitive technology data to China. The information helped Beijing create the Kuang-Chi Science Ltd, a multibillion metamaterials company engaged in wireless internet and mobile payment fields. In 2015, Chinese professors were among six defendants charged with economic espionage by the Justice Department. An indictment charged stolen American trade secrets were used to assist Chinese universities and state-run companies in China. Wessel said 20 percent of those working on advanced artificial intelligence at the Berkeley Artificial Intelligence Research Lab are Chinese nationals. Also, 30 of the 38 post-doctorial researchers at the University of Maryland's Bing Nano Research Group are from China, he said. "While we should continue to work to contribute to the world's efforts to address the most vexing problems facing the world, we must take greater steps to protect the fruits of our work," Wessel said. "Efforts to infiltrate our universities and labs and exfiltrate their work must be a greater priority." Van Cleave, the former counterintelligence official, said greater efforts are needed to stem the loss of technology to China. "Counterintelligence—identifying, assessing, and neutralizing foreign intelligence threats—has been little more than an afterthought in U.S. national security strategy, a legacy of neglect that has cost us dearly in lives lost, resources squandered, and dangers unchecked," she said. Counterspy efforts currently are divided among the FBI, CIA, and Pentagon. The division has created gaps allowing foreign spies to operate in the United States with impunity. Congress passed the Counterintelligence Enhancement Act in 2002 to fix the problems, but intelligence bureaucracies resisted the reforms and as a result counterspying has been weakened, not improved, Van Cleave said. "U.S. counterintelligence is finely tuned to work individual cases, but it is not postured globally to detect, deter, or disrupt the intelligence activities of China or any other foreign power, or to execute strategic counterintelligence operations," she said.

### 2NC---Impact

#### Undermines US superiority and alliance system

USCC 16 – [“SECTION 3: CHINESE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND ESPIONAGE THREATS TO THE UNITED STATES”, November 16th, <https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Annual_Report/Chapters/Chapter%202%2C%20Section%203%20-%20China%27s%20Intelligence%20Services%20and%20Espionage%20Threats%20to%20the%20United%20States.pdf>, AZ]

Implications for U.S. National Security China’s illicit extraction of sensitive U.S. national security information has far-reaching consequences for U.S. interests. In recent years, Chinese agents have extracted data on some of the most advanced weapons and weapons systems in the U.S. arsenal, such as jet fi ghters and unmanned submersible vehicles. The loss of these and other sensitive defense technologies undermines U.S. military superiority by accelerating China’s military modernization and giving China insight into the capabilities and operation of U.S. weapons and weapons systems. The United States shares weapons, weapons systems, and operational plans with its allies and partners, many of whom China has targeted with espionage operations. China’s infiltrations of these countries’ defense establishments have significant implications for U.S. alliance stability. If the United States perceives significant security risks in sharing information and equipment with its partners, it could hesitate to provide such support in the future.123 Even when China is not successful in extracting sensitive information, public reports of failed espionage attempts—such as the many recent reports of Chinese agents apprehended in Taiwan 124—could undermine U.S. confidence in its partners and contribute to a deterioration in bilateral defense relations. China’s infiltrations of the information systems of U.S. government organizations with a role in national security, along with infiltrations of the e-mail accounts of prominent U.S. government officials, could give China insight into U.S. government national security decision making and provide China with opportunities to manipulate it. These breaches could give China insight into inter-nal U.S. discussions of issues relevant to U.S.-China contingencies, potentially allowing China to anticipate and counter U.S. actions, including military operations. Moreover, these breaches could give Chinese intelligence information useful for targeting and recruiting agents for espionage and influence operations. The Chinese intelligence threat to U.S. national security will grow as China reforms and centralizes its intelligence apparatus and gains experience conducting intelligence collection operations. Its HUMINT operations, in particular, already appear to be growing more aggressive and extensive.125 China’s intelligence processing and communication to decision makers is likely to become more effective and efficient as the PLA moves toward joint, integrated intelligence operations. The potential resubordination and centralization of elements of the former PLA General Staff Department intelligence departments to the new Strategic Support Force also could create a more streamlined and well-coordinated intelligence apparatus. Conclusions • Chinese intelligence has repeatedly infiltrated U.S. national security organizations and extracted information with serious consequences for U.S. national security, including information on the plans and operations of U.S. military forces and the designs of U.S. weapons and weapons systems. This information could erode U.S. military superiority by aiding China’s military modernization and giving China insight into the operation of U.S. platforms and the operational approaches of U.S. forces to potential contingencies in the region. • China’s growing technical intelligence collection capabilities could strengthen China’s hand in a contingency. Its extensive network of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) assets and continued development and deployment of increasingly advanced ISR platforms will increase the ability of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) to monitor U.S. forces. Moreover, the enhanced jointness of PLA intelligence at the theater level will facilitate the integration of data collected by these platforms to form a more comprehensive, real-time battlefield picture. • Chinese intelligence reportedly has repeatedly targeted and succeeded in infiltrating the personal e-mail accounts of leading U.S. government officials. These infiltrations could give China insight into highly sensitive U.S. national security decision-making processes. • China’s infiltration of the national security establishments of U.S. allies and partners could allow China to indirectly access sensitive U.S. national security information. Moreover, these breaches could undermine the strength and stability of U.S. alliances by causing the United States to hesitate to share sensitive information with its partners.

### AT: Cyber Espionage

Extend Caruso---says that Human Intelligence is key to stealing military info

#### Human intelligence is necessary for successful cyber espionage

Scott Stewart 16 – Vice President of Tactical Analysis at Stratfor. [“The Danger of Ignoring the 'Espionage' in Cyber Espionage”, Stratfor Worldview, November 10th, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/danger-ignoring-espionage-cyber-espionage>, AZ]

Other espionage tools can be used to enhance cyber espionage operations as well. A myopic focus on the "cyber" aspect of cyber espionage can be dangerous. Forgetting that it is also an activity that can involve other forms of espionage encourages too heavy an emphasis on addressing technological vulnerabilities and external threats while ignoring non-technical weaknesses and methods of attack. No doubt, if a target has information that a perpetrator might want, hacking into the computer system it resides on from a remote location can be a convenient way of getting it with a degree of plausible deniability and without risking arrest. Such operations are often far less dangerous — and perhaps quicker — than espionage activities that require the deployment of intelligence operatives inside a foreign country with a hostile security service. That said, if the computer system cannot be accessed from afar, perpetrators are likely to lean on the other espionage tools at their disposal to obtain the information they seek, regardless of the perils and pains it entails.

#### Human Intelligence steals info

Christopher Burgess 17 – National Security Writer, Was the Senior Security Advisor to the Chief Security Officer of Cisco. [“China’s HUMINT Operations Against Defense Contractors in Full Swing”, Clearance Jobs, June 23rd, <https://news.clearancejobs.com/2017/06/23/chinas-humint-operations-against-us-defense-contractors-uncovered/>, AZ]

The People’s Republic of China (PRC) continues to display their ability to conduct human intelligence (HUMINT) espionage operations in the United States, and those within the National Industrial Security Program (NISP) community know this better than most. When we think of PRC espionage activities, our mind naturally goes to the cyber hi-jinks we’ve become accustomed to reading and hearing about. And when it comes to HUMINT operations against the United States, we are naturally drawn to the activities of the Russian intelligence services. Now let there be no doubt, Russian shenanigans with respect to the U.S. 2016 Presidential election have rightfully captured the attention of the nation, and placed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the news on a daily basis. What isn’t being highlighted with the same degree of attention is the yeoman efforts of the counterintelligence professionals within the FBI and their colleagues across government in unraveling PRC intelligence efforts. 2017: THE YEAR OF THE CHINESE SPY? In the first six months of 2017, we have seen the arrest or conviction of a number of individuals, some Chinese citizens, most of them U.S. citizens, for their clandestine collaboration with the PRC intelligence services or operating on behalf of a state enterprise in stealing the defense, diplomatic or private sector information. Defense contractor, Kevin Mallory was arrested for espionage. He provided Secret and Top Secret documents, according to the Criminal Complaint filed by the Department of Justice The arrest of Candace Claiborne, a Department of State office management specialist. The arrest of Xu Jianqiang, who stole source code from IBM and shared it with a Chinese state owned entity. Five arrested for passing a U.S. company’s trade secrets to a Chinese entity. Nuclear engineer, Alan ho, pleaded guilty to violating the Atomic Energy Act and provided nuclear secrets to the PRC. This level of counterintelligence activity is both alarming and impressive. ALARMING ACTS OF CHINESE ESPIONAGE With each of these cases we learn more and more about the PRC intelligence service’s modus operandi. Indeed with the Mallory case, we see the PRC issued him a covert communications device to use from within the United States to communicate with his PRC handlers in China. The device allowed Mallory to provide to the PRC the classified documents he was able to put his hands on, electronically and covertly. In this writer’s experience, one only issues covert communication devices to trusted and fully vetted assets. The pragmatist in each of us knows that these six cases do not constitute all PRC HUMINT activity. Lest we forget, the OPM data breach provided an intelligence targeting gold mine of cleared US employees and contractors to the Chinese. The PRC is not going to take it’s foot off the accelerator. IMPRESSIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR INSIDER THREAT PROGRAMS The optimist in each of us knows the insider threat programs we create will increase the likelihood that those who opt to break trust with the United States by engaging in espionage on behalf of a hostile foreign intelligence organization will be detected. So now is the time to double down on the counterespionage efforts within our respective companies, and protect both our company’s intellectual property and the nation’s secrets we have been trusted to protect.

# Base

### Overview

#### Trump’s base popularity is increasing now, according to more recent polls (that’s Lim). However, the aff plan causes the base to desert Trump (that’s Fabian/Easley), as well as refugees(Saul) and non-white/Christian immigration(Beinart). Trump’s base is key to him and prevents his collapse (extend O’Reily and Catanese). If Trump collapses, then he will engage in a diversionary war to win back support (extend Power).

## Extensions

#### Extend our uniqueness card Lim, which says that base support for Trump is high right now, due to Kavanaugh’s confirmation

#### Extend link cards Fabian/Easley, Saul, and Beinart: The aff plan causes base support to wane, as well as refugee and non-white immigration - immigration decreases Trump base.

#### Extend O’Reily and Catanese: Trump’s base is key to him and prevents his collapse: meaning immigration, which decimates the base, causes Trump’s collapse.

#### Extend Power: Trump’s collapse equals diversionary war to reunite his base

### 2nc – pence module

#### Base support is an impenetrable wall against impeachment – it’s the only thing preventing it

David Roberts 17, writer at Vox, "America is facing an epistemic crisis," Vox, 11-2-17, https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/11/2/16588964/america-epistemic-crisis

It is similarly difficult for most people to imagine believing that Hillary Clinton has had multiple people killed, that Obama is a secret Muslim who wasn’t born in the US, that Trump had millions of votes stolen, that Barack Obama wiretapped Trump’s White House, that Seth Rich (the mid-level Democratic staffer who was tragically murdered) was assassinated for stealing DNC emails and giving them to WikiLeaks, or that Antifa, the fringe anti-fascist movement, will begin going door-to-door, killing white people, starting on November 4. And yet millions of Americans fervently believe these things. Different polls find different things, and it’s always difficult to distinguish what people really believe from what they say on surveys. But if 30 percent of America’s 200 million registered voters are Republicans, and 40 percent of those don’t believe Obama was born in the US, well, that’s 24 million people, among them the most active participants in Republican politics. In short, an increasingly large chunk of Americans believes a whole bunch of crazy things, and it is warping our politics. This basic story has been told plenty of times (my longer version is here), but the reason we should not let it out of our sights right now is the Mueller investigation. As Ezra Klein laid out, there is enough on the record now to make it at the very least highly probable that there was collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia, meant to affect the outcome of the election. Er, despite what Trump says. We don’t know yet if Mueller has the goods — documentary or testimonial proof of explicit collusion — or if he can get them, so we have no idea how this is ultimately going to play out. But we are disturbingly close to the following scenario: Say Mueller reveals hard proof that the Trump campaign knowingly colluded with Russia, strategically using leaked emails to hurt Clinton’s campaign. Say the president — backed by the Wall Street Journal editorial page, Fox News, Breitbart, most of the US Cabinet, half the panelists on CNN, most of the radio talk show hosts in the country, and an enormous network of Russian-paid hackers and volunteer shitposters working through social media — rejects the evidence. They might say Mueller is compromised. It’s a Hillary/Deep State plot. There’s nothing wrong with colluding with Russia in this particular way. Dems did it first. All of the above. Whatever. Say the entire right-wing media machine kicks to life and dismisses the whole thing as a scam — and conservatives believe them. The conservative base remains committed to Trump, politicians remain scared to cross the base, and US politics remains stuck in partisan paralysis, unable to act on what Mueller discovers. In short, what if Mueller proves the case and it’s not enough? What if there is no longer any evidentiary standard that could overcome the influence of right-wing media? The US is undergoing an epistemic breach Epistemology is the branch of philosophy having to do with how we know things and what it means for something to be true or false, accurate or inaccurate. (Episteme, or ἐπιστήμη, is ancient Greek for knowledge/science/understanding.) The US is experiencing a deep epistemic breach, a split not just in what we value or want, but in who we trust, how we come to know things, and what we believe we know — what we believe exists, is true, has happened and is happening. The primary source of this breach, to make a long story short, is the US conservative movement’s rejection of the mainstream institutions devoted to gathering and disseminating knowledge (journalism, science, the academy) — the ones society has appointed as referees in matters of factual dispute. In their place, the right has created its own parallel set of institutions, most notably its own media ecosystem. But the right’s institutions are not of the same kind as the ones they seek to displace. Mainstream scientists and journalists see themselves as beholden to values and standards that transcend party or faction. They try to separate truth from tribal interests and have developed various guild rules and procedures to help do that. They see themselves as neutral arbiters, even if they do not always uphold that ideal in practice. The pretense for the conservative revolution was that mainstream institutions had failed in their role as neutral arbiters — that they had been taken over by the left, become agents of the left in referee’s clothing, as it were. But the right did not want better neutral arbiters. The institutions it built scarcely made any pretense of transcending faction; they are of and for the right. There is nominal separation of conservative media from conservative politicians, think tanks, and lobbyists, but in practice, they are all part of the conservative movement. They are prosecuting its interests; that is the ur-goal. Indeed, the far right rejects the very idea of neutral, binding arbiters; there is only Us and Them, only a zero-sum contest for resources. That mindset leads to what I call “tribal epistemology” — the systematic conflation of what is true with what is good for the tribe. There’s always been a conspiratorial and xenophobic fringe on the right, but it was (fitfully) held in place by gatekeepers through the early decades of America’s post-war prosperity. The explosion of right-wing media in the 1990s and 2000s swept those gatekeepers away, giving the loudest voice, the most exposure, and the most power to the most extreme elements on the right. The right-wing media ecosystem became a bubble from which fewer and fewer inhabitants ever ventured. As the massive post-election study of online media from Harvard (which got far too little attention) showed, media is not symmetrical any more than broader polarization is. “Prominent media on the left are well distributed across the center, center-left, and left,” the researchers found. “On the right, prominent media are highly partisan.” When mapping out sources of online news, researchers found that the two basic poles were the center-left and the far-right. The center of gravity of the overall landscape is the center-left. Partisan media sources on the left are integrated into this landscape and are of lesser importance than the major media outlets of the center-left. The center of attention and influence for conservative media is on the far right. The center-right is of minor importance and is the least represented portion of the media spectrum. In short, they conclude, “conservative media is more partisan and more insular than the left.” That insular partisan far-right media is also full of nonsense like Pizzagate that leaves the base continuously pumped up — outraged, infuriated, terrified, and misled. At this point, as the stories above show, the conservative base will believe anything. And they are pissed about all of it. As Brian Beutler wrote in a scathing piece recently, the mainstream media has never learned to deal with the right-wing bubble — it has not learned how not to take bad-faith lies seriously. And now we will all reap the consequences. **The incentives facing GOP politicians are not good** For Mueller’s findings to have any effect, they will have to break some part of the basic dynamic on the right. Here’s how it works: Pundits and yellers in right-wing media compete to freak out the base and reinforce its allegiance to Donald Trump. The base leans on politicians. And most elected GOP officials are in seats safe enough that they fear a primary challenge from the base more than a Democratic challenger. The only way to stave off a primary is to pay obeisance. That’s why Jeff Flake and Bob Corker are leaving the Senate. They no longer have any control over what their constituents believe or want, and their constituents believe and want increasingly ugly things. Sen. John McCain is saying all the right things now, but back when he faced his own Tea Party challenger, he sprinted right as fast as he could. GOP politicians cannot (or feel that they cannot) cross the base. And the base is currently being lied to about the Mueller investigation at a furious pace. The entire right-wing machine has kicked into high gear, led by the president himself, furiously throwing out chaff about Comey, Mueller, Obama, Hillary, the dossier, the uranium, the emails, and whatever else. On Monday, Fox News practically had a blackout of the Mueller news. Instead it covered fake Clinton scandals and cheeseburger emojis. It was such an embarrassing performance that multiple people on the news side leaked their disappointment to reporter Oliver Darcy. As always, the goal of this media/political offensive (there is no longer much distinction) is less to present some coherent alternative account of the facts than to fill the atmosphere with fog, to give those on the right enough cover to slough off the charges as yet another liberal plot. (See Vox’s Sean Illing’s great interview with Charlie Sykes, the conservative talk-radio host who criticized Trump and was excommunicated, for more on how this happens.) This reaction to Mueller in right-wing media was predictable enough. Similar things have happened so many times before, and been studied, analyzed, and documented. But to this day, no one knows how to stop or counter it. Mainstream institutions seem as unable as ever to resist its warping effects. It’s all playing out like some morbid script that we can only watch, stupefied. As familiar as this dynamic is, however, this episode is different. We are drifting perilously close to a serious constitutional crisis. What if we find out Trump is guilty and just can’t do anything about it? As long as the base is convinced that Mueller is an agent of the deep state (or whatever), it will punish any Republican politician that strays from the pack and criticizes Trump. For a GOP officeholder, standing up for democratic integrity could mean sacrificing reelection in 2018 or 2020. As long as Republican politicians are frightened by the base, the base is frightened by scary conspiracies in right-wing media, and right-wing media makes more money the more frightened everyone is, Trump appears to be safe. As long as the incentives are aligned in that direction, there will be no substantial movement to censure, restrain, or remove him from office. What happens if nothing happens? Mainstream scholars do not think that Trump will be able to get away with simply ignoring Mueller’s findings or pardoning everyone involved. As Andy Wright, a law professor at Savannah Law School, put it, “with each abnormal, unbecoming, or dishonorable act, President Trump makes it harder for his appointees to defend him, harder for traditional Republicans to maintain their uneasy power alliance with him, and easier for Democrats to take the moral high ground and secure political advantage." But if there’s one thing non-experts like me have learned over the last few decades of watching US politics, it’s that experts are frequently caught flat-footed by the growing intensity of partisanship and the destruction of norms it has wrought. They are operating based on certain assumptions that it simply doesn’t occur to them that a politician can ignore. But politicians can. Mitch McConnell can simply refuse to hold a vote on a Supreme Court nominee. There’s no explicit rule or law that says he can’t, so he can, and he did. That one shocked and flabbergasted experts too, but just like all the other perverse steps down this road to illiberal lawlessness, they eventually took it on board and normalized it. Now they’re sure Donald Trump can’t simply brazen his way out of an indictment. What if they’re wrong about that? Say he pardons everyone. People will argue on cable TV about whether he should have. One side will say up, the other will say down. Trump may have done this, but what about when Obama did that? What about Hillary’s emails? Whatabout this, whatabout that, whatabout whatabout whatabout? There is no longer any settling such arguments. The only way to settle any argument is for both sides to be committed, at least to some degree, to shared standards of evidence and accuracy, and to place a measure of shared trust in institutions meant to vouchsafe evidence and accuracy. Without that basic agreement, without common arbiters, there can be no end to dispute. If one side rejects the epistemic authority of society’s core institutions and practices, there’s just nothing left to be done. Truth cannot speak for itself, like the voice of God from above. It can only speak through human institutions and practices. The subject of climate change offers a crystalline example here. If climate science does its thing, checks and rechecks its work, and then the Republican Party simply refuses to accept it ... what then? That’s what US elites are truly afraid to confront: What if facts and persuasion just don’t matter anymore? As long as conservatives can do something — steal an election, gerrymander crazy districts to maximize GOP advantage, use the filibuster as a routine tool of opposition, launch congressional investigations as political attacks, hold the debt ceiling hostage, repress voting among minorities, withhold a confirmation vote on a Supreme Court nominee, defend a known fraud and sexual predator who has likely colluded with a foreign government to gain the presidency — they will do it, knowing they’ll be backed by a relentlessly on-message media apparatus. And if that’s true, if the very preconditions of science and journalism as commonly understood have been eroded, then all that’s left is a raw contest of power. Donald Trump has the power to hold on to the presidency, as long as elected Republicans, cowed by the conservative base, support him. That is true almost regardless of what he’s done or what’s proven by Mueller. As long as he has that power, he will exercise it. That’s what recent history seems to show. Democrats do not currently have the numbers to stop him. They can’t do it without some help from Republicans. And Republicans seem incapable, not only of acting on what Mueller knows, but of even coming to know it.

#### Pence causes U.S.-Russia war

Bobo Lo 17, Nonresident Fellow at the Lowy Institute, Associate Research Fellow with the Russia/NIS Center at the French Institute of International Relations, previously Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House and Deputy Head of Mission at the Australian Embassy in Moscow, 10/25/17, “AN ACCIDENT WAITING TO HAPPEN: TRUMP, PUTIN AND THE US–RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP,” <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/accident-waiting-happen-trump-putin-and-us-russia-relationship>

For the time being, the Kremlin will keep faith with Trump as the least bad option, consistent with the Russian adage, ‘hope dies last’ (nadezhda umiraet poslednei). That hope, however, would die if Trump were either impeached or forced to resign, and replaced by Vice President Mike Pence. Washington and Moscow would then most likely enter a new phase of confrontation, involving an escalation of Russian military activity in Ukraine, and enhanced troop movements in areas adjoining the frontline NATO member states — the Baltic republics, Poland, and the Nordic countries. The risk of a clash between US and Russian forces would increase exponentially.[7

#### Extinction – comparatively outweighs every other war scenario

Owen Cotton-Barratt 17, et al, PhD in Pure Mathematics, Oxford, Lecturer in Mathematics at Oxford, Research Associate at the Future of Humanity Institute, 2/3/2017, Existential Risk: Diplomacy and Governance, https://www.fhi.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Existential-Risks-2017-01-23.pdf

The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki demonstrated the unprecedented destructive power of nuclear weapons. However, even in an all-out nuclear war between the United States and Russia, despite horrific casualties, neither country’s population is likely to be completely destroyed by the direct effects of the blast, fire, and radiation.8 The aftermath could be much worse: the burning of flammable materials could send massive amounts of smoke into the atmosphere, which would absorb sunlight and cause sustained global cooling, severe ozone loss, and agricultural disruption – a nuclear winter. According to one model 9 , an all-out exchange of 4,000 weapons10 could lead to a drop in global temperatures of around 8°C, making it impossible to grow food for 4 to 5 years. This could leave some survivors in parts of Australia and New Zealand, but they would be in a very precarious situation and the threat of extinction from other sources would be great. An exchange on this scale is only possible between the US and Russia who have more than 90% of the world’s nuclear weapons, with stockpiles of around 4,500 warheads each, although many are not operationally deployed.11 Some models suggest that even a small regional nuclear war involving 100 nuclear weapons would produce a nuclear winter serious enough to put two billion people at risk of starvation,12 though this estimate might be pessimistic.13 Wars on this scale are unlikely to lead to outright human extinction, but this does suggest that conflicts which are around an order of magnitude larger may be likely to threaten civilisation. It should be emphasised that there is very large uncertainty about the effects of a large nuclear war on global climate. This remains an area where increased academic research work, including more detailed climate modelling and a better understanding of how survivors might be able to cope and adapt, would have high returns. It is very difficult to precisely estimate the probability of existential risk from nuclear war over the next century, and existing attempts leave very large confidence intervals. According to many experts, the most likely nuclear war at present is between India and Pakistan.14 However, given the relatively modest size of their arsenals, the risk of human extinction is plausibly greater from a conflict between the United States and Russia. Tensions between these countries have increased in recent years and it seems unreasonable to rule out the possibility of them rising further in the future.

### 2nc – iran module

#### he’ll divert against Iran

Mark Danner 17, Chancellor’s Professor of English and Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley and James Clarke Chace Professor of Foreign Affairs and the Humanities at Bard, 3/23/17, “What He Could Do,” http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2017/03/23/what-trump-could-do/

One might call the resulting tactics “shock and opportunity”: Trump uses chaos to shock his opponents into varying crouches of outrage and contempt and then lunges forward amid the tumult wherever he sees an opportunity presenting itself. No wonder he thinks of himself as the supreme “counter-puncher.” His virtuosity is in his opportunism. It is against this reality that we must see the likelihood of a crisis as the vital springboard of a Trump presidency, especially an increasingly shaky, unpopular, and unstable one. The lower his poll numbers, the more outlandish his lies, the greater the resistance from opponents within the bureaucracies, the thicker his scandals and chaos, the likelier he will be to seek to use a crisis and all the opportunities it offers to lever himself from a position of defensiveness to that of dominating power. It is impossible to say when such a crisis might present itself or what it might be: A confrontation with Iran in the Persian Gulf? A dust-up with China over its claimed possessions in the South China Sea? A terrorist attack on American soil? There is no way of predicting, but it is worth taking very seriously that some sort of crisis will come and that, given Trump’s past behavior, his ruthless opportunism, and his drumbeat emphasis on “protecting the country,” such a crisis might well serve as a turning point in a Trump presidency, particularly one that is increasingly under siege.

#### Extinction

John Scales Avery 13, Associate Professor, University of Copenhagen, “An Attack On Iran Could Escalate Into Global Nuclear War,” <http://www.countercurrents.org/avery061113.htm>

Despite the willingness of Iran's new President, Hassan Rouhani to make all reasonable concessions to US demands, Israeli pressure groups in Washington continue to demand an attack on Iran. But such an attack might escalate into a global nuclear war, with catastrophic consequences. As we approach the 100th anniversary World War I, we should remember that this colossal disaster escalated uncontrollably from what was intended to be a minor conflict. There is a danger that an attack on Iran would escalate into a large-scale war in the Middle East, entirely destabilizing a region that is already deep in problems. The unstable government of Pakistan might be overthrown, and the revolutionary Pakistani government might enter the war on the side of Iran, thus introducing nuclear weapons into the conflict. Russia and China, firm allies of Iran, might also be drawn into a general war in the Middle East. Since much of the world's oil comes from the region, such a war would certainly cause the price of oil to reach unheard-of heights, with catastrophic effects on the global economy. In the dangerous situation that could potentially result from an attack on Iran, there is a risk that nuclear weapons would be used, either intentionally, or by accident or miscalculation. Recent research has shown that besides making large areas of the world uninhabitable through long-lasting radioactive contamination, a nuclear war would damage global agriculture to such a extent that a global famine of previously unknown proportions would result. Thus, nuclear war is the ultimate ecological catastrophe. It could destroy human civilization and much of the biosphere. To risk such a war would be an unforgivable offense against the lives and future of all the peoples of the world, US citizens included.

### 2nc – china module

#### Base decline leads to war with China

Mark Danner 17, Chancellor’s Professor of English and Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley and James Clarke Chace Professor of Foreign Affairs and the Humanities at Bard, The New York Review of Books, “What He Could Do,” http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2017/03/23/what-trump-could-do/

If it remains to be seen whether we are truly “witnessing…the birth of a new political order,” it is clear, a month into Trump’s ascension, that we are all his prisoners, held fast in the projected drama of his mind. As the battle over that new political order is enacted on the national stage, we have all become the dragooned antagonists in the play. This is what it is to live in the realm of the Big Man: his drama perforce is ours. Relentless political struggle, permanent revolution, shattering of norms, scandal and controversy, the capital hip-deep in broken crockery: this is what his supporters signed on for and this is what he is determined to give them; perhaps he knows how to give them little else. To him they are everything, his base: “This is a beautiful movement!” “They’ve never seen a movement like this in our country before.” They are his creation, permanent suppliers of the adulation and self-affirmation he craves.2 Now they cheer and hoot and scoff while their hero, saber in hand, slashes and hacks at his enemies among the hated status quo. The latter include not just Stephen Bannon’s “handful of media elites” but many others who are appalled and outraged and find themselves forced to live under the pall of permanent political anxiety that hangs over the nation’s cities. It is our outrage, our disgust, our knee-jerk shock and condemnation that animate the play and give verisimilitude to the battle being fought. We are the enemy and our screams of dismay are vital to the drama. Behind the controversies about crowd size and alternative facts and illegal voters and Muslim bans, all the shock and alarm and political fatigue can be reduced to a dawning horrified recognition that President Trump is indeed…Donald Trump. His uttering a thirty-five-word oath of office did not magically make him into someone else; he is determined to change the office much more than the office could ever change him. How could anyone have doubted that President Trump would be Donald Trump plus great power and not Donald Trump plus great restraint? And that he would be determined to use that newfound power to begin to do pretty much what he told his base he was going to do? And—a final irony—that his very determination to break crockery and spread chaos and disruption is a major obstacle standing between him and the “new political order” whose birth his Svengali Bannon claims he will oversee. The necessity for continual disruption, constant outrage, maintaining an iron grip on the news cycle, and sheer winning without ever retreating means he has a grand proclivity for getting in his own way—“stepping on his own dick,” in political parlance—and we need, not for the first time, to let ourselves be grateful for that. It has thus far proved to be the hated status quo’s most important protection—not least because in very short order he has managed to produce a growing cadre of adversaries within the government itself. Most important, Trump’s aggressive and reckless sallies against intelligence professionals have secured him powerful enemies within the national security apparatus, who have increasingly been making use of their contacts in the elite press—particularly The Washington Post and The New York Times—to fight back and undermine his new administration. This is an important part of the so-called Russia scandal: that the “intelligence services,” in the words of Connecticut Senator Chris Murphy, “seem to be at war” with the new president.3 That war has already claimed a high-level casualty in the person of General (retired) Michael Flynn, the president’s first national security adviser, who was fired after only twenty-four days in the job. Though Trump has railed against “illegal leaks” and declared that Flynn “was treated very unfairly by the media,” this side of the story—the bureaucratic war being waged against Trump from within the government—by its nature cannot be adequately told in the press itself, because reporters, however much they resist acknowledging it, in effect are vital players. This storyline is obscured, one might say, by the storytellers’ own shadows. 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The dividing line is surprisingly murky. That the president would not use his office to promote his personal business, for example, depends not only on the so-called emoluments clause of the Constitution but a good many subsidiary norms that Trump began shattering some time ago, when he refused to release his tax returns during the campaign. (His long-standing vow to release them once an audit was completed has been quietly abandoned.4) It seems plain now that in the near term the emoluments clause has in common with these norms that it requires political animation: that it has life only to the degree that those in power are willing to enliven it. Thus far Republicans in Congress, still stunned to find themselves enjoying an undreamed-of monopoly on power and struggling to craft a workable political program not based solely on ressentiment, have shown themselves uninterested in pressing Trump on his business entanglements and seem willing to stand by and let the presidency become a source of great wealth for the Trump family. Thus do sacred cows perish, not with a bellow but with a whimper. Ours is famously said to be a government of laws, not of men, and yet we find in the Age of Trump that the laws depend on men and women willing to step forward and press them and that such are not to be found in the dominant party in Congress. Republicans are too divided and too focused on the main chance to move to protect what suddenly appear to be abstract principles. In an age when their party cannot muster a national popular vote majority they find themselves unaccountably in full possession of two branches of government and face the task of mastering their divisions sufficiently to pass a political program that won’t further doom them to the wilderness. This means adopting policies of opposition designed to cultivate and harvest resentment, such as repealing Obamacare, which provides health insurance to more than twenty million Americans, while somehow shaping them into a positive program that they can present to constituents as having improved their lives. It is a daunting task and thus far they show few signs of being up to it. Untroubled by norms, President Trump required only two weeks to come face-to-face with laws in the form not of Congress but of three judges of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Once again banning Muslims was what he had promised his base he would do. That the executive order itself was a legal mess in its drafting and in its execution stemmed both from the modus operandi that the Trump team has adopted—policies closely held, drafts jealously sheltered from the eyes of those even in the departments or agencies responsible for carrying them out (taking a page from Dick Cheney’s post–September 11 playbook)—and perhaps from the desire of the president and his advisers to stage a fight with a major institutional force not yet recumbent before him: the judiciary. Thus the president’s assertion of his “unreviewable” powers in the face of “so-called” judges was not just absurd or ignorant but a bit of bait, establishing the basis for blaming the judiciary for any terrorist attack that was to come. On this he tweeted indefatigably and repeatedly: “Just cannot believe a judge would put our country in such peril,” he said in his most explicit tweet. “If something happens blame him and court system. People pouring in. Bad!” Then: “I have instructed Homeland Security to check people coming into our country VERY CAREFULLY. The courts are making the job very difficult!” “People,” of course, are not “pouring in,” certainly not from the seven countries targeted. But the phrase links once again the country’s vital security to the complex of issues at the heart of Trump’s “America First” politics: trade, immigration, and terrorism. Fortress America is being assailed by foreigners who pour into the country and take our jobs, by elite technocrats (“stupid people”) who negotiate trade deals that leave our borders unprotected, by traitorous businessmen who move factories abroad, and by terrorists who take advantage of the nonexistent immigration safeguards to penetrate our shores. Everywhere the Other threatens. Everywhere the stupid, ineffectual, corrupt, self-dealing elites do nothing to protect the Forgotten American, in effect allying themselves with the threatening outsiders, becoming, in reality if not intent, traitors. As Trump proclaimed from the Capitol scarcely a month ago, “this stops, right here and right now.” But now “so-called judges” stand in the president’s way. The president will likely get his immigration ban, in one form or another, by backing up, rewriting the executive order, and proclaiming victory. Commentators will bemoan the fiasco that his first immigration rollout became. But Trump will have established the precedent of saddling the judiciary with responsibility for the next attack. Jack Goldsmith, the former head of the Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel under George W. Bush and now a professor at Harvard Law School, notes that “Trump is setting the scene to blame judges after an attack that has any conceivable connection to immigration.” He goes on: If Trump loses in court he credibly will say to the American people that he tried and failed to create tighter immigration controls. This will deflect blame for the attack. And it will also help Trump to enhance his power after the attack. After a bad terrorist attack at home, politicians are always under intense pressure to loosen legal constraints. (This was even true for near-misses, such as the failed Underwear bomber, which caused the Obama administration to loosen constraints on its counterterrorism policies in many ways.) Courts feel these pressures, and those pressures will be significantly heightened, and any countervailing tendency to guard against executive overreaction diminished, if courts are widely seen to be responsible for an actual terrorist attack. More broadly, the usual security panic after a bad attack will be enhanced quite a lot—in courts and in Congress—if before the attack legal and judicial constraints are seen to block safety. If Trump assumes that there will be a bad terrorist attack on his watch, blaming judges now will deflect blame and enhance his power more than usual after the next attack.5 One might add that Trump’s executive order and the presidential Twitter assault on the judiciary that followed have set up the judiciary to be blamed following any attack, not just one having “any conceivable connection to immigration.” In his followers’ view Trump has acted to protect the country and “political” judges have blocked him. He has put them in a position to take the fall. Perhaps this was not the original plan but with Trump, it is safe to say, there will likely never be an original plan that plays out to the end. As the hapless Jeb Bush observed, Trump was “a chaos candidate and he’d be a chaos president.” Better to say that Trump uses chaos as a vital element in his tactics, perhaps having learned during his long career to capitalize on the chaos that his recklessness, ignorance, and aggression inevitably create. One might call the resulting tactics “shock and opportunity”: Trump uses chaos to shock his opponents into varying crouches of outrage and contempt and then lunges forward amid the tumult wherever he sees an opportunity presenting itself. No wonder he thinks of himself as the supreme “counter-puncher.” His virtuosity is in his opportunism. It is against this reality that we must see the likelihood of a crisis as the vital springboard of a Trump presidency, especially an increasingly shaky, unpopular, and unstable one. The lower his poll numbers, the more outlandish his lies, the greater the resistance from opponents within the bureaucracies, the thicker his scandals and chaos, the likelier he will be to seek to use a crisis and all the opportunities it offers to lever himself from a position of defensiveness to that of dominating power. It is impossible to say when such a crisis might present itself or what it might be: A confrontation with Iran in the Persian Gulf? A dust-up with China over its claimed possessions in the South China Sea? A terrorist attack on American soil? There is no way of predicting, but it is worth taking very seriously that some sort of crisis will come and that, given Trump’s past behavior, his ruthless opportunism, and his drumbeat emphasis on “protecting the country,” such a crisis might well serve as a turning point in a Trump presidency, particularly one that is increasingly under siege. Consider the possibility of a terrorist attack on American soil, even a failed one. Not only would such an attack, as noted, put Trump in a perfect position to strike out at the judiciary, a major countervailing institution, it would offer him the political leverage to put down various rebellions within the bureaucracy, particularly within the intelligence agencies. There is no way to know whether such an attack will come but one can say that Trump, by attempting to strike out at Muslims generally, as he had vowed to do, has managed to place the Islamic State in the tempting position of being able to affirm, by attacking the United States, that it is the avenger of all Muslims. No accident that its propagandists have been nothing short of exultant, dubbing Trump’s executive order “the blessed order” and thus raising it to the level of the United States’ “blessed invasion” of Iraq as a miracle savior of its cause. If, as the Islamic State has asserted, the goal of its attacks in the West has been to “eliminate the gray zone”—to place “Muslims in the West…between one of two choices,” to either “apostatize or [migrate] to the Islamic State, and thereby escape persecution from the Crusader government and citizens”6—then Trump’s immigration ban goes far toward accomplishing the same thing: isolating Islamic communities, placing them all among a besieged minority whose travel is restricted and whose loyalty to their adopted countries is put in question. Already several jihadist tweeters asserted that the prophecy of the late Anwar al-Awlaki, the American-born cleric killed in a drone attack in Yemen in 2011, that the “West would eventually turn against its Muslim citizens,” had been fulfilled.7 If one sought to design a policy to encourage radicalization, it would be hard to suggest a better one. One needn’t posit an administration master plan to notice that a further attack, even an unsuccessful one, will find the political ground well prepared. The panic over security that follows will open the way to a variety of measures to “protect the country,” few or none of which might have been necessary to prevent the attack in the first place. As we have seen, after an attack politicians seize the opportunity to act, not least to deflect blame from themselves, and we can expect President Donald (“The hour of action has arrived!”) Trump, after his repeated vows to keep the country safe, to act aggressively and comprehensively. How far he might go would depend on the severity of an attack, the ambitions of the administration, and perhaps how cornered the president feels himself to be. What measures might we expect under a Trump state of emergency? Probably strong steps against refugees, aliens, and immigrants. Suspending all entry of refugees. Widespread deportations. Expelling many green card holders. Further tightening and even suspending immigration. Mosques might be placed under surveillance, the much-discussed Muslim registry established. More broadly, and again depending on the severity of an attack, bulk collection of metadata might be reinstituted along with other forms of domestic surveillance. Long-standing constraints on the military and the CIA operating domestically might be loosened or eliminated. Black sites would be reestablished and torture reintroduced. The cells at Guantánamo, nearly empty now, would once again begin to fill. The standing post–September 11 Authorization for the Use of Military Force might be expanded or replaced, allowing unlimited military strikes abroad—and, perhaps, at home. The latter might lead, in the case of a particularly severe attack, to the suspension of habeas corpus. Certainly if such an attack were to come during the current Congress there is no reason to expect anything other than majority cooperation and support, not only for Trump’s specific responses to the attack but for the rest of his program. Democrats, whom Trump would denounce as worse than judges in their obstructionism, would be on the defensive. And the courts, whose pushback in any case would take much longer—as it did after September 11—will have been politically hamstrung by a commander in chief who will be in a position to declare, and to repeat, that he had warned the “political judges” not to second-guess him in what was needed to protect the country but that they had not listened. He will not be shy in saying the same about the press, “the most dishonest human beings on earth.” By then his political drama will have been elevated from a battle against elites and the status quo to a heroic struggle for the survival of the nation. As the hero was fond of telling his crowds during the campaign: if he lost, “we won’t even have a country anymore.” There is little reason to suspect they don’t believe it still and no reason to think he does not. “Never let a crisis go to waste,” President Obama’s first chief of staff was fond of saying. It is fair to expect that, in the face of opportunities to increase his power, destroy the opposition, and build his “new political order,” President Trump will once again gaze upon the darkening skies and see only sunshine.

#### US-China nuclear war causes extinction

**Wittner 12** [Lawrence, PhD, Professor of History emeritus at the State University of New York/Albany, has written extensively about nuclear war, “Is a Nuclear War With China Possible?”, first published on 11/30/11 and updated on 1/30/12, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/lawrence-wittner/nuclear-war-china\_b\_1116556.html]

But what would that “victory” entail? An attack with these Chinese nuclear weapons would immediately slaughter at least 10 million Americans in a great storm of blast and fire, while leaving many more dying horribly of sickness and radiation poisoning. The Chinese death toll in a nuclear war would be far higher. Both nations would be reduced to smoldering, radioactive wastelands. Also, radioactive debris sent aloft by the nuclear explosions would blot out the sun and bring on a “nuclear winter” around the globe — destroying agriculture, creating worldwide famine, and generating chaos and destruction

### New Impact: China War

#### Base decline leads to war with China

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If it remains to be seen whether we are truly “witnessing…the birth of a new political order,” it is clear, a month into Trump’s ascension, that we are all his prisoners, held fast in the projected drama of his mind. As the battle over that new political order is enacted on the national stage, we have all become the dragooned antagonists in the play. This is what it is to live in the realm of the Big Man: his drama perforce is ours. Relentless political struggle, permanent revolution, shattering of norms, scandal and controversy, the capital hip-deep in broken crockery: this is what his supporters signed on for and this is what he is determined to give them; perhaps he knows how to give them little else. 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Everywhere the stupid, ineffectual, corrupt, self-dealing elites do nothing to protect the Forgotten American, in effect allying themselves with the threatening outsiders, becoming, in reality if not intent, traitors. As Trump proclaimed from the Capitol scarcely a month ago, “this stops, right here and right now.” But now “so-called judges” stand in the president’s way. The president will likely get his immigration ban, in one form or another, by backing up, rewriting the executive order, and proclaiming victory. Commentators will bemoan the fiasco that his first immigration rollout became. But Trump will have established the precedent of saddling the judiciary with responsibility for the next attack. Jack Goldsmith, the former head of the Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel under George W. Bush and now a professor at Harvard Law School, notes that “Trump is setting the scene to blame judges after an attack that has any conceivable connection to immigration.” He goes on: If Trump loses in court he credibly will say to the American people that he tried and failed to create tighter immigration controls. This will deflect blame for the attack. And it will also help Trump to enhance his power after the attack. After a bad terrorist attack at home, politicians are always under intense pressure to loosen legal constraints. (This was even true for near-misses, such as the failed Underwear bomber, which caused the Obama administration to loosen constraints on its counterterrorism policies in many ways.) Courts feel these pressures, and those pressures will be significantly heightened, and any countervailing tendency to guard against executive overreaction diminished, if courts are widely seen to be responsible for an actual terrorist attack. More broadly, the usual security panic after a bad attack will be enhanced quite a lot—in courts and in Congress—if before the attack legal and judicial constraints are seen to block safety. If Trump assumes that there will be a bad terrorist attack on his watch, blaming judges now will deflect blame and enhance his power more than usual after the next attack.5 One might add that Trump’s executive order and the presidential Twitter assault on the judiciary that followed have set up the judiciary to be blamed following any attack, not just one having “any conceivable connection to immigration.” In his followers’ view Trump has acted to protect the country and “political” judges have blocked him. He has put them in a position to take the fall. Perhaps this was not the original plan but with Trump, it is safe to say, there will likely never be an original plan that plays out to the end. As the hapless Jeb Bush observed, Trump was “a chaos candidate and he’d be a chaos president.” Better to say that Trump uses chaos as a vital element in his tactics, perhaps having learned during his long career to capitalize on the chaos that his recklessness, ignorance, and aggression inevitably create. One might call the resulting tactics “shock and opportunity”: Trump uses chaos to shock his opponents into varying crouches of outrage and contempt and then lunges forward amid the tumult wherever he sees an opportunity presenting itself. No wonder he thinks of himself as the supreme “counter-puncher.” His virtuosity is in his opportunism. It is against this reality that we must see the likelihood of a crisis as the vital springboard of a Trump presidency, especially an increasingly shaky, unpopular, and unstable one. The lower his poll numbers, the more outlandish his lies, the greater the resistance from opponents within the bureaucracies, the thicker his scandals and chaos, the likelier he will be to seek to use a crisis and all the opportunities it offers to lever himself from a position of defensiveness to that of dominating power. It is impossible to say when such a crisis might present itself or what it might be: A confrontation with Iran in the Persian Gulf? A dust-up with China over its claimed possessions in the South China Sea? A terrorist attack on American soil? There is no way of predicting, but it is worth taking very seriously that some sort of crisis will come and that, given Trump’s past behavior, his ruthless opportunism, and his drumbeat emphasis on “protecting the country,” such a crisis might well serve as a turning point in a Trump presidency, particularly one that is increasingly under siege. Consider the possibility of a terrorist attack on American soil, even a failed one. Not only would such an attack, as noted, put Trump in a perfect position to strike out at the judiciary, a major countervailing institution, it would offer him the political leverage to put down various rebellions within the bureaucracy, particularly within the intelligence agencies. There is no way to know whether such an attack will come but one can say that Trump, by attempting to strike out at Muslims generally, as he had vowed to do, has managed to place the Islamic State in the tempting position of being able to affirm, by attacking the United States, that it is the avenger of all Muslims. No accident that its propagandists have been nothing short of exultant, dubbing Trump’s executive order “the blessed order” and thus raising it to the level of the United States’ “blessed invasion” of Iraq as a miracle savior of its cause. If, as the Islamic State has asserted, the goal of its attacks in the West has been to “eliminate the gray zone”—to place “Muslims in the West…between one of two choices,” to either “apostatize or [migrate] to the Islamic State, and thereby escape persecution from the Crusader government and citizens”6—then Trump’s immigration ban goes far toward accomplishing the same thing: isolating Islamic communities, placing them all among a besieged minority whose travel is restricted and whose loyalty to their adopted countries is put in question. Already several jihadist tweeters asserted that the prophecy of the late Anwar al-Awlaki, the American-born cleric killed in a drone attack in Yemen in 2011, that the “West would eventually turn against its Muslim citizens,” had been fulfilled.7 If one sought to design a policy to encourage radicalization, it would be hard to suggest a better one. One needn’t posit an administration master plan to notice that a further attack, even an unsuccessful one, will find the political ground well prepared. The panic over security that follows will open the way to a variety of measures to “protect the country,” few or none of which might have been necessary to prevent the attack in the first place. As we have seen, after an attack politicians seize the opportunity to act, not least to deflect blame from themselves, and we can expect President Donald (“The hour of action has arrived!”) Trump, after his repeated vows to keep the country safe, to act aggressively and comprehensively. How far he might go would depend on the severity of an attack, the ambitions of the administration, and perhaps how cornered the president feels himself to be. What measures might we expect under a Trump state of emergency? Probably strong steps against refugees, aliens, and immigrants. Suspending all entry of refugees. Widespread deportations. Expelling many green card holders. Further tightening and even suspending immigration. Mosques might be placed under surveillance, the much-discussed Muslim registry established. More broadly, and again depending on the severity of an attack, bulk collection of metadata might be reinstituted along with other forms of domestic surveillance. Long-standing constraints on the military and the CIA operating domestically might be loosened or eliminated. Black sites would be reestablished and torture reintroduced. The cells at Guantánamo, nearly empty now, would once again begin to fill. The standing post–September 11 Authorization for the Use of Military Force might be expanded or replaced, allowing unlimited military strikes abroad—and, perhaps, at home. The latter might lead, in the case of a particularly severe attack, to the suspension of habeas corpus. Certainly if such an attack were to come during the current Congress there is no reason to expect anything other than majority cooperation and support, not only for Trump’s specific responses to the attack but for the rest of his program. Democrats, whom Trump would denounce as worse than judges in their obstructionism, would be on the defensive. And the courts, whose pushback in any case would take much longer—as it did after September 11—will have been politically hamstrung by a commander in chief who will be in a position to declare, and to repeat, that he had warned the “political judges” not to second-guess him in what was needed to protect the country but that they had not listened. He will not be shy in saying the same about the press, “the most dishonest human beings on earth.” By then his political drama will have been elevated from a battle against elites and the status quo to a heroic struggle for the survival of the nation. As the hero was fond of telling his crowds during the campaign: if he lost, “we won’t even have a country anymore.” There is little reason to suspect they don’t believe it still and no reason to think he does not. “Never let a crisis go to waste,” President Obama’s first chief of staff was fond of saying. It is fair to expect that, in the face of opportunities to increase his power, destroy the opposition, and build his “new political order,” President Trump will once again gaze upon the darkening skies and see only sunshine.

#### US-China nuclear war causes extinction

**Wittner 12** [Lawrence, PhD, Professor of History emeritus at the State University of New York/Albany, has written extensively about nuclear war, “Is a Nuclear War With China Possible?”, first published on 11/30/11 and updated on 1/30/12, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/lawrence-wittner/nuclear-war-china\_b\_1116556.html]

But what would that “victory” entail? An attack with these Chinese nuclear weapons would immediately slaughter at least 10 million Americans in a great storm of blast and fire, while leaving many more dying horribly of sickness and radiation poisoning. The Chinese death toll in a nuclear war would be far higher. Both nations would be reduced to smoldering, radioactive wastelands. Also, radioactive debris sent aloft by the nuclear explosions would blot out the sun and bring on a “nuclear winter” around the globe — destroying agriculture, creating worldwide famine, and generating chaos and destruction

## Defense

### Link Wall

#### Showing weakness on immigration *destroys Trump’s base for good* – he campaigned on a harsh stance, including the border wall and deporting DREAMers, so the plan looks like a betrayal of a core promise – that’s 1nc Sparks.

#### keeping a hardline stance on immigration is key – it’s a central issue motivating continued enthusiasm to support Trump – looking weak loses the base

Jonathan Martin and Maggie Haberman 6/18/18, politics writers for NYT, "Forget Tax Cuts. Trump Wants to Rally the G.O.P. Base Over Immigration.", No Publication, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/18/us/politics/trump-immigration-midterms.html

WASHINGTON — As Republicans try to keep their midterm election strategy focused on the economy, tax cuts and falling unemployment, President Trump sent his clearest signal yet on Monday that he intends to make divisive, racially charged issues like immigration central going into the campaign season. Facing bipartisan criticism over his administration’s family separation practice on the border, Mr. Trump renewed the sort of bald and demagogic attacks on undocumented immigrants that worked well for him politically in his 2016 presidential campaign. He inveighed against “the death and destruction that’s been caused by people coming into this country” and vowed that “the United States will not be a migrant camp and it will not be a refugee holding facility.” Republicans typically handle immigration gingerly in an election year, as they try to appeal to Hispanic voters, independents and moderates across divergent districts. But with more Americans still opposing the tax measure than supporting it, Mr. Trump’s allies believe that trying to link Democrats to crimes committed by undocumented immigrants and gangs like MS-13 will do more to galvanize Republican voters and get them to the polls in November than emphasizing economic issues. “People don’t turn out to say thank you,” said Corey Lewandowski, one of the president’s top political advisers. “If you want to get people motivated, you’ve got to give them a reason to vote. Saying ‘build the wall and stop illegals from coming in and killing American citizens’ gives them an important issue.” This fear-oriented approach reflects the degree that Mr. Trump has put his anti-immigration imprint on the Republican Party. The same raw appeals Mr. Trump made in 2016 about immigrants illegally crossing the border have not abated among most of his Republican supporters. And his supporters say the party has little choice in an election where Democrats are eager to register their opposition to a president they despise — and that the only way to succeed in a campaign driven by turning out the party base is to focus on what grass-roots conservatives care most about. “It’s an issue folks are emotionally attached to,” said Andy Surabian, a Republican strategist and former Trump aide. “I know that upsets some people in the donor class, but it’s the reality of where the party is.” Mr. Trump’s anti-immigrant remarks are aimed at the conservative base of the party that elevated his candidacy and is dominant in red states and House districts, especially those with largely white populations. The Republican grass-roots were already hawkish on immigration, while the president’s takeover of the party has further diminished its pragmatist wing. And while hard-line Republicans are a minority of the country’s voters, the G.O.P. cannot retain its grip on Congress without this bedrock of its base going to the polls.

#### Flip-flopping on core promises sparks backlash so intense, it outweighs any turn

David Hunter Walsh 17, Marine veteran (rah) and PhD candidate at Rutgers, “Yes, Trump will face a backlash if he doesn’t deliver on his promises,” <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/20/yes-trump-will-face-a-backlash-if-he-doesnt-deliver-on-his-promises/?utm_term=.250bb333ed24>

President-elect Donald Trump built his campaign on promises to put a wall on the Mexican border, “utterly destroy” the Islamic State, and accelerate economic growth to heights never before seen outside of wartime. Days before he won the presidency, Trump told his supporters he would give them “every dream you ever dreamed for your country.” Trump’s penchant for sweeping promises — and the likelihood that he may have trouble keeping them — has Republicans concerned about what would happen if he doesn’t or can’t follow through. “If we’re given the White House and both houses of Congress and we don’t deliver,” Texas Sen. Ted Cruz said recently, “I think there will be pitchforks and torches in the streets.” Although Cruz’s vision of a violent uprising may be an exaggeration, my research suggests that Trump would indeed face a backlash if he fails to deliver on key promises. [Will Trump follow through on all his Day One promises? Doesn’t look like it.] Losses outweigh gains in the human mind. What does that mean for politics? That conclusion rests on one of the most robust theories of modern psychology, prospect theory. Prospect theory argues that in our minds, perceived losses outweigh perceived gains in ways that profoundly affect our decision-making. In a political context, this means that when the president surprises you by doing something you like, you’re happy about it. But that happiness is not nearly as powerful as the disappointment — or even sadness or anger — that you experience when the president does something you hate. One implication is that the backlash a president faces for breaking a promise to his supporters may be much stronger than whatever positive reactions come from voters who are pleasantly surprised by his decision not to pursue that campaign pledge. For Trump, a shift away from some of the radical positions he has staked out may in fact please even a majority of Americans. But any positive reaction will likely be muted, while the disappointment of his original supporters will be amplified. He could find himself losing some of his supporters without picking up the same number from the other side — which could leave him even more unpopular than he already is.

### UQ Wall

#### Our base UQ evidence is far more recent than anything they’ve read against us – prefer Hook 10/21 on a matter of recency because in the ever-volatile political field, new events transform the field and since our evidence is the most recent, it should be preferred.

#### Trump’s base will stick with him now – BUT, bashing Dems for being soft on immigration is key to maintain their support

Ford O’Connell 6/17/18, adjunct professor at The George Washington University Graduate School of Political Management, "Donald Trump is delivering on his promises and voters are noticing", http://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/392653-donald-trump-is-delivering-on-his-promises

Trump’s supporters see him as a man [who keeps his promises and disrupts the swamp](https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2018/05/16/donald-trump-supporters-across-america-hes-delivering-his-agenda/606334002/). They like that he has put in place a conservative Supreme Court Justice and [a record number of federal appeals judges](https://www.axios.com/trump-has-now-appointed-most-ever-federal-appeals-judges-in-1st-year-1513388665-b0f7cc3c-1b90-4a34-b63f-427a4ee9fe84.html) in his first year. They love that he pulled out of the Paris climate accord, the Iran nuclear deal and the Trans-Pacific Partnership and that he has cut [nearly twice as many regulations as promised](https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/washington-secrets/boom-team-trump-cuts-nearly-twice-as-many-regulations-as-promised) — all despite unprecedented obstruction and resistance from Democrats and a handful of recalcitrant Republicans in Washington and beyond. Midterms are base elections. [About 130 million vote in presidential elections,](http://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/228641/previewing-base-voter-messaging-2018-elections.aspx) but only [80 million-95 million vote in midterms](http://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/228641/previewing-base-voter-messaging-2018-elections.aspx). That means it’s important to turn out the base. We’re told repeatedly Democrats are beyond fired up to vote in November. But there is little evidence those who [don’t generally vote in midterms are angry enough about Trump to make the extra effort this year](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2018/04/23/poll-non-voters-dislike-donald-trump-isnt-likely-make-them-vote-2018/540709002/), and there is growing evidence Trump is in the right place on the right issues to hold or perhaps even expand his base. In fact, after 500 days in office, President Trump has the [second highest “own party” approval rating](https://www.axios.com/trump-rakes-in-party-approval-at-500-da-1528033342-a9a1cdf2-e25f-4af8-b282-2a011d081369.html) since World War II. Based on recent polling, immigration is, [as Gallup put it](http://news.gallup.com/opinion/polling-matters/228641/previewing-base-voter-messaging-2018-elections.aspx), the “strongest countervailing issue determining Republican turnout,” and Trump’s proposal — amnesty for 1.8 million illegal aliens in exchange for funding the wall on the Mexican border and ending chain migration and the diversity visa program — “[encompasses the popular position on every major immigration issue](http://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/387644-impeachment-and-immigration-two-topics-to-help-the-gop-hold-the-house),” as a National Review report stated. Then there is the subject that touches every American — the economy — and Trump is doing so well on that front that even the [New York Times had to admit it “ran out of words to describe how good the job numbers are.”](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/01/upshot/we-ran-out-of-words-to-describe-how-good-the-jobs-numbers-are.html) [Since Trump took office](https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2018/04/17/donald-trump-tax-day-economy-column/518919002/), nearly 3 million jobs have been created, and wage growth is at the highest point since President Bush left office. Unemployment has dipped to its lowest level since 2000 and to [record lows](https://abcnews.go.com/Business/wireStory/record-low-jobless-rates-black-americans-asians-55589066) for African Americans and Asians. [Manufacturing jobs are increasing](https://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/terence-p-jeffrey/manufacturing-jobs-18000-may-322000-under-trump)across the country, and [two-thirds of Americans say the economy](http://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/387644-impeachment-and-immigration-two-topics-to-help-the-gop-hold-the-house) is “good.” On top of that, efforts by Obama supporters to give their man credit for the economic numbers [have crumbled in recent months.](http://www.newsweek.com/democrats-trump-obama-economy-responsible-885845) Republican congressional candidates are right to worry whether Trump’s coattails and loyal supporters are enough to keep them in control of Congress beyond this year. The Senate seems safe for now. But the battle for control of the House [remains a toss-up](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/cbs-news-battleground-tracker-the-house-is-a-toss-up), Democrats continue to hold a small-but-stubborn lead in the [generic ballot question](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/other/2018_generic_congressional_vote-6185.html), and there is no guarantee, particularly as political turmoil in Italy threatens the European Union economy, the economy still will be a political plus come November. There is no-one-size-fits-all solution for Republicans to win in 2018. But all Republicans have to hope the Trump [economic renaissance continues](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/01/may-jobs-numbers-are-bad-news-for-democrats.html)and that no external event, such as Trump’s dealings with North Korea, becomes a problem. So far, those meetings have been [a net plus for the president](https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/14/politics/north-korea-monmouth-poll/index.html). In the meantime, Republicans should focus on the Democratic “impeachment fetish” and the left’s radical views on immigration, because it fires up the Republican base and captures independent support.

#### Their ev’s sample sizes are too small to be meaningful

Ronald Brownstein 17, Atlantic Media's editorial director; citing Mark Blumenthal, SurveyMonkey’s head of election polling, "The Voters Abandoning Donald Trump," The Atlantic, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/01/the-voters-abandoning-donald-trump/550247/

A massive new source of public-opinion research offers fresh insights into the fault lines emerging in Donald Trump’s foundation of support. Previously unpublished results from the nonpartisan online-polling firm SurveyMonkey show Trump losing ground over his tumultuous first year not only with the younger voters and white-collar whites who have always been skeptical of him, but also with the blue-collar whites central to his coalition. Trump retains important pillars of support. Given that he started in such a strong position with those blue-collar whites, even after that decline he still holds a formidable level of loyalty among them—particularly men and those over 50 years old. What’s more, he has established a modest but durable beachhead among African American and Hispanic men, even while confronting overwhelming opposition from women in those demographic groups. Together, the results crystallize the bet Trump is making for his own reelection in 2020, and for his party’s chances in November’s election: that he can mobilize enough support among older and blue-collar (as well as rural and evangelical) whites to offset the intense resistance he’s provoked from groups that are all growing in the electorate: Millennials, minorities, and college-educated whites—particularly the women among them. These findings emerge from a cumulative analysis of 605,172 interviews SurveyMonkey conducted with Americans in 2017 about Trump’s job performance. At my request, Mark Blumenthal, SurveyMonkey’s head of election polling, calculated Trump’s average approval rating over the last year among groups of voters segmented simultaneously by their race, gender, education level, and age. That extra level of detail, not available in conventional polls because their samples are too small, offers a more precise picture of Trump’s coalition.

## Answers

### AT Link Turn

#### Trump changed the game – *his base* hates legal immigration

Lind 18 (2/14, Dara, Vox Senior Reporter, “The immigration battle Donald Trump has already won”, Vox, https://www.vox.com/2018/2/14/17012358/immigration-congress-trump-daca)

Remember when both parties liked legal immigration? Way back in ... 2015? For more than a decade — ever since the Bush administration failed to pass comprehensive immigration reform in 2006 and 2007 — conventional wisdom has said that Congress can’t pass immigration bills because of the “amnesty” problem. Any proposal to legalize some or all of the 11 million unauthorized immigrants living in the US would be toxic to many Republicans; any proposal without any legalization would be toxic to many Democrats. Rahm Emanuel, who was chief of staff in the early years of the Obama White House, famously said that “immigration is the third rail of politics,” but he meant unauthorized immigration (or rather, what to do about unauthorized immigrants). Legal immigration was a tricky policy issue that business and labor fought over, but it wasn’t going to cost any votes on the Senate floor or in elections. That era is over. In the midst of a messy Senate debate over immigration policy, it’s now clear that the most contentious question in Congress is one that’s been dormant in legislative fights for years: whether or not to cut legal immigration. This is almost entirely the doing of President Donald Trump. Over the course of two and a half years, as a candidate, nominee, and now president, he’s turned a fringe right-wing view into the heart of the current congressional debate over immigration. Republicans in Congress themselves might still be in denial; they still say they don’t support cutting legal immigration, even as they back bills that do just that. But the earth has shifted under their feet. Trump has taken their party in a populist, restrictionist direction that business interests, “skills-based immigration” champions, and a generation of Republican politicians never thought it would go. Donald Trump singlehandedly changed the Republican Party’s position on legal immigration The key insight of Donald Trump’s short political career — the one that allowed him to rocket to the top of the primary polls soon after he launched his campaign in June 2015 — was that a segment of the Republican base was hungry for a candidate that was willing to speak harshly not just about unauthorized immigration, but immigration itself. Trump wasn’t the only person in the Republican field talking about immigration. Nor was he the only person running as an immigration hawk. But while other Republicans went to pains rhetorically to emphasize that legal immigration was good and important and part of the American dream, Trump didn’t bother. His descriptions of Mexico “sending” over bad people could be interpreted as illegal border-crossers or immigration generally, depending on what listeners wanted to hear. He depicted would-be legal refugees as ISIS moles. From his first proposal of a “Muslim ban” in December 2015 to his responses to terror attacks in fall 2017, he has taken the stance that the only way to prevent terrorists from entering the US is to block the paths that individual terrorists have taken to immigrate here in the past — shutting the door behind them and locking out tens of thousands of immigrants per year, or more. When Trump launched his campaign, Sen. Jeff Sessions (R-AL) was one of very few people in either chamber who were willing to attack legal immigration directly; at its end, Jeff Sessions was Trump’s incoming attorney general and former Sessions staffers were highly placed at the White House (most notably, Stephen Miller), Department of Justice, and Department of Homeland Security.

### AT: base support inevitable

#### Links disprove it – all our link ev says immigration is THE issue animating GOP support and loyalty to Trump – flipping on that messes everything up

#### Base support isn’t resilient – even if the fundamentals of support haven’t changed, the *intensity of that support* is wavering – collapse of the base is still possible

David Byler 3/29/18, Weekly Standard staff writer and chief election analyst; citing Mark Blumenthal, SurveyMonkey’s head of election polling, "The Gritty Details of Trump's Approval Ratings," The Weekly Standard, 3-29-18, https://www.weeklystandard.com/the-gritty-details-of-trumps-approval-ratings/article/2012114

The Gritty Details of Trump's Approval Ratings Everyone knows that President Trump is historically unpopular and his low approval rating is putting Republicans in real danger of losing at least the House in 2018. At this point, that's old news. But not everyone has a good grasp on the granular parts of presidential approval?how intensely people feel about the president, which groups do and don't like him and how much that matters for the midterms and our understanding of public opinion in the Trump era more generally. That's why I spent some time with a new, centralized dataset from SurveyMonkey that deals with these questions. I looked through their data, did some math, and came up with four different charts that demonstrate some of the most important facts about Trump's approval rating. Before getting started, I have one quick note for readers who might be confused because they have personal experience either making or filling out very non-political polls on SurveyMonkey. This is that same SurveyMonkey ? the company just also usse its platform to conduct scientific political surveys. Mark Blumenthal, head of election polling, explained it to me: "We draw random samples of those who have just completed a survey on our platform and invite them to answer a few more questions about important issues and current events, including Trump approval" and then they "statistically adjust the data so it is representative of the American public." So here are the graphics and the explanations: There Aren't (And Never Have Been) Many Lukewarm Trump Disapprovers The conventional wisdom on politics is often wrong. But these polls show that it's right about one thing ? Americans who don't like Trump really don't like him. This graphic shows the percentage of Trump disapprovers who "strongly" or "somewhat" disapprove of Trump's job performance in a series of SurveyMonkey polls stretching from January 2017 to now. The top line tells most of the story. If you put every American who disapproves of Trump in a room (usually more than half of the people that SurveyMonkey polls) and picked someone randomly, the odds of picking a "strong disapprover" would be greater than 3-to-1. This is a problem for down-ballot Republicans. Democrats have won some high profile races (like the special election in Pennsylvania's 18th District) partially by riding strong anti-Trump sentiment. The president has motived Democrats to turn out at a high rate while driving some more typical GOP voters to cast their ballot for the blue team. That anti-Trump enthusiasm is part of the reason Democrats are currently the favorites to take the House in November. Trump's Base is More Divided Than Many Think The conventional wisdom is a little less helpful when it comes to Trump supporters. Diehard Trump supporters have garnered a lot of media attention, but not every Trump approver is enthusiastic. This graphic is nearly identical to the previous one?the difference is that we're comparing strong Trump approvers and those who only somewhat approve of the president's job performance. In most of SurveyMonkey's polls, strong Trump approvers outnumbered those who approved somewhat, but the split isn't as lopsided as it is Trump disapprovers (this is similar to what we've seen in YouGov polls of Trump voters). Maybe more interestingly, the mix of somewhat and strong Trump approvers seems to have changed at least a little bit over time. Every poll is noisy, so these shifts shouldn't be overinterpreted. But the lack of stability in this graphic compared to the last one (plus real changes we've seen in topline averages) suggests that Trump supporters aren't immovable. Sometimes they go from supporting Trump enthusiastically to being more lukewarm. And sometimes they go from approving of Trump to not approving (or back to approval).

### AT: Trump is checked

#### Trump can get around all the checks and do whatever he wants

Eric **Posner, 6/**3/2016, professor at the University of Chicago Law School, "And if Elected: What President Trump Could or Couldn’t Do", [www.nytimes.com/2016/06/04/opinion/campaign-stops/and-if-elected-what-president-trump-could-or-couldnt-do.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fcampaign-stops](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/04/opinion/campaign-stops/and-if-elected-what-president-trump-could-or-couldnt-do.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fcampaign-stops) //AZ

DONALD TRUMP clearly holds grudges. He has hurled insults at governors, senators, a judge who recently ruled against him and Miss Universe 2014. He has also attacked the press, arguing that as president he will “open up” libel laws so he can sue newspapers that publish “purposely negative and horrible and false articles” about him. Mr. Trump’s critics wonder whether a man with such a violent temper can be trusted with the presidency. But his defenders, like Senator John McCain and the Senate majority leader, Mitch McConnell, assure us that the Constitution will constrain him. “I still believe we have the institutions of government that would restrain someone who seeks to exceed their constitutional obligations,” Mr. McCain told The New York Times. “We have a Congress. We have the Supreme Court. We’re not Romania.” Under the principle of separation of powers, the president shares power with Congress and the judiciary. The party system, the press and American political traditions may constrain him as well. But what would this mean in practice if Mr. Trump wins? It depends on what Mr. Trump wants to do. His signature issues are immigration and trade. He could not build the Mexican wall without congressional support. But he could order immigration authorities to deport unauthorized immigrants. And he could bar Muslims from entering the country under existing law, which authorizes him to bar classes of aliens whose entry he determines “would be detrimental to the interests of the United States.” It wouldn’t be the first time: President Ronald Reagan cited this law, as well as his inherent constitutional powers, to block a flood of Haitian migrants from pouring into United States territory in 1981. Can he slap tariffs on China, as he has threatened? Yes, he can. Congress has delegated to the president the power to retaliate against foreign countries that engage in unfair trade practices like dumping, leaving it to the president and trade officials to determine what that means. In 2002, President George W. Bush imposed steel tariffs on China and other countries for what many observers considered political reasons. The World Trade Organization ruled the steel tariffs illegal in that case. But Mr. Trump could simply ignore its judgment, and indeed withdraw the United States from the W.T.O., just as President Bush withdrew the United States from the Antiballistic Missile Treaty in 2002. While he’s at it, Mr. Trump could tear up the North Atlantic Treaty, which created NATO, an organization that he has called “obsolete.” In May, Mr. Trump vowed to rescind President Obama’s environmental policies. He would be able to do that as well. He could disavow the Paris climate change agreement, just as President Bush “unsigned” a treaty creating an international criminal court in 2002. He could choke off climate regulations that are in development and probably withdraw existing climate regulations. Even if a court blocked him, he could refuse to enforce the regulations, just as Mr. Obama refused to enforce immigration laws. In wielding executive power in these ways, Mr. Trump would be following in the footsteps of his predecessors. President Bush cited his commander in chief powers in order to justify interrogation, surveillance and detention polices in the wake of Sept. 11. While Mr. Obama has shied away from Mr. Bush’s constitutional arguments, he has interpreted statutes aggressively, while also relying on constitutional authorities, to justify the military intervention in Libya in 2011 and his nonenforcement of immigration laws. Mr. Trump has expressed impatience with his critics and hinted that he would use federal powers against them. He wouldn’t be able to put someone in jail merely for criticizing him. But he could direct agencies to use their vast regulatory powers against the companies of executives who have displeased him, like Jeff Bezos, for example, the founder of Amazon. Mr. Trump has already hinted that he would go after Amazon for supposed antitrust violations. He could direct the Department of Justice to investigate his critics by prioritizing categories of crimes they may have committed. Political opponents could be accused of campaign finance law violations. Former government officials, like Hillary Clinton, could be accused of violating secrecy laws. Even if the charges come to nothing, the legal fees for defendants will be hefty. Mr. Trump could also crack down on journalists who report on national security issues by enforcing federal secrecy laws more aggressively than previous presidents. President Obama received a lot of criticism for prosecuting government employees who leaked secrets, but the Justice Department did not bring charges against the journalists who published the leaked information. What couldn’t Mr. Trump do? He couldn’t lower (or raise) taxes on his own. He’s supposed to spend funds that Congress appropriates and for the things that Congress appropriates them for — that’s what stands in the way of the wall (unless he persuades Mexico to pay for it and construct it on the other side of the border). He could not follow through on his promise to impose the death penalty on killers of police officers by executive order. And even where he does act, he needs to make sure his legal theories are in order. If he wanted to withdraw climate regulations because climate change is a hoax perpetuated by China, no court would allow him to. But if he said that the climate regulations were based on a speculative assessment of harms that wouldn’t occur for 100 years, he could succeed. Much depends on how far Mr. Trump is willing to push existing legal understandings. There is a netherworld of laws that presidents are supposed to comply with but courts don’t enforce. He could send military forces into a foreign country without authorization from Congress; courts would most likely stay out of the dispute. What of his suggestion earlier this year to kill the families of terrorists? Courts typically defer to the executive on matters concerning military activities abroad. He might even try to withhold appropriated funds or shift them around in defiance of Congress’s wishes. What, then, stands between us and a nearly unbounded Mr. Trump, aside from the next election? Senators McCain and McConnell say Congress, but only a veto-proof majority in both houses, passing new laws, could stop Mr. Trump from exercising the legal authority that Congress has already given the president. Congress can threaten to withhold funds, but the president’s powers to veto legislation and appoint government officers give him a large bargaining chip. Removal of a president by impeachment is extremely difficult; it has never happened. The courts are another barrier, but they would need to reverse their longstanding practice of deferring to the president in matters of foreign affairs and domestic regulation. The Supreme Court could, for example, declare an entry bar on Muslims unconstitutional. But it’s hard to predict how Mr. Trump would respond. After a federal judge, Gonzalo Curiel, ruled against him on a motion in the long-running Trump University litigation, Mr. Trump called him a “hater” and a “Mexican” (Judge Curiel is an American). Mr. Trump’s biggest obstacle to vast power is not the separation of powers but the millions of federal employees who are supposed to work for him. Most of these employees have a strong sense of professionalism and are dedicated to the mission of their agency. They don’t take kindly to arbitrary orders from above. As President Harry Truman said ahead of Dwight D. Eisenhower’s presidency: “He’ll sit here, and he’ll say, ‘Do this! Do that!’ And nothing will happen.” To make things happen, Mr. Trump will need to get loyalists into leadership positions of the agencies, but to do so, he will need the cooperation of the Senate (or he will need to aggressively exploit his recess appointment powers). Moreover, the small number of politically appointed leaders enjoy only limited control of the mass of civil servants. These employees can drag their feet, leak to the press, threaten to resign and employ other tactics to undermine Mr. Trump’s initiatives if they object to them. They’re also hard to fire, thanks to Civil Service protections. But Mr. Trump can fight back. He can appoint loyalists not only to political positions in the executive branch, but to the courts, and he may be able to attract them to the ranks of the Civil Service. And while executive branch officials who disregard the law might be prosecuted by the Justice Department, President Trump would have one more trick up his sleeve. Like President George H.W. Bush, who rescued Iran-contra defendants from punishment in 1992, he could hand out get-out-of-jail-free cards in the form of the pardon.

#### <<Good card>> There are no checks and balances

**Freedland 17** (8/11, Jonathan, The Guardian, “Trump is the real nuclear threat, and we can’t just fantasise him away”, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/11/trump-nuclear-threat-deep-state-fantasy-north-korea)

Among the many terrifying facts that have emerged in the last several days, perhaps the scariest relate to the nuclear button over which now hovers the finger of Donald Trump. It turns out that, of all the powers held by this or any other US president, the least checked or balanced is his **authority over the world’s mightiest arsenal**. He exercises this awesome, civilisation-ending power alone. As Trump has learned in recent months, the man in the Oval Office cannot simply issue a decree changing, say, the US healthcare system. He has to build majorities in the House and Senate, which is harder than it looks. If he wants to change immigration policy, a mere order is not enough. He can be stopped by the courts, as Trump saw with his travel ban. But if he wants to rain fire and fury on a distant enemy, bringing more fire and fury down on his own citizens and many hundreds of millions of others, **there is no one standing in his way**. Not for nothing does the geopolitical literature refer to the US president as the “nuclear monarch.” The more you hear of the simplicity of the system, the more frightening it becomes. If Trump decides he has had enough of Kim Jong-un’s verbal threats, he merely has to turn to the low-level military aide at his side and ask them to open up the black briefcase that officer keeps permanently in their grasp. The bag is known as the nuclear “football”. (It gets its name from the code word for the very first set of nuclear war plans: dropkick.) Inside the bag is a menu of options, explained in detail in a “black book,” but also set out in a single, cartoon-like page for speedy comprehension. Trump has only to make his choice, pick up the phone to the Pentagon war room, utter the code words that identify him as the president and give the order. That’s it. The officer who receives the call at the Pentagon has no authority to question or challenge the order. **There is no need for consultation with anyone else**. Not the secretary of state or the secretary of defence, nor the head of the military. The officer who receives the call at the Pentagon has no authority to question or challenge the order. His or her duty is only to implement it. Thirty minutes after the president gave the instruction, the nuclear missiles would be hitting their targets. **There is no way of turning them back**. Such power in the hands of a single individual would be a horrifying prospect **even if it were Solomon himself** whose finger was on the trigger. But as Bruce Blair, a former nuclear missile launch officer, and seasoned military analyst wrote during the 2016 campaign, Trump’s “**quick temper**, defensiveness bordering on **paranoia** and disdain for anyone who criticises him do not inspire deep confidence in his prudence.” What’s more, Trump is the man who said in 2015, “For me, nuclear is just the power, the devastation is very important to me,” and who bellowed from the campaign podium, “I love war”. In last year’s election campaign, the former Republican congressman Joe Scarborough reported on a briefing a foreign policy expert had given Trump. “Three times, he asked, at one point, ‘If we have them, we can’t we use them?’ … Three times, in an hour briefing, ‘Why can’t we use nuclear weapons?’” It turns out Hillary Clinton was right to warn Americans 14 months ago that, “It’s not hard to imagine Donald Trump leading us into a war just because somebody got under his very thin skin.” And here we are, Trump tweet-goading the North Koreans by declaring military solutions “locked and loaded”. We need imagine no longer. Those who find themselves trembling at all this have spent the last few days grasping for a comfort blanket. A favourite has been the notion that those around Trump, especially the generals current and former, will not let him unleash nuclear Armageddon. This view holds that, yes, Trump may well be dangerously unhinged but fear not, the wiser heads of Washington will stay his hand. Indeed, this strain of thinking has been visible since Trump took the oath of office. Call it the deep state fantasy. It looks to the national security apparatus, the intelligence agencies and the permanent bureaucracy, the shadow government, to step in and do the right thing. It hangs its hopes on a range of prospective saviours. It might be the trio of former generals made up of Jim Mattis, who heads the Pentagon, John Kelly, recently drafted in as chief of staff, and HR McMaster who serves as national security adviser. Alternatively, it looks to the loose alliance hailed this week by the influential Axios website as “The Committee to Save America”, consisting not only of the generals but also the cluster of New Yorkers that includes some of Trump’s less hot-headed economic advisers, with added reinforcements from the Republican ranks in Congress. The committee’s unofficial mission: to protect “the nation from disaster”. The ultimate deep state fantasy longs for the men in the shadows not merely to restrain Trump, but remove him from office. The designated hero of this story is Robert Mueller, the former FBI director now heading what is reported to be a swift and penetrating probe into allegations of collusion with Russia as well as Trump’s wider business dealings. Mueller’s role may indeed prove to be critical. But the deep state fantasy itself, while comforting, is surely a **dead end for Trump’s opponents**. For one thing, events have reached an odd pass when liberals are dreaming of unelected generals thwarting an elected head of government: that used to be the fantasy of the militaristic right. But **it also relies more on hope than evidence**. All these supposedly wise heads around Trump: **what restraint have they achieved so far?** Kelly was meant to impose order and discipline, and yet we still have Trump tweeting threats that could **easily be misinterpreted** as the cue for war. On North Korea, the US administration continues to send conflicting signals by the hour, with Trump outriders like Sebastian Gorka slapping down secretary of state Rex Tillerson on BBC Radio 4’s Today programme on Friday, creating confusion when a nuclear standoff requires calm clarity. And we cannot escape the basic fact. All these advisers can try to hold him back, but when it comes to it, nuclear authority is **Trump’s and Trump’s alone**. He is the nuclear monarch. The glum truth is that the only people who can effectively check a democratically elected menace like Trump are **other democratically elected leaders**. Ultimately it will be up to the men and women of Congress to do their constitutional duty by **impeaching Trump** and removing him from office. If Republicans won’t do it, then voters need to replace them with Democrats who will, by voting for a new House **in the midterm elections** of November 2018. The trouble is, it’s not clear that the US – or the world – have that much time.

### AT: family separation thumper

#### Issue-specific uniqueness – our authors are seasoned political analysts and have obviously priced in other issues – but support is still high in spite of such distractions, which was the uniqueness debate

#### And – Trump issued an XO that stopped the practice – solves backlash sufficiently

#### White evangelicals are the core of his base – and they love hardline immigration policies

Amelia Thomson-Deveaux 6/21/18, analyst at FiveThirtyEight, "Why Rank-And-File Evangelicals Aren’t Likely To Turn On Trump Over Family Separation", FiveThirtyEight, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-rank-and-file-evangelicals-arent-likely-to-turn-on-trump-over-family-separation/

Right now, however, even though some white evangelical leaders have condemned Trump and the family separation policy, there’s no evidence that their followers are poised to turn on the president. Indeed, there are a couple of reasons to think many white evangelicals will react differently than their leaders who have criticized Trump. Understanding evangelicals’ broader perspective on immigration can also help illuminate why this group continues to support Trump so strongly — despite recent scandals that appear to fly in the face of evangelicals’ values.1 First, polling on white evangelical Protestants has shown that they’re more likely than any other religious group to support hardline immigration policies and to have negative views of immigrants overall. A recent survey by the Pew Research Center found that 70 percent of white evangelical Protestants are in favor of expanding the border wall between the U.S. and Mexico, compared with only around half of white mainline Protestants and white Catholics and much lower shares of other religious groups. Another Pew survey, conducted last year, found that while majorities of nearly every religious group agree that immigrants strengthen our country, white evangelical Protestants are more divided, with a plurality (44 percent) saying that immigrants are a burden. These findings line up with results from other surveys too, like a 2017 poll from the Public Religion Research Institute that found that white evangelical Protestants were the only religious group in which a majority (57 percent) said they’re bothered when they encounter immigrants who don’t speak English. They were also the likeliest to say that they have little or nothing in common with immigrants. Daniel Cox, the research director at PRRI,2 said these findings help explain why evangelicals aren’t likely to abandon Trump over the child separation crisis, even if they’re troubled by it. “More than other groups, white evangelical Protestants seem to perceive immigrants as a threat to American society,” he said. “So even if they don’t like this particular policy, they’re on board with Trump’s approach to immigration in general, and that makes it likelier that they’ll see this as a tactical misstep rather than a breaking point.” That’s also how some evangelical leaders have responded; for example, Jentezen Franklin, a Georgia megachurch pastor who serves on Trump’s evangelical advisory council, criticized the family separation policy in an interview with FiveThirtyEight but blamed Congress — rather than Trump — for failing to act. “The president really cares for these families, but to permanently fix the problem, he needs Congress to do their job and work with him on border security,” Franklin said, adding that many evangelicals were drawn to Trump because of his emphasis on reducing the number of undocumented immigrants in the U.S.

#### The base doesn’t really care

Dylan Matthews 6/18/18, Vox politics correspondent, "Polls: Trump’s family separation policy is very unpopular — except among Republicans", Vox, https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/6/18/17475740/family-separation-poll-polling-border-trump-children-immigrant-families-parents

Two new polls find that the US government policy of separating children from their parents at the Mexican border is very unpopular with the general public but retains majority support among Republicans. A new Quinnipiac University poll, released Monday, asked voters, “As you may know, some families seeking asylum from their home country cross the U.S. border illegally and then request asylum. In an attempt to discourage this, the Trump administration has been prosecuting the parents immediately, which means separating parents from their children. Do you support or oppose this policy?” As my colleague Dara Lind notes, this characterizes most of the reason for family separation, though some families seeking asylum legally at ports of entry have also been separated. Sixty-six percent of voters — including 91 percent of Democrats and 68 percent of independents — told Quinnipiac they opposed the policy. Whites with college degrees were likelier than non-college whites to oppose the policy, and young people of all races were likelier to oppose it than old people. Women were likelier to oppose the policy than men, and black and Hispanic Americans were more likely to oppose it than whites (though a large majority of whites still oppose the policy). But by a large, 20-point (55 percent to 35 percent) margin, Republicans supported the policy: A poll conducted by Ipsos exclusively for the Daily Beast found similar results. Ipsos asked respondents if they agreed with this statement: “It is appropriate to separate undocumented immigrant parents from their children when they cross the border in order to discourage others from crossing the border illegally.” The wording is slightly different from the Quinnipiac poll, foregrounding the deterrence rationale the Trump administration has used to defend the policy. Fifty-five percent of respondents stated they disagreed (42 percent “strongly” disagreed), while 27 percent agreed. As in the Quinnipiac poll, women and nonwhite people were likelier to disagree with the policy; unlike the Quinnipiac poll, differences based on education were minimal, and 18- to 34-year-olds and 35- to 54-year-olds had similar opinions. (People 55 and up were likelier to support the policy.) And as in the Quinnipiac poll, more Republicans approved of the policy than not (46 percent to 32 percent). Note that unlike the Quinnipiac poll, the Ipsos poll found only a plurality of Republicans supporting family separation, not a majority. Chris Warshaw, a political scientist at George Washington University, notes that both the Quinnipiac and Ipsos polling suggests the policy is less popular than any major policy proposal of recent American history, including the extremely unpopular Obamacare repeal bills of last summer: [tweet omitted] Nonetheless, the polls find that Trump’s core Republican base supports family separation. But when interpreting party-based polling, one should keep in mind the finding by Emory political scientists Pablo Montagnes, Zachary Peskowitz, and Joshua McCrain that Trump’s unpopularity has coincided with fewer people identifying as Republicans. That could mean that Republicans who disagree with Trump, and in particular his immigration policies, are likelier to identify as independents rather than Republicans now, which in turn artificially inflates support for Trump among self-identified Republicans. If you polled people who identified as Republicans as of November 2016 and asked what they think of the family separation policy, you might get different results. That said, Trump’s popularity has been rising in recent weeks, which could mitigate that effect.

### AT: immigration not key/other issues

#### Immigration is central to Trump’s strategy of maintaining popularity – it carried him to the 2016 win and it’s keeping the Republicans loyal, engaged, and fired up – that’s the 1nc and the link debate

#### “other issues” isn’t a thumper until they read ev that says he will lose large amounts of base support because of some other impending issue – vaguely alluding to potentially unpopular things is not an argument

#### Polls prove – Republicans think immigration is the most important issue – outweighs healthcare AND the economy

Ella Nilsen 6/20/18, covers Congress and the Democrats for Vox, "Poll: immigration has become the No. 1 issue for voters in 2018", Vox, https://www.vox.com/2018/6/20/17485162/pew-research-center-poll-immigration-issue-2018-midterms

Out of 2,002 Republican and Democratic adults (including 1,608 registered voters) surveyed by the Pew Research Center from June 5 to 12, immigration emerged as the top issue they most wanted to hear 2018 candidates talk about. In fact, about one in five voters mentioned immigration — more than mentioned either health care or the economy. Republican voters or those who lean Republican were slightly more likely to mention immigration as their most important issue than their Democratic counterparts; 21 percent of Republicans mentioned immigration as their top issue, compared to 18 percent of Democrats. Health care was the next most important priority for Democratic voters, while Republicans were focused on the economy and economic issues. Democratic voters were twice as likely as Republicans to mention health care as a key issue.

### AT – Policy Thumps

#### Immigration is key – minor policy shifts don’t matter

Newton 2/11

(Derek Newton is a communications professional and writer in New York City. He worked as a political consultant and speech writer for numerous campaigns including John Kerry's 2004 Presidential campaign and was formerly a Vice-President at The Century Foundation, a progressive think tank. February 11, 2018. “Trump's core supporters won't reject him. It would mean rejecting their own values.” <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/trump-s-core-supporters-won-t-reject-him-it-would-ncna846456>)

Political experience and logic tell us that, at some point, Donald Trump's supporters should become overwhelmed by the mounting evidence of his failures and broken promises — as Steve Bannon [reportedly was](https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2018-02-09/has-anyone-seen-the-president) over the inclusion of a path to citizenship for DREAMers in the State of the Union — and retreat. But the back of the Trump base is not likely to break any time soon, because Trump’s supporters aren’t beholden to politics or logic. Instead, they are creatures of a group psychology dynamic more commonly seen in religious and fraternal organizations. In the “communion mode” authority structure, [described by Andrew Gray](https://www.amazon.com/Doing-Public-Good-Evaluation-Comparative/dp/1412862469), people's recognition of legitimate authority is "based on an appeal to common values and creeds." "In this mode," added Gray, "the legitimacy for actions lies in consistency with the understandings, protocols, and guiding values of shared frames of reference.” Compare that to the contractual mode, which is based an agreement that sets out obligations and rewards, or “command mode,” which Gray said, "is based on the rule of law emanating from a sovereign body and delivered through a scalar chain of superior and subordinate authority." Communion governance structures rely on regular in-person meetings, call and response rituals (witness the continued usefulness of "Lock her up!" chants at Trump rallies, despite Hillary Clinton's 2016 loss) and faith in shared values and experiences. Groups built around communion authority are tightly connected and very strong in part because, [research shows](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11205-014-0700-0), they display “homophily and parochialism directed to those outside the group.” (That is a scholarly way of saying that those in communion groups tend to associate and bond with people that are similar to themselves and view those who are not with suspicion and hostility.) When Trump said he was going to build the wall, he was reflecting a shared value of opposition to immigration, or anti-Hispanic bias or frustration with paralysis on immigration policy (or all three). Significantly, researchers have also [found that](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260015765_Desire_for_a_positive_moral_self-regard_exacerbates_escalation_of_commitment_to_initiatives_with_prosocial_aims)religious communion authority followers make contributions as a show of their values rather than to affect any consequence. That’s key to understanding Trump’s base because it means that contributions to the cause — whether money, posting on social media or voting — were unlikely to be influenced by whether Trump could actually deliver on his promises. And it explains why political arguments about whether the wall will really get built (Trump [has admitted](http://www.latimes.com/politics/washington/la-na-essential-washington-updates-no-need-for-full-border-wall-trump-1499975363-htmlstory.html) that [it doesn't need to be a full scale wall](http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/368450-conway-trump-discovered-there-doesnt-need-to-be-physical-wall-along)), whether Mexico is going to pay for it ([they won't](https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/27/politics/mexico-border-wall-trump-tweet/index.html), and [Trump knows it](https://nypost.com/2018/01/17/kelly-we-wont-build-all-of-trumps-wall-and-mexico-wont-pay-for-it/)) or whether he's brought coal jobs back ([he didn't](http://money.cnn.com/2018/01/10/news/companies/coal-mine-closing/index.html)) did not, do not and will not matter to Trump supporters. Even though Trump promised a wall for which Mexico would pay and coal jobs, [among other broken promises](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-promise-tracker/?utm_term=.4237a794c05b), his supporters did not invest in his campaign to get those specific things. When Trump said he was going to build that wall, he was reflecting a shared value of opposition to immigration, or anti-Hispanic bias or frustration with paralysis on immigration policy (or all three). To those in this communion structure, Trump’s seriousness about their shared values — that he believes them too — is all that matters. Moreover, [according to philanthropy experts](https://www.palgrave.com/us/book/9781137341518), for those in communion structures, a belief that the group’s values are under threat or assault by larger, stronger forces dramatically increases followers' commitment. Therefore, the act of critics pointing out Trump’s failures could strengthen his standing if drawing attention to those failures are seen as persecution by outside forces (such as a “deep state” or a “fake news media”). Perhaps most importantly, as communion followers, those in the Trump base are likely to see attacks on him as attacks on them personally, because they recognize Trump as a values leader, not a political one. Opposition to him is opposition to those values — their values. So, when reporters ask, “Do you still support Trump?” they hear, “Do you still support your own values?” [Research supports](https://www.amazon.com/American-Grace-Religion-Divides-Unites/dp/1416566732) that the bonds between communion group members are stronger than those between followers and a leader. It is important, therefore, to view Trump as distinct from the values of the group. A leader may be transitional, but the values tend to be more rigid. Therefore, inroads to Trump’s base are more likely to be successful if they avoid the values or symbols of the supporters, and find ways to target Trump for betraying them. They recognize his legitimacy and follow him not because of who he is or what he does, but because of what they think he believes — and what they think that says about them. Because the values outweigh the leaders, when communion followers no longer see their values reflected by a communion leader, they become receptive to finding a new one. Since people's acceptance of communion authority relies on consistency with shared values, demonstrating that Trump no longer does (or never did) share the values of his followers in faith, not practice would be pivotal. Similarly, the emergence of other leaders that more passionately reflect shared values would cleave Trump from his base. If, for example, someone stepped forward to say Trump is not hard enough on immigrants, terrorists or trade, that person might pull supporters away from Trump and into their orbit. Still, owing to the group’s insularity and resistance to outside criticism, any values-based replacements for Trump must come from within the structure, not outside. To work, the followers must believe the leader believes in the shared value more than Trump. And even under such scenario, it’s unlikely that such a replacement leader could take over the Trump base as much as fragment it. No further treks to Trump Country are needed to understand why Trump’s base remains unshaken. They recognize his legitimacy and follow him not because of who he is or what he does, but because of what they think he believes — and what they think that says about them.

### AT – Health Thumps

#### Immigration is central to the base – more important than healthcare

Harwood, 17 (John Harwood needs quals. “Trump's core voters could suffer most under GOP health bill, but they may not punish him for it”. CNBC. June 23rd, 2017. <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/06/23/trump-base-will-likely-stick-with-him-if-unpopular-gop-health-care-bill-passes.html> //rm)

The Senate health-care bill has sharpened the central political question surrounding the 2017 Republican agenda: Will the voters who made Donald Trump president rebel?

Like the House health-care bill, the Senate version would roll back Obamacare's expansion of insurance coverage under Medicaid. While cutting Obamacare's taxes on the rich, it would shrink both subsidies and requirements on insurers for coverage on exchange marketplaces, leaving many beneficiaries with skimpier protection and higher deductibles.

Those changes threaten financial hardship for the very constituency that won Trump the 2016 Republican nomination and tipped the electoral votes that put him in the White House.

They violate his explicit pledges to protect Medicaid from cuts and reduce their out of pocket expenses for health care.

Yet that doesn't mean those voters will lash out if Congress enacts the cuts and Trump signs them. As an in-depth recent examination of the president's supporters shows, they backed him for different reasons.

A broad-based group of analysts conducted the study with support from the Democracy Fund. Emily Ekins of the libertarian Cato Institute identified five distinct groups of Trump voters.

Most of them are consistent Republicans. The least loyal Republican group, which formed the core of Trump's support for the nomination from the beginning, is what Ekins calls "American Preservationists."

She described this segment – about 20 percent of Trump backers overall – as having relatively low levels of income and formal education. They are the most likely Republican group to be on Medicaid and to be disabled.

These voters lean left on economic issues such as trade, income inequality, anger at Wall Street and support for federal entitlement programs. For those reasons, Trump's rhetoric about protecting entitlement programs and raising taxes on the rich offered a natural fit.

But so did Trump's tough stance on immigration and harsh words for Mexicans crossing the border. Overwhelmingly white like other Trump voters, "American Preservationists" also hold distinctive views on race.

They "have a strong sense of their own racial identity … and believe that anti-white discrimination is as pervasive as other forms of discrimination," Ekins wrote. "They have cooler feelings toward minorities. They agree in overwhelming numbers that real Americans need to have been born in America, or have lived here most of their lives, and be Christian."

And the study found that those views of racial solidarity helped propel Trump's general election victory more than his "populism" on trade or entitlements.

### AT – Econ Thumps

#### No econ thumper – Cultural anxiety and immigration are the most important issues to Trump supporters

Green 17

(Emma Green is a staff writer at ​The Atlantic, where she covers politics, policy, and religion. May 9, 2017. “It Was Cultural Anxiety That Drove White, Working-Class Voters to Trump” https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/05/white-working-class-trump-cultural-anxiety/525771/)

White Americans carried Donald Trump to the White House. He won college-educated white voters by a four-point margin over Hillary Clinton, [according](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/08/us/politics/election-exit-polls.html?_r=0) to exit polls. But his real victory was among members of the white working class: Twice as many of these voters cast their ballots for the president as for Clinton. In the wake of Trump’s surprise win, some journalists, scholars, and political strategists argued that economic anxiety drove these Americans to Trump. But [new analysis of post-election survey data conducted by the Public Religion Research Institute and The Atlantic](https://www.prri.org/research/white-working-class-attitudes-economy-trade-immigration-election-donald-trump/) found something different: Evidence suggests financially troubled voters in the white working class were more likely to prefer Clinton over Trump. Besides partisan affiliation, it was cultural anxiety—feeling like a stranger in America, supporting the deportation of immigrants, and hesitating about educational investment—that best predicted support for Trump. This data adds to the public’s mosaic-like understanding of the 2016 election. It suggests Trump’s most powerful message, at least among some Americans, was about defending the country’s putative culture. Because this message seems to have resonated so deeply with voters, Trump’s policies, speeches, and eventual reelection may depend on their perception of how well he fulfills it. In September and October 2016, PRRI and The Atlantic surveyed American voters about how they were feeling about politics. Researchers specifically focused on white, working-class voters—people without college degrees or salaried jobs. This group accounts for one-third of American adults. They make up a bigger share of the population in the Midwest than they do in any other region, and more than half of rural Americans are part of the white working class. As it turned out, this would become one of the most decisive groups of voters in the election. In November, researchers returned to this group to see how its members had voted and get a sense of why. They found that 64 percent of these voters had chosen Trump, while only 32 percent chose Clinton. While white, non-college-educated voters tend to prefer Republicans, Trump won them by a larger margin than any presidential candidate since 1980, [according](http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/behind-trumps-victory-divisions-by-race-gender-education/) to the Pew Research Center. Partisan identification strongly predicted how white, working-class people would vote. Self-described Republicans were 11 times more likely than their non-Republican peers to choose Trump. Researchers found that partisanship is most pronounced among the young: Among white working-class Americans under 30, 57 percent identified as Republican or Republican-leaning, compared to 29 percent who identified as Democratic or Democratic-leaning. By comparison, only slightly more than half of seniors 65 and over were Republicans or Republican-leaning, compared to over one-third who were Democrats or Democratic-leaning. It may not be surprising that Republicans vote Republican. But the analysis also isolated a handful of other factors that drove white working-class voters—ones that defy post-election tropes. Controlling for other demographic variables, three factors stood out as strong independent predictors of how white working-class people would vote. The first was anxiety about cultural change. Sixty-eight percent of white working-class voters said the American way of life needs to be protected from foreign influence. And nearly half agreed with the statement, “things have changed so much that I often feel like a stranger in my own country.” Together, these variables were strong indictors of support for Trump: 79 percent of white working-class voters who had these anxieties chose Trump, while only 43 percent of white working-class voters who did not share one or both of these fears cast their vote the same way. The second factor was immigration. Contrary to popular narratives, only a small portion—just 27 percent—of white working-class voters said they favor a policy of identifying and deporting immigrants who are in the country illegally. Among the people who did share this belief, Trump was wildly popular: 87 percent of them supported the president in the 2016 election. Finally, 54 percent of white working-class Americans said investing in college education is a risky gamble, including 61 percent of white working-class men. White working-class voters who held this belief were almost twice as likely as their peers to support Trump. “The enduring narrative of the American dream is that if you study and get a college education and work hard, you can get ahead,” said Robert P. Jones, the CEO of PRRI. “The survey shows that many white working-class Americans, especially men, no longer see that path available to them. … It is this sense of economic fatalism, more than just economic hardship, that was the decisive factor in support for Trump among white working-class voters.” While the analysis pointed to some interesting patterns around economic status, more research is needed to confirm them. The findings contrast with much of the coverage of the election: People who said their finances are only in fair or poor shape were nearly twice as likely to support Clinton compared to those who feel more economically secure. Although demographic factors like gender, age, geographic region, and religion weren’t statistically significant predictors of who voted for Trump, some of the other information gathered in the survey offers a portrait of how white working-class Americans feel about their status in the world. Nearly two-thirds of the white working class say American culture has gotten worse since the 1950s. Sixty-eight percent say the U.S. is in danger of losing its identity, and 62 percent say America’s growing number of immigrants threaten the country’s culture. More than half say discrimination against whites has become just as problematic as discrimination against minorities. This analysis provides only a surface look at the concerns and anxieties of America’s white working class. Polling is a [notoriously clumsy instrument](https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/11/the-meaning-of-life-in-one-amazing-chart/412318/) for understanding people’s lives, and provides only a sketch of who they are. But it’s useful for debunking myths and narratives—particularly the ubiquitous idea that economic anxiety drove white working-class voters to support Trump. When these voters hear messages from their president, they’re listening with ears attuned to cultural change and anxiety about America’s multicultural future. It would be a mistake to use this insight to create yet another caricature of the Trump voter. But perhaps it will complicate the stereotypes about destitute factory landscapes and poor folks who had nowhere to turn but right.

#### **Econ doesn’t thump – Immigration is the key voting issue for Republicans**

Caspani 7/5

(Maria Caspani is a digital editor at Reuters News Agency. She earned a Bachelor’s Degree in Philosophy and MA in Journalism at the Università degli Studi di Milano. July 5, 2018. “Immigration top issue for U.S. voters, economy a close second: Reuters/Ipsos poll” https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-immigration/immigration-top-issue-for-u-s-voters-economy-a-close-second-reuters-ipsos-poll-idUSKBN1JV31K)

(Reuters) - Immigration tops the economy and healthcare as the most important issue determining Americans’ vote ahead of the midterm elections in November, a new Reuters/Ipsos opinion poll shows. Reuters/Ipsos data shows that immigration became a top concern for registered voters in the United States after the Trump administration in May announced its “zero tolerance” policy on illegal immigrants, saying they would be criminally charged. The policy became a political lightning rod in mid-June with disclosures that thousands of children were separated from their parents who were accused of crossing illegally into the country. The poll, conducted between June 28 and July 2, found: - [Fifteen percent](http://newsdata.reuters.com.s3-website-us-east-1.amazonaws.com/polling/#!response/TR112/type/day/filters/PD1:1/dates/20180628-20180702/collapsed/true) of U.S. registered voters said immigration was the top issue determining how they will cast their ballot in November, while 14 percent said the economy was their biggest concern. - Twenty-six percent of registered Republicans cited immigration as the most important issue likely to determine their vote, up 14 percentage points from a similar poll conducted at the beginning of June. - Healthcare remains the top issue for registered Democrats (16 percent), followed by the economy (14 percent), the Reuters/Ipsos poll shows. Seven percent of Democrats cited immigration as their top concern. - However, Trump’s approval on his handling of immigration remains little changed since the beginning of the year, with 52 percent of registered voters saying in an ongoing Reuters/Ipsos poll that they disapprove of the way the president is handling immigration. Americans are squarely divided along partisan lines on Trump’s stance on immigration: Eighty-one percent of Republicans said they approve of his handling of the issue while 84 percent of registered Democrats said they disapprove.

### AT – Russia Thumps

#### Trump base is still with him even after the “would/wouldn’t” fiasco

Fox 7/19

(Michelle Fox is a veteran digital and television journalist, Michelle Fox writes articles for CNBC.com and acts as a liaison between the website and CNBC television shows. Prior to joining CNBC.com, she spent years on the broadcast side of the business, including an earlier stint at CNBC. Fox has also worked at MSNBC, Court TV and WCBS-TV in New York, where she earned an Emmy award for anticipated breaking news coverage. July 19, 2018. “Trump’s performance with Putin not a ‘tipping point’ for his base: Former Bush aide” https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/17/trumps-performance-with-putin-not-a-tipping-point-former-bush-aide.html)

President [Donald Trump](https://www.cnbc.com/donald-trump/)’s performance at a press conference with Russia President [Vladimir Putin](https://www.cnbc.com/vladimir-putin/) wasn’t damaging enough to be a “tipping point” for his base to start to walk away, said Sara Fagen, former senior aide to President George W. Bush. The president has come under harsh criticism since Monday’s summit with the Russian leader. In the post-meeting press conference, [Trump appeared to endorse Putin’s denial](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/16/putin-told-trump-russia-never-meddled-in-us-election.html) of Russian election meddling over the conclusions of U.S. intelligence agencies. On Tuesday, [Trump said he misspoke](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/17/trump-election-meddling-took-place-but-russian-actions-had-no-impact.html). Fagen told CNBC that while there has been very strong criticism from Republican senators, it has been from those who have been critical of the president. “We need to see the full body of the Senate, particularly, and some leaders in the House, they would need to be much more critical, and the language they use would need to be stronger,” she said on “[Power Lunch](https://www.cnbc.com/middle-east-turmoil/)” Tuesday. Plus, one or two very senior White House officials would need to resign for his base to be swayed, added Fagen, a CNBC contributor. In responding to the widespread criticism on Tuesday, Trump said, "I accept our intelligence community's conclusion that Russia's meddling in the 2016 election took place." He then added: "Could be other people also. A lot of people out there. But there was no collusion." The president said he misspoke in Monday’s press conference. "My people came to me, [Director of National Intelligence] Dan Coates came to me and some others, they said they think it's Russia. I have President Putin. He just said it's not Russia," Trump said Monday. "I will say this: I don't see any reason why it would be." However, Trump said he meant to say he didn't see "any reason why it wouldn't be Russia." He also repeatedly praised intelligence agencies on Tuesday. "I have a faith, full faith, in our intelligence agencies. I have full faith and support for America's great intelligence agencies, always have," he said. Fagen said Trump should have said those words while standing next to Putin, but she believes his remarks on Tuesday will soothe the criticism. “The criticism has been sharp in a few corners but not sharp enough to see widespread defections, to force people to resign, the things that would be required for this to be a tipping point, at least in his foreign policy outlook,” she said. Among those who slammed the president on Monday was Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., who called the press conference "one of the [most disgraceful performances](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/16/john-mccain-says-trump-abased-himself-before-putin-at-summit.html) by an American president in memory." Former CIA director John Brennan said in a tweet that the press conference was "[nothing short of treasonous](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/16/outrage-at-trump-performance-with-putin.html)."

#### Helsinki hasn’t hurt Trump – still retains his base and same approval rating

Levitz 7/19

(Eric Levitz is a political writer at New York Magazine. He studies at CUNY School of Journalism. July 19, 2018. “Polls: GOP Voters Think Trump’s Putin Summit Went Great” http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/07/polls-most-voters-disapproved-of-trumps-putin-summit.html)

On Monday, the president of the United States [blamed](http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/07/trump-u-s-russia-relations-will-improve-after-summit.html) American law enforcement for souring U.S.-Russia relations; suggested that the Kremlin is more trustworthy than the CIA; and voiced approval for allowing FSB agents to interrogate Americans who’ve run afoul of Moscow — all while Vladimir Putin smirked from a podium a few feet to his left. For many of Donald Trump’s normally sycophantic surrogates, this sorry spectacle was a gaffe too far. It was one thing for Trump to defend neo-Nazis, or psychologically torture masses of migrant children, or demand the FBI comport itself as his personal detective agency. But to stand beside an avowed opponent of U.S. hegemony — and apologize for America? “[Disgusting](http://www.businessinsider.com/neil-cavuto-trump-press-conference-with-putin-disgusting-2018-7),” declared Fox Business anchor Neil Cavuto. “The most serious mistake of his presidency,” Newt Gingrich [declared](https://www.newsweek.com/trump-putin-newt-gingrich-russia-1030245). The Senate’s nominally anti-Trump Republicans turned [their empty rhetorical denunciations](http://thehill.com/policy/international/397653-mccain-trump-plays-right-into-putins-hands-by-attacking-montenegro) up to 11. Even die-hard Trumpists like Tom Cotton felt compelled to offer [implicit criticism.](https://freebeacon.com/national-security/cotton-slams-russia-following-helsinki-summit-putin-committed-adversary-united-states/) For once, conservative elites had certified that mainstream outrage at Trump’s conduct was not, in fact, “fake news.” This raised the possibility that the president’s bizarre performance in Helsinki might actually change public opinion, and with it, the terrain of the battle for House control. As [RealClearPolitics’ Sean Trende](https://twitter.com/SeanTrende/status/1018894980528721920) noted, if Trump’s approval dipped back below 40 percent — where it had been through much of the fall — precedent would predict a Democratic “wave” this November. But that doesn’t appear to be happening. Trump’s job approval has not [dropped significantly](http://gmail.com/) in the first surveys taken since the Helsinki summit. And two polls released Thursday explain why: While a large majority of Democrats and independents disapproved of Trump’s performance, most Republican voters now believe that it’s actually cool and good for an American president to say he trusts a former KGB agent more than the FBI. An [Axios/SurveyMonkey](https://www.axios.com/republicans-say-trump-did-fine-in-helsinki-5776322f-a483-4e21-b50c-028799b08367.html) poll finds that 79 percent of Republicans approved of Trump’s handling of the summit, while 91 percent of Democrats and 62 percent of independents disagreed. In total, that puts overall disapproval at 58 percent, and approval at 40. [A CBS News survey](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/poll-trump-putin-meeting-helsinki-summit-russia-election-meddling/?ftag=CNM-00-10aab7e&linkId=54468341), meanwhile, produces largely similar results (for whatever reason, a lot more respondents chose “I don’t know” in the network’s survey than did in Axios’s): 68 percent of Republicans told the network that Trump did a good job in Helsinki, 83 percent of Democrats and 53 percent of independents said he did a bad one. These are not good poll numbers. In 2016, Trump scraped together an Electoral College victory on the strength of 80,000 well-placed votes. Since then, his approval rating has [plummeted across the Rust Belt.](https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/6/19/17474984/trump-state-polling)Now, at a time of historically low unemployment, a majority of voters disapprove of Trump’s job performance in the states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Ohio. In this context, the fact that the president is retaining most of his base — while alienating most independent voters — is not good news for his reelection prospects. It is, however, good enough to keep the threat of significant intraparty criticism (let alone, impeachment) at bay. After Trump did [three-quarters of an about-face](http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/07/gop-senators-trumps-obvious-russia-lie-good-enough-for-us.html) on Putin — claiming, absurdly, that he had intended to say the opposite of what he’d actually said about Russian involvement in the 2016 election — Republican lawmakers rallied back to his side. And, thanks to Republican gerrymandering, and the higher turnout rates of the elderly, if Trump can keep his approval rating above 40 percent, he just might keep the House in GOP hands. For the moment, it doesn’t look like Helsinki was any kind of “turning point.” Trump was about as historically unpopular before the summit, as he is now, days after. In the short term, the vast disparity between how Republican voters see the world — and how the rest of the electorate does — might qualify as good news for GOP incumbents. In the long run, it won’t be.

#### No checks

Lockett 18 (5/24, Jon, The Sun author, “Does Donald Trump have the nuclear launch codes and what has the US president said about North Korea?”, The Sun, https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2150683/donald-trump-nuclear-codes-world-war-3-russia-syria-north-korea/)

Trump was given access to the launch codes in one of his first tasks as Commander-in-Chief. Reports said he always carries the so-called Gold Codes on his person, printed on a credit-card sized piece of plastic nicknamed "the biscuit". If he is away from the White House, Trump will be accompanied by a military aide who carries the "nuclear football" - a briefcase containing a mobile hub linked to the strategic defence system. Once a launch has been ordered, a short code is sent to sites where crews will authenticate them before launching. Trump previously insisted he would not recklessly launch nuclear action, but days into 2018, the President warned North Korea that he had a "bigger and more powerful nuke button". If President Trump were to order an attack, no one can stop it – the military will simply confirm the codes and fire. Officers may resign, but the attack would still go ahead. Bruce G. Blair, a former Minuteman missile-launch officer and research scholar at Princeton told Bloomberg: "The Commander-in-Chief’s power is clear: He or she has sole authority to use nuclear weapons. "Before initiating military action, the president convenes a conference with military and civilian advisers in Washington. If travelling, the President is patched in on a secure line. "The consultation lasts as long as the president wishes, but if enemy missiles are heading toward the US and the president must order a counter strike, the consultation may last just 30 seconds." Once he has ordered a launch, a short code is transmitted to launch sites – where crews will then authenticate them against sealed codes provided by the National Security Agency, before launching. What has Trump and his administration said about North Korea? Donald Trump wrote a letter to North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un saying the historic meeting "will not take place". He cited the "tremendous anger and open hostility" in a recent statement from North Korea, in which it said the country was just as ready to meet in a nuclear confrontation as at the negotiating table. Trump replied: "You talk about your nuclear capabilities, but ours are so massive that I pray to God they will never have to be used." he said the cancellation was for the good of both countries but to "the detriment of the world".

#### Even if there were checks, they’d fail – fear of losing their jobs

* Trump won’t listen
* He’d fire aids
* Congress wants energized base for midterms

Levitz 18 (Eric, 3/21, New Yorker Author, “Donald Trump Has Never Been More Dangerous Than He Is Now”, Daily Intelligencer, <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/03/donald-trump-has-never-been-more-dangerous-than-he-is-now.html>)

For progressives, the case for optimism about Trump’s tenure has always gone something like: If he doesn’t get us all killed, the demagogue might just rejuvenate the Democratic base, poison the GOP’s brand, trigger big “blue” wave elections in 2018 and 2020, and thus, ironically, leave U.S. politics in a better place than it had been in circa 2016. Over the past month, each piece of this scenario has begun to seem a tad more likely — except, that is, for the “doesn’t get us all killed” bit. Of course, Donald Trump is (almost certainly) not going to literally end all human life. But in recent weeks, many of the downside risks of his election — a mass-casualty war, irreparable diplomatic blunder, or constitutional crisis — have become more plausible than ever before. Assuming we avoid total catastrophe, America is poised to make a speedy recovery from its ill-advised experiment with kakistocracy. But there are (at least) four reasons why that assumption has never been less safe: 1) The “adults” in the West Wing have never had less influence over the president. The most harrowing development in presidential politics over the past month (the one that exacerbates all of the others) is that Donald Trump finally lost his humility. That may sound absurd, like saying Trump “finally” lost his tail, or some other appendage that the president was clearly born without, or else separated from in early childhood. But the reality is that, until recently, Trump approached his duties with a modicum of modesty. Awed by the awesome responsibilities of his new office, Trump spent much of last year deferring to the expertise of his advisers. He let the Republican Establishment dictate his legislative agenda and most of his Cabinet, and allowed the putative “adults” in the West Wing to overrule his instincts on the Iran deal, trade policy, and a variety of other matters. Of course, this forbearance was never strong enough to prevent the man from firing off incendiary tweets, praising white nationalists, canceling climate deals, or obstructing a little justice. But it was, nevertheless, sufficient to prevent Trump from translating his most belligerent rhetoric about foreign policy and the Mueller investigation into action. Now, however, Trump has finally shaken off his first-year jitters — and is ready to appoint himself the “adult” in every room. As the New York Times reports: A dozen people close to Mr. Trump or the White House, including current and former aides and longtime friends, described him as newly emboldened to say what he really feels and to ignore the cautions of those around him. … [I]n his first year in the White House, according to his friends, he found himself feeling tentative and anxious, intimidated by the role of president, a fact that he never openly admitted but that they could sense, people close to the president said … They say Mr. Trump now feels he doesn’t need the expertise of Mr. Kelly, Mr. Cohn or Rex W. Tillerson, the former Exxon Mobil executive he made secretary of state. If he once suspected they were smarter or better equipped to lead the country and protect his presidency, he doesn’t believe that now. The president’s new mind-set is readily apparent. Over the past two weeks, Trump has unilaterally announced steep tariffs on steel and aluminum imports to the United States; ousted the “globalist” director of his National Economic Council; agreed to an unprecedented face-to-face meeting with the leader of North Korea; fired his secretary of State over Twitter; orchestrated the (politically motivated) firing of deputy FBI director Andrew McCabe; and disparaged Robert Mueller’s investigation — by name — for the first time ever. In most, if not all, of these cases, the president either acted over the objections of senior advisers, or without bothering to consult them at all. The election of an emotionally volatile reality star — with authoritarian instincts, an insatiable ego, a capacious ignorance of American civics and geopolitics, and an implacable aversion to reading multi-page documents — led many a commentator to seek solace in the thought that Trump wouldn’t really be in charge. Precisely because he was so ignorant of — and uninterested in — governance, the new president would delegate critical decisions to his team of decorated generals, veteran GOP operatives, and corporate titans. He would handle the tweets, speeches, and petty graft; they’d handle the policy. Trump’s first 14 months produced plenty of evidence to support this hypothesis. But the past few weeks have fatally undermined it. The White House isn’t preparing for face-to-face talks with North Korea because James Mattis decided that was a good idea; or drafting $60 billion worth of tariffs against China because that’s what the GOP Establishment wanted. These things are happening solely because Trump decided to make them happen. That maniac on Twitter really is the president of the United States. And as more and more “adults” exit the West Wing — and it becomes more and more difficult to find normal, competent people willing to take their places — the chances of a return to last year’s “normalcy” grow ever more remote. 2) Trump’s path to a war with North Korea has never been easier to envision. The fact that Donald Trump’s gut instincts are now governing the White House would be alarming in just about any context. But in the present one, it is especially so. Two weeks ago, Trump accepted (on a whim) Kim Jong-un’s invitation for a face-to-face meeting. At first, criticism of this decision focused on the prospect that our prodigiously ignorant, easily flattered commander-in-chief would get suckered into a lopsided peace deal. But Victor Cha — Trump’s tentative pick for ambassador to South Korea, who (reportedly) lost that gig for his off-putting opposition to a preemptive strike on Pyongyang — highlighted a more ominous possibility in an op-ed for the New York Times: Everyone should be aware that this dramatic act of diplomacy by these two unusual leaders, who love flair and drama, may also take us closer to war. Failed negotiations at the summit level leave all parties with no other recourse for diplomacy. In which case, as Mr. Trump has said, we really will have “run out of road” on North Korea. The likelihood of this nightmare scenario increased significantly, last week, when Trump fired Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, and (reportedly) began seriously considering making John Bolton his next national security adviser. For his many, many faults, Tillerson was nevertheless one of the administration’s staunchest defenders of the Iran nuclear agreement — and among its most ardent opponents of a belligerent approach to North Korea. By contrast, his replacement — outgoing CIA director Mike Pompeo — was the only senior White House official who encouraged Trump to decertify the Iran deal, even as his colleagues in the intelligence agencies affirmed Tehran’s compliance with the agreement. Trump’s summit with Kim is tentatively scheduled for May. That same month, the president will need to either reaffirm Iran’s compliance with the agreement — or else withdraw the United States from the deal. The president (reportedly) told Benjamin Netanyahu that he intends to pick door No.2. Pompeo’s promotion increases the probability that Trump will keep that pledge. And if the president does, in fact, reaffirm the emptiness of America’s promises to rogue regimes – right before sitting down across from Kim – then North Korea would have to be an irrational actor to take him up on any denuclearization deal. It is true that, to this point, Defense Secretary James Mattis and National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster have kept Trump from blowing up the Iran agreement. And the fact that nullifying that deal would compromise diplomatic efforts with North Korea surely won’t escape those officials. But Mattis lost the internal fight over tariffs, and also, presumably, over Tillerson. Meanwhile, McMaster may be on his way out of the administration — and one of the top candidates to replace him is an Iran hawk who is publicly rooting for diplomacy with North Korea to fail. “How do you know the North Koreans are lying? Because their lips are moving,” John Bolton explained to Fox News last week. The former U.N. ambassador went on to argue that Trump’s meeting with Kim Jong-un was a positive development — because, as Cha had warned, it could accelerate the breakdown of diplomacy and the onset of military action to combat the North Korean threat. (A recent Pentagon simulation projected that a nonnuclear war between the United States and North Korea would come with a daily death toll of 20,000 in South Korea.) If recent rumors prove true, Bolton will be the highest-ranking national-security official in the White House come May. 3) Trump has never had a stronger incentive to undermine rule of law in the United States. In recent weeks, the special counsel has subpoenaed documents from the Trump Organization, sought an interview with the president himself, secured the cooperation of various Trump campaign aides and associates, and scrutinized the business dealings of the president’s son-in-law. Throughout his presidency, Trump has displayed an aversion to the concept of “rule of law.” He has argued repeatedly that he believes the Justice Department’s first responsibility is to protect him from legal harm. Now, he has more cause for indulging this authoritarian impulse than ever before. And indulging it, he is. Late Friday night, Jeff Sessions fired Andrew McCabe — just 26 hours before the G-man was set to qualify for his pension. McCabe immediately alleged that he’d been fired for crass political reasons — Trump was trying to discredit him as part of a broader attempt to obstruct and delegitimize the special counsel’s investigation. Trump promptly confirmed this charge. In a tweet celebrating McCabe’s firing, the president did not refer to any findings from the inspector general’s report that had officially triggered the deputy FBI director’s ouster, opting instead to denounce McCabe for his ties to James Comey, and complicity in “the lies and corruption going on at the highest levels of the FBI!” The president proceeded to publicly assail the Mueller probe, arguing that it was launched on the basis of a “Fake Dossier” (which is indisputably untrue) and that the investigative team leading it includes “Zero Republicans” (Robert Mueller is a Republican). Meanwhile, one of Trump’s lawyers called for the investigation to be shut down. Ultimately, these attacks are less alarming for their immediate effects, than for the signal that they send to the rest of federal law enforcement. Andrew McCabe is going to be fine. He has a range of options for recovering his pension, and (surely) for selling his tell-all book. And, as of this writing, the Mueller probe is still alive and kicking — in no small part because shutting down the investigation would be enormously difficult and costly for the president. Beyond the complex series of personnel changes required to dispatch Mueller and his team, the high-profile nature of the investigation ensures that its untimely death would result in a blizzard of politically damaging leaks. Still, as Vox’s Matt Yglesias writes: Part of the normal scandal aversion of a normal administration is that middle managers in the federal bureaucracy who sincerely support the president will try not to create a scandal. So it’s not just that Obama would not personally reach down into an investigation and meddle for political purposes, but a passionate Obama fan who also happens to run an Environmental Protection Agency field office wouldn’t do it either. The top leadership sets a tone, and while the tone isn’t universally followed, it does exert a big influence on people’s practical behavior. Trump, by contrast, has sent a clear signal in the opposite direction — he wants federal public servants, up to and including FBI special agents, to act like they are his personal employees. That doesn’t mean they’ll all do it — most of them won’t. But some of them will. The actual political appointees at every agency know what’s expected of them, and to the extent that there are ambitious and career-minded Trump fans scattered throughout the government — which is surely the case at the federal police agencies, if not the regulatory ones — they know that excessive service of Trump’s personal interests will be rewarded rather than punished. If Donald Trump really puts his mind to weaponizing federal agencies, he could inflict a tremendous amount of damage on our democracy. Thanks to the the War on Terror (and Barack Obama), Trump has inherited the legal authority to indefinitely detain anyone his administration deems a suspected terrorist or to assassinate Americans overseas without trial — and the technological wherewithal to spy on his political enemies, should he find or cultivate friendly renegades within the intelligence community. Separately, his administration’s responsibilities for administering the 2020 census and safeguarding the security of our elections provide significant opportunities for undermining democratic rule, should Trump and his allies become more adept at corrupting the federal bureaucracy. To this point, the strongest protection against such nightmare scenarios has been Trump’s dearth of ambition. No one ever became a successful dictator by watching eight hours of cable news each day, and taking a golf vacation nearly every weekend. But the Mueller probe is forcing the president (and his advisers) to think deeply about how the “deep state” can be co-opted. And as Trump has grown more self-confident, he’s begun tackling that problem with more energy and creativity. It remains difficult to believe that Trump has the wherewithal to outmaneuver senior civil servants throughout the Executive branch. But it’s a bit less difficult now than it was a few weeks ago; and it’s quite easy to imagine that the Democratic Party’s 2020 nominee will campaign while under some form of federal investigation. 4) It’s never been clearer that Congressional Republicans are unwilling to act as a check on Trump’s worst impulses. Congressional Republicans have been abetting Trump’s corruption from the earliest days of his administration. But at various points in the president’s first year, GOP lawmakers signaled that there was an outer limit to their sycophancy. Last summer, as Trump publicly berated his attorney general for recusing himself from the FBI’s Russia investigation, Mitch McConnell kept the Senate formally in session through its August vacation to prevent the president from unilaterally replacing Jeff Sessions through a recess appointment. That same month, North Carolina Republican Thom Tillis spearheaded a Senate bill designed to immunize Mueller’s probe against a White House attack. At the time, some pundits took these moves as a sign that Republicans would turn more forcefully against the president once they’d secured their tax cuts and/or, once his atrocious approval ratings began weighing on the party’s 2018 prospects. But the very opposite happened. In recent weeks, as Democrats racked up improbable special-election victories, and the White House’s scandals continued to metastasize, Republicans grew even more craven in their fealty to the president. The House Intelligence Committee progressed from shielding the president from federal investigators to attacking those investigators on his behalf: In February, the committee’s Republicans released a memo, which purported to demonstrate that the FBI had used opposition research funded by Hillary Clinton to obtain a surveillance warrant of Trump aide Carter Page, one month before the 2016 election — without disclosing the political motivations behind said research to the relevant authorities. Republican lawmakers hyped these and related claims, with Senator Ron Johnson going so far as to announce that a “secret society” of anti-Trump Democrats was fomenting “corruption of the highest levels of the FBI.” But Nunes’s memo did not actually demonstrate anything of that kind, while its most concrete allegations of FBI malfeasance were subsequently proven false. And yet, four GOP senators nevertheless asked the Justice Department last week to appoint a second special counsel to investigate the FBI’s investigation into Russia. More remarkably, Republicans aren’t just abetting Trump’s attacks on the rule of law — they’re even acquiescing to his assaults on their donors’ economic interests: After Trump unveiled his steel tariffs earlier this month, Arizona senator Jeff Flake put together legislation nullifying the president’s authority to take such trade actions without congressional consent — and the Senate GOP leadership promptly disavowed the measure. Some pundits retain hope that the congressional GOP has a breaking point — that, should Trump cross a certain line, Republicans would suddenly find it in their political interest to distance themselves from him. This may be the case. But there’s reason to think that the incentive for Republican lawmakers to stick by Trump is actually growing stronger as his administration becomes more scandal-ridden. In an era of hyperpolarization, most midterm elections are won or lost on turnout. Which means that, the more energized the other side’s base becomes, the more critical it is for you to retain the enthusiasm of your core constituency. We first glimpsed the perverse incentives that this dynamic can create last spring, when some moderate Republicans in the House voted for a deeply unpopular health-care bill precisely because it generated such passionate opposition. As Politico reported, “As GOP leaders scrambled to bring the last holdouts aboard in recent days, they made the argument that the liberal base is already on fire … That means Republicans could ill afford to fall short on their health-care promise and risk depressing their own turnout.” Republican strategists are now using this exact same argument to caution GOP lawmakers against distancing themselves from Trump. And, in this case, they’re almost certainly right. Matters might be different had Republicans spent the past 14 months passing popular legislation and building a base of support independent from Trump’s. But they did no such thing. GOP voters have a far higher regard for the president than for Paul Ryan’s agenda. The number of Americans who passionately support slashing Medicaid and taxes on the rich but despise Donald Trump is minuscule. Thus, in the most if not all of their (heavily gerrymandered) House districts, GOP incumbents have more to lose from angering Trump voters than alienating anti-Trump independents — and this very well might remain the case, when and if the president shoots someone dead in the middle of Fifth Avenue.

### AT: da logic = racist

#### It’s not racist to care about the consequences of our actions – saying “who cares what Republicans think” willfully throws pragmatism out the window for misguided moralism – and it’s the same attitude that got Trump elected in the first place

#### But – if we agree consequentialism is the best way to evaluate impacts, this goes away – avoiding global war is the ultimate priority because saving the most lives is a good thing

#### And, the consequences of declining popularity would obviously stoke much more racism – Trump would scapegoat vulnerable groups and attack whole countries in the global South

# China Brain Drain

### Overview

#### In the squo, immigration restrictions hamper Chinese innovation and successful completion of OBOR – the plan reverses that – extend Wang 17. Successful OBOR *would* solve regional energy security – that’s Qjang 15 – which would alleviate water tensions in Asia – Hongzhou – but the plan prevents this. Central Asian water policies lead to war because of leaders adopting anti-foreign sentiments over water conflicts – that’s Mirovalev.

## Extensions

### Escalation

#### Official comments prove war and escalation is possible

Trilling 16 — (David Trilling, 6-24-2016, "Water Wars in Central Asia," Published by Foreign Affairs, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/gallerys/2016-08-24/water-wars-central-asia, Accessed 6-20-2018, JWS)

The relations of the five former Soviet Republics in Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—are, more often than not, defined by water. When they were still a part of the Soviet Union, the upstream republics—Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan—which have an abundance of water, would release some from their reservoirs in the spring and summer to generate electricity and nourish crops both on their own land and in the downstream republics, which would return the favor by providing gas and coal each winter. But since the dissolution of the Soviet Union over a quarter century ago, that system has collapsed. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan now face constant blackouts and hope to build giant dams to provide for their energy needs. Kyrgyzstan completed its Kambarata-2 power station in 2010 and is building a second one, Kambarata-1, with the help of Russia. Although he doesn’t have the funds, Tajik President Emomali Rahmon often speaks zealously about his mission to build a 335-meter dam, Rogun, which has the potential to turn his impoverished statelet into a powerbroker. But there is one glaring issue: the region’s glaciers, the source of huge and once predictable water supplies, are melting at record rates. Every year, it loses about as much water as consumed by a country the size of Switzerland. And the dams stand to limit water supply even further for the downstream countries. This has set them on edge. Along the disputed frontiers of the Fergana Valley, which is spread out over three of the countries, locals bicker with their neighbors over irrigation water. These small spats quickly escalate. In 2014, Kyrgyz and Tajik conscripts exchanged fire over a strategic sluice in Ak-Sai. In Turkmenistan, the driest of the nations and where seedlings wither in the capital, the madcap despot, President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow, is building a 3,500-square-kilometer lake in the desert. State media claim that the project, named the Golden Age Lake, has the blessings of “foreign scientists” who call the project a “wonderful example of the rational use of water resources.” Filling the lake would take 15 years, 2,600 kilometers of canals, and tons of water diverted from Uzbekistan. In response, Uzbekistani President Islam Karimov warned in 2012 of a real war over water. “I won’t name specific countries,” he said in 2012, clearly alluding to his fellow Central Asian ‘stans, “but all of this could deteriorate to the point where not just serious confrontation, but even wars could be the result.”

### 2nc Links

#### The perception of restrictionist US immigration policy means China will win the war for talent

Des Moines Register, 17– editorial (“Editorial: Could U.S. lose global war for talent?” 6/7, <https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/opinion/editorials/2017/06/07/editorial-could-u-s-lose-global-war-talent/378050001/>

America has prospered as a beacon for the best and brightest, a destination for doers and dreamers. This was true for German scientists fleeing Nazism, Cuban entrepreneurs escaping Communism and Indian engineers avoiding poverty.

We cannot expect this to always be true. Today, immigrants are getting the message that they’re unwelcome in the United States. And other nations see opportunity to attract that talent.

The Trump administration has sent this message through several policies and statements, including by pushing the now-blocked Middle East travel ban; by signing an executive order reviewing the H-1B high-skilled visa program; by creating uncertainty for “DREAMers,” who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children; and by declaring “America First” as an overarching philosophy.

These actions threaten to put America behind. Rajshree Agarwal, a professor in entrepreneurship at the University of Maryland, warns that top students are rethinking studying or working in America, and Canada and Europe are courting tenure-track professors affected by U.S. immigration policy.

Canada has also started targeting foreign tech experts in Silicon Valley.

The world’s second largest economy and the United States’ growing rival — China — also sees an opportunity. It’s stepping up recruitment of the approximately 330,000 Chinese studying in the U.S., as well as many more working here. The country is also relaxing visa rules for high-skilled foreigners, and prominent voices are calling on Chinese leaders to do more.

Robin Li, the CEO of Baidu, China's version of Google, said President Donald Trump's stance on immigration offered China "a great opportunity" to attract skilled workers.

Kenn Yu said more native Chinese like himself are considering returning after studying in the U.S. Yu received his bachelor’s in finance and master’s in accounting at Drake University and worked for about five years in Des Moines. He returned in 2015. Fortunately, that helps both China and the U.S.: He’s a senior product manager for Des Moines-based Principal Financial Group, which is tapping into the growing retirement market in China.

“Personally, I didn't plan to move back because I was afraid the package and the working environment, especially for entry-level job seekers, will not be satisfactory. Until I was convinced by my employer about this opportunity to move back with the company to help grow their business in China made me change my mind,” he said.

His peers are reconsidering because of better pay in China. “The biggest difference between now and then is before, most top-tier Chinese students studied abroad would like to remain working in the U.S., while now some of them, even with a steady job already in the U.S., are willing to take the risk to move back,” Yu said.

The Center for China and Globalization, an independent think tank in Beijing, has proposed establishing a dedicated national immigration bureau to handle visa applications and take other actions to recruit talent.

Henry Wang, the center’s president, told a Register editorial writer that the war for global talent requires a new version of the WTO — a “World Talent Organization” that could coordinate labor flows between nations. He said China lacks enough global talent, but it could get ahead because of Trump’s policies.

“It’s damaging the core competence of U.S.,” he said. Attracting talent is “what really makes America No. 1.”

It’s not too late to reverse course. University officials and business leaders are calling on Trump to change the debate over immigration, to recruit foreign scholars and skilled workers and to encourage DREAMers to go to college and to create a pathway to citizenship for them and other immigrants.

We can reassert our position as the land of opportunity for all.

#### Recruiting STEM graduates through immigration liberalization undermines China’s ability to attract top talent

Skorton, 12- David Skorton is the president of Cornell University (“Congress must reform immigration laws that send top STEM graduates to China” Christian Science Monitor, 8/22, <https://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2012/0822/Congress-must-reform-immigration-laws-that-send-top-STEM-graduates-to-China>

Meanwhile, our competitors in India and elsewhere are taking advantage of our own brain drain. Canada targets its talent recruitment strategy directly at our highly skilled workers and students, promising permanent resident status in a matter of months. Chile provides entrepreneurs $40,000 in startup funding and a visa if they start companies there.

China offers Chinese scientists and researchers – educated in American universities – cash, residency in Beijing, access to innovators and coveted honorary titles if they return home. Britain, Australia, Singapore, and other countries are all following suit and aligning their immigration laws with their economic objectives and needs. South Korea, Switzerland, and Spain issue around 80 percent of their visas for economic reasons, while the US admits only 7 percent of immigrants based on our employment needs.

The US is still the destination of choice for many of the world’s brightest, hardest working, most creative and entrepreneurial individuals. Our universities continue to recruit and educate the leaders and job creators of tomorrow. And America’s economy is still the friendliest in the world to start a new business or launch a new product. In the global war for talent, the US has every advantage except one: its immigration laws.

The time for reform is now. We should – and we can – bring our immigration policies in line with our national interests. Washington should update immigration laws to enable our highly qualified graduates to seek residency in a timely manner instead of facing a bureaucratic marathon that literally compels them to take their business elsewhere.

Specifically, the US should create a green-card program for top international graduates in STEM fields. America also needs to offer a “start-up visa” for foreign-born entrepreneurs. And we must raise or remove the arbitrary cap on the number of temporary high-skilled visas (H-1B) for foreign-born STEM graduates.

#### High skill visa restrictions are driving skilled workers to China

**Wadhwa, 16** - Vivek Wadhwa is a fellow at Arthur & Toni Rembe Rock Center for Corporate Governance, Stanford University; director of research at the Center for Entrepreneurship and Research Commercialization at the Pratt School of Engineering, Duke University; and distinguished fellow at Singularity University (Vivek, “Is U.S. Losing the War for Talent?” 9/20, <http://insurancethoughtleadership.com/is-u-s-losing-the-war-for-talent/>

The world’s entrepreneurs used to dream of coming to Silicon Valley because it was the innovation capital of the world and there were few opportunities elsewhere. This is no longer the case, as I learned during my recent trip to New Delhi. There are start-up incubators sprouting up all over India, and the quality of the start-ups is second only to those in Silicon Valley and China, which are running head to head.

I spoke to about 50 entrepreneurs at local incubators and meetups. Unlike earlier generations, very few had interest in moving to the U.S. Most said they believed the greatest opportunities were in India. As technology designer Himanshu Khanna said, “Why should I move to Silicon Valley when I have a market 10 times as large here?” Five years prior, Khanna had asked me to sponsor him for a long-term U.S. visa, which he could not get.

The tide has surely turned.

For decades, the U.S. invited the world’s best and brightest to come and study at its universities and provided them with temporary work visas. But it placed tight limits on the numbers of permanent-resident visas for those who wanted to stay, so the lines grew longer and longer. My research team at Duke, Harvard and NYU documented that there were, as of October 2006, more than a million skilled workers in “immigration limbo” in the U.S., with only 120,000 green cards being made available every year for their work categories. Ten years later, I estimate the number of skilled workers in limbo is roughly 1.5 million. I explained in my book, The Immigrant Exodus: Why America Is Losing the Global Race to Capture Entrepreneurial Talent, that this would lead to a reverse brain drain. That is exactly what happened.

Hundreds of thousands of highly skilled workers as well as the graduates of top American universities have returned home because of America’s flawed immigration policies. They are in leadership roles at top research labs and at the unicorns in China and India. America has lost an entire generation of entrepreneurs and innovators and bolstered its global competition. That is also why the proportion of immigrant-founded start-ups in Silicon Valley fell from 52% in 2005 to 44% in 2012 and is probably even lower today.

It is in this context that the Obama administration announced its last-ditch effort to reverse the tide. On Aug. 26, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) proposed a rule to allow foreign entrepreneurs to enter or remain in the U.S. and work at qualifying start-ups. This uses the parole authority under which the president, through DHS, can permit certain individuals to temporarily stay in the U.S.

But the president’s immigration authority is very limited, and this is a very short-term and very constrained fix. The start-up entity must have been formed within the three years before an application for entrepreneurial parole; the entrepreneurs must own at least 15% of the entity; only three foreigners can be employed by the start-up; and the applicant must prove that the start-up has “substantial potential for rapid growth and job creation” by receiving investments of capital totaling $345,000 or more from established U.S. investors with a history of substantial investment in successful start-up entities or at least $100,000 in grants or awards from local, state or federal government entities.

### OBOR Solves Energy Security

#### OBOR strengthens Chinese-Middle East relations—that solves energy security

Qian 15 — Qian is a visiting Researcher at Georgetown University and is a Research Fellow at the Middle East Studies Institute (Xuming Qian, 5-20-2015, "The “One Belt, One Road” Strategy and China’s Energy Policy in the Middle East ," Published by Middle East Institute, http://www.mei.edu/content/map/%E2%80%9Cone-belt-one-road%E2%80%9D-strategy-and-china%E2%80%99s-energy-policy-middle-east, Accessed 6-15-2018, JWS)

China’s strategic coordination with the Arab world is an important part of its “One Belt, One Road” vision, and China has proposed a comprehensive cooperation strategy known as 1+2+3.[5] “One” refers to the need for increased cooperation on energy, covering a range of issues that include oil and natural gas production, ensuring the safety of energy transport routes, and establishing a mutually beneficial, long-term China-Arab energy relationship. “Two” stands for the two wings of infrastructure development, construction and trade/investment facilitation. “Three” relates to breakthroughs that need to be made in the high-tech areas of nuclear energy, aerospace satellites, and new energy in order to upgrade practical cooperation between China and the Arab world.[6] China’s Energy Policy in the Middle East The Middle East contains 60 percent of the world’s proven oil reserves and thus plays a critical role in the international energy markets. China’s economic development has progressed rapidly since the government initiated reforms to open up the economy, leading to a dramatic increase in China’s energy demand in recent years. Stable relations with Middle Eastern states have therefore become increasingly important for Chinese energy security, and the continued development and protection of these relations lies at the core of the “One Belt, One Road” strategy.

#### OBOR creates a safety net that prevents conflict over energy

Cohen 15 — Cohen is the Director of the Center for Energy, Natural Resources and Geopolitics at the Institute for the Analysis of Global Security and a Senior Fellow at the Global Energy Center (Ariel Cohen, 7-2-2015, "China’s “One Belt," Published by Journal of Energy Security, http://www.ensec.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=580:chinas-one-belt-one-road-mega-project-will-boost-eurasian-natural-gas-opportunities, Accessed 6-15-2018, JWS)

Speaking of energy security of the region, the implementation of this mega-project will also allow energy resources to flow to new consumers in the developing regions. Moreover, creation of unified energy systems will make the participating countries interdependent in terms of energy consumption, which will serve as a “safety net” for regional security.

### Indo-Pak Water War Impact

#### A water war between India and Pakistan is uniquely likely—Successful CPEC projects solve

Fazil 17 — Fazil is a lecturer in the Department of International Relations at University of Gujrat and holds an MSc degree in International Relations from the University of Sargodha, and an M.Phil in International Relations from National Defence University, Islamabad (Muhammad Daim Fazil, The Diplomat, 3-8-2017, "Why India Must Refrain From a Water War With Pakistan," Diplomat, http://thediplomat.com/2017/03/why-india-must-refrain-from-a-water-war-with-pakistan/, Accessed 3-7-2017, JWS)

“Water that belongs to India cannot be allowed to go to Pakistan” — so said Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi last year. And that was the point when the potential for a water war between India and Pakistan became a reality. The Pakistani response by Foreign Affairs Advisor Sartaj Aziz, who said that revocation of the Indus Waters Treaty (IWT) by India “can be taken as an act of war,” furthered the narrative of a looming water war. Pakistan and India have already had a minor water brawl, in 1948 when India (the upper riparian state) choked the water flow toward Pakistan. Partition bestowed India an advantage, as the headwaters were located in its territory, leaving Pakistan exposed to India’s physical capacity to cut off vital irrigation water. As a result, India kept limiting Pakistan’s share of water. Seeing the possibility of another conflict between the two neighbors, the international community plunged in to fix the Indo-Pak water crisis. With the help of the World Bank, both states eventually agreed to the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) in 1960. The IWT enabled Pakistan and India to equally share and utilize water coming from the Himalayan Mountains. The treaty is exemplary since it has survived dozens of Indo-Pak military skirmishes, hostile political atmospheres, and diplomatic hiccups. What has gone so wrong that now India is flexing its muscles to terminate the treaty, or at least change it to increase Indian benefits? Is it mere electoral rhetoric ahead of the state elections in Indian Punjab that motivated Modi to threaten IWT by saying “The government will do everything to give enough water to our farmers”? Or is India truly ready to now exercise its burgeoning military might? Whatever the motives are, New Delhi must reconsider before waging water war on Pakistan. The Road to Another (Water) War In the presence of nuclear weapons, advanced ballistic missile programs, and huge armies on both sides, a traditional war is highly unlikely between the two rivals. Instead, a water war is in the making, largely from India. Wullar Barrage, the Kishanganga Project, Baglihar Dam, and dozens of other small and medium hydroelectric and irrigation projects are a few examples of Indian projects that obstruct the Pakistani share of water. Making things worse, a report released by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) stated that “Pakistan’s storage capacity is limited to a 30-day supply, well below the recommended 1,000 days for countries with a similar climate.” Pakistan’s indispensable reliance on Indus water leaves very few options for Pakistan should India restrict flows. Currently, the dialogue process between the two neighbors is on hold. Permanent Indus Water Commissioner meetings usually end unproductively and Modi’s idea to review the IWT added fuel to fire. Pakistan could wait a bit longer to determine the extent of the water crisis but depleting water reservoirs, domestic energy woes, and growing agricultural needs may push Pakistan to take a hard line, which could eventually unleash water war. Chinese Retaliation? After seven decades of friendship, Pakistan and China are cementing their bilateral engagements by the initiation of the China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor (CPEC). China remains the most valuable investor and facilitator in overcoming Pakistan’s existing acute shortage of energy. CPEC not only includes many coal based power plants (e.g., Sahiwal, Engro Thar, Port Qasim etc.) but it also some hydropower projects like the Suki Kinari and Karot projects. These would be jeopardized if India were to interrupt water flows.

#### Indo Pak water war goes nuclear—pulls in US and China

- India Pakistan agreement can’t solve

Mian 16 — Ph.D. in physics from the University of Newcastle and co-chair of the International Panel on Fissile Materials (Zia Mian, 12-7-2016, "Kashmir, climate change, and nuclear war," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, http://thebulletin.org/kashmir-climate-change-and-nuclear-war10261, Accessed 3-8-2017, JWS)

The climate-water conflict. Along with the risks of war triggered by an escalation along the Line of Control in Kashmir or by attacks on Indian cities by Islamist militants backed by Pakistan, a new source of conflict between Pakistan and India has emerged, also centered on Kashmir. It is a struggle over access to and control over the water in the rivers that start as snow and glacial meltwater in the Himalayas and pass through Kashmir on their way to Pakistan as the Indus River Basin, ending in the Arabian Sea. The Indus River and its tributaries are central to Pakistan’s water supply, food supply, and electricity production, and India relies on some of the same water. Under the 1960 Indus Waters Treaty, Pakistan has control over the Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab Rivers, and India manages the Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi rivers until they cross into Pakistan and all merge into the Indus River. The treaty was established in part because of conflicts over water between the two countries following independence in 1947, including an Indian decision in 1948 to block some of the water flowing into Pakistan during the first India-Pakistan war over Kashmir. As water demand in both countries has grown to meet the needs of rapidly growing populations and increased agriculture and industrial use, large hydroelectric dams have been constructed, and renewed disputes are testing the Indus Waters Treaty. A 2011 United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee report assessed that “water may prove to be a source of instability in South Asia [as] new demands for the use of the river flows from irrigation and hydroelectric power are fueling tensions between India and Pakistan. A breakdown in the [Indus Water] treaty’s utility in resolving water conflicts could have serious ramifications for regional stability.” The report concluded grimly that “the United States cannot expect this region to continue to avoid ‘water wars’ in perpetuity.” This is not a new concern. As long ago as 2002, Indian Water Resources Minister Bijoya Chakroborty threatened, “If we decide to scrap the Indus Water Treaty, then there will be drought in Pakistan, and the people of that country would have to beg for every drop of water.” After the September 2016 attack by militants on an Indian army base in Kashmir, India announced plans to accelerate construction of dams in Kashmir on the rivers that flow into Pakistan and to suspend the bilateral Indus Waters Commission that administers the treaty and manages disputes over its implementation. India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi declared “blood and water cannot flow together.” Pakistan for its part has announced that an Indian revocation of the treaty could be taken as an “act of war.” Pakistan’s government, nationalist and militant organizations, and right-wing media frequently now present India’s construction of dams in Kashmir as a pressing national security threat and one that may call for extreme responses. An editorial in one leading urdu-language Pakistani newspaper in 2011 declared “Pakistan should convey to India that a war is possible on the issue of water and this time war will be a nuclear one.” Nuclear forces and postures. Since the Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapon tests of May 1998, the two states have expanded many-fold their respective nuclear weapon and fissile material stockpiles and undertaken extensive development and testing of a diverse array of ballistic and cruise missiles (with ranges from 60 to 5000 kilometers), acquiring the ability to deploy and launch nuclear weapons from the air, from land, and from submarines at sea. They have put in place command and control systems and doctrines that involve, in the case of Pakistan, first use of nuclear weapons in a conflict and, in the case of India, massive retaliatory strikes against population centers. In 1999, the two countries fought a war which apparently included mobilization of nuclear weapons by Pakistan, making it the most significant military conflict between two nuclear armed states. They also went through a major military crisis (December 2001 to June 2002) triggered by an attack on India’s parliament by Islamist militants believed in India to be backed by Pakistan. The response to the attack included the two countries moving a combined total of more than half a million troops to their border. The slow pace of Indian deployment and inconclusive outcome of the stand-off led India’s army to begin planning and training for a more decisive and rapid conventional attack on Pakistan. Pakistan began testing a short-range, truck-mounted missile to deliver low-yield nuclear weapons on the battlefield. This latter development has increased longstanding international concerns about the security of nuclear weapons and fissile materials in Pakistan, given the large-scale and frequent Islamist militant attacks on military targets in the country and the ideological polarization within the armed forces and broader society associated with the rise of hardline Islamist political groups over the past three decades. Pakistan has long been explicit about its plans to use nuclear weapons to counter Indian conventional forces. In March 2015, the former head of Pakistan’s Strategic Plans Division, retired General Khalid Kidwai, announced that the country had developed “a variety of short range, low yield nuclear weapons.” Pakistani Foreign Secretary Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry declared that his country might use these tactical nuclear weapons in a conflict with India. The New York Times reported in 2015 that so far, “an unknown number of the tactical weapons were built, but not deployed” by Pakistan. From tactical weapons to massive retaliation. India anticipates that Pakistan might use nuclear weapons against Indian conventional forces during a war. The Indian Army conducted a massive military exercise in April 2016 in the Rajasthan Desert bordering Pakistan, involving tanks, artillery, armored personnel carriers, and 30,000 soldiers who practiced what they would do if attacked with nuclear weapons on the battlefield. An Indian Army spokesman told the media that “our policy has been always that we will never use nuclear weapons first. But if we are attacked, we need to gather ourselves and fight through it. The simulation is about doing exactly that.” This was not the first such exercise. Indian nuclear doctrine also calls for massive retaliation directed at Pakistani cities, and Pakistan has threatened to respond in kind. In 2003, India’s cabinet declared nuclear weapons “will only be used in retaliation against a nuclear attack on Indian territory or on Indian forces anywhere… [N]uclear retaliation to a first strike will be massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage.” According to Admiral Vijay Shankar, a former head of Indian strategic nuclear forces, such retaliation would involve nuclear attacks on Pakistan’s cities. General Kidwai from Pakistan describes such Indian threats as “bluster and blunder,” since they “are not taking into account the balance of nuclear weapons of Pakistan, which hopefully not, but has the potential to go back and give the same kind of dose to the other side.” This seems an explicit suggestion of Pakistan planning to target Indian cities with nuclear weapons in retaliation of Indian nuclear attacks on Pakistani cities. From regional war to great power war. Time is not on our side. The failure to settle the Kashmir dispute despite the passage of 70 years has already triggered three wars. While Pakistan clings grimly to its claims on Kashmir, India seems less inclined to compromise as it grows in economic and military power. Adding to this will be the inevitable pressures from climate change over the coming decades on the Himalayan glaciers, the monsoons, and ground water in the Indus Basin, which will lead to reduced and less reliable access to water in an already water-stressed region, at a time of rapidly growing demand. These drivers have already started to overlap, and conflicts over land, people, blood, and water may become one. Once initiated, possibly even by the actions of a small militant group, a Pakistan-India conflict may well escalate into a larger war and then bring in allied outside powers, as happened in Europe in World War I. Pakistan is building ever closer military and economic ties to China; India is becoming a strategic partner of the United States. These alliances with great powers may give policy makers in Pakistan and Indian confidence in escalating a conflict and issuing nuclear threats during a crisis. Because of the increasingly tense and militarized nature of the rivalry between China and the United States, a South Asian conflict that draws them in could escalate into a potentially far more destructive war. Given these risks, forestalling crises and possible war in South Asia should be a priority. The long history of failures to find a path to peace for Kashmir through United Nations resolutions and bilateral Pakistan-India agreements seems to have sapped the will to try to address the dispute directly. Preventing a South Asian war from becoming nuclear war will require progress on banning the bomb.

### Water Conflicts Escalate

#### Official comments prove war and escalation is possible

Trilling 16 — (David Trilling, 6-24-2016, "Water Wars in Central Asia," Published by Foreign Affairs, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/gallerys/2016-08-24/water-wars-central-asia, Accessed 6-20-2018, JWS)

The relations of the five former Soviet Republics in Central Asia—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan—are, more often than not, defined by water. When they were still a part of the Soviet Union, the upstream republics—Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan—which have an abundance of water, would release some from their reservoirs in the spring and summer to generate electricity and nourish crops both on their own land and in the downstream republics, which would return the favor by providing gas and coal each winter. But since the dissolution of the Soviet Union over a quarter century ago, that system has collapsed. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan now face constant blackouts and hope to build giant dams to provide for their energy needs. Kyrgyzstan completed its Kambarata-2 power station in 2010 and is building a second one, Kambarata-1, with the help of Russia. Although he doesn’t have the funds, Tajik President Emomali Rahmon often speaks zealously about his mission to build a 335-meter dam, Rogun, which has the potential to turn his impoverished statelet into a powerbroker. But there is one glaring issue: the region’s glaciers, the source of huge and once predictable water supplies, are melting at record rates. Every year, it loses about as much water as consumed by a country the size of Switzerland. And the dams stand to limit water supply even further for the downstream countries. This has set them on edge. Along the disputed frontiers of the Fergana Valley, which is spread out over three of the countries, locals bicker with their neighbors over irrigation water. These small spats quickly escalate. In 2014, Kyrgyz and Tajik conscripts exchanged fire over a strategic sluice in Ak-Sai. In Turkmenistan, the driest of the nations and where seedlings wither in the capital, the madcap despot, President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow, is building a 3,500-square-kilometer lake in the desert. State media claim that the project, named the Golden Age Lake, has the blessings of “foreign scientists” who call the project a “wonderful example of the rational use of water resources.” Filling the lake would take 15 years, 2,600 kilometers of canals, and tons of water diverted from Uzbekistan. In response, Uzbekistani President Islam Karimov warned in 2012 of a real war over water. “I won’t name specific countries,” he said in 2012, clearly alluding to his fellow Central Asian ‘stans, “but all of this could deteriorate to the point where not just serious confrontation, but even wars could be the result.”

#### Water war is very possible

Pederson 12 — (Ingrid Pederson, 9-15-2012, "Central Asia Could Go To War Over Water," Published by Business Insider, http://www.businessinsider.com/central-asia-really-could-go-to-war-over-lack-of-water-2012-9, Accessed 6-20-2018, JWS)

'Water wars' refers to the idea that some countries, which hold enough water to be able to export it, control headwaters of a river, or hold reservoirs/large sources of water, have an extremely strong source of leverage over water-scarce countries. At times, this causes water to be thought of in simplistic terms as a commodity, rather than a basic building block of life, access to which is detailed in several international human rights conventions, but not explicitly recognized as a self-standing human right in international treaties. When countries deny other states water or imply they might use water as leverage for political gain, this is water conflict, and it's brewing in Central Asia. Within the context of Central Asia, to simplify, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have it, and Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan need more of it. The latter two are very nervous about the resource imbalance. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are upstream of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, giving them control of two trans-border rivers. Eurasianet points out that one of the central issues facing the five Central Asian republics is that leaders there are more known for rivalry than cooperation, which could greatly complicate any resolution on water scarcity in the overall region. Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are poorer than Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, so control over water is one of the few ways they are able to retain leverage over the (current) two international leaders in the region. Previously, Tajikistan has claimed that it needs to construct a hydroelectric power plant, which will improve the struggling economy, however, as Tye Sundlee reports, the recent discovery of a potential 'supergiant' oil field is likely to undermine these claims and stall the development of any hydroelectric power stations, especially since Uzbekistan has strenuously opposed plans for a power stations in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan for a number of years, worrying it will cede too much resource control to the poorer countries. But the question remains - what does all this squabbling add up to? Will these countries actually deny water to each other, in this dry region that is heavily dependent on crops? Uzbekistan is reportedly the sixth largest producer of cotton worldwide (though their harvest practices leave something to be desired), and Kyrgyzstan, though the economy is heavily dependent on gold exports, has a large and essential agricultural sector. Despite this need for water to sustain the economies of both countries, the answer to the above question is yes - Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have used water as political leverage in the past for political gain and could do so again. Thus Karimov's harsh words last week, warning of water wars. In 2010, Kyrgyzstan diverted the flow of the Talas River, which is a source of irrigation of Kazakhstan's agricultural sector. Kyrgyzstan did so because Kazakhstan closed the border between two countries following uprisings and instability in Kyrgyzstan. A few hours after the river had been diverted, Kazakhstan re-opened the border. Confused? Here's the simplified take: Uprisings took place in Kyrgyzstan, so Kazakhstan closed the border. Kyrgyzstan wasn't happy about this, so they 'turned off the taps' to Kazakhstan, denying them water. A few hours after the water was diverted away from Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan relented and re-opened the borders to Kyrgyzstan. Thus we see water being used to achieve political measures. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are unhappy being in any way beholden to their poorer neighbors, but especially for something as vital as water - not only to their economies but to the literal life of their people. This precedent of water being used as leverage bodes poorly for water being seen as external to political gain, or as simply a human right. The leaders of Central Asia are already deeply suspicious of each other, and border skirmishes are a common occurrence. With Karimov already warning about water wars between the Central Asian countries, and the coming reverberations of the NATO pullout from Afghanistan, there is the looming possibility of more instability in Central Asia.

#### Empirics and high population growth make Central Asia uniquely likely to escalate a water conflict

Shahbazov 17 — (Fuad Shahbazov, 2-6-2017, "Will Central Asia Fight Over Water Resources?," Published by Forbes, https://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2017/02/06/will-central-asia-fight-over-water-resources/#52d88f574c1f, Accessed 6-20-2018, JWS)

Water has always been a major cause of wars and border conflicts in the Central Asian region. For being one of the greatest geographical regions, Central Asia has limited water resources. Modern history of the region has been fueled with various ethnic and territorial clashes. Apparently, the main catalysts behind conflicts have been attempts to take control of rich water resources. The main sources of water in Central Asia are the Syr Darya and Amu Darya Rivers, mostly fed by snow- and glacier-melt from the Pamir, Hindu Kush and Tien Shan mountain ranges. The 2,200-kilometer Syr Darya originates in the Tien Shan, flows through Kyrgyzstan as the Naryn River and combines with the Kara Darya to become the Syr Darya. The water resource crisis is not a new phenomenon in Central Asia. With the eventual fall of the Soviet Union, the resource-sharing system it imposed on the region totally disintegrated. The root of the problem is that the main water resources in Central Asia flow from territories of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan holds rule of downstream Syr-Darya flow at the Toktogul dam, while Tajikistan re-launched the building of Rogun dam on Vakhsh River, which was then shot down due to lack of funds and strained relations with neighboring Uzbekistan. If completed, Rogun dam will be able to ensure mountainous Tajikistan electricity, as it is in need of energy. Despite its quite favorable location in an energy-rich region, the Central Asian country faces energy-related problems. Kyrgyzstan faces the same problem with the water supply of Toktogul, which provides almost 90% of the country’s electricity. Tension also derives from conflict over the Toktogul water reservoir, which is a major point of contention for Kyrgyzstan and neighboring countries. The rich water resources of Kyrgyzstan further led to intensive border clashes with Uzbekistan several times. The latter deployed military troops along its border with Kyrgyzstan on March 24, 2016. Undoubtedly, Uzbekistan’s attempt to reclaim Ala-Buka water reservoir in Kyrgyzstan territory flared up tensions in the border and led to a deterioration of bilateral relations. Even though both countries are still far from reaching consensus over the water reservoir, Bishkek plans to build a Kambarata-3 Hydro Power Plant to produce hydro-energy for exporting to neighboring states, which will give Kyrgyzstan significant leverage over Uzbekistan. The Kambarata hydropower plant would be built on the Naryn River, a tributary of the Syr Darya. Along with Rogun dam, these two are to be the largest dams in Central Asia, with potential generating capacities of 1,900 megawatts and 3,600 megawatts. However, Tashkent strongly opposes this project, worrying that Kambarata will limit or disrupt the flow of irrigation water essential to its cotton fields and farmers. Although none of these dams are completed yet, concerns over how they would shift regional balance of power in Central Asia rise intensely. Yet, the failure of the Kyrgyz, Tajik and Uzbek governments to modernize water-dependent sectors, such as energy and agriculture increases their mutual dependence on each other. Considering this controversy, Uzbekistan enacts policy aimed at decreasing dependence from Toktogul reservoir by building a reservoir that is capable of storing 2.5 billion cubic meters of water. However, Uzbek authorities realized soon that it is nearly impossible to get enough power from the plant to provinces, in particular the Uzbek part of Fergana Valley, which highly suffers from lack of portable water and does not have any alternatives to farming. According to numbers, deficits of portable water in the Uzbek part of Fergana reach 1.5 billion cubic meters in a year, which is very high compared to Tajikistan and the Kyrgyzstan part of Fergana. The Fergana Valley, a landlocked, overpopulated region with 60 million people is a less favorable place for farming due to its desertification problem, outdated Soviet-era infrastructure (which has not been modernized since the 1950s) and poor water management, which exacerbates Fergana’s problems even worse. Fewer and fewer people have access to clean water since the collapse of the Soviet Union, because of low economic growth of newly independent states. Obviously, water dispute is not the only problem in the region, as the potential for conflict is also enhanced by high population growth rate in the Fergana Valley. The Fergana Valley is a major source of food for Central Asia. The agricultural productivity has made the Fergana Valley the most densely populated part of Central Asia. While the population density of Central Asia as a whole is 40.8 people per square mile, in the Fergana Valley it is 1,600 people per square mile. It is also one of the fastest-growing regions within Central Asia, experiencing a population growth of 32% in the last 10 years.

### Central Asian Conflict Escalates

#### Central Asian conflict definitely escalates

Ziegler and Menon 14 — Ziegler is a Distinguished University Scholar and professor of political science at the University of Louisville; Menon holds the Anne and Bernard Spitzer chair in political science at the University of New York (Charles E. Ziegler, Rajan Menon, Summer 2014, "Neomercantilism and Great-Power Energy Competition in Central Asia and the Caspian," Published by Strategic Studies Quarterly, https://cpianalysis.org/2018/04/19/is-the-belt-and-road-initiative-set-to-enhance-chinas-energy-security/, Accessed 6-15-2018, JWS)

Energy Security and Great-Power Competition in Central Asia

Russian and Chinese approaches to Central Asia and to the world more broadly incorporate contradictory elements. On the one hand, both countries suspect the US-dominated liberal economic order places them at a disadvantage and exposes them to social and economic instabilities. Indeed, they frequently point out that the United States itself violates its professed principles of free trade and open markets when the system works against US national interests. On the other hand, Russia and China view international trade and security regimes as having some utility, even if they are (as in the case of the World Trade Organization) dominated by the US hegemon. However, regional organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation program (CEREC), and the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEc) seem to be preferred by Beijing and Moscow, since they are relatively weak and do not preclude bilateral security or trading arrangements. While regional organizations have become more prominent, there is still no viable trading regime in Central Asia. International cooperation is difficult to achieve in the absence of a hegemon committed to establishing a stable order. But the question for Beijing and Moscow is who the hegemon will be; neither China nor Russia is content to have the United States set and police the rules of the game because, in classic neomercantilist spirit, they are convinced Washington will play this role to advance its relative standing and not act in the interest of all. Russian and Chinese neomercantilist strategies, in effect, promote a regionalism that enables them to resolve conflicts and promote stability while resisting the presence of the global hegemon.36 Although Russia provides one-quarter to one-third of Central Asia’s imports and absorbs 10–20 percent of the region’s exports, its privileged position in the region is in danger of being eroded. China’s economic presence is increasing rapidly; more importantly, the China-Russia economic relationship in Central Asia is basically competitive and will become more so. This competition is already evident as Moscow promotes its Customs Union as a trading bloc, while China maneuvers to position the SCO as its preferred economic regime. In this environment, powerful state-controlled energy firms (and indeed non-energy state-owned companies) seek relative gains for their patron states, with the state exercising its power to advance firms’ interests. While the rivalry between the Russia-China partnership and the West gets the most attention these days, in the long run the competition in Central Asia will pit Beijing against Moscow, with both seeking to dominate the sources and transportation networks for Central Asia’s energy. This is not to suggest an imminent military conflict between Russia and China in Central Asia. But President Putin’s drive to expand the Customs Union into a broader Eurasian Union comprised of both Central Asian and European former Soviet republics provides regional elites with a guarantee against encroachment from powerful neighbors, whether from the East (China) or West (the EU and NATO).37 Membership in the Customs Union appeals to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Belarus not because it will generate substantial economic benefits, but more so because of the political protection it will afford. In Ukraine’s case, conflicting pressures have splintered the country between those who prefer Moscow’s design and those who favor a European path. Unease over China’s growing presence in Central Asia and the absence of such clear lines of demarcation within these countries suggests that instability there will likely derive from state weakness and problems of succession rather than great-power competition. Neomercantilist energy policies in Central Asia reflect a zero-sum mentality. Each state seeks to maximize its power and influence unilaterally and through different multilateral organizations—Russia through the Collective Security Treaty Organization, Customs Union, and bilateral security treaties with Central Asian states, and China through the Shanghai Treaty Organization and bilateral trade and energy deals. In the absence of an effective international energy regime for Central Asia, the major powers jockey for advantage while the smaller energy-rich states seek to play the giants against each other.

### AT: Militarization Turn – China can’t compete

#### China inevitably can’t compete with India militarily

Stashwick 18 — (Steven Stashwick, The Diplomat, 5-11-2018, "China’s Security Gambit in the Indian Ocean," Published by Diplomat, https://thediplomat.com/2018/05/chinas-security-gambit-in-the-indian-ocean/, Accessed 6-5-2018, JWS)

China’s Geographic Challenge

Analysis of the aggregate military balance between India and China rests decisively in the latter’s favor, with China enjoying a three-to-one advantage in major warships and a nearly four-to-one advantage in attack submarines. But the presence of major U.S. and Japanese fleets in the Western Pacific means that the bulk of China’s navy will remain concentrated in its home waters. With few comparable extra-regional security obligations dividing its forces, it is much easier for India to maintain local superiority over Chinese ships deploying to the Indian Ocean which will lack easy logistical support, even with the proliferation of Chinese-controlled commercial ports. Significant challenges to projecting power in the region would remain even if China is able to negotiate basing rights and access for its forces at some of the those commercial sites. While it might appear that a constellation of potential bases in Djibouti, Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh would leave India surrounded, they are also geographically isolated with long lines of communication between them, making it easier for India to concentrate decisive forces to overwhelm sparsely distributed Chinese warships.

### AT: Militarization Turn – No impact

#### Empirics and military experts prove war won’t happen

Sputnik 18 — (Sputnik, 5-3-2018, "China Unlikely to Match India Strength in Indian Ocean in Near Future," Published by Sputnik, https://sputniknews.com/analysis/201803051062243930-china-india-indian-ocean/, Accessed 6-5-2018, JWS)

No Military Conflict in Near Future

Following almost three months of military standoff over a disputed border area, China and India finally decided to withdraw their troops to end the conflict peacefully in August 2017. Rising rivalry between the two nations in the Indian Ocean raised questions about a possible future China-India warfare at sea. Military experts argued that such warfare in the Indian Ocean is unlikely to take place in the near future. "I do not foresee an armed conflict in the Indian Ocean in the foreseeable future, until China consolidates its economic and military power in the Asia-Pacific region. Currently, China has only one aircraft carrier for training purposes. When China finally builds up its nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, perhaps we can see more powerful Chinese forces going into the Indian Ocean. Right now, any Chinese forces sent to the Indian Ocean would be weak. I do not think they try to create a conflict with India," Ben Ho, a naval analyst with the Military Studies Program at Singapore's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, told Sputnik.

### AT: Militarization Turn – Not for military

#### China isn’t currently using OBOR for the military

Kawashima 18 — Kawashima is a Professor of international relations at the University of Tokyo (Shin Kawashima, 4-23-2018, "The Risks of One Belt, One Road for China’s Neighbors," Published by Diplomat, https://thediplomat.com/2018/04/the-risks-of-one-belt-one-road-for-chinas-neighbors/, Accessed 6-5-2018, JWS)

The third challenge comes down to whether or not China is leveraging economic, cultural and other forms of cooperation under OBOR to guarantee its military security. The infrastructure being built by China, including roads, railways and ports, will not only contribute to economic development in the region, it will also help to improve connectivity throughout Eurasia. At the same time, though, that infrastructure will benefit China’s military, enabling Beijing to secure an effective means for communication and the movement of troops in a contingency. To be sure, China is not currently directly using this infrastructure for its own defense, and its base in Djibouti and other facilities are being used for anti-piracy measures off the coast of Somalia and peacekeeping operations (PKO) in regions such as South Sudan. In terms of capability, though, China’s base in Djibouti could potentially fulfill a role that goes beyond PKO and the control of piracy, and the port, railway and communication infrastructure could in theory be used not only for economic purposes but also for military purposes. In cases that involve enhancing this capability, doubts will be expressed by those countries if China does not maintain a certain degree of transparency and accountability and explain its intentions. And if Beijing makes loans that are beyond the ability of the recipient country to repay, China’s acquisition of controlling interests in the ports will give its neighbors to understand that it is leveraging this capability and its economic power to acquire those controlling interests. Those on the Chinese side no doubt view things from China’s perspective, but they would be well advised to take the views of its neighbors into account.

#### China is just protecting trade routes and cooperating with other militaries

Cooper 18 — Cooper is a fellow with the Asia team at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and received his PhD in security studies from Princeton (Zack Cooper, 4-2-2018, "Security Implications of China’s Military Presence in the Indian Ocean," Published by Center for Strategic and International Studies, https://www.csis.org/analysis/security-implications-chinas-military-presence-indian-ocean, Accessed 6-5-2018, JWS)

Expanding Influence in Peacetime

China’s increased military presence in the Indian Ocean should not come as a surprise. China is following in the traditional path of other rising powers; it is expanding its military operations to match its interests abroad. The Chinese economy is highly reliant on trade routes that pass through the Indian Ocean, which serves as a vital pathway, particularly for energy supplies. It is natural, therefore, for the Chinese government to seek to protect its interests along these sea lines of communication. Leaders in Beijing have reason to be concerned about multiple potential risks in the region, ranging from maritime piracy to the potential for the United States or India to disrupt Chinese supply lines if a conflict were to occur. China’s efforts to project power in the Indian Ocean are nascent, but their outlines are becoming clear. To sustain military forces in the Indian Ocean region, China needs to have reliable access to facilities in key points around the region. China’s new military base in Djibouti provides a rudimentary power-projection base, which is bolstered by its access to ports in Bangladesh, Burma, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Although China is using its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to fund many of these projects, there is no question that the infrastructure is being created with dual-use purposes in mind. How might China use these facilities in peacetime? The most likely Chinese strategy would be to rely on port facilities to refuel and resupply its naval vessels without having to come back to Chinese facilities in East Asia. In the years ahead, it would not be surprising to see the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) develop some rudimentary facilities in the region for conducting at least minor repairs. These types of activities would provide China with a greater ability to sustain forces in theater, thereby avoiding the costly and time-consuming practice of having to foray from distant ports in mainland China. How might China use its forces in peacetime? In the near term, China will likely continue to conduct counter-piracy operations around the Horn of Africa. This serves multiple purposes. First, it gives Chinese forces practice conducting difficult operations at a great distance from the mainland. Such efforts are helpful for assessing shortcomings in the PLA’s ability to sustain power-projection forces far from China’s shores. Second, counter-piracy provides a window into the operational patterns of foreign militaries. This may be useful both from an intelligence-gathering perspective and for helping the PLA to compare its strengths and weaknesses to those of foreign militaries, including the United States, India, Japan, Australia, and others. Chinese vessels may also conduct some more specific intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance missions to better understand regional militaries and gather data on the geographic area in and around the Indian Ocean. Mapping undersea features would be particularly beneficial in preparing for a potential wartime scenario. Such activities could help to provide information on the typical operating practices of potential challengers, to include the Indian Navy. China may also seek to conduct training and exercises in the region, potentially in partnership with other militaries. Although Beijing is unlikely to find any highly capable partners in the region, it could work with less capable maritime states, such as Pakistan, to help them develop their maritime capabilities. This would also serve to expand the number of concerns for the Indian military, potentially stretching the Indian Navy. Such efforts could serve as a response to Indian efforts to build maritime capacity in Southeast Asia with states such as Vietnam. In short, Chinese operations in the Indian Ocean during peacetime are likely to resemble those of other great powers, including the United States. Protection of trade routes is likely to be the primary objective, but it will require substantial improvements in the PLA Navy’s ability to sustain forces at sea. A secondary objective will be to prepare for the possibility of a conflict, in which the Indian Ocean might be an area of conflict, which is discussed in greater detail below.

#### Chinese bases are too small and isolated to bolster their military

Sputnik 18 — (Sputnik, 5-3-2018, "China Unlikely to Match India Strength in Indian Ocean in Near Future," Published by Sputnik, https://sputniknews.com/analysis/201803051062243930-china-india-indian-ocean/, Accessed 6-5-2018, JWS)

The Singapore-based military expert believes new Chinese military bases in the Indian Ocean could serve other purposes, instead of providing support in a traditional warfare. "The establishment of new military facilities in the Indian Ocean, in countries like Sri Lanka or some of the Indian Ocean islands in the future, could give Chinese some advantages, but not in a high-end warfare sense. After all, they [the bases] are too small and isolated to provide much help for the Chinese military. They’re more for conflicts below the warfare, such as counter-piracy missions or evacuation of Chinese nationals from crisis regions," Ho said.

### AT: Chinese Influence / Soft power – OBOR fails

#### Han chauvinism blunts the ability of OBOR to spread soft power

Meyer 16 — Meyer is a fellow with New America’s International Security Program conducting research on issues related to China’s One Belt, One Road Initiative and has a PhD in International Studies from the University of Cambridge (Patrik Meyer, 6-14-2016, "Could Han Chauvinism Turn the 'Chinese Dream' into a 'Chinese Nightmare'?," Published by Diplomat, https://thediplomat.com/2016/06/could-han-chauvinism-turn-the-chinese-dream-into-a-chinese-nightmare/, Accessed 6-15-2018, JWS)

Since China’s economic reform starting in 1978, each Chinese leader has followed the tradition of promoting his own signature governing slogan. Deng Xiaoping is remembered for the concept of “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” President Jian Zeming is known for his nebulous governing “Theory of the Three Represents,” and President Hu Jintao for his ambition to achieve a “Harmonious Society.” Following their footsteps, President Xi Jinping is extensively promoting his own signature slogan: the “Chinese Dream.” President Xi’s Chinese Dream is a necessary and timely concept, which he made public for the first time in the China National Museum, surrounded by an exhibition documenting foreign invasions since the First Opium War in 1840, in particular. The painful humiliations that the Chinese nation suffered at the hands of the West and Japan are regularly revived by China’s leadership to energize and motivate the Chinese masses to participate in the Chinese Dream. Xi’s Chinese Dream can be seen as the spiritual dimension for which an increasingly wealthy and educated Chinese society is yearning. While various Chinese groups (armed forces, farmers, officials, businessmen, etc.) have their own distinct interpretations of what the Chinese Dream means and how it should be achieved, there is little controversy over its ultimate goal: “fulfilling the great renaissance of the Chinese race,” i.e. the Han race. Hence, the Chinese Dream is essentially a nationalistic ambition. And while love and pride for one’s own culture, history, and country are not problematic per se, if not managed adequately, nationalism can nurture an undesirable sentiment: chauvinism, in this case, Han chauvinism. Among the 56 officially recognized ethnic groups in China, the Han is by far the largest and influential one. It represents 92% of the Chinese population and has dominated the culture and politics for most of China’s 5,000-year long history. In the current China, Han are in full control of China’s politics, economy, and socio-cultural values. Han consider their way of life and culture superior to others, resulting in them having strong chauvinistic tendencies. That Han chauvinism, or Hanism, poses a serious threat to China’s unity and stability have been extensively recognized by China’s leadership. Han Chauvinism: A Recognized Threat to China Communist Party of China’s (CPC) leaders such as Chairman Mao, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, and President Xi have warned about the threat that Han chauvinism poses. As early as 1938, and often thereafter, Chairman Mao cautioned Han officials about prevailing Hanism as a source of interethnic conflict and the need to eliminate it in order to achieve ethnic unity, the very foundation on which China’s stability should stand: Interethnic relationships are conflictive in certain regions due to Han chauvinism. Party members cannot tolerate this and we should deeply criticize Han chauvinism that occurs among party members and cadres… We should correct this mistake immediately. To correct Han chauvinism, Chairman Mao advised Han officials to be more humble, to listen to ethnic minorities’ grievances, and to accept their criticism. As for Premier Deng Xiaoping, he believed that Han chauvinism should be eliminated before asking minorities to do the same with their own chauvinisms: As soon as Han reject Han chauvinism, the ethnic minorities will also be willing to reject their own narrow nationalism in return. We cannot ask from ethnic minorities to reject their narrow nationalism without first honestly rejecting the one big nationalism (Hanism). Most recently, in 2014, President Xi Jinping and other CPC high-ranking officials discussed the threat of Han chauvinism during the Ethnic Affairs Work Conference, and released a statement emphasizing that “ethnic unity is the lifeline of Chinese people of all ethnicities and that to protect it we should stand firmly against great Hanism and ultra-nationalism.” These quotes illustrate the fact that CPC’s leadership continues to be aware of the magnitude of the threat that Han chauvinism poses to the Chinese nation. It seems, however, that the CPC has not yet been successful in harnessing it and now, the Chinese Dream might further reinforce Hanism. Despite China’s globalization, the Han continue to consider other cultures as inferior, resulting, for example, in the Han feeling that their culture and history is far superior to those of the Uyghurs in Xinjiang territory in northwest China. As a consequence of their discriminatory treatment by the Han, the Uyghurs feel that their identity is under attack and that they are being treated as second-class citizens in their own homeland. Han chauvinism seems to have been growing stronger in Xinjiang, particularly since the Urumqi riots in 2009, and it is dangerously undermining Beijing’s efforts to achieve harmonious inter-ethnic relations by impairing Han officials from understanding Xinjiang’s socioeconomic, political, religious, and security tensions. If the chauvinistic tendencies from which the Han community suffers are not recognized and addressed, Xinjiang’s inter-ethnic relations will worsen and could become a significant source of instability and threat to China. Furthermore, Chinese chauvinism has already started poisoning China’s personal relations in foreign countries. For example, Chinese businessmen and officials traveling to Central Asian countries ignore local traditions and values, resulting in increasing tensions with the local populations. Kazak, Kirgiz, and Tajik already feel uneasy, if not fearful, of the increasing presence and influence of Chinese in their respective countries. If unchecked, one can argue that Chinese chauvinism could turn President Xi’s Chinese Dream into a domestic and international Chinese nightmare by having long term detrimental effects on the global perception of China. In turn, negative perception could gravely undermine well-intended massive development projects such as the “One Belt, One Road Initiative.”

### AT: Chinese Influence / Soft Power – Impossible

#### Too many alt causes to Chinese soft power

Ford 17 — Ford is a Captain in the U.S. Army JAG Corps who studied at Peking University (John Ford, 1-28-2017, "The Obstacles to China's Bid for Soft Power," Published by Diplomat, https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/the-obstacles-to-chinas-bid-for-soft-power/, Accessed 6-14-2018, JWS)

Undeterred, China has pursued other soft power initiatives like joining the Paris Climate Accords to improve its image on environmental issues. It has leaned on the overseas Chinese diaspora to help expand its economic and diplomatic reach. And of course it has tried to leverage its huge and growing economy to win favor abroad via initiatives like the ambitious RCEP and the enormous “One Belt, One Road” program. China hopes that by investing in infrastructure projects that can help expand its global trade it can increase its economic reach while also bolstering its image. Beijing has spoken of spending $890 billion on “One Belt, One Road,” with $40 billion already committed. But China faces serious obstacles to successfully rebranding itself as an avatar of liberalism. When the London-based consultancy firm Portland Communications released a survey measuring the soft power of 30 countries, China came in dead last despite its efforts to improve its image. The primary obstacle is the obvious one: China wants to be embraced by the liberal West without actually being a very liberal country. As China scholar Bill Bishop put its “How can you win hearts and minds when you are known as a country that blocks Facebook, Google, YouTube, and Twitter?” The fact is that China’s government is still an authoritarian regime, which makes it hard for China to earn soft power. Most people do not admire censorship of the press or suppression of dissent. Even on economics, the subject of Xi’s latest big push, China will have a hard time posing as a credible leader for liberal values because China continues to routinely practice protectionism at home. China famously and routinely violates other countries’ intellectual property, subsidizes domestic industry to undermine foreign competitors, and blocks foreigners from directly investing in certain Chinese industries. China can’t credibly claim to lead the way for trade liberalization if it doesn’t practice what it preaches and it won’t boost its soft power by setting expectations for how it will behave on trade that it has no intention of meeting. Nor is China well positioned to defend freedom of trade given its poor record on freedom of navigation. China’s actions in the South China Sea include making maritime claims such as the nine-dash line that have no basis in international law. Freedom of navigation is inherently bound up in freedom of trade. China’s insistence that it has the right to exclude others from the South China Sea undermines the credibility of any claim that it is defending the liberal world order. Xi’s defense of globalization is certainly appreciated but it is unlikely to lead to a meaningful increase in China’s soft power until people around the world see China further open up its economy and its political system. Because the kind of reforms that would win over public opinion overseas would carry serious political risks at home they are extremely unlikely to be undertaken any time soon. For this reason, Xi is likely to find that increasing China’s international prestige by becoming a defender of the liberal order is far easier said than done.

#### Chinese soft power inevitably fails

Albert 18 — (Eleanor Albert, 2-9-2018, "China’s Big Bet on Soft Power," Published by Council on Foreign Relations, https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-big-bet-soft-power, Accessed 3-20-2018, JWS)

What are the limitations of China’s soft power?

China’s soaring economy has elevated the country as a model to be emulated, but there are multiple strains that threaten to undermine its image. Environmental pollution and degradation, food safety issues, overcapacity of state-owned enterprises, and Xi’s exhaustive anticorruption campaign are likely to dissuade others from following China’s example. China’s soft power campaign is limited by the dissonance between the image that China aspires to project and the country’s actions, experts say. Rising nationalism, assertiveness vis-à-vis territorial disputes, crackdowns on nongovernmental organizations, censorship of domestic and international media, limits to the entry of foreign ideals, and political repression constrain China’s soft power. “If China’s narratives don’t address the country’s shortcomings, it becomes very hard to sell the idea of China as a purveyor of attractive values,” says CFR Senior Fellow Elizabeth C. Economy. Chinese culture and ideas have the potential to appeal worldwide, but only when there is “honesty in the depiction,” Economy adds. Moreover, other experts have warned of the rise of authoritarian influence, dubbed “sharp power.” Authors of a 2017 report from the National Endowment for Democracy described the concept as “principally not about attraction or even persuasion; instead, it centers on distraction and manipulation.” Reports of entrenched Chinese influence in Australian and New Zealand politics, as well as attempts to pierce German business and political circles, triggered alarms across Western democracies in late 2017. Ultimately, China’s tightening authoritarian political system is the biggest obstacle to the positive image the country and government yearn for. “So long as [China’s] political system denies, rather than enables, free human development, its propaganda efforts will face an uphill battle,” wrote David Shambaugh in Foreign Affairs in 2015. Without the free exchange of ideas and the ability of Chinese citizens to engage in open debate, the gap between the government’s portrayal and China’s reality will likely grow. “China will find it hard to win friends and influence nations so long as it muzzles its best advocates,” writes the Economist.

# Competitiveness CP

### Overview

#### The CP solves the aff by maintaining US competitiveness with other nations – that’s NSF 18. By bettering domestic education, we’re able to improve our own nation’s highly skilled workforce and catch up with other nations that are rapidly growing in technology.

### Extensions

#### STEM’s the ONLY way to maintain US competitiveness-- not only does the CP solve better, but the aff is insufficient.

Tucker, 17

(Dr. Conrad Tucker is currently serving as a science and policy fellow in the Foresight, Strategy, and Risks Initiative at the Atlantic Council’s Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security. Dr. Tucker holds a joint appointment as associate professor in engineering design and industrial and manufacturing engineering at the Pennsylvania State University. He is also affiliate faculty in computer science and engineering. Dr. Tucker is the director of the Design Analysis Technology Advancement ([D.A.T.A](http://www.engr.psu.edu/datalab/)) Laboratory. His research focuses on the design and optimization of complex systems through the acquisition, integration, and mining of large scale, disparate data. Three characteristics of engineered systems that Dr. Tucker's research group explores are: i) the ability to sense an environment, ii) the ability to characterize relevant system attributes, and iii) the ability to learn and predict future states that aid decision makers. Through Dr. Tucker’s research, the concept of large scale social media networks serving as low cost, scalable sensor systems is a departure from traditional perceptions of social media networks as merely being platforms for disseminating content and connecting individuals. Dr. Tucker’s research group has utilized social media platforms to quantify cyber security threats, train machine learning algorithms, and model and predict user interactions and behavior. Dr. Tucker has served as principal investigator (PI)/Co-PI on several National Science Foundation (NSF) funded grants and is currently serving as PI and site director of an NSF Industry/University Cooperative Research Center (I/UCRC) at Penn State. Dr. Tucker is part of the inaugural class of the Gates Millennium Scholars (GMS) program. In February 2016, Dr. Tucker was invited by National Academy of Engineering (NAE) President Dr. Dan Mote, to serve as a member of the Advisory Committee for the NAE Frontiers of Engineering Education. Dr. Tucker is the recipient of the American Society of the Engineering Education’s (ASEE) Summer Faculty Fellowship Program (SFFP) award and conducted research at the Air Force Institute of Technology at the Wright Patterson Air Force Base during Summer 2014 and Summer 2015. "Keeping a Global Competitive Advantage with STEM Education", october 9 [www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/futuresource/keeping-a-global-competitive-advantage-with-stem-education](http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/futuresource/keeping-a-global-competitive-advantage-with-stem-education) NL)

Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) workers [play](http://www.esa.doc.gov/sites/default/files/stemfinalyjuly14_1.pdf) an integral role in maintaining or advancing a nation’s economic and societal competitiveness. A recent report of the eight most valuable startup companies in the US further [emphasizes](http://www.businessinsider.com/most-valuable-us-startups-2016-12) the impact of STEM disciplines in the creation of new industries and domains. The success of a majority of these startups heavily relies on STEM skillsets that include software/app development, data analytics and machine learning expertise, and the seamless integration of technologies that enhance user experiences. While the demand for STEM degrees continues to increase, the time needed to attain a higher education degree [remains](https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=569) relatively constant and typically exceeds fifty-two months, well beyond the projected forty-eight months that students prefer. Several questions emerge from these findings: Is the rate of attaining a STEM degree or skillset keeping up with the evolving needs of society? Will advancements in automation and artificial intelligence reduce the demand for STEM workers? What policies should be considered to increase a nation’s competitiveness, in the age of artificial intelligence and automation? Is the rate of attaining a STEM degree or skillset keeping up with the evolving needs of society? There has been a significant [decline](https://nsf.gov/attachments/117803/public/Xc--Linking_Evidence--Fairweather.pdf) in the number of students choosing to major in STEM degrees, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. While the reasons for this decline are multifaceted, the potential societal implications are significant, especially in the digital age where value-creation is not only based on the functional capabilities of a new technology, but also the integration of that technology with other existing infrastructure. Let us take for example a ride hailing app. From a user’s perspective, the interface is straightforward: users demands a ride from point A to point B, they get out their mobile device, open the app, enter their destination, and a vehicle is there to pick them up in minutes. However, the technological components needed to achieve this seemingly straightforward series of steps are enormous and include: the design of the chipsets used in the mobile device, the precision of the global positioning system (GPS) used to locate the user, the maintenance of the wireless network used to transmit data back and forth between the driver and the user, and most importantly, the seamless integration of these technologies that make all of this possible. As new companies are created and existing companies evolve, there will be an increased need for workers with skillsets that add value to these domains. Therefore, the decline of students majoring in STEM, at a time when there is an increased demand for STEM skillsets is of great concern.

#### This is historically true

NSB, 10

(National Science Board, chaired by Steven C. Beering, President Emeritus, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, “Preparing the Next Generation of STEM Innovators: Identifying and Developing Our Nation’s Human Capital,” 5/5/10, https://www.nsf.gov/nsb/publications/2010/nsb1033.pdf)

In 1957, under the shadow cast by the Soviet Union’s successful launch of Sputnik, the United States embarked on a coordinated, decade-long effort to recruit and educate the “best and brightest” who subsequently would form a new generation of leaders and innovators in science and engineering (S&E). This endeavor ushered in a new era of unprecedented scientific and technological advancement in the Nation, leading to the creation of new industries and job opportunities, improvements in national security, and enhancements in our quality of life. At the root of this progress was a nationwide focus on excellence in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education and talent development, along with a substantial investment in research and development (R&D). By the 1970s, however, this national sense of urgency and commitment to excellence in STEM education had lapsed into complacency. In 1983, the landmark report, A Nation at Risk, noted that “the ideal of academic excellence as the primary goal of schooling seems to be fading across the board in American education.”3 In 2005, nearly a quarter century after A Nation at Risk, the alarm once again was sounded over the looming challenge to U.S. pre-eminence in science and technology (S&T) in the National Academies’ seminal report, Rising Above the Gathering Storm. 4 This report posited that in the 21st century, educated, talented, motivated people and their ideas are paramount to creating the innovations that will sustain America’s prosperity.5 Finally, in 2009, the Administration’s Strategy for American Innovation argued for investing in the building blocks of innovation, promoting competitive markets, and catalyzing breakthroughs for our Nation’s priorities.

A critical facet of America’s historical advantage in S&T innovation has been the ability to attract, develop, and retain talented individuals from abroad. Indeed, over the past few decades, many STEM fields in the United States have become increasingly dependent on foreign-born talent. However, global competition for STEM talent is growing as many countries increase their R&D capacity and improve their own STEM education systems. In light of this, it remains essential that the Nation not only continue to attract STEM talent from abroad, but also renew and redouble its efforts to identify and develop domestic human capital as well.

The Board’s 2-year examination of this issue made clear one fundamental reality: the U.S. education system too frequently fails to identify and develop our most talented and motivated students who will become the next generation of innovators. Whether this group of students has access to appropriate resources seems to be an accident of birth—whether they are a part of a supportive and knowledgeable family or are residing in a community that has programs and opportunities available to them. There are students in every demographic and in every school district in the United States with enormous potential to become our future STEM leaders and to define the leading edge of scientific discovery and technological innovation. Some of our Nation’s most talented students—perhaps through sheer individual will, good fortune, and circumstance—rise through the educational system and become leading contributors to the scientific workforce. Regrettably, far too many of our most able students are neither discovered nor developed, particularly those who have not had adequate access to educational resources, have not been inspired to pursue STEM, or who have faced numerous other barriers to achievement. The possibility of reaching one’s potential should not be met with ambivalence, left to chance, or limited to those with financial means. Rather, the opportunity for excellence is a fundamental American value and should be afforded to all.

### AT Perm do Both

#### Perm links to DA because increasing immigration would

#### [BASE] Plan anger Trump’s base – links to the base DA impacts – whereas the CP would do the opposite, encouraging domestic development makes Trump’s base more content – our net benefit

#### [BRAIN DRAIN] Links to brain drain impacts because immigrants flock to the U.S. were the plan instated – whereas just passing the CP doesn’t result in brain drain because we’re domestic

#### [NATIVISM] Perm links to nativism because increasing immigrants links to white nativist backlash and weaponry usage, whereas just the CP keeps the white nativists calm

### AT STEM majors change fields

#### Nowhere in their evidence does it specifically talk about native vs foreign stem majors – if *all* STEM majors frequently change fields, then this flows neg because it applies to the plan as well.

# Heg CP

### Overview

#### Currently, the US is falling behind in its military, whereas foreign powers like China and Russia grow rapidly – that’s Schake 17. By providing better funding for US military, we’re able to maintain heg and solve for the same impacts the aff does. We solve better than the aff because we avoid bringing in immigrants – we avoid political ramifications (Base DA), as well as brain drain.

### Extensions

#### China is advancing over the US-- only the CP can solve hegemony.

Evans, 18

(Gareth, PhD, writer for Army Technology, "Is the US military machine losing its innovation edge to China?', March 29 <https://www.army-technology.com/features/us-military-machine-losing-innovation-edge-china/> NL)

Innovation has been central to the US war machine since the end of WWII, and, by implication, to the success of the rules-based system that has governed international relations over the same period too. American advances in nuclear weapons technology in the 1950s made possible the ‘first offset strategy’ nullifying the Soviet superiority in conventional numbers, and when Moscow narrowed the gap, heavy ‘second offset’ investment in emerging stealth and smart weapons technologies ensured the US lead remained through the 80s and 90s. But what of the decades since? US Secretary of Defense James Mattis, warned in his speech at John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies on 19th January, “our competitive edge has eroded in every domain of warfare, air, land, sea, space and cyberspace, and it is continuing to erode.” There is a growing consensus that the once-unassailable US technological advantage is fast fading, and might even soon be ceded to one of its rivals, probably China, in the course of renewed competition between ‘Great Powers’, the like of which the world has not seen for over half a century. On the face of it, it is hard to see why. The US has certainly not become any less innovative or technologically capable than either Russia or China; current Defense News data shows that the United States is home to no fewer than 15 of the world’s top 25 defence contractors, and according to Forbes, exactly the same holds true for technology companies too. The talent is evidently there – but this is a game as much about focus as capability, and US attention has been distracted. An era of distraction: the demands of asymmetric warfare In fairness, the Twin Towers was hardly an event to be simply ignored, but in launching its ‘War on Terror’, Washington suddenly and dramatically shifted focus onto a very different kind of adversary and the new and immediate demands of asymmetric warfare and counter-insurgency. “In launching its ‘War on Terror’, Washington shifted focus onto a very different kind of adversary.” At the same time ‘second offset’ technologies were proliferating around the world, resources that would otherwise have been allocated towards developing and cementing ‘third offset’ weapons, and capabilities to maintain military dominance, were instead expended in Iraq and Afghanistan. While the US focused on dismantling the terrorists’ networks, training camps and safe-havens, China steadily ramped up its defence investment and innovation, developing its own systems and technologies to equip its military for the 21stCentury, and potentially challenge American hegemony in the Pacific. The irony is that, in many ways, the success of what Eisenhower dubbed the ‘military-industrial complex’, a success that first helped the US to global pre-eminence in the first place, has also brought about its current predicament. Could the model that seemed so right for so long, now be quite wrong? Consolidated dream teams and suffering competition “We cannot expect success fighting tomorrow’s conflicts with yesterday’s weapons or equipment,” Mattis told his audience at John Hopkins, and yet in essence that is often what the Department of Defense (DOD) does when it comes to technological innovation. The DOD development blueprint was well-honed for the era in which it was devised, but it is now increasingly beginning to look as if it has become outmoded. Big defence spending throughout the Cold War, followed by the huge consolidation of the US defence sector when both came to an end has left a legacy approach based on rigid requirements, and contracts aimed at the same small number of specialist contractors. In addition, the costs of the programmes are often so high that ‘dream teams’ of prime defence contractors, who should in theory be rivals, band together to bid for Pentagon projects. There are two big consequences. Firstly, having spent so much on their development and procurement, the resulting systems are almost invariably forced to remain in service for many years, albeit modified and upgraded, irrespective of changing needs and technological advances. Secondly, and ultimately more importantly, competition inevitably suffers, and without the need to compete, there is little incentive to take a risk and innovate. As Eisenhower put it in the same 1961 farewell speech that first introduced the term ‘military-industrial complex’ to the common lexicon, “a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity.” The economic paradox of the innovation deficit Economic factors play a major role too. While the US has the world’s largest defence expenditure in dollar terms, paradoxically many point to a lack of DOD spending as one of the key reasons for the nation’s growing innovation deficit. An important budgetary trend lies hidden in the high absolute numbers. Since 2009, the US defence spend has fallen from 4.6% of GDP to just 3.3% today, and although the latest figures from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute show that this decline has now been reversed, the fact remains that GDP expenditure on R&D is less than half what it was thirty years ago. “Since 2009, the US defence spend has fallen from 4.6% of GDP to just 3.3% today.” For small-to-medium companies in the mid- and lower-tiers of the sector, that generates something of a crisis of commercial confidence when it comes to investing heavily in developing precisely the kinds of technologies that the Pentagon needs for the future. The same is certainly not true in China, where innovation in the industry is booming, creating the ideal conditions to incubate a talent pool for the future that is as competitive as it is inventive. It is hard to imagine that the two things are not related. However, it would be far too simplistic to suggest that it is simply all about government investment. If technology is to remain at the heart of the oft-quoted US ‘overmatch’, the DOD also needs to address changing marketplace realities and accept that with the huge expansion of global tech firms, defence contracts are now significantly less influential than they once were. Putting it bluntly, the Pentagon no longer has the deepest pockets in town. In the 2015 study ‘National Security Technology Accelerator: A Plan for Civil-Military Industry Innovation’ from New York University, the authors observed that “the emergence of international commercial and consumer high-tech markets over the past two decades has substantially displaced DOD as the centre of gravity for global R&D activity.” It is for these markets that many of the cutting-edge technologies that the US military may one day come to depend on are being developed, not the traditional defence contract route. Reshaping relationships: Forging new commercial partnerships That does not automatically make for a tale of doom and gloom. The DOD has a long history of working successfully with the private sector, and some of today’s most profoundly important technologies, including the internet and GPS navigation, arose directly as a result, while many others have been significantly boosted by defence funded projects. Nevertheless, as Adam Jay Harrison, the National Security Technology Accelerator director, has pointed out, too many technology businesses – even some that have previously enjoyed DOD support – are now “turning their backs” on the Pentagon. The challenge is to re-forge and reshape the relationship between commercial technology companies and the military to make it fit for this century, not the last. “One path to more fully align civilian technology opportunities with the Defense enterprise is for DOD to radically rethink its approach to acquisition and industry engagement in a manner that is more consistent with commercial market norms,” the New York University study concludes. If it does not, then the risk of the US losing its long-standing innovative edge becomes very real indeed – and China is waiting.

### AT CP doesn’t solve leadership (Larison 18)

#### In 5-point font, their Larison card says that the US is incredibly secure and should not worry about foreign powers because it’s already the best – if the judge evals this card at all and evaluates the arg that the cp doesn’t solve leadership, the aff loses their military leadership advantage because America is *already* the best in the military in the squo. Though this may apply to the CP, the aff loses ALL their offense on the military adv.

# India CP

### Overview

#### The CP solves the aff – by allowing India to expand its military and economy, we facilitate a better relationship between the US and India. Furthermore, we prevent India from starting wars – India currently feels that it’s being neglected by the US, but the CP solves this – that’s Moore 18.

### Extensions

#### The CP’s economic and military expansion is the only way to solve the advantage

Burns, 14

(Nicholas Burns, Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and former U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs What Washington Can Do to Revive Relations With New Delhi, Foreign Affairs, 00157120, Sep/Oct2014, Vol. 93, Issue 5)

In the century ahead, U.S. strategic interests will align more closely with India's than they will with those of any other continental power in Asia. The United States and India both seek to spread democracy, expand trade and investment, counter terrorism, and, above all, keep the region peaceful by balancing China's growing military power. As Washington expands its presence in Asia as part of the so-called pivot, New Delhi will be a critical partner. In the Asia-Pacific region, especially, India joins Australia, Japan, South Korea, and others in a U.S.-led coalition of democratic allies. And as the most powerful state in South Asia, India will exert a positive influence on a troubled Afghanistan, as well as on Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. The Obama administration should therefore use its remaining two years to make India a greater priority, especially since the country has not yet figured prominently in the rebalancing of U.S. attention and resources to Asia. In President Barack Obama's first term, many Indians complain, the United States devoted less attention to India than to its rivals China and Pakistan, pursuing economic links with the former and counterterrorism ties with the latter. That appearance of neglect, however fair or unfair, has rankled Indian officials and eroded some of their trust in Washington. With the election of a new government in New Delhi, the Obama administration has a chance to repair the relationship. In May, Indians voted into office Narendra Modi, a Hindu nationalist from the western state of Gujarat who has signaled that he wants to build a more ambitious partnership with the United States. That will happen only if Obama pushes India to the top of his foreign policy agenda and Modi implements a series of reforms to enable stronger economic and political ties between the two governments. The leaders are scheduled to hold their first meeting in Washington this September, and before they do, both should begin thinking about rebuilding the U.S.-Indian relationship in five key ways: by expanding bilateral trade, strengthening military cooperation, collaborating to combat threats to homeland security, stabilizing a post-American Afghanistan, and, especially, finding greater common ground on transnational challenges such as climate change. It is an ambitious agenda, but pursuing it would put India where it belongs: at the center of U.S. strategy in the region. FALLING OUT Many Indian officials look back on the presidency of George W. Bush as a special moment in U.S.-Indian relations. From his first days in office, Bush made India a priority, arguing that its flourishing market economy, entrepreneurial drive, democratic system, and growing young population were crucial to U.S. aims in the region. He saw that the two countries, far from being strategic rivals, shared many of the same views on how power should be balanced in the twenty-first century. He believed that the United States had a clear interest in supporting India's rise as a global power. The results of his emphasis were dramatic. The volume of trade in goods and services between the United States and India has more than tripled since 2004. Also since then, the two governments have dramatically strengthened their military ties and launched new cooperative projects on space, science and technology, education, and democratic governance. Bush also engineered one of the most important initiatives in the history of the U.S.-Indian relationship: the civil nuclear agreement, which for the first time permitted U.S. firms to invest in India's civil nuclear power sector. (I served as the lead American negotiator for the deal.) This agreement helped end India's nuclear isolation, allowing New Delhi to trade in civil nuclear technology even though it is not a party to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In return, India opened up its civil nuclear industry for the first time to sustained international inspection. The agreement's real import, though, lay in its message to the Indian people: the United States took their country seriously and wanted to leave behind the previous decades of cool relations. More broadly, it was a signal of U.S. support for India's emerging global role. When Obama took office, he followed Bush's lead. After all, Bush's India policy had enjoyed rare and strong support from Democrats -- including then U.S. Senators Joseph Biden, Hillary Clinton, and Obama himself -- throughout his second term. In 2009, Obama hosted then Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his wife as the administration's first official state visitors. During his own successful state visit to New Delhi in 2010, Obama became the first U.S. president to endorse India's bid to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Yet despite this promising start, Obama's India policy never hit full stride. Although Clinton, as secretary of state, collaborated with New Delhi on development and women's issues, the administration was understandably preoccupied with the more urgent short-term crises it had inherited on taking office: the global financial meltdown, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the threat of a nuclear Iran. It was a classic Washington story of near-term crises crowding out long-term ambitions. As Obama's first term ended, India slid down Washington's priority list, and Indian officials complained privately about what they saw as a lack of attention from their American counterparts. To be fair to Obama, however, the Indian government played an even greater role in the relationship's decline. In 2010, the Indian Parliament passed an ill-advised nuclear liability law that placed excessive responsibility on suppliers for accidents at nuclear power plants. The legislation, which gained support after the 25th anniversary of a horrific chemical spill at an American-owned plant in Bhopal, shattered investor confidence. By deterring U.S. and other firms from entering the Indian market, the law made implementation of the civil nuclear agreement impossible, undermining what should have been the centerpiece of the two countries' relationship. Washington and New Delhi haven't managed to resolve the impasse. The relationship suffered further when Indian economic growth slowed markedly in 2012 and 2013, depressing foreign investment, as the government, led by the Indian National Congress, was rocked by corruption allegations and failed to implement promised reforms in retail, insurance, energy, and infrastructure. New Delhi unwisely imposed discriminatory taxes on foreign investors and enacted protectionist measures that impeded trade. A series of bitterly fought U.S.-Indian trade disputes took center stage, overshadowing the political and military ties that had been the glue of the growing partnership and preventing the two countries from being able to strike any major new economic agreements. Then came two severe diplomatic tempests. Over the course of 2013, as Modi emerged as a front-runner in the upcoming election, the Indian press revived the story of Washington's earlier decision to bar Modi from entering the United States on the grounds that he had failed to suppress deadly anti-Muslim riots in 2002, when he was chief minister of Gujarat. Bush administration officials, including me, believed this to be the right decision at the time, but many Modi supporters charged that the visa ban was yet another example of American disregard for Indian dignity. Then, in December 2013, U.S. federal agents arrested Devyani Khobragade, India's deputy consul general in New York, for lying on her housekeeper's visa application, infuriating the Indian press and public. It was a perfect but avoidable storm. The United States should have handled the visa issue at the core of the dispute in private to avoid inflaming India's bruised ego, and the Indian government, which made matters worse by downgrading security at the U.S. embassy in New Delhi and refusing to renew teachers' visas at the American Embassy School, should have reacted more calmly. Instead, both governments fanned the flames, and anti-American furor dominated the news in India for weeks. By early 2014, the collapse in confidence was all too visible, and this is what Obama and Modi must begin working to repair when they meet. At the same time, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, and Secretary of the Treasury Jack Lew must act, in effect, as project managers, steering the relationship past the inevitable obstacles, just as then Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice did so capably in Bush's second term. Top-down government leadership is essential to motivate the vast U.S. bureaucracy to put India back at the center of Washington's attention. Obama, meanwhile, will find a willing partner in Modi. Remarkably, the prime minister has exhibited no public signs of resentment over the visa issue and, in a show of good faith, decided in May that he would visit Washington instead of insisting that Obama first visit New Delhi. Modi has already demonstrated himself to be an unusually strong Indian leader, who will use his executive authority in a more hands-on fashion than did

#### Economic changes solve

Burns, 14

(Nicholas Burns, Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Politics at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and former U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs What Washington Can Do to Revive Relations With New Delhi, Foreign Affairs, 00157120, Sep/Oct2014, Vol. 93, Issue 5)

IT'S THE ECONOMY, STUPID

Obama should focus first on Modi's main priority: reviving the Indian economy. Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party won a landslide victory in the spring in large part because voters had grown frustrated by India's slow growth, crumbling infrastructure, and pervasive government corruption. Through Modi's landslide win, the Indian people sent a compelling message about the need for dramatic economic reform, and Modi promised to deliver.

But in the past two years, U.S.-Indian trade disputes have hampered economic cooperation. The United States has made legitimate complaints about Indian protectionism, and the two governments have filed World Trade Organization cases against each other involving such goods as solar panels, steel, and agricultural products. Invoking safety concerns, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration has also banned imports from more than a dozen Indian plants, mostly in the pharmaceutical industry.

The United States and India have long antagonized each other in global trade talks. Their fight over agricultural protectionism ultimately caused the Doha Round of international trade negotiations to collapse in 2008. Since then, the two countries have been unable to bridge their ideological divide. The estrangement is so great that India has been excluded from one of Obama's most ambitious trade initiatives in Asia: the Trans-Pacific Partnership. Washington and New Delhi must now prevent the inevitable trade disputes from overwhelming the political and military cooperation that binds the two countries together.

Obama and Modi will have no choice but to rebuild their economic ties brick by brick. When they meet in Washington, they should focus first on setting a 2015 deadline for completing the two countries' bilateral investment treaty, which the United States and India have been negotiating for more than a decade. Obama should also encourage Modi to undertake the necessary trade and financial liberalization that would help India gain acceptance into the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, a regional trade group that has denied New Delhi membership for over two decades because the member states consider Indian trade policies to be too protectionist. Support from the United States could help Modi distance his new government from the statist policies of his predecessors.

To encourage Modi to further boost confidence in India's economy, Obama should counsel Modi to enact clearer regulations governing taxation and foreign investment. The two leaders could also announce a high-priority effort to resurrect the moribund civil nuclear deal. Modi would need to exercise his considerable political muscle to push a revision of the law through a reluctant Indian Parliament, but doing so would address a major American complaint: that after the Bush administration's Herculean effort to lift nuclear sanctions on India, New Delhi never reciprocated by actually implementing the agreement and opening up its market to U.S. firms.

### AT Econ & military ties don’t solve (Weitz 17)

#### Their own ev, “India will likely remain a constrained security partner of the US due to historical and geographical distances” – there is NOTHING the aff can do to prevent this – judge, if you evaluate their evidence, it also applies against them because they do nothing to solve these deficits they bring up.

### AT Military in status quo – immigration key

#### Trade growth is slow right now – the CP allows it to boost and grow fast enough to make a large difference. Immigration is net bad because of the DAs, and we avoid them – that’s our net benefit.

# Indo-Pak CP

### Overview

#### The CP solves the Indo-Pak conflict through the One Belt One Road initiative, and in addition, we provide the means for nations to check and restrain each other should further expansion into the Indian Ocean occur – that’s Masqwood 18.

### Extensions

#### The CP solves Indo-Pak conflict-- it gets China on-board with constraining Pakistan

Ahrari, 17

(Ehsan Ahrari is specialist in Great Power relations and the strategic affairs of the world of Islam. He has taught at America’s premier senior military educational institutions. His latest book, The Islamic Challenge and the United States: Global Security in an Age of Uncertainty, was published by McGill-Queens University Press in February 2017 "India Should Join China's One Belt One Road", June 30 <https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2017/06/30/india_should_join_chinas_one_belt_one_road_112423.html> NL)

The Indian media is fully backing Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s anti-China line, publishing a barrage of essays bashing Beijing’s economic thrust across Eurasia, the One Belt One Road plan. The principle driving force of the media campaign is the traditional China-India rivalry, and its collective pitch is that OBOR is aimed at promoting an imperial Chinese dominance in East Asia, South Asia, and elsewhere. Of course, East Asia is China’s old stomping ground and, as a rising power, it is natural that Beijing would expand its sphere of influence. A more rational response for India in East Asia is to try and outbid China diplomatically and economically by creating small alliances of its own and by offering economic assistance through its own longstanding Look East strategy. Look East, however, has a problem: While it has long looked good on paper, the strategy has never been followed consistently or vigorously by successive Indian prime ministers. Pursuing mega-strategies has never been India’s wont, and in any case the country until recently has lacked the deep funds needed to throw money at Southeast Asian countries who have been sympathetic to India’s aspirations and who would have been happy recipients of its economic assistance. Under Modi things changed. He brought to office a strong desire to couch China-India ties as essentially competitive. But India’s political culture is not so quick to absorb changes of that magnitude. Indian bureaucracies are full of personnel who are deeply mired in the [Nehruvian notion of vacuous moralism](http://www.ehsanahrari.com/2011/10/21/indias-unending-quest-for-a-mythical-hero/), which was deeply committed to non-alignment and never paid much attention to the Great Power politics of the 1950s and 1960s. This created a lot of hoopla during the Cold War years, but that hoopla no longer finds an audience, even within Third World countries in the 21st century. While emphasizing the competitive nature of Indo-Chinese strategic ties, Modi also has made sure that his country continues to take advantage of China’s own interests in cultivating its economic ties with India. This is a nuanced policy from the side of both Beijing and New Delhi. As much as Sino-Indian strategic competition remained hot for the past several decades, neither New Delhi nor Beijing wanted to jeopardize their bilateral economic trade. Consequently, bilateral trade "[surged from](https://www.chinabusinessreview.com/china-and-india-greater-economic-integration/) under $3 billion in 2000 to nearly $52 billion in 2008)…. Even conservative estimates suggest that, by 2020, China-India trade could surpass last year’s US-China total of $409.2 billion and more than half of total projected US-China trade in 2020." As China continues to travel toward its goal of becoming the second superpower, it sees India as a challenger that should not be ignored for at least two reasons. First, India has managed to develop close strategic ties with the United States through the purchase of military weapons, the planning of joint military exercises, and the transfer of technology. India also aspires to become a member of the Nuclear Supply Group, after which it would likely become a serious competitor of China in the area of nuclear weapons development. That is one reason why China continues to veto India’s entry into that group, even while it leaves all doors of mutual economic cooperation wide open. China’s greatest success in gaining the upper hand over India is in its multifaceted strategic ties with Pakistan. The emergence of a nuclear Pakistan, in which China’s transfer of nuclear knowledge and blueprints of actual nuclear weapons designs played a major role, tied down India’s own nuclear preparedness on two different fronts: China and Pakistan. What bothers India the most is the fact that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has not only given Pakistan the promise of emergence as a major economic actor, but that the corridor passes through the disputed territory of Kashmir on the Pakistan border. It is reported that [China tried to appease India](http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/india-unlikely-to-participate-in-chinas-belt-and-road-forum/article18445908.ece) by offering to change the name of the corridor through Pakistan; however, it dropped that suggestion after Pakistan protested. India’s major objection to the inclusion of the disputed territory was one explicit reason why it decided to boycott the OBOR summit. India’s neighbors are sold on President Xi’s sales pitch for OBOR, which he called the “[project of the century](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/14/world/asia/xi-jinping-one-belt-one-road-china.html),” and these states are poised to join it. Since poverty is the dominant issue throughout South Asia, China’s promise that this program will tackle poverty makes a lot of sense to India’s neighbors. India says that promise is mere hype. But as Western-oriented globalization continues to hurt their economies through high unemployment and rising inflation, most poverty-stricken countries of the Third World have started to envision OBOR as a source of economic assistance and financial relief. Another Indian criticism depicts OBOR as imperialistic in nature. As one of the main leaders of the non-aligned movement of the Cold War years, India still presumes itself to be a rightful actor to question China’s motives regarding its role as the rising economic power of the 21st Century. However, as another rising economic power of Asia, and an actor that emulates China’s policies of seeking alliances and offering economic assistance to several countries, India is open to like criticism from Beijing. And China never fails to remind the world that, as a former victim of imperialistic policies and occupation by the West and Japan, it has remained firmly opposed to such policies. The global hubs of economic activities -- places such as New York, London, and Berlin -- are likely to have new additions including Beijing and Shanghai. India, meanwhile, has not been able to find an equally promising way to counter OBOR. So, it is left with flimsy excuses (flimsy in the sense that they find no global supportive audience) like [criticizing that strategy because it involves the disputed territory of Kashmir that is under Pakistani administration](http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/indias-objections-to-obor-a-show-for-domestic-politics/articleshow/58697301.cms). In all likelihood, through OBOR, the Chinese view of the hierarchy of nations and the pecking order of nation-states is likely to change. Despite all of the criticisms of its potential complications and its chances for failure, and India’s related suspicion of China’s ulterior motives, OBOR carries with it the enormous economic power of China and an equally powerful resolve by its leadership to make it a success. Even the United States and Japan realize that and are likely to remain involved in it without joining it, for now. India might be well-advised to revise its own refusal to join. Given this reality, the best option for India is to join OBOR and to add a new dimension to its competition with China, rather than to find inane reasons to criticize it and to boycott the initiative.

# NGO CP

### Overview

#### Extend RT 18 – currently, the US has but marginal efforts in helping with Iraq’s reconstruction – the CP solves by allowing the US to increase its reconstruction aid.

# Canada CP – Blood Quantum

### Overview

#### The CP solves the aff – when US and Canada work together, they can solve the problem the aff describes – that’s Nickels 01. Furthermore, both nations have an obligation to solve this problem *together* – extend Marques. Not only does the CP solve better, but the aff is insufficient – Marques describes how there absolutely needs to be international cooperation on this because simply one country passing a policy will never work – that’s our net benefit.

### AT Perm Do Both

#### The CP is mutually exclusive with the plan – simultaneously working *with* Canada to resolve these issues AND passing a policy to encourage Native Americans to travel back to the US is counterproductive – they can’t occur at the same time.

### 2NC AT No Capacity

#### Canada’s general population is so committed to resettlement the nation’s capacity is far from exhausted

Kantor and Einhorn, 16 – Jodi Kantor is a Pulitzer-prize winning American journalist. She is a New York Times correspondent whose work has covered the workplace, technology and gender. Catrin Einhorn is a journalist at The New York Times who reports and produces narrative-driven work in a variety of media, including print, audio, video and interactive pieces.

(“Refugees Encounter a Foreign Word: Welcome,” The New York Times, June 30, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/01/world/americas/canada-syrian-refugees.html, SRA)

Across Canada, ordinary citizens, distressed by news reports of drowning children and the shunning of desperate migrants, are intervening in one of the world’s most pressing problems. Their country allows them a rare power and responsibility: They can band together in small groups and personally resettle — essentially adopt — a refugee family. In Toronto alone, hockey moms, dog-walking friends, book club members, poker buddies and lawyers have formed circles to take in Syrian families. The Canadian government says sponsors officially number in the thousands, but the groups have many more extended members. When Ms. McLorg walked into the hotel lobby to meet Mr. Mohammad and his wife, Eman, she had a letter to explain how sponsorship worked: For one year, Ms. McLorg and her group would provide financial and practical support, from subsidizing food and rent to supplying clothes to helping them learn English and find work. She and her partners had already raised more than 40,000 Canadian dollars (about $30,700), selected an apartment, talked to the local school and found a nearby mosque. Ms. McLorg, the mother of two teenagers, made her way through the crowded lobby, a kind of purgatory for newly arrived Syrians. Another member of the group clutched a welcome sign she had written in Arabic but then realized she could not tell if the words faced up or down. When the Mohammads appeared, Ms. McLorg asked their permission to shake hands and took in the people standing before her, no longer just names on a form. Mr. Mohammad looked older than his 35 years. His wife was unreadable, wearing a flowing niqab that obscured her face except for a narrow slot for her eyes. Their four children, all under 10, wore donated parkas with the tags still on. For the Mohammads, who had been in Canada less than 48 hours, the signals were even harder to read. In Syria, Abdullah had worked in his family’s grocery stores and Eman had been a nurse, but after three years of barely hanging on in Jordan, they were not used to being wanted or welcomed. “You mean we’re leaving the hotel?” Abdullah asked. To himself, he was wondering, “What do these people want in return?” Much of the world is reacting to the refugee crisis — 21 million displaced from their countries, nearly five million of them Syrian — with hesitation or hostility. Greece shipped desperate migrants back to Turkey; Denmark confiscated their valuables; and even Germany, which has accepted more than half a million refugees, is struggling with growing resistance to them. Broader anxiety about immigration and borders helped motivate Britons to take the extraordinary step last week of voting to leave the European Union. In the United States, even before the Orlando massacre spawned new dread about “lone wolf” terrorism, a majority of American governors said they wanted to block Syrian refugees because some could be dangerous. Donald J. Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee, has called for temporary bans on all Muslims from entering the country and recently warned that Syrian refugees would cause “big problems in the future.” The Obama administration promised to take in 10,000 Syrians by Sept. 30 but has so far admitted about half that many. Just across the border, however, the Canadian government can barely keep up with the demand to welcome them. Many volunteers felt called to action by the photograph of Alan Kurdi, the Syrian toddler whose body washed up last fall on a Turkish beach. He had only a slight connection to Canada — his aunt lived near Vancouver — but his death caused recrimination so strong it helped elect an idealistic, refugee-friendly prime minister, Justin Trudeau. The Toronto Star greeted the first planeload by splashing “Welcome to Canada” in English and Arabic across its front page. Eager sponsors toured local Middle Eastern supermarkets to learn what to buy and cook and used a toll-free hotline for instant Arabic translation. Impatient would-be sponsors — “an angry mob of do-gooders,” The Star called them — have been seeking more families. The new government committed to taking in 25,000 Syrian refugees and then raised the total by tens of thousands. “I can’t provide refugees fast enough for all the Canadians who want to sponsor them,” John McCallum, the country’s immigration minister, said in an interview. In the ideal version of private sponsorship, the groups become concierges and surrogate family members who help integrate the outsiders, called “New Canadians.” The hope is that the Syrians will form bonds with those unlike them, from openly gay sponsors to business owners who will help them find jobs to lifelong residents who will take them skating and canoeing. Ms. McLorg’s group of neighbors and friends includes doctors, economists, a lawyer, an artist, teachers and a bookkeeper. Advocates for sponsorship believe that private citizens can achieve more than the government alone, raising the number of refugees admitted, guiding newcomers more effectively and potentially helping solve the puzzle of how best to resettle Muslims in Western countries. Some advocates even talk about extending the Canadian system across the globe. (Slightly fewer than half of the Syrian refugees who recently arrived in Canada have private sponsors, including some deemed particularly vulnerable who get additional public funds. The rest are resettled by the government.)

#### Canada’s reliance on private support and sponsorship dramatically expands it’s capacity – Canada is willing and able to do more

**Fionda 18** – Fionda is a journalist for the Discourse, specifically on First Nations housing and refugees (Francesca, “Canadians see welcoming newcomers among top international contributions, survey find’’, the Discourse, 04/16/18, <https://www.thediscourse.ca/data/canadians-see-welcoming-refugees-as-our-top-international-contribution-survey-finds>) // ab

Canadians increasingly believe multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion are their country’s most notable contribution to the world — a shift away from peacekeeping and foreign aid, according to a survey of over 1,500 Canadians released today. The 2018 Canada’s World Survey, conducted by the Environics Institute for Survey Research, is an update to a survey they first conducted in 2008. It measures how Canadian attitudes have shifted and looks at issues that have emerged over the past decade. Despite major world events — from the global recession, terrorist attacks, increasing tensions with North Korea and growing frustration with Western governments — Canadians’ opinions have remained mostly consistent. A majority of Canadians continue to see Canada as an international role model with 86 per cent of respondents saying the country can have a positive impact on world affairs — both in 2008 and in 2018. Global migration and accepting refugees is the top global issue where Canadians believe the country can make a difference. Thirty-eight per cent of those surveyed say Canada can make a big difference, 44 per cent say the country can make some difference while 16 per cent said we could make little or no difference. At the same time, 25 per cent of respondents think the most important contribution the country can make to the world is accepting immigrants and multiculturalism, a shift from ten years ago when peacekeeping topped the list. The Discourse partnered with Environics to gain early access to the findings of the Canada’s World Survey. After combing through the data, we want to dig deeper into what Canadians think about welcoming refugees. How Canadians feel about refugees. Amea Wilbur, training manager at the Pacific Immigrant Resources Society (PIRS) in Vancouver, says she felt a shift in attitude over the last two years with the influx of would-be volunteers contacting her team. “I really saw when the Syrians came that people really stepped up. Like we got calls constantly,” she says, adding that these were often people who had maybe never considered volunteering to support newcomers before. Drawing from what the respondents said, the survey estimates that two million adult Canadians were involved directly in the sponsorship of refugees, with another seven million who knew someone who did. Seven per cent of the Canada’s World Survey respondents said they had direct involvement with welcoming refugees while 25 per cent said they know someone who did. Francisco Rico-Martinez, co-director of the FCJ Refugee Centre in Toronto, isn’t surprised at those numbers — but what he really wants to know is if Canadians are building meaningful relationships. It has to go beyond getting together for tacos, he laughs. “We need to create a more fair society for everyone.” For him, that means not just recognizing multiculturalism but also practicing it in our justice system, social services and economic opportunities. “We have to build a society that is more inclusive even now — that is creating more equality [and] more justice.” And while Canada may be a role model for other countries, Rico-Martinez says it “needs to be a more aggressive role model” that fights for social equality. Should Canada do more to help the global refugee crisis. Yasmin Ullah, a 26-year-old Rohingya woman, recalls her journey to Canada as a refugee from Myanmar. “There are so many willing people to help, willing to give — it’s incredible,” she says. Over half a million Rohingya, a stateless Muslim minority, have fled Myanmar since conflict escalated there in 2017. Ullah’s family escaped to northern Thailand when she was three years old. They lived there for years while trying to find a way through the international asylum system, relying on fake identification. Eventually, she says, she, her brother and father were privately sponsored by church groups and came to Canada in June 2011. Today, all three are Canadian citizens living in Surrey, B.C. “The first thing I wanted to do in Canada was get back on my feet,” says Ullah, who now works at a dental office while balancing political science courses at Kwantlen Polytechnic University and Rohingya advocacy work. She believes there is a tendency to think Canada has done enough as a society, but says there is huge potential to do more — both through financial support for resettlement abroad and through welcoming more newcomers into the country.

### 2NC AT Squo Solves

#### Further government support is necessary to resolve bureaucratic backlogs

Robert Vineberg 2018, Research Fellow at Canada West Foundation, “CANADA’S REFUGEE STRATEGY: HOW IT CAN BE IMPROVED”, <https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Canadas-Refugee-Strategy-Vineberg.pdf> //AP

In general, there needs to be the will and the resources within the Government of Canada to welcome in the range of 35,000-40,000 refugees annually and to have the plans and capacity (not only at IRCC but also at the IRB, Global Affairs, National Defence, CSIS and the Provinces) in place to respond quickly to refugee crisis situations. My specific recommendations to improve Canada’s refugee policies follow: a) In-Canada Refugee Claimants 1. The initial decision on a refugee claim should be made by an IRCC officer rather than an IRB officer. With the initial decision-making and the appeal process in the same agency there is the potential for a serious conflict of interest. The government should amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act to provide that IRCC officers make the initial refugee determination in Canada with the IRB having responsibility to hear appeals, as is the case for all other immigrant decisions. 2. A refugee processing unit should be established in at least one major office in each region of Canada. This would allow IRCC officers to consider both refugee status and other avenues to permanent residence such as H&C, Convention against Torture, Convention of the Rights of the Child and other risks not contemplated by the UN Refugee Convention. 3. Appeals should be made to the IRB and include the possibility of oral hearings, thus paralleling the process for immigrants. As the initial decision would be entirely administrative, all refused claimants, who have not made an earlier claim within the previous year, ought be able to lodge an appeal. b) Government Assisted Refugees 4. The commitment to Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) needs to be reaffirmed and sufficient resources dedicated to meeting targets. However, we should not commit to only 10 hard to settle GARs. The government should keep the commitment for 5,000 per year for UNHCR referred hardship cases but for the remaining GARs return to the requirement that in order to be accepted they must be assessed as likely to establish themselves within one year of landing. 5. Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) should be allowed to sponsor one close relative (brother, sister, cousin) and immediate family with the support of a group of 5 sponsors BUT without requiring the relative to be determined to be a refugee. This will improve settlement and speed the processing of these people who, otherwise, would clog the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program processing as is the case now. 6. The RAP program needs to be adequately funded to provide the resources to settlement agencies to provide for the increasingly difficult settlement challenges faced by recently arrived refugees. 7. The transportation loan program should be replaced by transportation grants. (A recent evaluation of the GAR program and RAP makes a number of excellent recommendations as well (CIC 2011, 51-58).) c) Privately Sponsored Refugees 8. The government needs to put in place adequate resources to process PSR sponsorships in Canada and PSR applications abroad in a timely fashion and remove the caps currently in place. 9. Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) should be allowed to sponsor one close relative (brother, sister, cousin) and immediate family with the support of a group of 5 sponsors BUT without requiring the relative to be determined to be a refugee. This will improve settlement and speed the processing of these people who, otherwise, would clog the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program processing as is the case now. (More recommendations regarding Privately Sponsored Refugees can be found in a recent submission to the government by the Refugee Research Network (Hyndman et al.2016, 2,3).) d) All Refugees 10. Funding for language training for refugees needs to be increased so that all refugees not fluent in either English or French can obtain rapid access to language training. 6. CONCLUSIONS This paper set out to provide an overview of refugee policy since the end of the Second World War; to describe the current state of affairs in refugee policy; and, offer a number of recommendations for the improvement of Canada’s refugee policy. Overall, Canadians can be proud of our refugee policy but that does not mean we can be complacent. We still make errors in refugee determination. People at risk still sometimes face 11 the risk of removal and forced return to the situation from which they fled. And we often take far too long to approve applicants with a well-founded need to obtain Canada’s protection. I believe that the recommendations in this paper would serve to improve, significantly, the effectiveness and the level of compassion of Canada’s refugee strategy while still ensuring that Canadians are protected from those would abuse our refugee system. They would also serve to increase the level of public confidence in refugee programs and, therefore, the immigration program in general.

#### Backlogs are preventing a fluid refugee stream to Canada

Robert Vineberg 2018, Research Fellow at Canada West Foundation, “CANADA’S REFUGEE STRATEGY: HOW IT CAN BE IMPROVED”, <https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Canadas-Refugee-Strategy-Vineberg.pdf> //AP

The new system for in-Canada refugee claims was introduced in 2010 and implemented in 2012. Its legal safeguards include the right of appeal to the Refugee Appeal Division (Canada 2001, S.110). However an appeal is not available in cases that were considered manifestly unfounded or if the claimant came from a country designated as having an independent judicial system and other freedoms. Furthermore, the right of appeal does not include the right to an oral hearing. Further appeal is available, by leave, to the Federal Court. The government hoped that by having the initial decision made by an official and by imposing tight timelines that the process would be speedier and backlogs would be reduced. Unfortunately this is not the case. Also, timelines for applicants are so short that many advocates for refugees feel that it is **impossible to prepare a compelling case within those time limits** (Canadian Bar Association 2010). The backlog was significant even before the influx of refugee claimants entering Canada illegally from the United States. In 2017, though the 18,149 (IRB 2018a) claimants, entering Canadian irregularly from the United States was relatively high, the overall number of claimants at 47,425 (IRB 2018b) is not much different from numbers Canada has experienced in the past. As of the end of February 2018, the IRB had 47,451 claims pending and were finalizing about 2,000 claims per month, so **at the current rate of processing cases the backlog represents about two years of processing, on top of the new claims that have averaged about 4,000 per month over the past year** (IRB 2018c). While these numbers are significant, we need to maintain perspective. In 2016, 390,000 undocumented migrants entered Europe and another 5,100 lost their lives in the attempt. In 2017, the numbers have dropped by half (almost 187,000 people plus another 3,100 who died) but are still enormous in comparison to what Canada has to deal with (IOM 2018). Nevertheless, the increase in illegal border crossings has the potential to undermine the public’s belief that the government has migration under control and, therefore, the consensus in support of immigration in general (Globe and Mail, 2018). The best way to prevent an increase in illegal border crossings is to use diplomatic pressure on the United States to enforce its own laws by dedicating more resources to prevent illegal departures over the Canada/US land border. However, as Nicholas Keung noted in a Toronto Star article on October 19, 2017 (Keung 2017b), there are many people in Canada who believe that the border crossers should be welcomed in Canada and a recent poll suggested that more Canadians believe that refugee claimants are legitimate than those who believe they are not legitimate (Environics 2018). Therefore, any such initiative to reduce the flow of claimants across the border would have to take into consideration the strong support for refugee claimants and, therefore, be relatively low-key in nature in order not to elicit criticism. Apart from this step, the best approach is to make decisions on claims quickly and correctly so that those whose claims are unfounded will be removed from Canada rapidly. I suggest, below, a number of options to achieve this. As noted above, the IRB is not resourced to deal with the numbers that come to Canada. As of August 31, 2017, there was a backlog of some 34,000 cases and people were waiting about 16 months for their hearing rather than the 60 days it is supposed to take, reported Nicholas Keung in another Toronto Star article on September 20, 2017 (Keung 2017a). And, as noted earlier, the backlog as of February 2018 has grown to over 47,000.

#### The counterplan solves obstructive backlogs

Robert Vineberg 2018, Research Fellow at Canada West Foundation, “CANADA’S REFUGEE STRATEGY: HOW IT CAN BE IMPROVED”, <https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Canadas-Refugee-Strategy-Vineberg.pdf> //AP

In general, there needs to be the will and the resources within the Government of Canada to welcome in the range of 35,000-40,000 refugees annually and to have the plans and capacity (not only at IRCC but also at the IRB, Global Affairs, National Defence, CSIS and the Provinces) in place to respond quickly to refugee crisis situations. My specific recommendations to improve Canada’s refugee policies follow: a) In-Canada Refugee Claimants 1. The initial decision on a refugee claim should be made by an IRCC officer rather than an IRB officer. With the initial decision-making and the appeal process in the same agency there is the potential for a serious conflict of interest. The government should amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act to provide that IRCC officers make the initial refugee determination in Canada with the IRB having responsibility to hear appeals, as is the case for all other immigrant decisions. 2. A refugee processing unit should be established in at least one major office in each region of Canada. This would allow IRCC officers to consider both refugee status and other avenues to permanent residence such as H&C, Convention against Torture, Convention of the Rights of the Child and other risks not contemplated by the UN Refugee Convention. 3. Appeals should be made to the IRB and include the possibility of oral hearings, thus paralleling the process for immigrants. As the initial decision would be entirely administrative, all refused claimants, who have not made an earlier claim within the previous year, ought be able to lodge an appeal. b) Government Assisted Refugees 4. The commitment to Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) needs to be reaffirmed and sufficient resources dedicated to meeting targets. However, we should not commit to only 10 hard to settle GARs. The government should keep the commitment for 5,000 per year for UNHCR referred hardship cases but for the remaining GARs return to the requirement that in order to be accepted they must be assessed as likely to establish themselves within one year of landing. 5. Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) should be allowed to sponsor one close relative (brother, sister, cousin) and immediate family with the support of a group of 5 sponsors BUT without requiring the relative to be determined to be a refugee. This will improve settlement and speed the processing of these people who, otherwise, would clog the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program processing as is the case now. 6. The RAP program needs to be adequately funded to provide the resources to settlement agencies to provide for the increasingly difficult settlement challenges faced by recently arrived refugees. 7. The transportation loan program should be replaced by transportation grants. (A recent evaluation of the GAR program and RAP makes a number of excellent recommendations as well (CIC 2011, 51-58).) c) Privately Sponsored Refugees 8. The government needs to put in place adequate resources to process PSR sponsorships in Canada and PSR applications abroad in a timely fashion and remove the caps currently in place. 9. Privately Sponsored Refugees (PSRs) should be allowed to sponsor one close relative (brother, sister, cousin) and immediate family with the support of a group of 5 sponsors BUT without requiring the relative to be determined to be a refugee. This will improve settlement and speed the processing of these people who, otherwise, would clog the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program processing as is the case now. (More recommendations regarding Privately Sponsored Refugees can be found in a recent submission to the government by the Refugee Research Network (Hyndman et al.2016, 2,3).) d) All Refugees 10. Funding for language training for refugees needs to be increased so that all refugees not fluent in either English or French can obtain rapid access to language training. 6. CONCLUSIONS This paper set out to provide an overview of refugee policy since the end of the Second World War; to describe the current state of affairs in refugee policy; and, offer a number of recommendations for the improvement of Canada’s refugee policy. Overall, Canadians can be proud of our refugee policy but that does not mean we can be complacent. We still make errors in refugee determination. People at risk still sometimes face 11 the risk of removal and forced return to the situation from which they fled. **And we often take far too long to approve applicants with a well-founded need to obtain Canada’s protection.** I believe that the recommendations in this paper would serve to improve, significantly, the effectiveness and the level of compassion of Canada’s refugee strategy while still ensuring that Canadians are protected from those would abuse our refugee system. They would also serve to increase the level of public confidence in refugee programs and, therefore, the immigration program in general.

# Parole CP – use the Counterplans file not this one

### Solvency

#### CP solves better because-

#### a) It’s more flexible, the affirmative cannot change the eligibility requirements for their specific visas. However the executive parole can be modified at time of renewal to overcome any potential solvency deficits

#### b) It’s more efficient – executive orders can be signed directly by the president which avoid congressional debates and infighting.

#### **Executive fiat solves the aff – it informally exempts the immigrants from the restriction and functionally grants them the same benefits. It’s distinct from the legislative action of the plan and avoids politics.**

Endelman and Mehta ‘09 (Gary is the senior editor of the national conference handbook published by the American Immigration Lawyers Association American and Mehta is an American Immigration Lawyer, “The Path Less Taken: Is There An Alternative To Waiting For Comprehensive Immigration Reform?” Immigration Daily, <http://www.ilw.com/articles/2009,0225-endelman.shtm>)

Dinesh Shenoy made a huge first step but it was only a first step. Is action by Congress the only, or even the best, way to break the priority date stranglehold on US immigration policy? The authors do not think so. Amendment of INA Section 245 is unlikely since action by Congress, even in the best of times, takes time. When Congress finds such time, legalization and other priority items (like recapture of unused visas) will absorb it. Beyond this, is it necessary to relax the rules on adjustment of status? What do potential immigrants really want for themselves and their spouses? The ability to work in the United States on a long-term basis and travel back home for vacation and/or family emergency. Can they only do that as adjustment applicants? Is there another way? The authors think there is. While INA Section 245 conditions adjustment of status on having a current priority date and meeting various conditions,9 there would be prohibition anywhere that would bar USCIS from allowing the beneficiary of an approved I-140 or I-130 petition to apply for an employment authorization document (EAD) and advance parole. No action by Congress would be required; executive fiat suffices. For those who want some comfort in finding a statutory basis, the government could rely on its parole authority under INA Section 212(d)(5) to grant such interim benefits either for "urgent humanitarian reasons" or "significant public benefit.10 There is nothing in 8 CFR Section 212.5 that would prohibit the DHS from granting parole for this reason on the grounds that the continued presence of I-140 or I-130 beneficiaries provide a significant public benefit. Since such parole is not a legal admission,11 there is no separation of powers argument since the Executive is not trying to change existing grounds of admission or create any new ones. Moreover, Congress appears to have provided the government with broad authority to provide work authorization to just about any non-citizen.12 It is undeniably true that more EAD and Parole benefits will be of limited value to retrogressed non-citizens from India and China who are already in the US in the employment-based second and third preferences. After all, most have an H-1B and can extend under Section 106(a) or Section 104(c) of AC 21, but as noted previously, some may still not be able to take advantage of AC 21. The EAD in itself will not have a portability benefit. The foreign national will still need to intend to work for the sponsoring employer even if he/she is using the EAD for open market employment. This reservation, valid as it undoubtedly is, focuses only on those already here. It speaks solely to past migration flows not to future ones. For future flows, this will supplement the H-1B by giving employers of foreign nationals another option. No longer will the constant controversy over the H-1B quota discredit all employment-based immigration in the eyes of its critics and, most importantly, in the court of public opinion. No longer will this one dispute suck all the oxygen out of our national immigration debate. Beyond that, it is manifestly not true to argue that all of our immigration needs can be solved with more H1B numbers. This will not work for those who are not H1B material. It will not work for those with essential skills but find themselves in the "Other Worker" backlog under INA Section 203(b)(3)(iii) with no hope of getting the green card any time soon. It will not eliminate the need to legalize the undocumented. If anything, allowing non-citizens with approved I-140/ I-130 petitions to receive EADs and Parole will serve to reduce the size of the permanently undocumented in America many of whom do not leave for fear they will be unable to return. The Executive would not be granting the undocumented legal status for that is what only Congress can do. But, like adjustment of status itself, the Executive certainly can create a period of stay that permits the undocumented to remain here. While those out of status or who entered without inspection should not receive employment authorization on a retroactive basis, there is no reason in law or logic why the Executive cannot grant parole on a nunc pro tunc basis.13 Leaving aside the troubling question of whether such a policy change would not reward conduct that violates the law, the retroactive EAD would only cure the unauthorized employment problem but not the overstay or unlawful presence problem. The 3/10 year bar14 is not triggered by a violation of status resulting from unauthorized employment but an overstay past the I-94 validity. For this reason, a retroactive EAD would do nothing to ameliorate the crushing harshness of the 3/10 year bar, though it might restore eligibility in some situations to adjust by avoiding the unauthorized employment preclusion of INA 245(c).15 What would cure the prior unlawful presence would be a retroactive granting of parole. Look at the definition of "unlawful presence" in INA 212 (a)(9)(B)(ii). It speaks of being "present in the United States after the expiration of the period of stay authorized by the Attorney General or is present in the United States without being admitted or paroled." So, if you are present in the USA on parole, you are not accumulating any unlawful presence. You can grant retroactive parole without overriding the will of Congress. There is no separation of powers problem. By its very nature, parole is discretionary and, as such, can be issued nunc pro tunc for good cause shown. Being the Beneficiary of an approved I- 140 or I- 130 could be deemed by regulation to constitute such good cause. The use of parole by the Executive acting sua sponte in such an expansive and aggressive fashion is hardly unique in post-World War II American history. The rescue of Hungarian refugees after the abortive 1956 uprising or the Vietnamese refugees at various points of that conflict come readily to mind. While these were dramatic examples of international crises, the immigration situation in America today, though more mundane, is no less of a humanitarian emergency with human costs that are every bit as high and damage to the national interest no less long lasting. Even those who are in removal proceedings or have already been ordered removed, and are beneficiaries of approved petitions, also need not wait until eternity for Congress to come to the rescue. The government has always had the ability to institute Deferred Action, which is a discretionary act not to prosecute or to deport a particular alien.16 This safety valve will fix our broken system of future flows by allowing those who could not qualify for any other visa option to have new hope and unimagined choices.

### Net Benefit

#### The CP won’t be publicized or politicized.

Shah ’17 (Bijal is Associate Professor, Arizona State University, Sandra Day O’Connor College of Law, " The Attorney General’s Disruptive Immigration Power," Iowa Law Review, 2017, <https://ilr.law.uiowa.edu/online/volume-102/the-attorney-generals-disruptive-immigration-power/>) jg

The Attorney General’s unique role as bureaucrat and adjudicator, in addition to political appointee, results in the opportunity to exercise power in a manner more obscured to the public and thus less constrained by legislative and political forces. For instance, given that the Attorney General is a political appointee, but not an elected official like the President, she may be both influenced by political considerations but relatively unconstrained by the potential loss of public support. Indeed, while the authors note that congressional defunding and political pushback have deteriorated the power of the executive to reform immigration, they do not consider the extent to which, in contrast, Congress and the public may remain unaware of or unresponsive to the Attorney General’s actions. Also, because the Attorney General is a bureaucratic figure with both political and technocratic interests, she may be motivated by reasons of efficiency and resource conservation, or by resistance to institutional change, in addition to, or instead of, the political incentives that drive the President.

### AT Rollback

#### Congress will not rollback executive parole

Cox and Rodríguez ’15 (Adam B. - the Robert A. Kindler Professor of Law, NYU School of Law. Cristina M. - the Leighton Homer Surbeck Professor of Law, Yale Law School. “The President and Immigration Law Redux.” The Yale Law Journal. Vol 125. August 6, 2015. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2635638) -JN

In theory, of course, Congress could constrain de facto delegation by complementing its substantive statutory enactments with detailed enforcement instructions or prohibitions. In practice, Congress has rarely done this—in immigration law or any other regulatory arena. Occasionally Congress blandly obligates DHS to do something like “prioritize the identification and removal of aliens convicted of a crime by the severity of that crime,”141 or to fund a particular number of beds for immigrant detention (34,000, to be exact).142 But loose language of prioritization does little to constrain the Executive’s authority,143 and even numerical prescriptions like the bed-space mandate only scratch the surface of the decisions the Executive must make when enforcing immigration law. Negative injunctions issued by Congress have the potential to be more powerful; prohibiting DHS from granting any immigrant deferred action, for example, would more seriously constrain the President’s power to structure the immigrant screening system. But these sorts of prohibitions are also rare. In this world, it will generally be futile to search for “congressional priorities” that legally constrain executive branch decisions about which immigrants, from within the vast pool of eleven million unlawfully here, may be deprioritized for deportation (not to mention congressional views as to how such deprioritization ought to be structured). And given the absence of such priorities, efforts to invoke them ultimately only obscure the reality that executive branch officials are making important value judgments about our immigrant-screening system

### AT Perm

#### Group the perms, they link to the net-benefit – it can’t shield

#### a. They happen simultaneously, which means the CP can’t smooth the way for the plan. Any other interpretation is a time-frame perm and a voting issue because the aff could always delay the plan to avoid linking to any counterplan’s net benefit

#### b. They still have to have a congressional debate – that’s much more contentious than using executive discretion

#### Doing both is impossible – broad parole is only possible because Congressional inaction. The plan changes the scope of interpretative ability of the executive.

Manuel and Garcia ’14 (Michael Garcia and Kate Manuel are Legislative Attorneys, “Executive Discretion as to Immigration: Legal Overview ,” Congressional Research Service, November 10, 2014, https://fas.org/sgp/crs/homesec/R43782.pdf)-DG

This debate ultimately reflects the respective roles that Congress and the executive branch play in the nation’s constitutional system of government. Article I of the Constitution expressly grants the power to legislate to Congress, and Congress has exercised this power as to immigration, in part, by enacting the INA.7 The INA provides a comprehensive set of rules governing the admission of foreign nationals into the United States and the conditions of such aliens’ continued presence in the country, including their eligibility to obtain employment or public benefits, adjust immigration status, and become U.S. citizens. In addition, the INA establishes various mechanisms for enforcing these rules, including by prescribing the removal of aliens found to have entered the United States without permission, or to have violated the terms governing their authorized admission into the country.8 It also established criminal penalties for certain immigration violations. On the other hand, the INA expressly or impliedly confers some discretionary authority on the executive branch in matters of immigration enforcement. For example, the INA authorizes immigration officials to grant certain types of benefits or relief to qualifying aliens who lack lawful immigration status. Moreover, the INA permits immigration officials to waive certain statutory restrictions that might otherwise render an alien ineligible to receive particular immigration benefits. The exercise of these discretionary authorities may enable some unlawfully present aliens to remain in the United States—through asylum, temporary protected status, cancellation of removal, or some other means—rather than being removed. In other cases, however, aliens who have entered or have stayed in the United States in violation of INA requirements may be permitted to remain in the country and, in some cases, legalize their status, not as the result of the exercise of expressly delegated authority, but as a result of the executive branch’s independent discretion in enforcing the law. Article II of the Constitution specifically tasks the Executive to “take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed,” and the executive branch has historically been seen as having some discretion (commonly known as prosecutorial or enforcement discretion) in determining when, against whom, how, and even whether to prosecute apparent violations of the law. For example, immigration officials may opt to give a lower priority to the removal of certain categories of unlawfully present aliens because the removal of other categories (e.g., those convicted of serious crimes) has been deemed a higher priority in light of resource constraints and other considerations.16 Congressional enactments could, however, be seen as limiting the executive’s discretion not to take particular actions (e.g., by mandating that certain aliens be detained pending removal proceedings).17 The express adoption of an executive policy that is “in effect an abdication of ... statutory duty” could also be found to be impermissible,18 but it might be difficult for a court to assess the degree of nonenforcement that would entail an “abdication.” The executive branch’s discretion to interpret applicable statutes when Congress has not spoken to the precise question at issue may also afford immigration officials some flexibility in determining how INA requirements apply to a particular alien or category of aliens.19 This discretion may be relevant in determining how particular statutory grants of discretionary authority are to be applied (e.g., what constitutes “exceptional and extremely unusual hardship” for purposes of cancellation of removal, or “extreme hardship” for purposes of certain waivers of inadmissibility).20 It can also play a role in determining whether and how particular statutes are seen to circumscribe the Executive’s enforcement discretion. That is, where a statute is silent or ambiguous as to the circumstances of its enforcement in particular cases, the Executive may have some discretion in determining its application.

# EB Reallocation CP

### Overview

#### By simply reallocating EB visas instead of increasing the cap, we avoid brain drain because we aren’t letting a large number of new immigrants into the country – extend Scalzo 11. Yet we solve because we allow more skilled workers to fill the gap in the US – that’s Scalzo again.

### AT Perm do Both

#### It’s physically impossible to both increase the cap and keep it the same, reallocating it – the CP is mutually exclusive with the aff.

### Net Benefit – Brain Drain Bad

#### Brain drain triggered by focus on highly skilled immigration takes valuable resources from other countries and undermines global development and democracy promotion – CP doesn’t do this

Scalzo, 11 --- J.D. from The George Washington University Law School May 2011 (April 2011, Kayleigh, The George Washington Law Review, “Note: American Idol: The Domestic and International Implications of Preferencing the Highly Educated and Highly Skilled in U.S. Immigration Law,” 79 Geo. Wash. L. Rev. 926, Lexis-Nexis Scholastic, JMP)

The judiciary has recognized that Congress's goal in allocating EB visas was to "increase the influx into the United States of highly skilled professionals to fill jobs for which American personnel are scarce." n56 However, the standard for qualifying as a highly skilled EB-1 immigrant - as well as for qualifying as a mere "exceptional" EB-2 immigrant - is staggeringly high in light of the fact that these two categories consume over half of all EB visas. Although the difference between "extraordinary," "exceptional," and "skilled" may seem trivial in any other context, these labels have a profound effect on aspiring immigrants. n57 The highly meritocratic system of visa allocations must be reexamined in light of this situation.

II. Negative Effects of a Hyper-Meritocratic EB Immigration Regime

The hyper-meritocracy of the current EB immigration regime is problematic for three main reasons: its furtherance of global brain drain, its failure to optimize U.S. economic interests, and the undemocratic and "un-American" value judgment that underlies it.

A. Global Brain Drain

The phenomenon of international brain drain is based on two premises: there are few highly educated people in developing nations, [\*936] and those highly educated people are extremely likely to emigrate. n58 It is defined as a "significant loss of the highly educated population" resulting in negative economic effects in the sending country. n59 These negative effects are often twofold, including a loss of human capital as well as a loss of the government's return on its investment in its citizenry. n60 For example, a developing country may invest significant amounts of money in educating and providing healthcare to its youths on the understanding that they will mature into informed, healthy, and productive members of the national society. n61 That understanding collateralizes the investment. n62 Whenever a highly skilled, highly educated citizen emigrates, the country enters a loss on its ledger.

Although it is understandable that the best and brightest of a developing nation emigrate for a better life and additional opportunities, this strips the sending nation (perhaps more aptly described as the deprived nation) of valuable resources necessary for continuing development. In this regard, African countries have been acutely affected, and widespread emigration from the continent "threatens Africa with yet another net loss of quality human resources" similar to the effect of the slave trade. n63 One scholar estimates that twenty to fifty percent of the "top African brains and skilled personnel" have left the continent and fail to retain significant professional ties with their homelands. n64 The 2005 World Migration Report, compiled by the International Organization for Migration, called attention to the loss of human resources from the continent, a trend which one scholar predicts will culminate in Africa's transformation into an "intellectually barren ghetto." n65

By contrast, developed countries benefit greatly from this continual injection of brains and talent, and they even compete with each other over immigrant candidates. n66 As Professor Ayelet Shachar, of [\*937] the law faculty at the University of Toronto, explains, "industrial countries are trying to outbid one another ... to attract highly skilled migrants to their domestic industries in order to gain (or retain) a relative advantage over their international competitors in the knowledge-based global economy." n67 From this perspective, encouraging highly skilled immigration becomes yet another strategy in the broad reach of a developed country's economy. n68 Reflecting upon this conceptualization of the immigrant as human capital, Professor Kunal M. Parker, of Cleveland-Marshall College of Law, aptly concludes that receiving countries measure the value of an aspiring immigrant based on her profile as "homo oeconomicus." n69 Thus, brain drain is the inevitable symptom of a widespread "reimagination of legal immigration in terms of productivity, skill, resources, and self-sufficiency." n70

The United States is the most popular destination country for skilled immigrants, n71 and it is easy to imagine why. The nation boasts expansive opportunities for the well-educated and highly skilled, and its immigration policies reward such a showing of talent. Admittedly, arguments appealing to international concerns often do not fare well in shaping U.S. laws. n72 U.S. immigration law is, without illusion, designed with the goal of furthering U.S. interests. n73 Critics of U.S. immigration policy have often urged an even stronger preferencing of [\*938] elite immigrants rather than tempering the meritocracy. n74 This position is understandable and in no sense irrational from either a legal or policy perspective; after all, the United States was arguably founded on the ideas that social mobility was possible and that hard work and high achievement would be rewarded. n75

Brain drain is detrimental, however, even with purely domestic goals in mind: it directly undercuts U.S. foreign policy regarding global development and democracy promotion and also subverts border control policy aimed at reducing unauthorized entries. The United States Agency for International Development ("USAID") states its "twofold purpose" as "furthering America's foreign policy interests in expanding democracy and free markets while improving the lives of the citizens of the developing world." n76 It is the main U.S. governmental agency charged with promoting economic and democracy development around the globe. n77 USAID is not unaware of the benefits and detriments of brain drain. In a presentation to USAID on the relationship between migration and development, the Migration Policy Institute emphasized the "potential [domestic] benefits of a 'brain export' industry," while at the same time acknowledging that efforts to repatriate such highly skilled immigrants - and thus mitigate the negative effects in sending countries - have generally failed. n78

[\*939] Although remittances by highly skilled and highly educated migrants may contribute to economic development in sending countries, it is harder to assert that these remittances similarly contribute to democracy promotion, which has become a prominent focus of USAID policy since 2002. n79 Democracy, especially in contrast to other forms of governance, requires a certain financial stability and economic security in governmental entities; the populace relies on the state to provide healthcare, educate the nation's youth, and, at least to some extent, redistribute wealth. n80 Democratic governments must also exercise self-determination over their economic policies, a significant feat in the current international political economy. n81 The infrastructure and bureaucratic capabilities necessary to accomplish these stepping stones to democracy rely on an educated, informed citizenry, which must fill the roles of leaders and constituencies. Promoting "brain export" hardly seems consistent with promoting democracy, and, therefore, the United States impairs its own global policy goals with its domestic immigration law. n82

Border control policy is also underserved by an EB immigration system that engenders brain drain. Immigration is often motivated by a lack of employment and economic opportunity in the home country, n83 and the current allocation of EB-3 visas serves only a fraction of aspiring EB-3 immigrants. n84 Although the intent behind these statutory restrictions is likely to recalibrate the nature of the immigrant [\*940] flow, n85 the result is a near trainwreck of supply and demand curves. Rather than abandoning all intention of emigrating and remaining in their home countries, immigrants who would otherwise be EB-3s are more likely to violate border policies and pursue U.S. employment opportunities outside of the law. n86

EB immigration law largely attempts to restrict entry to all but the most elite, but the policy carries significant negative externalities. By extracting the highly educated and highly skilled from nations around the globe, it stifles international development. Thus, populations remain relatively unskilled and opportunities in sending countries remain limited. These unskilled, aspiring immigrants develop the logical desire to immigrate to the United States and, undaunted by tight restrictions on their visa category, arrive without authorization. Border control policy is compromised, and U.S. immigration law erodes its own domestic and international goals. n87

### Net Benefit – Agenda Politics

#### Expanding the cap requires congress and will be politically contentious – we avoid

Feere, 15 --- Legal Policy Analyst at the Center for Immigration Studies (1/27/15, Jon, “Could Obama Increase Immigration By Not Counting Family Against Visa Caps?” <https://cis.org/Report/Could-Obama-Increase-Immigration-Not-Counting-Family-Against-Visa-Caps>, accessed on 6/9/18, JMP)

Congress Expands Cap, Not the President

A main goal of the Obama administration is to increase legal immigration. Congress has increased the number of employment visas issued and lawmakers could do so again if they wanted. The employment visa's history over the past half-century clearly illustrates that such changes come from Congress, however, rather than from executive decrees.

When Congress authored the 1965 immigration act, it established a visa preference system that specified some visas for employment-based immigration. By 1970, about 34,000 immigrants entered under occupational preferences for workers, their spouses, and children.16 This congressional authority over the appropriate number of employment visas continued in the years that followed.

In 1976, Congress amended the INA to increase the total number of annual visas allocated specifically to employment-based immigrants and their family members from 34,000 to 58,000.17

In the 1990 Immigration Act, Congress raised the annual number of employment-based visas from 58,000 to 140,000.18

Never once did a president assume that he had the power to raise these visa caps unilaterally. Certainly, presidents played a role in encouraging Congress to raise the caps, and President Obama could do the same if he prefers to increase the number of immigrants entering the United States on employment-based visas. Of course, President Obama likely concludes that it would be difficult to persuade Congress to do such a thing amid the high unemployment the United States is currently experiencing.

# States CP

## Answers

### AT Waiver

#### Even if waivers are required, it doesn’t link to politics – bipartisan support

Francis, 17 (Laura D. Francis, "The Feds Had Their Turn. Time for State-Based Visas?", 5/12/17, https://www.bna.com/feds-turn-time-n73014450862/)

A bill pending in Congress could shake up the way foreign guestworker programs operate in the U.S.The State Sponsored Visa Pilot Program Act ( S. 1040), introduced May 3 by Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), would allow the states to establish their own temporary worker visa programs on a pilot basis. A House companion bill is set to be introduced soon by Rep. Ken Buck (R-Colo.).

The legislation is backed by several groups, including pro-immigration advocates such as FWD.us and Compete America, as well as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Home Builders.

It’s a “very intriguing idea” that “makes a lot of sense,” ImmigrationWorks USA President and Chief Executive Officer Tamar Jacoby told Bloomberg BNA May 10. “States have different needs,” and some states might want different types of visas than others, she said. And some states might not want them at all, she said.

The bill also “makes political sense in Republican Washington,” said Jacoby, whose organization advocates for immigration changes on behalf of small and midsize businesses. “Republicans like federalism,” she said.

### AT Links to Politics

#### Disciplined devolution is an olive branch that encourages innovation and sidelines gridlock – federal authority destroys that neutrality

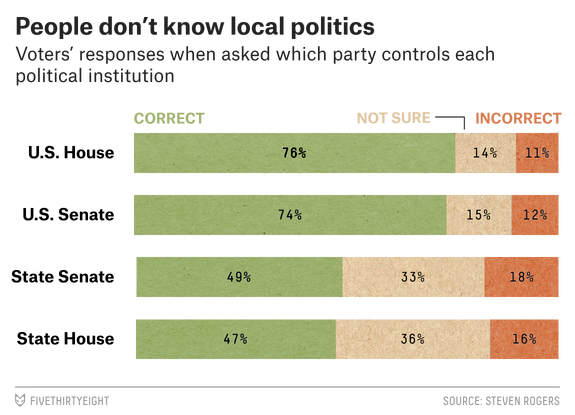
Kurzweil 15 (Martin, Director, Educational Transformation Program, Ithaka S+R; Lecturer in Law, Columbia Law School, “Disciplined Devolution and the New Education Federalism,” C ALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW Vol. 103:565, Page 587-588)

Disciplined devolution addresses the problems of bureaucracy in many of the same ways as the strategies with which it overlaps. Like big waiver, disciplined devolution accommodates diversity and flexibility in policy making, while still using Congress’s preferred scheme as a baseline. Like cooperative federalism, it encourages state and local governments to take ownership of federal goals, tailor policies to local conditions, and sidestep national political disputes. And like experimentalism, disciplined devolution establishes a process of self-evaluation and adaptation in light of experience that also produces information about policy success and failure to be used by the federal government or shared across states. Yet disciplined devolution is not simply coterminous with the other governance models. There are programs qualifying as one or more of those governance approaches that do not qualify as disciplined devolution. For example, while the Secretary of Homeland Security’s authority to waive any statutory provision that inhibits the construction of a border fence is a prime example of big waiver, it does not involve state and local policy making and in no way incorporates experimentalist features. Likewise, while most of the state aid provisions of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act vest significant policy-making authority in the states, they do not give states that authority as a deviation from an existing legislative scheme and do not use continuing federal oversight to promote experimentation and institutional learning.118 The private sphere applications of experimentalism certainly do not fit the mold of disciplined devolution, and neither do the public sphere experimentalist programs employing direct regulation of or contracting with regulated entities, because they do not involve the states. Experimentalist, multi-level governance schemes tick two of the three boxes for disciplined devolution, but not all of those programs are triggered by a deviation from a default legislative scheme.

#### The cp doesn’t link---even the most important policies at the state level get ignored by voters and politicians in favor of federal policymakers---they won’t attribute state legislation to a single party.

Fergman 16. (Craig Fergman, author and political analyst for 538. All Politics Is National. November 7, 2016. https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/all-politics-is-national/)

Each presidential cycle, someone scolds Americans for not paying enough attention to state politics. (This someone is usually on Twitter.) The criticism both is and isn’t correct. It’s true that a lot of people ignore the policies behind their sewage systems and water pipes. And most of us — voters, politicians, data-driven websites — **spend far more time debating** national politics **than the** state (or local) **varieties**. Yet it’s also true that, in the last few years, we’ve talked a ton about state issues. Voter ID laws, abortion restrictions, minimum wage hikes, legalized marijuana, gun control, LGBT rights — each of these is an exhaustively covered example of state politics. In 2016, then, the most interesting thing about our state politics is how these two strands, the everyday and the ideological, intersect. State politicians are becoming more partisan and more polarized, much like national politicians. But this party-driven approach isn’t just influencing left-right issues like abortion or guns. It’s spreading through every part of state government, with surprising and potentially troubling results. It’s why Fairview’s water pipes haven’t been fixed — for reasons that have little to do with water, oil or even Montana itself. Before we dive into the states and their political divide, allow me a bipartisan caveat. The examples I’m highlighting will center on Republicans, because Republicans have become more extreme at the state level, just like at the national level, and because state Republicans are cleaning up: The GOP currently controls 68 of 981 state legislative chambers and 31 of the 50 governorships. One can imagine a future where Democrats create a similar ruckus. But for now, most state policies come from Republicans. Those policies **influence** every part of our **day-to-day** lives. Start with the obvious ones — **roads and utilities**, of course, but also **health care**, **education** and **taxes** (tobacco, gas, property, sales, income, etc.). The state you live in determines tort law, contract law and a big chunk of criminal law. If you live in Connecticut, for instance, you’d need to steal $2,000 worth of goods for it to count as a felony; cross over to Massachusetts and that threshold drops to $250. With more serious crimes, the state you live in can determine whether you’re eligible for post-conviction DNA analysis or even for the death penalty. The state you live in determines whether you can request a physician-assisted suicide. It can determine how long you stay on food stamps; it can determine the type of fireworks you buy. The state you live in determines whether your teenager receives abstinence-only sex education; it also determines whether the teenager driving in the other lane is allowed to text in the car. Although some of these policies are divisive, far more are essential and mundane. In fact, for each new law Congress passes, states pass more than 75 of their own. Those laws loom even larger when we remember that fewer and fewer Americans move. According to the 2010 American Community Survey, six in ten Americans were born in their current state of residence. Your state shapes your world, especially if you can’t (or don’t want to) leave. Despite the impact **of state politics**, most Americans neglect them. This starts with the **professionals**. **From 20**03 **to 20**14**, local newspapers lost a third of their full-time statehouse reporters** (overall staffing decreased at the same time); **86 percent of local TV stations lack a single statehouse reporter**. **Even if there were more coverage,** it’s not clear that readers or viewers would notice. One 2012 survey of Tennessee adults found that only 12 percent said they followed state politics “very closely”; 36 percent said they followed them “fairly closely.” But **only one in five respondents could name their statehouse representative**. Now, to be fair, conjuring up your state rep can be tricky, and pollsters have found similarly anemic identification rates in other states dating to the 1960s. A simpler measure of awareness is to ask voters to **identify the party that controls their state’s legislature**. Even here, though, **the results are** lackluster. When the American National Election Studies’ Evaluations of Government and Society Study asked this question in 2010, 47 percent of registered voters got it right, far fewer than got it right for Congress.



This apathy spills over to the pool of potential candidates for office. Take Georgia, a longtime red state that for a while seemed like it might turn purple or even blue with Donald Trump on the GOP ticket. Even if Democrats do well there on Nov. 8, they won’t capitalize in the state legislature — 80 percent of Georgia’s incumbents face no challenger this fall. That’s the good news for incumbents everywhere. Here’s the bad: **if more than half of voters don’t know who runs the statehouse, then those same** voters **also** don’t know whom to reward (or to blame). The best place to see this is in the research of Steven Rogers, a political scientist at St. Louis University who specializes in state legislatures. Rogers has analyzed decades of data across dozens of states. He’s tested various factors to see how they might influence voters: the state’s economy, tax rates, homicide rate and student reading scores, among others. What Rogers has found is that these measures have little or no effect on whether a state legislator wins re-election. Instead, **state races correlate largely with presidential politics** — whether the voter approves of the president and whether the legislator belongs to the president’s party. Crafting great (or terrible) legislation on jobs or criminal sentencing doesn’t seem to matter. “Whether or not state legislators are elected,” Rogers said, “has very little to do with them.” The most surprising thing about Rogers’s findings is their consistency. The proportion of seats a party wins in the U.S. House overlaps to an uncanny degree with the proportion of seats it wins in the state houses, and this national-local link stretches back to World War I. In other words, **it’s not just that most voters ignore what’s happening at the state level** — it’s that they’ve ignored it for a century or more. The problem is that while the voting patterns haven’t changed, the national parties have. What’s happened to the national parties is a bleak and well-known story: Washington, D.C. has become more extreme, more polarized and more driven by negative partisanship. Now that partisanship is oozing into state capitals. For most of the 20th century, state government remained plodding and traditional, animated more by fixing problems than by prosecuting beliefs.2 Voters saw little difference when electing Democrats or Republicans, state by state, and most of the big policy changes came from the federal government (the New Deal) or the courts (Brown v. Board of Education). Together, the states drifted slowly to the left, helped by steadily increasing federal grants. In the 1980s and 1990s, though, state politics changed. Recently, political scientists have started to build tools that analyze trends at the state level. One team has compiled thousands of legislative votes and used them to track changes in the ideology of state legislatures, similar to what DW-NOMINATE does for Congress. Another team has assembled a data set of nearly 150 individual policies and used it to chart each state’s policy outcomes since 1936. These tools make it possible to compare states to each other and to their past selves, and in both cases it’s clear that over the last couple of decades states and their legislators have become more ideologically consistent and more ideologically extreme. For the first time in modern state politics, Republican governments started passing mostly conservative agendas, and Democratic governments started passing mostly liberal agendas. No one is quite sure why polarization and partisanship are rising at the state level, just like no one’s quite sure at the national level. But some state and local politicians started cribbing their national parties’ tactics and rhetoric. Sarah Palin, for example, ran to be a small-town mayor in 1996 before she was a governor and vice presidential nominee. When she ran for the top job in Wasilla, Alaska, the most pressing local issues were paving dirt roads and creating a police department. Yet Palin campaigned on national issues, with mailers that highlighted her anti-abortion-rights stance and ads that proclaimed she was “Endorsed by the NRA.” But there’s one key difference between the states and D.C. At the national level, gridlock has slowed both sides. In the states, where voters and legislators are more clearly sorted, **there’s often** less obstruction. Money and energy have moved to the states. Legislatures are getting more lobbyists. (Mylan, the infamous EpiPen manufacturer, upped the number of states it lobbied from nine to 45 in a four-year span.) States have attracted more partisan outfits, as well. More than 1,000 state legislators have signed the state version of Grover Norquist’s “no taxes” pledge. State reps now go to the floor and read NRA talking points verbatim. The American Legislative Exchange Council, which pushes pro-business “model bills” in statehouses around the country, seems stronger than ever. **Because this** activity **is happening in the states**, it gets less scrutiny from the media and less attention from voters. But there’s no question that our states are changing. While both sides are becoming more extreme, state Republicans are moving further to the right than state Democrats are moving to the left. According to the DW-NOMINATE-style tool, 18 state legislatures are now more conservative than Congress, some of them drastically so. The latest data suggests that 26 state legislatures were more polarized than Congress in 2013.

#### Trump wouldn’t care enough to spin the plan---he only pays attention to mainstream media and is clueless about state politics.

Elliot 17. (Philip Elliot, reporter for TIME. Donald Trump Doesn't Understand Local Politics. That's Hurting His Presidency. October 26, 2017. time.com/4999355/tax-reform-donald-trump-local-politics/)

For Trump, who has consumed a diet of cable TV news for years and never held elected office prior to the presidency, the budget vote was something to be considered at a **macro level**. The **pundits would call it a win** for the president, while national conservative groups would praise it as a forward step for the cause of tax reform. But no politician in the legislative branch is elected nationally. The men and women of Congress who will decide the fate of this tax reform proposal all report back to voters in their districts and states, many of whom have parochial concerns like high state taxes they like to write-off. The House, where spending bills have to start, is preparing to release a draft of the tax plan Wednesday, with a committee rewrite slated for the following Monday. The Senate will take its red pen to it the week of Nov. 13 and have a floor vote on Nov. 20. The rapid pace is ambitious, for sure, but there are many pitfalls on its path. After all, this would be the most ambitious rewrite of the tax code since 1986. For his part, Speaker Paul Ryan recognized the pitfalls when asked about the state and local taxes on Thursday. “This budget that we just passed, that is really important for getting tax reform done,” he told reporters, painting it as merely one step in the process. “The Ways and Means Committee will be putting out the specific plan very shortly and they’re going to work with all of our members to look at, and consider and address their concerns.” But with lawmakers from states with high local taxes standing against what to them is a de facto tax hike, **the White House seemed only to rely on what cable news was saying**. The President has long thrived on tapping into and, often, exacerbating the narrative on the **minute-by-minute coverage from the macro level**. Yet sometimes he has understood the national mood so well he misses the local needs. For instance, instead of holding a campaign-style victory event on Thursday, he met with families impacted by the opioid crisis in the White House’s East Room. That disconnect between the President’s enthusiasm and local lawmakers’ micro-level hesitancy has been on display before. **On questions such as repealing Obamacare** and building a wall on the U.S.-Mexican border, many from the President’s own party balked. For instance, Senators from states with thousands of constituents with health coverage because of the health care law weren’t eager to toss them from programs. And border-state Senators, like Jeff Flake and John McCain, understood a brick-and-mortar garrison along the southern border spelled bad politics back home. Heading into next week, the President may again find his agenda stymied by parochial interests, and not just on the tax proposals. The Senate Banking Committee is scheduled to take up the nomination of Scott Garrett to lead the Export-Import Bank, an economic powerhouse that helps U.S. manufacturers looking to sell their goods abroad. Critics from across the spectrum have faulted the New Deal relic as corporate cronyism and a handout to some of the nation’s biggest corporations. Trump was a critic of the institution as a candidate. He called it “featherbedding” during the campaign. “When you think about free enterprise, it’s not really free enterprise,” Trump said at the time. Then, after meeting with CEOs who rely on Ex-Im funding for sales abroad, he switched gears and nominated Garrett. Allies said he saw the big picture beyond the slagging the bank took in conservative press and on Twitter. The nominee, a former Congressman from New Jersey, is no fan of the institution he has been tapped to lead. (In fact, it’s a common trait within the Cabinet, as this week’s TIME Magazine reports in its cover story.) The pick brought groans from throughout the Senate because it either gave new life to the institution or issued its death warrant depending on where one sat. Should Garrett hobble the bank or leave it impotent, that could cost jobs for states with major manufacturers who use its powers. For instance, Republican Sen. Tim Scott represents South Carolina, where Boeing has a huge footprint. Scott has a seat on the Banking Committee, where Republicans have only a one-seat advantage. It won’t be an easy week for Scott as he considers an institution that House Financial Services Committee Chairman Jeb Hensarling of Texas routinely calls “the Bank of Boeing.” Scott, for instance, has faced lobbying to reject that nomination, especially from the South Carolina Chamber of Commerce and other groups that benefit from Boeing’s economic power in the state. The National Association of Manufacturers also has run ads urging Scott to ditch Garrett. Yet, if Scott rejects Garrett, the bank stays in neutral and Boeing loses out. The Ex-Im bank’s board has lacked a quorum since 2015, meaning it can’t cut deals worth more than $10 million. If backers of the lending organization want it to get back to work, lawmakers need to confirm Garrett. But in doing so, they’re installing someone who has railed against the institution’s very mission. Complicating politics further has been a concerted effort among groups on the left to highlight earlier comments attributed to Garrett about LGBT rights. Some of Garrett’s potential supporters were left uneasy about elevating him to the new role and giving tacit endorsement of comments, some of which he said were misattributed or misconstrued. That record has made Democrats less willing to hold their nose in order to revive the bank. Welcome to the nuance that seldom makes its way to Trump’s Twitter feed. The whole buffet makes sense from afar, but **that random pickle on the chocolate cake is tougher to praise.** In **missing those small details**—that issue that peels off lawmakers over the relatively local issue—Trump has at times stumbled. **Trump is a big-picture New York developer, not someone who has spent his career listening to constituents’ complaints about trash pickup or potholes**. If he is to prevail on the taxes, he’ll need to start looking in lawmakers’ backyards for their sinkholes or treating them like the bodega owner down the block.

#### State action is ignored by voters.

Disanto 16. (Jill Disanto, writer for PhysOrg citing Daniel Hopkins who is a political scientist and researcher at UPenn. Researcher explores why voters ignore local politics. March 18, 2016. <http://phys.org/news/2016-03-explores-voters-local-politics.html>)

Daniel Hopkins, a political scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, says that, while today's voters are more engaged in federal elections, they've pretty much abandoned state and local politics. In a book that he's developing, The Increasingly United States, Hopkins, whose research as an associate professor focuses on American elections and public opinion, says American federalism was based on the idea that voters' primary political loyalties would be with the states. But that idea has become outdated. "With today's highly nationalized political behavior, Americans are no longer taking full advantage of federalism. Contemporary Americans are markedly more engaged with national politics than with the state or local politics," Hopkins says. "We now know more about national politics, vote more often in national elections and let our national loyalties dictate our down-ballot choices." The book presents evidence about Americans' voting and political engagement and offers two reasons to explain why today's voters are paying more attention to federal elections. The first, Hopkins says, is a landscape in which the political parties offer similar choices at the national level. "Just as an Egg McMuffin is the same in any McDonald's, America's two major political parties are increasingly perceived to offer the same choices throughout the country," Hopkins says. The second reason is the changes in the media and how Americans get their news, an environment that allows people to follow their interests in national-level politics, making local and state-level politics easy to ignore, he says. "As Americans transition from print newspapers and local television news to the Internet and cable television, they are also leaving behind the media sources most likely to provide state and local information," Hopkins says. "The result is a growing mismatch between the varied challenges facing states and voters' near-exclusive focus on national politics." For The Increasingly United States, Hopkins examined historical and recent surveys from the 50 states, along with election results from gubernatorial and mayoral races dating back nearly a century. He also traced the evolution of political media coverage from The Los Angeles Times' coverage during the Great Depression through the expansion of local television news during the 1960s and the role of social media today. "Voters' attention, engagement and campaign contributions are targeted more toward national politics," Hopkins says. "This 'nationalization' is likely to have profound consequences for state and local politics and policymaking. Accordingly, this book seeks to document and explain the nationalization of contemporary Americans' political behavior." With a secondary appointment in Penn's Annenberg School for Communication, Hopkins studies questions related to racial politics, ethnicity, immigration and urban politics.

#### Even if the cp got perceived, the fed won’t get credit for policy originating from the states, but the perm doesn’t shield because state action must be independent and prior.

Ferraiolo 8 – Dr. Kathleen Ferraiolo, Professor of Political Science at James Madison University, “State Policy Innovation and the Federalism Implications of Direct Democracy”, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Volume 38, Number 3, January, p. 496-498

Ballot Initiatives that Respond to Federal Inaction There were a number of policy issues that appeared on multiple state ballots during the past several election cycles. Voters have cast their ballots on topics ranging from same-sex marriage and gambling to education, energy, election reform, and taxes. Eminent domain, the minimum wage, abortion, government finances, and animal rights were other subjects that occupied voters’ attention. This study focuses on four issue areas, most of which were considered in multiple states and targeted federal policy either by responding to perceived inaction or by challenging federal law. The Minimum Wage Until the newly elected Democratic Congress tackled the issue in early 2007, the federal government had not enacted a minimum wage increase since 1997, when it was raised to five dollars and fifteen cents an hour. Not content to wait for the federal government to act on what they perceived to be an important issue, in 2006 voters in six states (Nevada, Arizona, Ohio, Colorado, Missouri, and Montana) ratified initiatives to increase the minimum wage and index it to inflation, in some cases overwhelmingly. Eleven state legislatures approved raises in 2006 as well. The average ‘‘yes’’ vote for the 2006 ballot measures was 66 percent, and the average margin of victory was thirty-one points. In 2004, voters in Florida and Nevada overwhelmingly supported minimum wage ballot measures. In total, the National Conference of State Legislatures (2007b) reports that thirty states and the District of Columbia have adopted state minimum wages that are higher than the federal minimum wage. Clearly, despite inaction at the federal level there is much support for raising the minimum wage among both state voters and elected officials, including Democratic and some Republican governors and legislators. The ballot presence of hot-button issues such as same-sex marriage and the minimum wage has led scholars to investigate the mobilizing effects of these issues (Abramowitz 2004; Smith 2006; Nicholson 2005) and to uncover evidence of initiatives’ educative and electoral spillover effects. Smith and Tolbert, among the first to study the educative effects of direct democracy, found that initiative use is associated with increases in voter turnout, civic engagement, political interest, and political knowledge (Tolbert and Smith 2006; Smith and Tolbert 2004). Smith and Tolbert (2001), Kousser and McCubbins (2005), and others document the spillover effects of ballot initiatives on broader electoral and political processes such as citizens’ voting behavior in candidate elections and political party and interest group strategies. Smith (2006) notes that political officials (such as Arnold Schwarzenegger) and party operatives have skillfully used the initiative process to advance their policy agendas, threaten the legislature into action, and frame candidate elections. Smith, DeSantis, and Kassel (2006) find a positive correlation between support for anti-same-sex marriage measures and the vote for George W. Bush in Ohio and Michigan in 2004. Kousser and McCubbins (2005) describe how Democratic party activists in Colorado helped sponsor a successful 2004 initiative to increase mass transit funding that contributed to high voter turnout and Democratic victories in an election when Republican candidates dominated in many other states. In a wide-ranging study, Nicholson (2005) finds that ballot measures have agenda-setting, priming, and electoral spillover effects, altering the weight voters assign to various issues, the standards by which they evaluate candidates for congressional and gubernatorial offices, and the strategies of political candidates and parties. No longer the exclusive domain of citizens or interest groups, political party organizations, candidates, and elected officials now use initiative elections for many purposes: To increase voter registration and turnout, advance their political agendas and ideologies, circumvent contribution and expenditure limits in candidate races, selectively mobilize support for their own candidates, prime vote choice for issues on which they believe they have an advantage, or drive a wedge in opponent coalitions (Smith 2005, 2006; Kousser and McCubbins 2005; Smith and Tolbert 2001). As candidates and parties seek initiative success for policy or ideological reasons, they also force their opponents to drain their resources in attempting to defeat initiatives that run counter to their own policy and political goals. The minimum wage ballot measures that experienced overwhelming success in 2004 and 2006 were part of a concerted effort by progressive activists to mobilize sympathetic voters and sway candidate elections. Support for Florida’s 2004 minimum wage initiative by the Association of Community Organization for Reform Now (ACORN) led to the adoption of the measure as well as a successful voter registration drive. The group appeared to achieve its goals of ‘‘‘driving heightened Democratic turnout, passing the initiative, and building permanent political capacity for future gains’’’ (quoted in Kousser and McCubbins 2005, 973). In 2004 progressive activists in Nevada and Florida, with the approval of the Democratic National Committee, used focus groups and pre-election surveys to pretest the language of a variety of minimum wage proposals. They selected those they believed would mobilize low-income voters who would also support Democratic candidates, including presidential nominee John Kerry (Smith 2006). In 2006, the belief that minimum wage ballot initiatives could mobilize Democratic-leaning voters was an attractive possibility for labor unions (particularly the AFL-CIO, which launched its ‘‘America Needs a Raise’’ campaign that year) and other progressive groups such as ACORN interested in unseating the Republican congressional leadership (Broder 2006; Andrews 2006). The objectives of minimum wage sponsors, then, were manifold, including bringing about both state and federal policy change, boosting voter registration and turnout, and influencing candidate elections. Even before they appeared on state ballots and in Congress, proposals to increase the minimum wage received high levels of support in public opinion polls (Roper Center 2007, 55). Democrats in Congress are certainly more sympathetic to a minimum wage increase than are most Republicans, and it is not surprising that they would choose to address the issue as one of their signature initiatives in the 110th Congress in early 2007. Still, the evidence presented here suggests that supporters of raising the minimum wage were able to simultaneously achieve three objectives: Advocates took independent state-level action to address a policy issue of public concern; they had a hand in helping to bring about an electoral majority in Congress more favorable to increasing the minimum wage; and their efforts led to increased turnout (if not Democratic victories) in at least some of the states where the measures appeared. As predicted, the success of minimum wage initiatives in multiple states during the 2004–2006 election cycle ultimately resulted in intergovernmental policy consensus. Impatient with the pace of federal efforts to raise the minimum wage, state lawmakers and voters used the legislative process and direct democracy institutions to address the issue, ultimately producing a divergence in policy not only between states and the federal government but across states as well. The newly elected Democratic Congress resolved this federal–state policy diversity (if not state-to-state diversity; many states set their minimum wage rates higher than the federal level) by acting to raise the minimum wage for the first time in ten years. However, some evidence suggests that state voters and policymakers, and not federal lawmakers, receive most of the credit for policy innovations that originate at the state level. The House of Representatives passed a bill to raise the minimum wage during the second week of the congressional session, but in an early February 2007 poll fewer than one in five respondents gave the House credit for this accomplishment (Roper Center 2007, 131); 84 percent of survey respondents favored a minimum wage increase in 2006, but in March 2007 a mere 2 percent of respondents cited the issue when asked what was the most important thing Congress had done in its first few months (Roper Center 2007, 090). While Congress received little credit for its support for a minimum wage increase, the initiatives’ overwhelming success and the Democratic takeover of Congress in 2007 brought state and federal policy more in line with public opinion, enhancing the opinion-policy connection particularly at the state level and fostering vertical policy consensus and diffusion.

### AT Unconstitutional

#### It’s legal – states can grant immigrants state citizenship or rights – just not federal ones

Markowitz, 15 (Peter L. Markowitz, Associate Clinical Professor of Law, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, "UNDOCUMENTED No MORE: THE POWER OF STATE CITIZENSHIP", April 2015, Stanford Law Review)

In contrast to the Constitution's original text, the Fourteenth Amendment, in the plainest of terms, limits the discretion of a state to define the boundaries of its own citizenship. Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment, also known as the Citizenship Clause or the Naturalization Clause, dictates that federal citizens are citizens of the states in which they reside. Specifically, it provides: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." 6 By its plain language, however, the amendment sets a floor, not a ceiling, for state citizenship. That is, it defines a class of people-U.S. citizenswho must be deemed state citizens, but it does not purport to limit the discretion of states to extend state citizenship more broadly to additional classes of people. The historical context in which the amendment was enacted and subsequent judicial interpretations of the amendment confirm that the power of states to extend their citizenship to nonfederal citizens endured after the passage of the Reconstruction Amendments.

Following the end of the Civil War in 1865, the Reconstruction Amendments were enacted, in part to overrule the Supreme Court's conclusion in Dred Scott that persons of African descent could not be citizens of the United States.6 7 However, in addition to creating a clear definition of federal citizen ship, as the Supreme Court has explained, the Fourteenth Amendment was also intended to "preclude any effort by state legislatures to circumvent the Amendment by denying freedmen state citizenship."6S As explained by Senator Howard at the time of its passage:

The great object of the first section of this amendment is, therefore, to restrain the power of the States and compel them at all times to respect these great fundamental guarantees.... .... It will, if adopted by the States, forever disable every one of them from passing laws trenching upon those fundamental rights and privileges which pertain to citizens of the United States, and to all persons who may happen to be within their jurisdiction.

Accordingly, consistent with the plain language, the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment was to prevent states from denying rights to marginalized communities and persons-former slaves in particular-rather than to prevent states from advancing inclusive constructions of state citizenship or extending rights and protections more broadly than the federal government. o

In the years after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the remaining autonomy of the states in defining their own political communities. Most notably, in the Slaughter-House Cases, wherein the Supreme Court was first called upon to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment, the Court specifically discussed the distinction between state and federal citizenship, as set forth in the Citizenship Clause. 7 ' The issue in the opinion related to the breadth and interpretation of the Privileges and Immunities Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, but insofar as that clause protects "privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," the Court drew a sharp distinction between state and federal citizenship. 72 It explained that "the distinction between citizenship of the United States and citizenship of a State is clearly recognized and established" and that "[i]t is quite clear, then, that there is a citizenship of the United States, and a citizenship of a State, which are distinct from each other, and which depend upon different characteristics or circumstances in the individual." Moreover, the Court noted that the rights belonging to individuals as citizens of a state "have always been held to be the class of rights which the State governments were created to establish and secure"-thus acknowledging the power of states to define the rights and privileges of their own citizenship. 74 While the Court's narrow interpretation of the Privileges and Immunities Clause has been sharply criticized,7 it nevertheless remains good law. More importantly, the critiques do not stain the Court's distinction between state and federal citizenship.

In Boyd v. Nebraska ex rel Thayer, the Court reaffirmed the power of the states to define the boundaries of their own citizenry as that ower relates to the axiomatic principle embodied in the Tenth Amendment -that the federal government has only limited enumerated powers and that all powers not explicitly granted to the federal government are reserved to the states. 77 As the Court explained:

[P]revious to the adoption of the constitution of the United States, every state had the undoubted right to confer on whomsoever it pleased the character of citizen, and to endow him with all its rights. . . .[T]he several states [did not] surrender[] the power of conferring these rights and privileges by adopting the constitution of the United States. [Thus, e]ach state may still confer them upon an alien or any one it thinks proper, or upon any class or description of persons. . .

In United States v. Cruikshank, the Court dismissed a federal criminal indictment alleging that members of a white militia that killed a group of African Americans were criminally liable for violating various rights enshrined in the Constitution.79 The decision was premised, in large part, on a now-rejected theory that the rights protected by the Bill of Rights operate only against the federal government. Nevertheless, in so holding, the Court had occasion to reaffirm and opine at length regarding the separate and autonomous political systems of the federal and state governments, the distinct statuses of state and federal citizenship, and each government's respective supremacy within its own realm. 80

Similarly, in Colgate v. Harvey, the Court again addressed the scope of the Privileges and Immunities Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, this time as it applied to a state tax scheme that treated certain economic activity differently depending on whether it occurred within or outside the state.81 In the course of its decision, and in explaining the distinction between the Privileges and Immunities Clauses of Article IV and of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Court again reaffirmed the distinct and separate character of the citizenship schemes of the state and federal governments. 82

The enduring power of states to define the boundaries of their own political community has also been reaffirmed by the Supreme Court in the modem era. In Oregon v. Mitchell, where the Court considered and rejected the power of Congress to force states to enfranchise eighteen-year-olds in state elections, the Court explained that "the Fourteenth Amendment was [not] intended to strip the States of their power, carefully preserved in the original Constitution, to govern themselves."" Again in U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton, the Court held that states may not impose qualifications for the offices of U.S. Representatives or Senators in addition to those set forth by the Constitution. In his concurrence, Justice Kennedy explained:

The Framers split the atom of sovereignty. It was the genius of their idea that our citizens would have two political capacities, one state and one federal, each protected from incursion by the other. The resulting Constitution created a legal system unprecedented in form and design, establishing two orders of government, each with its own direct relationship, its own privity, its own set of mutual rights and obligations to the people who sustain it and are governed by it.84

In addition, a number of state courts in the modem era have specifically affirmed their continuing power to extend state citizenship to nonfederal citizens. 8 5

Thus, while the Supreme Court has not, in the modem era, had occasion to specifically reaffirm the power of states to extend their citizenship to nonfederal citizens, state court precedent, the plain language of the Fourteenth Amendment, the structure of our Constitution, historical precedent, longstanding Supreme Court authority, and recent authority from the Court reaffirming the dual sovereign structure of our Union collectively compel the conclusion that the Constitution does not limit a state's ability to extend its citizenship more broadly than the federal government. Whether, and to what extent, Congress may do so is, of course, a separate question discussed below in Part II.

#### General preemption analysis doesn’t apply – the Constitution and recent court cases empower states to determine state based citizenship

Markowitz, 15 (Peter L. Markowitz, Associate Clinical Professor of Law, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, "UNDOCUMENTED No MORE: THE POWER OF STATE CITIZENSHIP", April 2015, Stanford Law Review)

Two main factors distinguish the preemption analysis of state citizenship laws from the preemption analysis of the anti-immigrant state laws of Arizona and elsewhere. First, state citizenship laws, unlike anti-immigrant state laws, would exercise a power that the federalist structure of the Constitution necessarily vests in the states; a power that Congress is not constitutionally authorized to preempt. Second, unlike anti-immigrant state laws, a properly drafted state citizenship law would not conflict or interfere with the federal immigration scheme insofar as it would not seek to regulate who may stay and who must leave the United States-the exclusive province of the federal government.

A. The Limits of Congressional Preemptive Power over State Citizenship Schemes

As discussed above in Part LB, the federal government may only act and, consequently, Congress may only legislate in those realms enumerated in the Constitution.8 8 The Supremacy Clause declares that the "Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land." 8 9 Thus only laws made pursuant to the Constitution have preemptive force. Because the power to control state citizenship,90 within the boundaries of the Fourteenth Amendment, is among those powers reserved in the Constitution to the states 9 1 -a power over which Congress has no power to legislate-Congress cannot preempt a state from passing a law granting state citizenship to nonfederal citizens.9 2

However, while Congress is impotent to control the boundaries of state citizenship, this merely prompts the question of what rights states can attach to their citizenship and, among those rights, which Congress can proscribe. 3 Put another way, when Congress acts pursuant to its constitutionally vested authority, what limits, if any, exist regarding the restraints it may impose upon the rights states can grant to their citizens? How do we balance the constitutionally assigned powers of Congress against the constitutionally protected sovereignty of the states? 94 To understand the constraints on federal power in this realm we must first understand the purpose behind the federalist structure guaranteed by the Constitution.9 5 As the Supreme Court has explained, federalism "preserves to the people numerous advantages":

[1] It assures a decentralized government that will be more sensitive to the diverse needs of a heterogenous society; [2) it increases opportunity for citizen involvement in democratic processes; [3] it allows for more innovation and experimentation in government; and [4] it makes government more responsive by putting the States in competition for a mobile citizenry.

As an initial matter, it is worth noting that it is difficult to imagine a state initiative more closely aligned with these values than the contemplated inclusive state citizenship schemes. Extending state citizenship to immigrants is, of course, an "innovati[ve] and experimentati[ve]" initiative intended to make government "more sensitive to the diverse needs of a heterogenous society," and "it increases opportunity for citizen involvement in democratic processes" while putting "States in competition for a mobile citizenry." 97 As a general rule, "[a]s long as it is acting within the powers granted it under the Constitution, Congress may im ose its will on the States" even "in areas traditionally regulated by the States." Accordingly, as a default, the Supremacy Clause of the Constitution dictates that when congressional power and state sovereignty come in conflict, state sovereignty must give way.99 But for decades, the Supreme Court has recognized that there are limits to this general principle.

In Sugarman v. Dougall, the Court was called upon to decide whether a New York state statute, which prohibited the employment of noncitizens in a broad range of public positions, including primarily low-level nonpolicymaking positions, violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution.100 The Court held that the statute violated the guarantee of equal protection and rejected the State's claim that the employment prohibition was an exercise of the State's sovereign authority to define the identity of its own government. However, in considering the issue, the Court "recognize[d] a State's interest in establishing its own form of government, and in limiting participation in that government to those who are within 'the basic conception of a political community"' as well as "the State's broad power to define its political cormmunity." t o 1 Most notably, the Court explained that if the statute had implicated "functions that [went] to the heart of representative government," the Court's equal protection scrutiny would not have been "so demanding where we deal[t] with matters resting firmly within a State's constitutional prerogatives."l02 This is a truly extraordinary statement. The Court here indicates that even where constitutional mandates come into conflict with fundamental aspects of state sovereignty, let alone statutory proscriptions, those constitutional rules must sometimes bend out of respect for the power constitutionally reserved to states. 103 It seems the default rule, set forth in the Supremacy Clause, is not absolute,

Just a few years later, in National League of Cities v. Usery, the Court established the high-water mark for the inviolability of state sovereignty.1 04 In National League of Cities, the Court held that Congress may not exercise its commerce power to interfere with state sovereignty "in areas of traditional governmental functions." 105 This rule was short-lived, however, as nine years later, in Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority, the Court abandoned this rule, holding that the "traditional governmental functions" test was unworkable.106 In Garcia, the Court acknowledged that there are undoubtedly limits on the power of Congress to exercise its commerce power so as to infringe on state sovereignty, but it expressed doubt "that courts ultimately can identify principled constitutional limitations on the scope of Congress' Cornmerce Clause powers over the States merely by relying on a priori definitions of state sovereignty." 10 7 Instead, the Court suggested that the political process, not the courts, may be the appropriate constitutional mechanism to define the boundaries of inviolable state sovereignty.10

However, most recently, in Gregory v. Ashcroft, the Court has come full circle and once again embraced the balance originally suggested in Dougall. In Gregory, the Court was considering a challenge brought by Missouri state judges, claiming that the state constitution's mandatory retirement age violated, inter alia, the Federal Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (ADEA).1 0 9 If the provision violated the ADEA, the case presented the issue of whether Congress could constitutionally interfere with a state's ability to determine the qualifications for its own judges. The Court ultimately constructed a clear statement rule to avoid the difficult constitutional issue and held that the judges were not covered by the ADEA under the language of that statute.1 to However, in so holding, the Court strongly suggested that even where Congress is constitutionally empowered to act, it may not act in a way that infringes on "state decisions that 'go to the heart of representative government"' because such infringement "would upset the usual constitutional balance of federal and state powers." 1 I

Accordingly, in determining what rights states may universally deliver to their citizenship and what rights the federal government may prohibit a state from delivering, we are guided by the Court's decisions in Dougall and Gregory. It seems that those rights which go most directly to the "heart of [a state's] representative government" may not be infringed upon by Congress, even through the exercise of its constitutionally enumerated powers. 1 12

As discussed in greater detail below, the rights contemplated under an inclusive state citizenship scheme fall generally into three categories: political rights, rights of access to public programs and benefits, and rights to protection against mistreatment.113 Political rights include the right to vote and hold public office. Rights of access to public programs and benefits include the rights to state-issued identification, driver's licenses, and equal access to state educational and health care programs. Finally, rights to protection against mistreatment include privacy protections, antidiscrimination protections, and assurances that the state and its subdivisions will not voluntarily participate in federal immigration enforcement activities targeting state citizens.

The legal inquiry for each of these rights is thus whether the right goes to the "heart of representative government." Many rights may not, and thus Congress could in theory limit the ability of states to deliver these rights-though it has not.114 However, some of the rights attendant to an inclusive state citizenship scheme are essential to a functioning democracy, and thus any attempt to federally proscribe these rights should fail. Most notably, the political rightsto vote and hold office-have been repeatedly singled out by the Court as central to state sovereignty. 115 In addition, the right to state-issued identification is intimately connected to the power of states to define who is and who is not part of the political community, which is also central to state sovereignty and to "the State's broad power to define its political community." 1 1 6 Similarly, insofar as the education of the citizenry is a necessity for functioning democracy, educational rights attendant to state citizenship could also potentially be conceived of as going to the "heart of representative government." 1 17

At base, Congress is powerless to interfere with a state's desire to extend its citizenship to whomever it pleases. Similarly, Congress cannot deprive state citizens of the core political or other rights necessary to establish a functioning democratic system of government. However, this inquiry regarding the ability of Congress to proscribe the rights attendant to citizenship is for now purely academic, as Congress has not acted to curtail any of the rights contained in the contemplated inclusive state citizenship scheme.

### AT Unconstitutional – Visas

#### It’s Constitutional – state participation is allowed within fed guidelines

Fuller and Rust, 14 (Brandon Fuller is a research scholar at New York University and deputy director of the Urbanization Project at the NYU Stern School of Business. Sean Rust is a practicing attorney and a recent graduate of Temple University’s Beasley School of Law where he was a law and public policy scholar, “State-Based Visas A Federalist Approach to Reforming U.S. Immigration Policy”, 4/23/14, Cato, https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/pa748\_web\_1.pdf)

The state-based visa program described here is also fully consistent with current interpretations of the Constitution. Historically, the Supreme Court has interpreted Congress to have “plenary power” over immigration, generally giving deference to the political branches of the federal government as an extension of the Naturalization Clause under Article 1, section 8, clause 4, which gives Congress the power “To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization.”67 Under current interpretations, this gives Congress the sole power to establish naturalization guidelines. However, Congress can also allow states to be involved in immigration policy in areas besides naturalization, such as managing a state-based visa within federal guidelines.68 Some immigration policies, with the exception of naturalization, can be partly devolved to the states within a range of powers permitted by the federal government.

The recent case of Arizona v. United States, which decided the constitutionality of Arizona’s strict immigration laws, reiterates the point that states are allowed to participate in immigration policy and enforcement, but only within the scope permitted by the federal government.69 In debating the case of Arizona v. United States, Peter Spiro, an immigration law scholar at Temple University’s Beasley School of Law, wrote, “[I]n Arizona, the Supreme Court constricted the possibilities for unilateral state innovation on immigration, both good and bad. That does not stop the federal government from affirming state discretion.”70 A state-based visa program does just that—allowing states to participate in the selection of immigrants under guidelines permitted by the federal government which is consistent with current interpretations of the Supremacy Clause and the plenary power of the federal government in the matter of immigration.

It is also important to note that U.S. law defines a nonimmigrant visa holder as “an alien who seeks temporary entry to the United States for a specific purpose,” and the federal government may set conditions in accordance with this purpose.71 For example, in the current immigration system a foreign entrant may be required to be attached to a singular petitioning employer under a number of employerbased non-immigrant visas, such as the H-1B. Like holders of employment-based visas, state-based visa holders would be nonimmigrants with a temporary right to live and work in the United States and an option to pursue permanent residency. As such, the state-based system is simply a variation on the condition being attached to the foreign entrant.

### AT Oversight

#### State enforcement solves – less juggling

Bier, 17 (David J. Bier is an immigration policy analyst at the Cato Institute’s Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity. He is an expert on visa reform, border security, "State-Sponsored Visa Criticisms Aren’t Grounded in Facts", 5/12/17, https://www.cato.org/blog/state-sponsored-visa-criticisms-arent-grounded-facts)

This misses the point again. The fact that DHS cannot enforce the current rules is exactly why devolving the rulemaking to the states makes sense. DHS doesn’t have to “juggle” if the states are the ones setting the rules and informing DHS of the violations of their rules, as the bill requires (p. 4). The level of government with the most at stake would conduct the oversight, as opposed to the current system where the level of government with almost nothing at stake is responsible for enforcement.

# Impact Calculus

### AFFs

**HSI is low on probability, as it is unlikely that deterrence would cause war, and fast growth doesn’t solve for global warming, slow growth does, as we have proved(Amadeo card, I think)**

**Dreamers AFF(Also can be applied to DACA aff) is low on probability, as there are not enough Dreamers to cause economic collapse if DACA were to be struck down, and our military readiness isn’t constituted by recruitment, but by advancement of technology.**

**The magnitude of AI, is low, there is no tangible impact other than loss of military supremacy, and that wouldn’t cause wars, because China knows the US still have allies. Rogue AIs don’t have a tangible impact like deaths, or economy loss either. Magnitude/probability of a loss of hegemony is low, as even if the US loses military power, the loss isn’t drastic enough to cause enough real problems.**

**Refugees has low magnitude/probability, as the US is already letting in refugees isn’t experiencing any significant wars. The aff only says it solves for spread of WMDs, but not the actual usage. In fact, these wars increase the number of refugees, compounding the problem further, making it unlikely for a war to happen in the first place.**

**Iran War has low magnitude: Only either structural violence impacts, or a regional war in Iran, which 1: has no nuclear weapons, and 2: there is already a war ongoing, with no huge consequences.**

**Asylum has no real magnitude, it’s all only structural violence, which we outweigh.**

**Blood Quantum also has no real magnitude, it’s structural violence, namely damaging Native American social structure, and autonomy, which pales in comparison to the magnitude of our off case impacts.**

**Domestic Violence(Gender Asylum falls under this) also has low magnitude, structural inequality doesn’t have as much of an impact, like loss of life, as nuke war, or any war at all.**

**EB is low on probability, as solving global warming isn’t only contingent on green tech, a major factor is our fossil fuel production, and China’s economic bubble is unlikely to burst, and taking in immigrants isn’t going to change that. Also, economic decline doesn’t always lead to war, like in the 2008 recession.**

**Families AFF has low magnitude, these impacts are only felt on a scale of the families, and those who care enough, but there is no real loss of life.**

**No Borders has no impact, it only says that borders are unfair and shouldn’t be used: Untrue, rant on about how this is not true.**

**Any kind of Terror Aff, talk about improbability, and that terrorism doesn’t have a very large impact-if applicable, call them racist-but only if you feel they are being racist. Expose in CX maybe?**

**Trafficking is kind of self-explanatory, it has structural violence magnitude.**