# Neoliberalism Aff

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## Contention 1: Harms

## ADVANTAGE 1: Structural Violence

#### Neoliberal policy causes poverty and class exclusionism, Brazil empirically proves

**Mckeown 11**, (Anthony, [Critical Studies on Terrorism](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Epwh%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Epwhjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22Critical%20Studies%20on%20Terrorism%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');), The **structural** production of state terrorism: capitalism, imperialism and international class dynamics, Deputy Leader of the Labour Group, and Deputy Leader of the Council and Executive Member for Community Services <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx>?)

Undergirded by neo-liberalism’s focus on privatisation, deregulation, decentralisation¶ and the liberalisation of trade and ﬁnance, market-assisted land reform (MALR) programmes were originally developed for countries such as Colombia and South Africa,¶ where the capacity of the state to attempt agrarian reform is hampered by chronic instability¶ and violence. Brazil, however}|, a situation rooted in the increasing successes of the country’s rural Landless Workers’ Movement¶ (MST) in securing access to land following the democratisation of the state in 1985. The¶ successes of the MST and the intensiﬁcation of rural conﬂict meant that the World Bank¶ ‘began to view the intensity of massive land occupations and the radicalization of con-¶ ﬂict as a danger to the neoliberal regime’ (Martins 2000, p. 37). Yet far from enabling¶ the achievement of the Bank’s stated intention of increasing rural equity, reducing poverty¶ and stemming violence, the reverse has been the case: increased land concentration and¶ means of production in fewer hands, increased poverty and exclusion and upward trends in¶ violence (see e.g. Huizer 1999, Petras and Veltmeyer 2005, Filho and Mendonca 2007).

#### Structural violence kills a lot of people

**Galea 11**(Sandro, Estimated Deaths Attributable to Social Factors in the United States, American Journal of Public Health, MD,DrPH, Sandro Galea was with the Department of Epidemiology, University of Michigan)

Results. Approximately 245000 deaths in the United States in 2000 were attributable to low education, 176 000 to racial segregation, 162 000 to low social support, 133 000 to individual-level poverty, 119000 to income inequality, and 39000 to area-level poverty.¶ Conclusions. The estimated number of deaths attributable to social factors in the United States is comparable to the number attributed to pathophysiological and behavioral causes. These findings argue for a broader public health conceptualization of the causes of mortality and an expansive policy approach that considers how social factors can be addressed to improve the health of populations. (Am J Public Health. 2011;101:1456-1465.)

#### By reforming from neoliberal policies we can solve structural violence

Ornelas 2012 (Raul, Professor and activist, this essay was peer reviewed in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* Winter “Counterhegemonies and Emancipations: Notes for a Debate”)

The discussion of the horizons of social struggle is neither an academic issue nor, in the end, a theoretical one. The historical experience of social struggle, and especially the history of revolutionary processes, demonstrates that the points of reference that provide the strength and ideas that orient struggle and social transformation are of primary importance. While it is the workers and their organizations that through struggle constitute the subject of social transformation, what we call points of reference (organizations, but also newspapers, clubs, and more recently, groups of intellectuals) have been able to make important contributions in formulating analysis and strategies adequate to the historical moment insofar as they take into account the realities of the transformational subject. In this sense, we think it is very important to intensify the debate concerning the horizons of social struggle. This becomes even more relevant if, following Perry Anderson’s characterization of the Latin American social reality, “Here and only here, the resistance to neoliberalism and to neo-imperialism conjugates the cultural with the social and national. That is to say, it entails an emerging vision of another type of organization of society and another model of relations among states on the basis of these three different dimensions.”1

## ADVANTAGE 2: Power Transition

#### Global collapse of capitalism is inevitable at current rate – Chinese economic collapse and shrinking energy supplies

Li Associate Prof of Economics at U of Utah 2010 Minqi The End of the “End of History”: The Structural Crisis of Capitalism and the Fate of Humanity Science & Society 74.3 http://guilfordjournals.com/doi/pdf/10.1521/siso.2010.74.3.290

By about 2015, however, the irreversible decline in world oil production will become apparent. As the decline of the energy supply takes place against the continuing growth of demand in China and possibly in other large semi-peripheral states, world energy prices will again rise rapidly, generating global inflationary pressure.

Squeezed between shrinking export markets (as the advanced capitalist countries suffer from economic stagnation) and rising energy costs, China’s trade surpluses will likely disappear and China may be forced to sell some of its foreign exchange reserves to stave off economic crisis. The combination of China’s dollar sales, global inflationary pressure, and the U. S. fiscal crisis will greatly increase the likelihood of a general dollar collapse that will take the global economic crisis into a second, more violent and more destructive phase.

Chinese capitalism will not be able to postpone the crisis forever. In perhaps five to ten years from now, China will likely be hit by an insurmountable economic crisis as its export-oriented manufacturing industries suffer from the shrinking of the global market and its massive demand for energy and materials can no longer be sustained. The third and final phase of the global economic crisis is likely to see the general collapse of the Chinese, and with it the global, capitalist economy.

#### Collapse of neoliberalism is inevitable with pursued policies – elites perceive and transition struggles now

Li Associate Prof of Economics at U of Utah 2010 Minqi The End of the “End of History”: The Structural Crisis of Capitalism and the Fate of Humanity Science & Society 74.3 http://guilfordjournals.com/doi/pdf/10.1521/siso.2010.74.3.290

THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST ECONOMY is now in its deepest crisis since the Great Depression. Even the world’s ruling elites no longer have any doubt that a significant historical turning point has arrived. The neoliberal phase of capitalist development is coming to an end. This will prove to be the end of the so-called “End of History” and the era of global counter-revolution it signifies.1

The immediate and important question is: what will be next? Where is the world heading as the crisis unravels and evolves? Many among the intellectual left and probably not a small section of the working classes in the advanced capitalist countries are hoping and expecting that the current crisis will lead to a successful restructuring of global capitalism. There will be a new global “new deal” based on social compromise and management of the global environmental crisis. Is this hope realistic? If yes, what conditions are required for it to be materialized? If not, what should “we” (those who are committed to a social transformation that will bring about a more egalitarian and more democratic social system) expect and hope for?

The current crisis is likely to be followed by a prolonged period of global economic and political instability that could last several decades. As the old (neoliberal) institutional structure disintegrates, different social groups, classes, and states will engage in complex and intense conflicts and struggles. It is through the interactions of these conflicts and struggles that the direction of a new institutional structure will be shaped and determined.

#### Revolution in the periphery 🡺 global shift of power

Li Associate Prof of Economics at U of Utah 2010 Minqi The End of the “End of History”: The Structural Crisis of Capitalism and the Fate of Humanity Science & Society 74.3 <http://guilfordjournals.com/doi/pdf/10.1521/siso.2010.74.3.290>

Confronted simultaneously with the collapse of global trade, decline of world energy production, and the prospect of growing working-class militancy, the semi-periphery is likely to prove to be the “weakest link” in the global capitalist chain and a key battleground of global class struggle. If working-class revolutions take place and get consolidated in Russia, China, and Latin America in the coming one or two decades, then the global balance of power could be turned decisively in favor of the global working classes and revolutionary forces.

#### Power Transition leads to mass death and dehumanization, Korean war empirics

**KIM 04**( Dong Choon, Forgotten war, forgotten massacres--the **Korean** War (1950-1953) as licensed **mass** killings, Author of academic articles such as Journal of Genocide Research, Journal of Genecide research)

The Korean War may be one of the bloodiest wars of modern history; it resulted¶ in several million deaths and several times that number of wounded and maimed.¶ Despite such violent fighting and enormous casualties, the Korean War, and¶ especially the aspect of mass killings, has remained a "forgotten war," not only to¶ Westerners but also to many Koreans themselves. From the end of World War II to¶ the present,-almost no war has had so little attention paid to it by the world public¶ as a whole. Due to its characterization by American political leaders as "an anticommunist crusade," "police action" and "war between good and evil," the¶ bloody stories have been squelched during the last fifty year's Cold War period. As¶ McCarthyism and the Korean War occurred at the same moment in time and¶ played off against each other in a mutually reinforcing manner,'^ North Korea's¶ "illegitimate" invasion" fostered a war time anticommunism that served to justify¶ any methods that the US and South Korean army employed to oppose it. This is¶ why existing books or articles dealing with massacres or genocides have never¶ included the cases of the Korean War. Except for a few Western scholars who¶ dared to mention the misconduct of American soldiers and the brutality of the¶ ROK army, only a small number of scholars or reporters have ever raised the issue¶ of "criminal" actions of the US and ROK army.^

## ADVANTAGE 3: Terror

#### Neoliberal policy encourages terror

**Mckeown 11**, (Anthony, [Critical Studies on Terrorism](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Epwh%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Epwhjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22Critical%20Studies%20on%20Terrorism%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');), The **structural** production of state terrorism: capitalism, imperialism and international class dynamics, Deputy Leader of the Labour Group, and Deputy Leader of the Council and Executive Member for Community Services <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx>?)

Driven by a capitalist logic that demands deepening commodiﬁcation worldwide¶ through ‘the pervasive penetration of the private proﬁt motive in all spheres of human existence’, and in all countries (Overbeek 2004, Abstract), state terrorism is motivated from¶ ‘above’ by an imperial logic of power that imposes, through law, a neo-liberal paradigm that¶ (re)produces conditions in which particular acts of state terrorism are embedded. These¶ imperial mechanisms are graphically illustrated in Figure 1. As depicted in Figure 1, imperial law imposes four general policies that tend to intensify social (class) conﬂict and,¶ in the right circumstances, produce or intensify practices of state terrorism: deregulation,¶ which removes impediments to the functioning of markets; privatisation and commodiﬁcation, which opens up new areas for capital accumulation; the liberalisation of trade¶ and ﬁnance, which opens up dominated social formations to inﬂows of foreign goods and¶ capital; and decentralisation, which encourages ‘tightly controlled and carefully delimited¶ forms of market-supporting [social] activity as empowerment’ (Cammack 2003, p. 12). In¶ states beset with social conﬂict, the denationalization of the state also tends to reinforce the¶ role of para-state actors in (re)producing capital accumulation in what might be termed,¶ to borrow a phrase from Robert Mandel, ‘domestic security substitution’ (Mandel 2002).¶ Together, these policies set the scene for societal ‘creative destruction’; as the World Bank¶ puts it in its World development report 2005: a better investment climate for everyone, this¶ involves instituting in developing countries

#### Resistance of Cultural Revolution only causes terror, Columbia empirically proves

**Mckeown 11**, (Anthony, [Critical Studies on Terrorism](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Epwh%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Epwhjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22Critical%20Studies%20on%20Terrorism%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');), The **structural** production of state terrorism: capitalism, imperialism and international class dynamics, Deputy Leader of the Labour Group, and Deputy Leader of the Council and Executive Member for Community Services <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx>?)

As William Aviles mentions, trade unionists have been at the forefront of resistance¶ to recommodiﬁcation and restructuring, which has led to them being subject to state terror (Avilés 2006, p. 22). Sam Raphael, too, notes, citing a report authored by Human¶ Rights Watch, that state and paramilitary terror against unions and other left-wing groups¶ ‘continue[s] to be the country’s most serious human rights problem’ (Human Rights Watch,¶ cited in Raphael 2010, p. 167). For Raphael, increased state violence (including terrorism)¶ remains ﬁrmly rooted in the country’s ongoing conﬂict between the Colombian oligarchy¶ and the country’s resistance movements. State terrorism is, he argues, ‘the product of a concerted attempt by the state and sections of the economic and landholding elite to defend¶ the political and economic status quo from signiﬁcant challenge’ (Raphael 2010, p. 170).

#### Terror causes widespread fear and dehumanizes civilians, Brazil empirics substantiate

**Rodgers 07**(M. Brooke, Professor at King's College London Mediating the social and psychological impacts of terrorist attacks, [International Review of Psychiatry](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Eaph%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Eaphjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22International%20Review%20of%20Psychiatry%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');))

The role of risk perception and risk communication,

The public perception of risk is an important factor¶ to consider when analysing public responses to¶ government communication about a potential terrorist threat or terrorist incident. This is because risk¶ perceptions, especially those that cause fear, have¶ been known to have important implications for¶ physical health (Becker, 2004; Gray & Ropeik,¶ 2002; Gigerenzer, 2006). For example, research¶ suggests that emotional responses to the 2001¶ September 11th attacks in the USA may have¶ imperilled yet more individuals than the 3019 dead¶ or missing that day. In this case, the fear of a¶ potential terrorist attack on an airplane became¶ a health risk in itself, leading members of the¶ public to change travel behaviour (i.e. driving,¶ rather than flying). As a result, individuals were¶ exposed to a greater possible risk than if they¶ maintained their original routine, as illustrated by¶ the sharp increase in the number of road traffic¶ accidents (Gigerenzer, 2006; Gray & Ropeik, 2002).¶ Individual responses to a perceived threat also have¶ the ability to impact and sometimes threaten the¶ security of entire systems, such as healthcare. For¶ example, if the government fails to communicate¶ about a crisis situation in an effective manner, public¶ perceptions of risk and the resulting public reaction¶ can put a strain on already limited resources. This was¶ illustrated by the radioactive incident in Goiania,¶ Brazil (1987), where members of the public reported¶ symptoms similar to radiation exposure, including¶ vomiting and diarrhoea, blisters, burns, and reddened skin. Many of these symptoms were stress induced with more than 112,000 people seeking out¶ examination, when, in reality the radiation resulted in¶ only four deaths and 260 people showing some sign of¶ contamination (Becker, 2004; Fullerton, Ursano,¶ Norwood, & Holloway, 2003; IAEA, 1988; North,¶ 2005). Likewise, the anthrax attack in the United¶ States impacted society on a number of levels.

## ADVANTAGE 4: Racism/Sexism

#### Neoliberalism is entrenched in racist and sexist violence, outweighs everything about the Neg

Brown, 5 — Professor of Economics and Research Scientist at the University of Michigan (Charles Brown, http://www.mail-archive.com/pen-l@sus.csuchico.edu/msg04868.html)

The capitalist class owns the factories, the banks, and transportation-the means of production and distribution. Workers sell their ability to work in order to acquire the necessities of life. Capitalists buy the workers' labor, but only pay them back a portion of the wealth they create. Because the capitalists own the means of production, they are able to keep the surplus wealth created by workers above and beyond the cost of paying worker's wages and other costs of production. This surplus is called "profit" and consists of unpaid labor that the capitalists appropriate and use to achieve ever-greater profits. These profits are turned into capital which capitalists use to further exploit the producers of all wealth-the working class. Capitalists are compelled by competition to seek to maximize profits. The capitalist class as a whole can do that only by extracting a greater surplus from the unpaid labor of workers by increasing exploitation. Under capitalism, economic development happens only if it is profitable to the individual capitalists, not for any social need or good. The profit drive is inherent in capitalism, and underlies or exacerbates all major social ills of our times. With the rapid advance of technology and productivity, new forms of capitalist ownership have developed to maximize profit. The working people of our country confront serious, chronic problems because of capitalism. These chronic problems become part of the objective conditions that confront each new generation of working people. The threat of nuclear war, which can destroy all humanity, grows with the spread of nuclear weapons, space-based weaponry, and a military doctrine that justifies their use in preemptive wars and wars without end. Ever since the end of World War II, the U.S. has been constantly involved in aggressive military actions big and small. These wars have cost millions of lives and casualties, huge material losses, as well as trillions of U.S. taxpayer dollars. Threats to the environment continue to spiral, threatening all life on our planet. Millions of workers are unemployed or insecure in their jobs, even during economic upswings and periods of "recovery" from recessions. Most workers experience long years of stagnant real wages, while health and education costs soar. Many workers are forced to work second and third jobs to make ends meet. Most workers now average four different occupations during their lifetime, being involuntarily moved from job to job and career to career. Often, retirement-age workers are forced to continue working just to provide health care for themselves. With capitalist globalization, jobs move as capitalists export factories and even entire industries to other countries. Millions of people continuously live below the poverty level; many suffer homelessness and hunger. Public and private programs to alleviate poverty and hunger do not reach everyone, and are inadequate even for those they do reach. Racism remains the most potent weapon to divide working people. Institutionalized racism provides billions in extra profits for the capitalists every year due to the unequal pay racially oppressed workers receive for work of comparable value. All workers receive lower wages when racism succeeds in dividing and disorganizing them. In every aspect of economic and social life, African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Asian and Pacific Islanders, Arabs and Middle Eastern peoples, and other nationally and racially oppressed people experience conditions inferior to that of whites. Racist violence and the poison of racist ideas victimize all people of color no matter which economic class they belong to. The attempts to suppress and undercount the vote of the African American and other racially oppressed people are part of racism in the electoral process. Racism permeates the police, judicial and prison systems, perpetuating unequal sentencing, racial profiling, discriminatory enforcement, and police brutality. The democratic, civil and human rights of all working people are continually under attack. These attacks range from increasingly difficult procedures for union recognition and attempts to prevent full union participation in elections, to the absence of the right to strike for many public workers. They range from undercounting minority communities in the census to making it difficult for working people to run for office because of the domination of corporate campaign funding and the high cost of advertising. These attacks also include growing censorship and domination of the media by the ultra-right; growing restrictions and surveillance of activist social movements and the Left; open denial of basic rights to immigrants; and, violations of the Geneva Conventions up to and including torture for prisoners. These abuses all serve to maintain the grip of the capitalists on government power. They use this power to ensure the economic and political dominance of their class. Women still face a considerable differential in wages for work of equal or comparable value. They also confront barriers to promotion, physical and sexual abuse, continuing unequal workload in home and family life, and male supremacist ideology perpetuating unequal and often unsafe conditions. The constant attacks on social welfare programs severely impact single women, single mothers, nationally and racially oppressed women, and all working class women. The reproductive rights of all women are continually under attack ideologically and politically. Violence against women in the home and in society at large remains a shameful fact of life in the U.S.

#### neoliberalism’s larger ideological function is to exterminate public space – as a system it 🡺 social exclusion and racial apartheid

Giroux Global Television Network Chair Professor at McMaster University 2004 Henry Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy: Resurrecting Hope in Dark Times Dissident Voice http://dissidentvoice.org/Aug04/Giroux0807.htm

The ideology and power of neoliberalism also cuts across national boundaries. Throughout the globe, the forces of neoliberalism are on the march, dismantling the historically guaranteed social provisions provided by the welfare state, defining profit-making as the essence of democracy, and equating freedom with the unrestricted ability of markets to “govern economic relations free of government regulation.” [5] Transnational in scope, neoliberalism now imposes its economic regime and market values on developing and weaker nations through structural adjustment policies enforced by powerful financial institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Secure in its dystopian vision that there are no alternatives, as England’s former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher once put it, neoliberalism obviates issues of contingency, struggle, and social agency by celebrating the inevitability of economic laws in which the ethical ideal of intervening in the world gives way to the idea that we “have no choice but to adapt both our hopes and our abilities to the new global market.” [6] Coupled with a new culture of fear, market freedoms seem securely grounded in a defense of national security, capital, and property rights. When coupled with a media driven culture of fear and the everyday reality of insecurity, public space becomes increasingly militarized as state governments invest more in prison construction than in education. Prison guards and security personnel in public schools are two of the fastest growing professions.

In its capacity to dehistoricize and depoliticize society, as well as in its aggressive attempts to destroy all of the public spheres necessary for the defense of a genuine democracy, neoliberalism reproduces the conditions for unleashing the most brutalizing forces of capitalism. Social Darwinism has been resurrected from the ashes of the 19th century sweatshops and can now be seen in full bloom in most reality TV programs and in the unfettered self-interests that now drives popular culture. As narcissism is replaced by unadulterated materialism, public concerns collapse into utterly private considerations and where public space does exist it is mainly used as a confessional for private woes, a cut throat game of winner take all, or a advertisement for consumerism.

Neoliberal policies dominate the discourse of politics and use the breathless rhetoric of the global victory of free-market rationality to cut public expenditures and undermine those non-commodified public spheres that serve as the repository for critical education, language, and public intervention. Spewed forth by the mass media, right-wing intellectuals, religious fanatics, and politicians, neoliberal ideology, with its ongoing emphasis on deregulation and privatization, has found its material expression in an all-out attack on democratic values and on the very notion of the public sphere. Within the discourse of neoliberalism, the notion of the public good is devalued and, where possible, eliminated as part of a wider rationale for a handful of private interests to control as much of social life as possible in order to maximize their personal profit. Public services such as health care, child care, public assistance, education, and transportation are now subject to the rules of the market. Construing the public good as a private good and the needs of the corporate and private sector as the only source of investment, neoliberal ideology produces, legitimates, and exacerbates the existence of persistent poverty, inadequate health care, racial apartheid in the inner cities, and the growing inequalities between the rich and the poor. [7]

#### Racism is the logic of extermination

Elden, Lecturer in politics at the University of Warwick, England, 2002 Stuart, boundary 2 29.1, project muse

The reverse side is the power to allow death. State racism is a recoding of the old mechanisms of blood through the new procedures of regulation. Racism, as biologizing, as tied to a state, takes shape where the procedures of intervention "at the level of the body, conduct, health, and everyday life, received their color and their justification from the mythical concern with protecting the purity of the blood and ensuring the triumph of the race" (VS, 197; WK, 149). [37](http://proxy.lib.wayne.edu:2128/journals/boundary/v029/29.1elden.html#FOOT37) For example, the old anti-Semitism based on religion is reused under the new rubric of state racism. The integrity and purity of the race is threatened, and the state apparatuses are introduced against the race that has infiltrated and introduced noxious elements into the body. The Jews are characterized as the race present in the middle of all races (FDS, 76). [38](http://proxy.lib.wayne.edu:2128/journals/boundary/v029/29.1elden.html#FOOT38) The use of medical language is important. Because certain groups in society are conceived of in medical terms, society is no longer in need of being defended from the outsider but from the insider: the abnormal in behavior, species, or race. What is novel is not the mentality of power but the technology of power (FDS, 230). The recoding of old problems is made possible through new techniques.

A break or cut (coupure) is fundamental to racism: a division or incision between those who must live and those who must die. The "biological continuum of the human species" is fragmented by the apparition of races, which are seen as distinguished, hierarchized, qualified as good or inferior, and so forth. The species is subdivided into subgroups that are thought of as races. In a sense, then, just as the continuum of geometry becomes divisible in Descartes, [39](http://proxy.lib.wayne.edu:2128/journals/boundary/v029/29.1elden.html#FOOT39) the human continuum is divided, that is, made calculable and orderable, two centuries later. As Anderson has persuasively argued, to suggest that racism has its roots in nationalism is a mistake. He suggests that "the dreams of racism actually have their origin in ideologies of class, rather than in those of nation: above all in claims to divinity among rulers and to ‘blue' or ‘white' blood and breeding among aristocracies." [40](http://proxy.lib.wayne.edu:2128/journals/boundary/v029/29.1elden.html#FOOT40) As Stoler has noted, for Foucault, it is the other way around: "A discourse of class derives from an earlier discourse of races." [41](http://proxy.lib.wayne.edu:2128/journals/boundary/v029/29.1elden.html#FOOT41) But it is a more subtle distinction than [End Page 147] that. What Foucault suggests is that discourses of class have their roots in the war of races, but so, too, does modern racism; what is different is the biological spin put on the concepts. [42](http://proxy.lib.wayne.edu:2128/journals/boundary/v029/29.1elden.html#FOOT42) But as well as emphasizing the biological, modern racism puts this another way: to survive, to live, one must be prepared to massacre one's enemies, a relation of war. As a relation of war, this is no different from the earlier war of races that Foucault has spent so much of the course explaining. But when coupled with the mechanisms of mathematics and medicine in bio-power, this can be conceived of in entirely different ways. Bio-power is able to establish, between my life and the death of the other, a relation that is not warlike or confrontational but biological: "The more inferior species tend to disappear, the more abnormal individuals can be eliminated, the less the species will be degenerated, the more I—not as an individual but as a species—will live, will be strong, will be vigorous, will be able to proliferate." The death of the other does not just make me safer personally, but the death of the other, of the bad, inferior race or the degenerate or abnormal, makes life in general healthier and purer (FDS, 227–28). "The existence in question is no longer of sovereignty, juridical; but that of the population, biological. If genocide is truly the dream of modern powers, this is not because of a return today of the ancient right to kill; it is because power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population" (VS, 180; WK, 136). "If the power of normalization wishes to exercise the ancient sovereign right of killing, it must pass through racism. And if, inversely, a sovereign power, that is to say a power with the right of life and death, wishes to function with the instruments, mechanisms, and technology of normalization, it must also pass through racism" (FDS, 228). This holds for indirect death—the exposure to death—as much as for direct killing. While not Darwinism, this biological sense of power is based on evolutionism and enables a thinking of colonial relations, the necessity of wars, criminality, phenomena of madness and mental illness, class divisions, and so forth. The link to colonialism is central: This form of modern state racism develops first with colonial genocide. The theme of the political enemy is extrapolated biologically. But what is important in the shift at the end of the nineteenth century is that war is no longer simply a way of securing one race by eliminating the other but of regenerating that race (FDS, 228–30). As Foucault puts it in La volonté de savoir: [End Page 148]Wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of all; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity. Massacres have become vital [vitaux—understood in a dual sense, both as essential and biological]. It is as managers of life and survival, of bodies and the race, that so many regimes have been able to wage so many wars, causing so many men to be killed. (VS, 180; WK, 136)

## PLAN

#### The United States federal government should substantially increase its investment in free and completely accessible public transit in the United States

## **Contention 2: solvency**

## SOLVENCY

#### **Free and accessible public transit solves – this concrete political strategy refuses crisis based politics and creates the conditions for broad movements against neo-liberalism**

Schein Assistant Prof Human Rights – The Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies at Carleton 2011 Rebecca Free Transit and Social Movement Infrastructure: Assessing the Political Potential of Toronto’s Nascent Free Transit Campaign Alternate Routes volume 22 http://www.alternateroutes.ca/index.php/ar/article/view/14421

The demand for free and accessible public transit has the potential not only to develop into a broad-based movement, but also to drive the development of the new kind of organization that the Assembly aspires to become. The Assembly is committed to its call for the outright abolition of transit fares, not merely a fare-freeze or fare-reduction. What is exciting to me about the free transit campaign is that the expression of a radical anti-capitalist principle—the outright de-commodification of public goods and services—actually serves in this instance to invite rather than foreclose genuine political dialogue about values, tactics, and strategies. While still in its early stages, the free transit campaign is already pushing us to elaborate both analytical and strategic links between commodification, environmental justice, the limits and capacities of public sector unions, and the interlocking forms of exclusion faced by people marginalized by poverty, racism, immigration status, or disability. Free transit could represent a site of convergence between many distinct activist circles in the city and foster greater integration and collaboration between environmental advocacy, anti-poverty work, and diverse human rights organizations. If the free transit campaign does succeed in bringing diverse and distinct activist cultures into conversation with each other, it will force the Assembly to grapple with strategic questions about its relationship to less radical organizations in the city. Given the marginalization and isolation that have long plagued leftist groups in Toronto and elsewhere, this should be a welcome challenge, particularly if the Assembly hopes to become an effective left pole in a broad alliance.

Among the strengths of the free transit campaign is the concreteness of vision. Within the left, efforts to elaborate a broad anti-capitalist vision too often run aground at the level of abstractions, generalities, and platitudes. Most Toronto residents would draw a blank if asked to “imagine a world without capitalism,” but what Torontonian who has ever waited for a bus can’t begin to imagine an alternate future for the city, built on the backbone of a fully public mass transit system? The invitation to imagine free transit is an invitation for transit riders to imagine themselves not simply as consumers of a commodity, but as members of a public entitled to participate in conversations about the kind of city they want to live in. Without devolving into abstract and alienating debates over the meaning of, say, socialism, the call for free transit invokes the things we value: vibrant neighbourhoods; clean air and water; participatory politics; equitable distribution of resources; public space where we are free to speak, gather, play, create, and organize. Even the most skeptical response to the idea of free transit—“how will you fund it?”—is the opening of a productive conversation about taxation and control over public resources. The call for free transit can effectively open a space for an unscripted political dialogue about the meaning of fair taxation, public goods, collective priorities, and public accountability for resource allocation.

But perhaps more fundamentally, the free transit campaign is a rare example of a political project on the left that is not reactive, defensive, nostalgic, or alarmist, but hopeful, proactive, and forward-looking. “Crisis talk” is pervasive in much of contemporary culture, but in left circles, it has become difficult to imagine a mode of organizing that is not oriented around predicting or responding to punctuated calamities of various kinds—whether a financial meltdown, an un/natural disaster, the latest wave of layoffs and service cuts, or the systematic violation of basic civil liberties on a weekend in downtown Toronto. In the case of free transit, however, we are free to move ahead with the campaign on our own timeline, to seek out and develop the kinds of relationships and democratic spaces that are necessary to sustain grassroots movements over the long term. For the Assembly, this will mean having the space and time to realistically assess its own capacities and to organically develop its own strategies and priorities.

The Assembly does not have modest ambitions: it hopes to nurture a broad based anti-capitalist movement and to vitalize a new working class politics (Rosenfeld & Fanelli, 2010; Dealy, 2010). Its members are, I think, tired of listening to militant rhetoric unanchored to any genuine hope of winning. The push for an excellent, fully public and accessible transit system is a radical demand with immense popular appeal, an ambitious, long-range goal for which clear, achievable interim political victories are possible along the way. Free transit is not a crazy idea. Arguments in favour of free transit have surfaced sporadically in Toronto over the years, whether in an editorial by CAW economist Jim Stanford in The Globe and Mail or in a CBC interview with Deborah Cowen, a professor of geography at the University of Toronto (Stanford, 2005; Cowen, 2010). Some cities already have free transit systems, and many have partially free systems—in the downtown core, during holiday seasons or off-peak hours, or on “spare the air” days when smog levels are high. But in Toronto there has not yet been an initiative focused on building a broad-based movement dedicated to the eventual abolition of transit fares in the name of social, economic, and environmental justice.

Without abandoning or compromising its radicalism, the Assembly can push for concrete steps in the direction of de-commodified transit and build productive relationships with individuals and organizations who do not necessarily identify themselves as anti-capitalist. It will be in the process of pushing for interim reforms along the way to a de-commodified transit system that the Assembly will most need to articulate its political principles and its analysis of the spatialization of race and class in Toronto. Free transit in the downtown core may, for instance, be good for Toronto’s tourism industry, but will it benefit the immigrant and working class communities in transit-poor areas of the inner suburbs, who spend proportionately more of their income to access poorer quality services than those available downtown?

Proposals to pay for free transit through suburban road tolls will similarly hit hardest those working class communities whose neighbourhoods are so underserved by transit that they have no choice but to drive into the city for work. The process of developing interim priorities will not, in other words, postpone the challenge of articulating and popularizing a class-based and anti-racist argument for public infrastructure. Instead, the Assembly will be forced to pursue its most radical aspirations by cultivating a sustained dialogue about the interim remedies and strategies that will both address real needs in our communities and help build a broad-based movement over the long term.

It will be through this process of dialogue, I hope, that a new articulation of a politicized working class identity might emerge. Our earliest discussions of the free transit campaign are already pushing us to think about the social complexities that will need to be navigated if we are to build an effective free transit movement. Success will depend on our capacity to carve out and sustain a space for dialogue and negotiation among transit workers and riders, within unions, and across neighbourhoods and communities that have been unevenly affected by fare hikes and inadequate services. Questions of tactics and strategy cannot be divorced from the process of identifying, developing, and strengthening the complex connections between the people who need and use public goods and services and the workers who provide them. We will need to recognize the different ways in which our various constituencies are powerful and vulnerable and learn how to defend and protect each other. The free transit campaign lends itself to the kind of intensely local organizing through which honest dialogue, trust, and long-term relationships can be developed and nurtured—within and across neighbourhoods and among transit riders and workers. And of course, without these things, the campaign will go nowhere.

Among the strengths of the free transit campaign is its potential to foreground and develop an analysis of our collective stake in the protection of public goods. It is not difficult to talk about public goods in the context of mass transportation infrastructure. The shared benefits of public transportation are difficult to deny, particularly in a city as large and as sprawling as Toronto. Even setting aside the obvious ecological imperatives that should be driving public investment in greener infrastructure, there are powerful economic reasons to support a massive re-investment in Ontario’s transportation sector. A serious effort to expand the reach and accessibility of the public transit system would serve not only to ease the burden of Toronto’s most vulnerable residents and reduce the economic and health costs associated with air pollution and traffic congestion: such an investment could re-direct the wasted skills and resources embodied in Ontario’s laid-off auto-workers and silent auto-plants, which could be converted to the production of high efficiency mass transit vehicles. As Sam Gindin and Leo Panitch (2010) argued recently in the Toronto Star, public borrowing to finance such investments represents not a wasteful burden on future generations, but a commitment to securing them a future. The real squandering of our collective resources lies not in public borrowing or benefits packages for public employees, but in our failure to direct existing skills, knowledge, and material capacities into a coherent strategy for building sustainable communities.

The idea of a free transit movement immediately foregrounds a number of thorny strategic questions for the left in Toronto: how to build trust, dialogue, and support for a free transit movement within the transit union; how to address and re-focus the widespread anger, mistrust, and resentment directed at the public sector in the current climate; how to sustain and advance anti-capitalist principles while building productive relationships within broader progressive milieux. Navigating these questions will be challenging, and the Assembly is still a long way from a coherent and systematic approach to answering them. But the fact that these questions surface so quickly and urgently is a positive sign of the ambition and seriousness with which the Assembly is approaching the organization of a free transit movement. The free transit campaign will push the Assembly to develop further its internal organizational and decision-making capacities, but it will also demand an outward-looking, inclusive process, in which the Assembly’s role is to open space for debate, dialogue, and collective strategizing.

In fact, the transit system itself can provide the venue for us to stage public discussions about our collective resources and to share alternative visions for our city: the transit system is a readymade classroom, theatre, and art gallery, attended every day by people who could come to recognize their stake in the de-commodification of public goods of many kinds. My hope is that Toronto’s buses, streetcars, and subway platforms could be places for experimentation, places to develop the new tactics, organizing skills, and relationships that might permit us to really depart from the prevailing script.

#### Public transportation reverses inequality

Farmer Sociology Dep’t Roosevelt University 2011 Stephanie Uneven public transportation development in neoliberalizing Chicago, USA Environment and Planning http://envplan.com/epa/fulltext/a43/a43409.pdf

Public transportation, as one crucial component of a city's transportation network, enables the mobility and flow of people and goods that make cities livable. Public transportation plays a vital role in the urban economy in that it creates place-based advantages, facilitates the circulation of capital, and attracts investment in local real estate markets. At the level of everyday lived experience, public transit shapes and constrains opportunity (time it takes to access jobs, schools, and services) and sociospatial relations into the built environment. In many places, public transportation is also wielded as an instrument of power, dominance, and social control, entrenching the privileges of the affluent and the disadvantages of working people into the built environment (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Therefore, trends in public transportation infrastructure and service levels constitute one dimension of uneven geographical development in urban areas. My research considers the ways in which neoliberalism and global city building are shaping new patterns of uneven geographic development in the public transit sector by focusing on public transportation planning and investment in the city of Chicago. The purpose of my paper is to contribute to the scholarship on the politics of infrastructure (Keil and Young, 2008; McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008) emphasizing the ways in which infrastructure and cities are produced and transformed together in a global context as well as how these processes contribute to urban fragmentation and inequality.

#### The plan solves: free-fare transportation systems return mobility to the peoples as a public good. This improves all transportation infrastructure and opens up new spaces which can resist neoliberal control.

Olsen 07 [Dave, Journalist for The Tyee, “Fare-Free Public Transit Could Be Headed to a City Near You”, [http://www.alternet.org/story/57802/farefree\_public\_transit\_could\_be\_headed\_to\_a\_ city\_near\_you](http://www.alternet.org/story/57802/farefree_public_transit_could_be_headed_to_a_%20city_near_you), 7/26/07, Accessed: 7/12/12] JDO

Recently I met the people who run Island Transit in Whidbey Island, Wash., and rode their fare-free bus system. It's a serious operation with 56 buses and 101 vans. Ridership tops a million a year. Its operating budget is $8,392,677 -- none of it from fares, all from a 0.6 percent sales tax collected in Island County. Despite the pressure to conform, the pressure to make users pay and the pressure from conservative politicians at all levels, Island Transit has been fare-free from day one and is proudly so 20 years later. Not one Island Transit bus, shelter or van has advertising on it. All of Island Transit's buses are bike rack equipped and wheelchair accessible. For folks with disabilities, Island Transit also offers a paratransit service with door-to-door service. Island Transit has developed a simple policy around dealing with behavior that is unruly or disturbing to others: "The operator is the captain of their own ship." This is backed up by a state law regarding unlawful bus conduct. A bothersome rider first gets a written warning. The next time, his or her riding privileges are revoked. These privileges are only restored after completing a Rider Privilege Agreement. Island Transit has further protected its employees by installing a camera system in every vehicle. The big brotherness of it is acknowledged, but the safety of their operators simply takes priority. "Show me another transit system in Washington state," said Island Transit operator Odis D. Jenkins, "where the teenagers more often than not say 'thank you' when they get off." Done right, fare-free transit can transform society, says Patrick Condon, an expert on sustainable urban development who knows the system in Amherst, Mass. "Free transit changed the region for the better. Students, teens and the elderly were able to move much more freely through the region. Some ascribed the resurgence of Northampton, Mass, at least in part, to the availability of free transit. Fares in that region would have provided such a small percentage of capital and operating costs that their loss was made up for by contributions by the major institutions to benefit: the five colleges in the region," says Condon, a professor at the University of British Columbia. Another success story, a decade old, can be found in Hasselt, Belgium. This city of 70,000 residents, with 300,000 commuters from the surrounding area, has made traveling by bus easy, affordable and efficient. Now, people in Hasselt often speak of "their" bus system and with good reason. The Boulevard Shuttle leaves you waiting for at most five minutes, the Central Shuttle has a 10-minute frequency, and system wide you never have to wait more than a half an hour. A prime lesson offered by Hasselt is the fact that it radically improved the bus system as well as its walking and cycling infrastructure before it removed the fareboxes. In 1996, there were only three bus routes with about 18,000 service hours/year. Today, there are 11 routes with more than 95,000 service hours/year. The transit system in Hasselt cost taxpayers approximately $1.8 million in 2006. This amounts to 1 percent of its municipal budget and makes up about 26 percent of the total operating cost of the transit system. The Flemish national government covered the rest (approximately $5.25 million) under a long-term agreement. Hasselt City Council's principal aim in introducing free public transport was to promote the new bus system to such a degree that it would catch on and become the natural option for getting around. And it did -- immediately. On the first day, bus ridership increased 783 percent! The first full year of free-fare transit saw an increase of 900 percent over the previous year; by 2001, the increase was up to 1,223 percent, and ridership continues to go up every day.

#### Challenging neo-liberal policy is key to establishing an alternative to market based rationality

Brown, professor of political theory at Berkeley, 2003 Wendy, Theory and Event 7:1 project muse

What remains for the Left, then, is to challenge emerging neo-liberal governmentality in EuroAtlantic states with an alternative vision of the good, one that rejects homo oeconomicus as the norm of the human and rejects this norm's correlative formations of economy, society, state and (non)morality. In its barest form, this would be a vision in which justice would not center upon maximizing individual wealth or rights but on developing and enhancing the capacity of citizens to share power and hence, collaboratively govern themselves. In such an order, rights and elections would be the background rather than token of democracy, or better, rights would function to safeguard the individual against radical democratic enthusiasms but would not themselves signal the presence nor constitute the central principle of democracy. Instead a left vision of justice would focus on practices and institutions of shared popular power; a modestly egalitarian distribution of wealth and access to institutions; an incessant reckoning with all forms of power -- social, economic, political, and even psychic; a long view of the fragility and finitude of non-human nature; and the importance of both meaningful activity and hospitable dwellings to human flourishing. However differently others might place the accent marks, none of these values can be derived from neo-liberal rationality nor meet neo-liberal criteria for the good. The development and promulgation of such a counter rationality -- a different figuration of human beings, citizenship, economic life, and the political -- is critical both to the long labor of fashioning a more just future and to the immediate task of challenging the deadly policies of the imperial U.S. state.

## **Contention 3: Framing**

## Framework

#### **Apocalyptic rhetoric should be abandoned as a political strategy – it incorrectly levels questions of probability and actual magnitude of events**

Gross new media strategist & Gilles domestic abuse advocate 2012 Matthew Barrett & Mel The Atlantic 4/23

<http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/04/how-apocalyptic-thinking-prevents-us-from-taking-political-action/255758/>

Flip through the cable channels for long enough, and you'll inevitably find the apocalypse. On Discovery or National Geographic or History you'll find shows like MegaDisasters, Doomsday Preppers, or The Last Days on Earth chronicling, in an hour of programming, dozens of ways the world might end: a gamma ray burst from a nearby star peeling away the Earth's ozone layer like an onion; a mega-volcano erupting and plunging our planet into a new ice age; the magnetic poles reversing. Turn to a news channel, and the headlines appear equally apocalyptic, declaring that the "UN Warns of Rapid Decay in Environment" or that "Humanity's Very Survival" is at risk. On another station, you'll find people arguing that the true apocalyptic threat to our way of life is not the impending collapse of ecosystems and biodiversity but the collapse of the dollar as the world's global currency. Change the channel again, and you'll see still others insisting that malarial mosquitoes, drunk on West Nile virus, are the looming specter of apocalypse darkening our nation's horizon.

How to make sense of it all? After all, not every scenario can be an apocalyptic threat to our way of life -- can it? For many, the tendency is to dismiss all the potential crises we are facing as overblown: perhaps cap and trade is just a smoke screen designed to earn Al Gore billions from his clean-energy investments; perhaps terrorism is just an excuse to increase the power and reach of the government. For others, the panoply of potential disasters becomes overwhelming, leading to a distorted and paranoid vision of reality and the threats facing our world -- as seen on shows like Doomsday Preppers. Will an epidemic wipe out humanity, or could a meteor destroy all life on earth? By the time you're done watching Armageddon Week on the History Channel, even a rapid reversal of the world's magnetic poles might seem terrifyingly likely and imminent.

The last time apocalyptic anxiety spilled into the mainstream to the extent that it altered the course of history -- during the Reformation -- it relied on a revolutionary new communications technology: the printing press. In a similar way, could the current surge in apocalyptic anxiety be attributed in part to our own revolution in communications technology?

The media, of course, have long mastered the formula of packaging remote possibilities as urgent threats, as sociologist Barry Glassner pointed out in his bestseller The Culture of Fear. We're all familiar with the formula: "It's worse than you think," the anchor intones before delivering an alarming report on date-rape drugs, stalking pedophiles, flesh-eating bacteria, the Ebola virus (née avian flu cum swine flu). You name it (or rename it): if a threat has even a remote chance of materializing, it is treated as an imminent inevitability by television news. It's not just that if it bleeds, it leads. If it might bleed, it still leads. Such sensationalist speculation attracts eyeballs and sells advertising, because fear sells -- and it can sell everything from pharmaceuticals to handguns to duct tape to insurance policies. "People react to fear, not love," Richard Nixon once said. "They don't teach that in Sunday school, but it's true."

Nothing inspires fear like the end of the world, and ever since Y2K, the media's tendency toward overwrought speculation has been increasingly married to the rhetoric of apocalypse. Today, nearly any event can be explained through apocalyptic language, from birds falling out of the sky (the Birdocalypse?) to a major nor'easter (Snowmageddon!) to a double-dip recession (Barackalypse! Obamageddon!). Armageddon is here at last -- and your local news team is live on the scene! We've seen the equivalent of grade inflation (A for Apocalypse!) for every social, political, or ecological challenge before us, an escalating game of one-upmanship to gain the public's attention. Why worry about global warming and rising sea levels when the collapse of the housing bubble has already put your mortgage underwater? Why worry that increasing droughts will threaten the supply of drinking water in America's major cities when a far greater threat lies in the possibility of an Arab terrorist poisoning that drinking supply, resulting in millions of casualties?

Yet not all of the crises or potential threats before us are equal, nor are they equally probable -- a fact that gets glossed over when the media equate the remote threat of a possible event, like epidemics, with real trends like global warming.

Over the last decade, the 24-hour news cycle and the proliferation of media channels has created ever-more apocalyptic content that is readily available to us, from images of the Twin Towers falling in 2001 to images of the Japanese tsunami in 2011. So, too, have cable channels like Discovery and History married advances in computer-generated imagery with emerging scientific understanding of our planet and universe to give visual validity to the rare and catastrophic events that have occurred in the past or that may take place in the distant future. Using dramatic, animated images and the language of apocalypse to peddle such varied scenarios, however, has the effect of leveling the apocalyptic playing field, leaving the viewer with the impression that terrorism, bird flu, global warming, and asteroids are all equally probable. But not all of these apocalyptic scenarios are equally likely, and they're certainly not equally likely to occur within our lifetimes -- or in our neighborhoods. For example, after millions of Americans witnessed the attacks of 9/11 on television, our collective fear of terrorism was much higher than its actual probability; in 2001, terrorists killed one-twelfth as many Americans as did the flu and one-fifteenth as many Americans as did car accidents. Throughout the first decade of the 21st century, the odds of an American being killed by a terrorist were about 1 in 88,000 -- compared to a 1 in 10,010 chance of dying from falling off a ladder. The fears of an outbreak of SARS, avian flu, or swine flu also never lived up to their media hype.

This over-reliance on the apocalyptic narrative causes us to fear the wrong things and to mistakenly equate potential future events with current and observable trends. How to discern the difference between so many apocalyptic options? If we ask ourselves three basic questions about the many threats portrayed apocalyptically in the media, we are able to separate the apocalyptic wheat from the chaff. Which scenarios are probable? Which are preventable? And what is the likely impact of the worst-case model of any given threat?

In answering these questions, it becomes clear that much of what the media portrays as apocalyptic is not. The apocalyptic scenarios involving global disaster -- from meteor impacts to supervolcanic eruptions -- are extraordinarily rare. An asteroid could hit the Earth and lead to the extinction of all mammals, including us, but the geologic record tells us that such massive strikes are unlikely, and logic tells us that there is little we can do to prevent one. Nor are terrorist attacks or an outbreak of avian flu likely to destroy humanity; their impact is relatively small and usually localized, because we can be prepared for such threats and can contain and mitigate their effects. The apocalyptic storyline tells us that most of these events are probable, largely unpreventable, and destined to be catastrophic. But none of this is true -- their probability is either low or can be made lower through preventive means, or their impact is containable.

The danger of the media's conflation of apocalyptic scenarios is that it leads us to believe that our existential threats come exclusively from events that are beyond our control and that await us in the future -- and that a moment of universal recognition of such threats will be obvious to everyone when they arrive. No one, after all, would ever confuse a meteor barreling toward Earth as anything other than apocalyptic. Yet tangled up in such Hollywood scenarios and sci-fi nightmares are actual threats like global warming that aren't arriving in an instant of universal recognition; instead, they are arriving amid much denial and continued partisan debate.

# 2NC

## Inherency

### Neoliberal Status Quo

#### Neoliberal thinkers control the framing of policy discussions – you should be highly skeptical of their defenses of this ideology

Ross Prof of Education U British Columbia 2010 E. Wayne Resisting the Common-nonsense of Neoliberalism: A Report from British Columbia Workplace #17 <http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/files/ross.pdf>

The first step in resisting neoliberalism is realizing that we are not “all in this together,” that is, neoliberalism benefits the few at the expense of the many (Ross & Gibson, 2007). The corporate mass media would have us adopt the mantra that what is good for the corporate capitalist class is good for the rest of us—thus we have the “logic” of “efficiency” or “cost containment” in education prized over the educational well-being of the public.

Public debates in the corporate media about education (and other social goods) are framed in ways that serve the interests of elites. For example, in BC free market neoliberals in think tanks such as the Fraser Institute and in the dominant media outlets (particularly Canwest Global Communications, Inc.) have been successful in framing discussions on education in terms of accountability, efficiency, and market competition. 1 A frame is the central narrative, the organizer, for making sense of particular issues or problems (e.g., problem definition, origin, responsible parties) and solutions (e.g., policy). The frame is presented as common sense, thus the assumptions underlying the frame are typically unquestioned or at least under-analyzed.

#### Congress has neoliberal agenda, Columbia proves

**Maher 11**(David, Current Authors at the University of Kent, The terror that underpins the ‘peace’: the political economy of Colombia’s paramilitary demobilisation process, Critical Studies on Terrorism

Vol. 4)

To demonstrate the marriage of the political and economic spheres in the context¶ of state terror, this article highlights the dual role of Colombia’s ‘peace process’, initiated in 2003 to demobilise the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (known by¶ its Spanish acronym, AUC), the umbrella organisation under which Colombia’s brutal¶ right-wing paramilitary groups operated. First, this article demonstrates how the process,¶ although appearing quintessentially political, has economic motivations at its core. More¶ speciﬁcally, the demobilisation process is an attempt by the US and Colombian governments to confer greater legitimacy to the latter, especially with regard to the Government¶ of Colombia (GOC)’s poor human rights record, in the hope of passing a bilateral free¶ trade agreement (FTA) between the two countries through the US Congress (henceforth:¶ Congress). For US investors in Colombia, the FTA represents an important step in providing a stable legal framework to protect their current and future investments. However, fears¶ in Congress concerning the continuation of egregious human rights violations by paramilitary groups, and the GOC’s well-documented links to paramilitarism, are preventing a¶ controversial Congressional vote on the FTA. In this respect, the demobilisation process¶ represents an attempt by the US government and the GOC to enhance the capacity of the¶ latter to plausibly deny paramilitary–state collusion, thus increasing the likelihood of a vote¶ on the FTA in Congress.

## ADVANTAGE 1

### Structural Violence Framing

#### Contesting and critiquing common sense key

Bleiker, Professor of IR @ Queensland University, 2005 p. 179-180

(Roland, *International Society and Its Critics* Ed. Bellamy)

But **common sense is not always as commonsensical** as it seems, or at least **not** as **problematic and value-free**. This certainly is the case with English School assumptions about international society. Allow me to present the issue through an unusual foray into neuropsychology. Such a detour may reveal more than a direct look at world politics. Peter Brugger conducted a highly insightful series of studies that demonstrate how the brain seeks to discover rules and patterns even in circumstances where there )re only random events. In one of his behavioural tests, Brugger asked forty volubteers to participate in a game. They had to direct a cursor on a screen towards a target and open it as often as possible. Participants did not know that the target could be opened only after a certain period of time had expired-otherwise it simply remained locked. All participants managed to score repeatedly. But instead of simply waiting .unttil the respective time span was over, almost all participants moved their cursors '~cross the screen, searching for a correct route towards the target. Many developed Wighly complex theories about the most efficient ways of reaching [the target].'only two of the forty participants figured out that there was no correct route, that I strongly suspect that exactly the same is the case **in international relations scholarship: that we develop complex theories to visualize the exact outlines of an international society where there are in fact only blurred contours or none at all; that we project far more of ourselves onto the world of world politics than there actually is 'out there**'. As a result, **we may not only overestimate the existence of order in international relations, but also overvalue its importance**. In any case, the relationship between order and disorder is far more complex than the modern practice of dualistic conceptualizing has it**. Orders can sometimes be highly unjust, such as in** order-obsessed **Nazi Germany. Disorder can occasionally be required to promote orders that are more just**. Or, perhaps most importantly, **disorder can be both the only reality we have and a valuable source of ethical politics**. By probing these issues I am not looking for definitive answers. Rather, I would like to pose a few crucial questions about international society. The ensuing ruminations stake no claim to comprehensiveness. There will, for instance, be no engagement with various authors who are central to the English School. Neither will I discuss the controversial issue of who belongs to this tradition and who does not, except to demonstrate how these very discussions are a reflection of the modern compulsion to order the world. Finally, I must admit that I am neither English nor received 'formal' training in the English School. **But sometimes a look from the outside can reveal aspects that are difficult to see from within-a premise** upon which the contribution of this chapter rests.

### Neolib causes SV

#### **Ext. Mckeown 11: Neolib causes poverty and class exclusionism, Brazil empirics**

#### Imperialistic policies hurt Agro sector and cause poverty and starvation, Columbia empirically proven

**Mckeown 11**, (Anthony, [Critical Studies on Terrorism](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Epwh%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Epwhjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22Critical%20Studies%20on%20Terrorism%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');), The **structural** production of state terrorism: capitalism, imperialism and international class dynamics, Deputy Leader of the Labour Group, and Deputy Leader of the Council and Executive Member for Community Services <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx>?)

Increased violence in the agricultural sector is often an indirect result of the increasing¶ dominance of US agricultural exporters and multinationals (empowered through neoliberal reforms that structurally privilege US capitals), leading to vast increases in food¶ imports from the United States, fuelling a corresponding rise in poverty, unemployment and¶ social unrest (Avilés 2006, p. 90). The structural power of the US farming lobby is acknowledged as a fact of life by Jeffrey J. Schott, in a study of a proposed US–Colombia Free¶ Trade Agreement. Schott blithely notes that all US trade partners ‘need to make a virtue¶ out of a necessity’ and ‘accommodate increased US imports’ by ‘foster[ing] sources of income and employment in rural areas’ (Schott 2006, p. 12). As a consequence, any trading gains for Colombia will require ‘signiﬁcant restructuring . . . due to¶ the increased competition’, in both public and private sectors (Schott 2006, p. 13). In these¶ conditions, an inability to resist US demands has also contributed to the weakening of state¶ capacity and ‘worsened the prevalent climate of violence’ (Ahumada and Andrews 1998,¶ p. 462).

### Impact

#### Ext. Galea 1: Structural violence kills a lot of people

#### Structural Violence turns social exclusion

**Winter and Leighton in 1999 (Deborah DuNann Winter and Dana C. Leighton. Winter: Psychologist that specializes in Social Psych, Counseling Psych, Historical and Contemporary Issues, Peace Psychology. Leighton: PhD graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Arkansas. Knowledgable in the fields of social psychology, peace psychology, and ustice and intergroup responses to transgressions of justice) (Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century.  Pg 4-5)**  
Finally, to recognize the operation of structural violence forces us to ask questions about how and why we tolerate it, questions which often have painful answers for the privileged elite who unconsciously support it. A final question of this section is how and why we allow ourselves to be so oblivious to structural violence. Susan Opotow offers an intriguing set of answers, in her article Social Injustice. She argues that our normal perceptual/cognitive processes divide people into in-groups and out-groups. Those outside our group lie outside our scope of justice. Injustice that would be instantaneously confronted if it occurred to someone we love or know is barely noticed if it occurs to strangers or those who are invisible or irrelevant. We do not seem to be able to open our minds and our hearts to everyone, so we draw conceptual lines between those who are in and out of our moral circle. Those who fall outside are morally excluded, and become either invisible, or demeaned in some way so that we do not have to acknowledge the injustice they suffer. Moral exclusion is a human failing, but Opotow argues convincingly that it is an outcome of everyday social cognition. To reduce its nefarious effects, we must be vigilant in noticing and listening to oppressed, invisible, outsiders. Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships, communication, and appreciation of diversity. Like Opotow, all the authors in this section point out that structural violence is not inevitable if we become aware of its operation, and build systematic ways to mitigate its effects. Learning about structural violence may be discouraging, overwhelming, or maddening, but these papers encourage us to step beyond guilt and anger, and begin to think about how to reduce structural violence. All the authors in this section note that the same structures (such as global communication and normal social cognition) which feed structural violence, can also be used to empower citizens to reduce it

### Solvency

#### **Ext. Ornelas 2012**: Challenging Neoliberal policies key to solve structural violence

#### Structural reform is necessary for decreasing structural violence

**Janelle S. Taylor, Prof. of Anthropology, Univ. of Washington, 2009**[http://depts.washing...er/taylor.shtml](http://depts.washington.edu/ctcenter/taylor.shtml)**, “Explaining Difference: “Culture,” “Structural Violence,” and Medical Anthropology,” ACC. 11-8-10, JT**  
“Structure” sounds like a neutral term – it sounds like something that is just there, unquestionable, part of the way the world is. By juxtaposing this with the word “violence,” however, Farmer’s concept of “structural violence” forces our attention to the forms of suffering and injustice that are deeply embedded in the ordinary, taken-for-granted patterns of the way the world is. From this follow some important and very challenging insights. First, the same “structures” that render life predictable, secure, comfortable and pleasant for some of us, also mar the lives of others through poverty, insecurity, ill-health and violence. Second, these structures are neither natural nor neutral, but are instead the outcome of long histories of political, economic, and social struggle. Third, being nothing more (and nothing less!) than patterns of collective social action, these structures can and should be changed. “Structural violence” thus encourages us to look for differences within large-scale social structures – differences of power, wealth, privilege and health that are unjust and unacceptable. By the same token, “structural violence” encourages us to look for connections between what might be falsely perceived separate and distinct social worlds. “Structural violence” also encourages an attitude of moral outrage and critical engagement, in situations where the automatic response might be to passively accept systematic inequalities.

## ADVANTAGE 2

### Collapse inevitable

#### Ext. Li 10: Capitalism collapse inevitable, Chinese energy

#### Transition is inevitable – the underpinnings of collapse are collapsing

Wallerstein, 11 – \*senior research scholar at Yale

(Immanuel, “The Global Economy Won’t Recover, Now or Ever,” January-February 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/02/unconventional\_wisdom?page=0,9)

Virtually everyone everywhere-economists, politicians, pundits -- agrees that the world has been in some kind of economic trouble since at least 2008. And virtually everyone seems to believe that in the next few years the world will somehow "recover" from these difficulties. After all, upturns always occur after downturns. The remedies recommended vary considerably, but the idea that the system shall continue in its essential features is a deeply rooted faith. But it is wrong. All systems have lives. When their processes move too far from equilibrium, they fluctuate chaotically and bifurcate. Our existing system, what I call a capitalist world-economy, has been in existence for some 500 years and has for at least a century encompassed the entire globe. It has functioned remarkably well. But like all systems, it has moved steadily further and further from equilibrium. For a while now, it has moved too far from equilibrium, such that it is today in structural crisis. The problem is that the basic costs of all production have risen remarkably. There are the personnel expenses of all kinds -- for unskilled workers, for cadres, for top-level management. There are the costs incurred as producers pass on the costs of their production to the rest of us -- for detoxification, for renewal of resources, for infrastructure. And the democratization of the world has led to demands for more and more education, more and more health provisions, and more and more guarantees of lifetime income. To meet these demands, there has been a significant increase in taxation of all kinds. Together, these costs have risen beyond the point that permits serious capital accumulation. Why not then simply raise prices? Because there are limits beyond which one cannot push their level. It is called the elasticity of demand. The result is a growing profit squeeze, which is reaching a point where the game is not worth the candle. What we are witnessing as a result is chaotic fluctuations of all kinds -- economic, political, sociocultural. These fluctuations cannot easily be controlled by public policy. The result is ever greater uncertainty about all kinds of short-term decision-making, as well as frantic realignments of every variety. Doubt feeds on itself as we search for ways out of the menacing uncertainty posed by terrorism, climate change, pandemics, and nuclear proliferation. The only sure thing is that the present system cannot continue. The fundamental political struggle is over what kind of system will replace capitalism, not whether it should survive. The choice is between a new system that replicates some of the present system's essential features of hierarchy and polarization and one that is relatively democratic and egalitarian. The extraordinary expansion of the world-economy in the postwar years (more or less 1945 to 1970) has been followed by a long period of economic stagnation in which the basic source of gain has been rank speculation sustained by successive indebtednesses. The latest financial crisis didn't bring down this system; it merely exposed it as hollow. Our recent "difficulties" are merely the next-to-last bubble in a process of boom and bust the world-system has been undergoing since around 1970. The last bubble will be state indebtednesses, including in the so-called emerging economies, leading to bankruptcies. Most people do not recognize -- or refuse to recognize -- these realities. It is wrenching to accept that the historical system in which we are living is in structural crisis and will not survive. Meanwhile, the system proceeds by its accepted rules. We meet at G-20 sessions and seek a futile consensus. We speculate on the markets. We "develop" our economies in whatever way we can. All this activity simply accentuates the structural crisis. The real action, the struggle over what new system will be created, is elsewhere.

#### Globalization is about to collapse – this is an opportunity to reorient away from the competitive economy

Bello, 9 – Prof of Sociology and Public Administration at the University of the Philippines [September 5, 2009 the Huffpost World, Waledn Bello, Member of the Philippine House of Representatives, Professor of Sociology and Public Administration at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, Executive Director of Foucs on the Global South http://www.huffingtonpost.com/walden-bello/the-virtues-of-deglobaliz\_b\_277531.html]

The current global downturn, the worst since the Great Depression 70 years ago, pounded the last nail into the coffin of globalization. Already beleaguered by evidence that showed global poverty and inequality increasing, even as most poor countries experienced little or no economic growth, globalization has been terminally discredited in the last two years. As the much-heralded process of financial and trade interdependence went into reverse, it became the transmission belt not of prosperity but of economic crisis and collapse. End of an Era In their responses to the current economic crisis, governments paid lip service to global coordination but propelled separate stimulus programs meant to rev up national markets. In so doing, governments quietly shelved export-oriented growth, long the driver of many economies, though paid the usual nostrums to advancing trade liberalization as a means of countering the global downturn by completing the Doha Round of trade negotiations under the World Trade Organization. There is increasing acknowledgment that there will be no returning to a world centrally dependent on free-spending American consumers, since many are bankrupt and nobody has taken their place. Moreover, whether agreed on internationally or unilaterally set up by national governments, a whole raft of restrictions will almost certainly be imposed on finance capital, the untrammeled mobility of which has been the cutting edge of the current crisis. Intellectual discourse, however, hasn't yet shown many signs of this break with orthodoxy. Neoliberalism, with its emphasis on free trade, the primacy of private enterprise, and a minimalist role for the state, continues to be the default language among policymakers. Establishment critics of market fundamentalism, including Joseph Stiglitz and Paul Krugman, have become entangled in endless debates over how large stimulus programs should be, and whether or not the state should retain an interventionist presence or, once stabilized, return the companies and banks to the private sector. Moreover some, such as Stiglitz, continue to believe in what they perceive to be the economic benefits of globalization while bemoaning its social costs. But trends are fast outpacing both ideologues and critics of neoliberal globalization, and developments thought impossible a few years ago are gaining steam. "The integration of the world economy is in retreat on almost every front," writes the Economist. While the magazine says that corporations continue to believe in the efficiency of global supply chains, "like any chain, these are only as strong as their weakest link. A danger point will come if firms decide that this way of organizing production has had its day." "Deglobalization," a term that the Economist attributes to me, is a development that the magazine, the world's prime avatar of free market ideology, views as negative. I believe, however, that deglobalization is an opportunity. Indeed, my colleagues and I at Focus on the Global South first forwarded deglobalization as a comprehensive paradigm to replace neoliberal globalization almost a decade ago, when the stresses, strains, and contradictions brought about by the latter had become painfully evident. Elaborated as an alternative mainly for developing countries, the deglobalization paradigm is not without relevance to the central capitalist economies. 11 Pillars of the Alternative There are 11 key prongs of the deglobalization paradigm: Production for the domestic market must again become the center of gravity of the economy rather than production for export markets. The principle of subsidiarity should be enshrined in economic life by encouraging production of goods at the level of the community and at the national level if this can be done at reasonable cost in order to preserve community. Trade policy — that is, quotas and tariffs — should be used to protect the local economy from destruction by corporate-subsidized commodities with artificially low prices. Industrial policy — including subsidies, tariffs, and trade — should be used to revitalize and strengthen the manufacturing sector. Long-postponed measures of equitable income redistribution and land redistribution (including urban land reform) can create a vibrant internal market that would serve as the anchor of the economy and produce local financial resources for investment. Deemphasizing growth, emphasizing upgrading the quality of life, and maximizing equity will reduce environmental disequilibrium. The development and diffusion of environmentally congenial technology in both agriculture and industry should be encouraged. Strategic economic decisions cannot be left to the market or to technocrats. Instead, the scope of democratic decision-making in the economy should be expanded so that all vital questions — such as which industries to develop or phase out, what proportion of the government budget to devote to agriculture, etc. — become subject to democratic discussion and choice. Civil society must constantly monitor and supervise the private sector and the state, a process that should be institutionalized. The property complex should be transformed into a "mixed economy" that includes community cooperatives, private enterprises, and state enterprises, and excludes transnational corporations. Centralized global institutions like the IMF and the World Bank should be replaced with regional institutions built not on free trade and capital mobility but on principles of cooperation that, to use the words of Hugo Chavez in describing the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA), "transcend the logic of capitalism."

#### The profit motive makes sustainability impossible – the market will lead society to inevitable collapse.

Trainer, 98 [Ted Trainer, Lecturer in Sociology at the University of New South Wales, 1998, "Our Unsustainable Society: Basic Causes, Interconnections, and Solutions," The Coming Age of Scarcity: Preventing Mass Death and Genocide in the Twenty-first Century, edited by Michael N. Dobkowski and Isidor Wallimann, Published by Syracuse University Press, ISBN 0815627440, p. 92]

There can be no solution to the problems outlined above within an economy driven by the profit motive, market forces, capital accumulation, and economic growth (Trainer 1995b). The problems are being generated by these factors, most obviously by the obsession with constantly increasing production and consumption in a world with finite and scarce resources. (Nevertheless, a satisfactory economy could have an important place for market forces and free enterprise; see below.) If the limits-to-growth analyses are at all valid, it is clear that not only must we eventually arrive at a zero-growth or steady-state economy but also we in rich countries must first undergo a long period of negative growth in which per capita production and consumption measured in cash must be drastically reduced. The second major fault built into the foundations of this economy is the very mechanism its advocates are most proud of: the market. As has been explained, the more freedom that is given individuals to maximize their profits in a market, the more effectively will resources flow to those who are richest, and the more surely will there be development of the industries that produce for the rich. More importantly, the more scope that is given the market to determine what is done, the less influence will be exercised by considerations of morality, social benefit, or ecological sustainability. A glance at the Third World problem or the situation in rich-world urban ghettos or the ecological problem shows that all too often the right policies require action contrary to market forces. It requires action that free enterprise will not take because it would not maximize profits and it would either require increased government expenditure and therefore taxation, or the return of control to local people so that they could collectively develop solutions to their problems largely outside the cash economy.

### Power struggle

#### Ext. Li 10: Collapse of Neoliberalism inevitable, elite power struggle

#### Ext. Li 10: Global power shift is peripheral

#### Revolutions tend to be peripheral, several empirics.

**Motadel 11,** (“Waves of Revolution”, History Today, 61, 4, pp. 3-4,   Prize Research Student at the Centre in 2007-2008, awarded the 2011 Prize of the British International History Group for his PhD thesis.)

The earliest revolutionary wave in modern history was the Atlantic Revolutions, which began with the American Revolution of 1776 and, in 1789, swept over to France. Inspired by the idea of liberty, revolutionaries fought against aristocratic and colonial rule. They sparked the Haitian Revolution of 1791, the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and revolutionary wars in Latin America.¶ More closely linked were the upheavals of 1848. Across Europe, revolutionaries, radicalised by the ideas of liberalism and nationalism, went to the barricades to confront absolutism. Revolts began in January in the streets of Palermo, the Sicilian capital, soon sparking unrest on the Italian peninsula. The February Revolution in France toppled King Louis-Philippe and led to an escalation of events. Civil war spread across the German states, the Habsburg Empire, Denmark and Ireland. In many places martial law was declared and most upheavals were put down, with thousands killed. For many who took part in the uprisings the international scope of their revolt was crucial. In early 1848 Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto calling on 'workers of the world' to unite. For decades socialists would promote the idea of 'world **revolution**) a concept based on the notion of revolutionary waves.¶ In Asia the events of 1848 were mirrored in the Constitutional Revolutions of the early 20th century. Japan's defeat of Russia and the ensuing Russian Revolution of 1905 sparked the Persian Constitutional Revolution in the same year, the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 in the Ottoman Empire and, finally, the ChineseRevolution of 1911 and the 1912 Palace Revolt in Siam (now Thailand). In the Russo-Japanese War a non-European country with a constitution had prevailed over a European country without a constitution. Meiji Japan was a shining model of modernisation in the eyes of many activists and reformers in Asia, eager to confront traditional society and autocratic political order. Its example even provoked uprisings in European colonial dominions, most notably in British India and Dutch Indonesia.

### Terminal Impact

#### Ext. Kim 04: Korean War empirics

#### A: consider all the other communist revolutions in history: Russia, Vietnam, Cuba, China, all lead to mass death and collateral damage

### Extinction ad-on

#### Markets can’t make growth sustainable – relying on capitalism guarantees extinction.

Dobkowski and Wallimann, 98 [Michael N. Dobkowski, Professor of Religious Studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and Isidor Wallimann, Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the School of Social Work (Switzerland) and Lecturer at the University of Fribourg, 1998, "The Coming Age of Scarcity: An Introduction," The Coming Age of Scarcity: Preventing Mass Death and Genocide in the Twenty-first Century, edited by Michael N. Dobkowski and Isidor Wallimann, Published by Syracuse University Press, ISBN 0815627440, p. 12-13]

Furthermore, the jolts emitted by the economic system are also of importance, for production factors like population, land, energy, as well as many environmental constraints are mediated and coordinated by markets. Markets, however, are also known to have a great deal of discontinuity owing to the anonymous number of its participants and the unforeseeable outcome produced by their myriad market interactions. Thus, the capitalist market, the very technique chosen to manage survival, is itself a threat to survival, as is exemplified by speculation, recessions, and depressions, booms and busts. Market dynamics themselves upset the delicate balance between land, energy, population, and the environment, and thereby directly determine survival and death rates. Additionally, techniques to assure continuity in a world of random but significant disturbances may break down. Already insurance companies suspect that a number of recent weather-related events may have ceased to be sufficiently random or insignificant or both to be insured. The private market insurance system may soon prove to be unable to ensure against certain ecosystem risks. The instability would [end page 12] thereby increase, leaving politics as the last potential guarantor of continuity and stability, as is already the case with atomic power plants, where no private insurer is willing to cover the entire risk, nor could such risk be covered. However, how many big risks, should the event and the scarcity associated with them occur, can the political system handle before solidarity breaks down, instability increases, conflicts grow, and massive death results? In times of growth and system expansion, potential conflicts can more likely be ignored, for their resolution is relatively easy. Everybody can come up with Pareto-type conflict resolutions. The going gets much tougher though, and more lives are at stake, when conflicts await resolution during system contraction, increased scarcity, and shrinking surpluses. First, the number and severity of conflicts tend to increase. Second, conflict potentials can no longer be as easily ignored, for, should they erupt, the disturbance would only augment the scarcity and make any resolution increasingly and unnecessarily more difficult. Third, resolutions to conflicts are politically and economically much harder to find in times of general scarcity and contraction. Presently, our world still relies on expansion and Pareto-type conflict resolutions. International exchange and free trade is thus enhanced, as is evident by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Furthermore, Eastern Europe, once a highly self-sufficient economic and political system, is being dismantled and integrated with the world division of labor. China, while still self-sufficient, may because of its participation in international trade and communication also become more unstable and be pressured to further expand market relations. While Eastern Europe and China chose to bring about industrialization by the primacy of political priorities over market priorities and by politically distributing scarcity (also in the sphere of consumption), Eastern Europe is now joining the rest of the world by introducing social and political relations based on the primacy of markets. And China may soon follow and experience large-scale migration, increased inequality, poverty, higher birthrates, and destabilized population growth. Capitalism, which is now the world’s dominant political and economic system, thrives on market expansion. However, how compatible is capitalism with the long-term zero or negative growth environment of the future? It is incompatible! Not only does capitalism have great [end page 13] difficulty in handling such conditions, economically and politically, but it also has, for the same reasons, difficulty in preparing for them. Thus, markets, if left to themselves, cannot factor in long-term scarcity. Has the price of oil, for example, signaled that oil will soon be very scarce? On the contrary, oil markets have, if anything, signaled an ever-growing supply of oil. The same could be said for land, lumber, and many other natural resources in limited supply. The ability of the capitalist market system to guide us through the next decades of increasing scarcity and downscaling of industrial production is very limited indeed, and if lives are to be preserved, the primacy of politics over markets will have to be introduced again, as was the case for practically all of human history except its bourgeois phase. In this context, it is ironic that, just when political control over the economy is especially needed, Eastern Europe is—with huge losses in productive capacity and means of production and at tremendous social and economic restructuring costs—reintroducing the primacy of markets.

### A-To China Empirics

#### (1/2) China fails to create public spatial relation thus doesn’t coincide with our solvency

**Dowell ’06** (William Thatcher, correspondent for The New York Times)

Human Rights Watch estimates in it’s 2006 World Report that at least sixty political prisoners are now in Chinese jails because they revealed information on the Internet that the government wanted to keep quiet. Reporters Without Borders claims that roughly forty of these prisoners are journalists. Suggesting that the Chinese government is in need of reform without first obtaining official permission is enough to warrant a hefty jail sentence.

#### (2/2) Internet proves this

**MacKinnon ’07** (Rebecca, Professor of Journalism and Media studies @ University of Hong Kong)

Such conclusions are frequently echoed in the news media, but scholarship on China’s Internet and politics takes a more sober view. While the Chinese government has supported the development of the Internet as a tool for business, entertainment, education, and information exchange, it has succeeded in preventing people from using the Internet to organize any kind of viable political opposition. The Open Net Initiative concluded in its 2004-05

## ADVANTAGE 3

### Link

#### Ext. Mckeown 11: Neolib policy = terror

#### Ext. Mckeown 11: resisting reforms = terror, Columbian empirics

#### Imperialism direct cause of terror

**Mckeown 11**, (Anthony, [Critical Studies on Terrorism](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Epwh%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Epwhjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22Critical%20Studies%20on%20Terrorism%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');), The **structural** production of state terrorism: capitalism, imperialism and international class dynamics, Deputy Leader of the Labour Group, and Deputy Leader of the Council and Executive Member for Community Services <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx>?)

The rest of this article is structured as follows: ﬁrst, I map out a general theoretical¶ background for the rest of this article by arguing that capitalist imperialism is a root cause¶ of state terrorism in the developing world. I contend that state terrorism is produced by¶ the dynamic of imperialism through relations of structural inequality that are expressed¶ and propagated through international law (IL). This is a key point, because the production of state terrorism in the developing world through the dynamics of capitalist globalization should not be understood as ‘exceptional’ but as immanent in the relations expressed¶ through formally neutral ILs. Following this, in the second section I develop a conceptual framework through which to theories the ways in which IL produces the conditions in¶ which state terrorism is likely to be utilized as a mechanism of governance in the developing world, drawing on insights from Sam Ashman, Alex Callinicos and David Harvey,¶ combining these with more historical Marxist concepts and integrating (through their recontextualization) several key concepts regarding land reform in the developing world that¶ originally emanated from within the World Bank. Together, these are the mechanisms of Critical Studies on Terrorism 77¶ imperialism that contingently (through their articulation with domestic class structures)¶ produce state terrorism.

### Religious terror specific

#### Imperialism causes religious terror, Indian empirics

**Jones 09** (Professor of Public Policy and Administration, university of Alaska, 'ISTANA STANDS FIRM: INDONESIA'S QUELLING¶ ISLAMIC TERROR" CULTURE MATTERS”)

Indonesia's imperialisms basically springs from two divergent eastern¶ hemispheric empires arising from Neolithic garden cultures, the first¶ subcontinent. Indie Hindu-Buddhist, beginning in the first century and the¶ second, Mediterranean Islamic, beginning twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¶ Religion is a defining characteristic of civilization and especially for those with¶ imperial inclinations." Over the last three centuries neither imperial¶ civilization has successfully ingested the other. An imeasy accommodation¶ (syncretic) occurred which resulted in divide and rule governance with strong¶ authority imposed.¶ The subcontent Indie-Hindu imperial tradition rested in the core¶ notion of the istana, a palace within a walled enclosure. The Islamic Near East¶ imperial tradition rested in the core notion of the umma, the universal¶ commtinity of believers. Historical time has modified these two different¶ notions of empire. In Indonesian usage istana is now used as a nationalistic¶ term designating a specific of governance. It is indigenous in nature and¶ meaning. Umat is commonly used in Indonesia to designate the local Muslim¶ community. Umma is Arabic for the universal Islamic community which is¶ non-indigenous in nature and meaning. The center of imperialistic aspiration¶ resides somewhere in Arabia, confusing since the Caliph, the ruling center,¶ ended in 1924 with the downfall of the Turkish Ottoman empire. Nevertheless,¶ this old Islamic institution resonates with many of today's Muslims. Jihadists¶ speak of restoring the caliphate for the transnational order they seek to create.¶ Which is a restoration of the kind of political-religious leadership of the first¶ successor to the Prophet Muhammad in the early seventh century. Large¶ numbers of non-violent Islamic organizations espouse the same idea as a way¶ for Islamic unification.'"¶ Until recently, the last twenty or so years, internal politics of¶ Indonesia could largely be conceived as a struggle between the Musjid¶ (Mosque) and the IstanaP With the advent of radical Islam, global politics in¶ the imperialistic form of the umma was introduced into Indonesian political life¶ which is largely Arab driven by both foreign nationals and those of^Indonesian¶ birth.¶ What of the once Dutch imposed Western imperialism? The history¶ is that for a nigh three centuries Dutch imperials co-opted Indic-indigenous¶ imperialism by the application of indirect rule. Imperial governance feared¶ , Islam and suppressed it. Islamic monuments of splendor were given little¶ attention whereas the Hindu-Buddhist monuments were preserved. Dutch¶ , scholarship on the Indie civilization laid much of the foundation for present¶ day Indonesian nationalism.

#### 9/11 attack is credited to imperialistic policies

**Jones 09** (Professor of Public Policy and Administration, university of Alaska, 'ISTANA STANDS FIRM: INDONESIA'S QUELLING¶ ISLAMIC TERROR" CULTURE MATTERS”)

Indonesia was once an exotic region located a far distance from the¶ heartland of traditional Islam. Technological shrinkage of time and space¶ leading into globalization radically changed this remote situation. Its Soeharto¶ New Order regime from 1968-98 accelerated this transformation into the¶ modem world. Globalization means more than expansion of communication,¶ contacts and trade aroimd the world. It includes transfer of social, economic,¶ political and judicial power to global organizations located in no particular¶ sovereign jurisdiction and govemed by no particular territorial law." In this¶ emerging circumstance radical Islam in umma belief could break out of its¶ historic land locked military past in the indoctrination of the "true" faith¶ including the use of systematic terror. The Jihadist massive destructive act on¶ 11 September 2001 in the United States took on a new meaning in global¶ affairs with the initiative of a new kind of warfare. Some writers have gone so¶ far as to state that 9/11 began World War IV, even designating Islamic¶ extremism as Islamofascism.^"¶ The 9/11 event gives credence to Indonesia's founders fear of Islam¶ with its persistent radical tendencies. They understood well Islam's world view¶ of universalism in the concept of the umma with its persistent imperialistic¶ drive. Above all they imderstood Indonesia's unique archipelago being with¶ its strong ethnic groups and histories of violence including a strong head¶ hunting tradition." Java with its culture of Majapahit saga embodied the soul¶ of Indonesia. Islam, distant in time and space and race, was no more than¶ another foreign imperial intrusion which could never provide the basis for¶ viable Indonesian tmity. Arabs the bearers ofthe faith were as well foreigners¶ controlling great wealth much like the foreign Chinese and hence not fully¶ trustworthy citizens. Yet the nationalist's could not disregard the santri¶ Muslims, many of Arab descent, who provided much ofthe sacrifice of life and¶ material means for first winning independence and second for eradicating the¶ imperialist evil of communism. The nationalists were clearly associating with¶ political wolves with the smell of foxes.

### Impact

#### Ext. Rodgers 07: Terror causes wide spread dehumanization and fear

#### Turn/ - Neoliberalism causes environmental terror

**Duffield 11**(“Total war and Environmental terror: linking liberalism, Resilience, and the Bunker”, South Atlantic Quarterly, 110, 3, pp. 757-769, Acedemic Search premier, EBSCO Host)

Emerging from a deepening science-led dialogue between war, ¶ nature, and economy that began with World War I, environmental terror ¶ calls forth the attributes and skill sets of resilience. Resilience provides ¶ a defense against the unpredictability and uncertainty of environmental ¶ terror. Together with the ability to recover from surprise and shock, resilience denotes the capacity to forge new conditions of existence while still ¶ retaining system functionality.2 Rather than a direct confrontation and ¶ elimination of the causes of environmental terror, however, resilience is ¶ a defense that relies more on constant adaptation to surrounding uncertainty. Indeed, the ability to change and adapt becomes a virtue in itself. For resilient systems and relationships, uncertainty is not necessarily negative. Because it has the potential to foster new and, by implication, more ¶ robust conditions of existence, unpredictability can be positive. For most of ¶ the twentieth century, however, modernity offered an essentially different ¶ approach to uncertainty, an approach that sought to limit its effects.3¶ The emergence of environmental terror is intrinsically linked to ¶ the neoliberal crusade against modernity that surfaced during the 1970s. ¶ Reaching its zenith in the mid-twentieth century, political modernity was ¶ shaped by, among other things, social insurance and the welfare or New ¶ Deal state that, coupled with an ethos of comprehensiveness and standardization in urban and public planning, aimed to protect against the ¶ contingencies and pathologies of everyday life.4 Emerging from the class ¶ struggles and political compromises associated with industrial capitalism, ¶ modernity, unlike resilience, attempted to banish want and anxiety. For ¶ resilience, however, uncertainty is an essential antidote to the psychological and material dependency that welfarism and public planning are held ¶ to entrench. For liberalism, anxiety is necessary if the desirable attributes ¶ of foresight, enterprise, and self-reliance are to flourish.

### A-To: World bank reforms of Columbia

#### World Bank reform still hold violent policies against lower classes

**Mckeown 11**, (Anthony, [Critical Studies on Terrorism](javascript:__doLinkPostBack('','mdb%7E%7Epwh%7C%7Cjdb%7E%7Epwhjnh%7C%7Css%7E%7EJN%20%22Critical%20Studies%20on%20Terrorism%22%7C%7Csl%7E%7Ejh','');), The **structural** production of state terrorism: capitalism, imperialism and international class dynamics, Deputy Leader of the Labour Group, and Deputy Leader of the Council and Executive Member for Community Services <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx>?)

Yet while the World Bank continues to laud the Colombian reform programme, it¶ neglects to mention how this might implicate its competitiveness agenda in the intensiﬁcation of state terrorism as the country’s class elites respond to class power from above¶ by intensifying the use of violence on classes below. In response to class struggle against¶ capitalist restructuring, a fragmented Colombian state has aided and abetted paramilitary¶ agents not only by reorganising the law governing the capital–labour relation but also by¶ maintaining an ideological offensive against labour and social movements more generally¶ (and in fact the two aspects are part and parcel of a general resistance/counter-resistance¶ dynamic).

### Extinction ad-on

#### Terrorism = extinction

**Alexander 09 (Alexander Prof and Director of Inter-University for Terrorism Studies 3**

**Yonah, Terrorism Myths and Realities, Washington Times, Prof and Director of Inter-UniversityFor Terrorism Studies)**

Last week's brutal suicide bombings in Baghdad and Jerusalem have once again illustrated dramatically that¶ theinternational community failed, thus far at least, to understand the magnitude and implications of theterrorist threats to the very survival of civilization itself.¶ Even the United States and Israel have for decades tendedto regard terrorism as a mere tactical nuisance or irritant rather than a critical strategic challenge to their national securityconcerns. It is not surprising, therefore, that on September 11, 2001, Americans were stunned by the unprecedented tragedyof 19 al Qaeda terrorists striking a devastating blow at the center of the nation's commercial and military powers. Likewise,Israel and its citizens, despite the collapse of the Oslo Agreements of 1993 and numerous acts of terrorism triggered by thesecond intifada that began almost three years ago, are still "shocked" by each suicide attack at a time of intensive diplomaticefforts to revive the moribund peace process through the now revoked cease-fire arrangements (hudna). Why are the UnitedStates and Israel, as well as scores of other countries affected by the universal nightmare of modern terrorism surprised bynew terrorist "surprises"? There are many reasons, including misunderstanding of the manifold specific factors that contributeto terrorism's expansion, such as lack of a universal definition of terrorism, the religionization of politics, double standards of morality, weak punishment of terrorists, and the exploitation of the media by terrorist propaganda and psychological warfare.¶ Unlike their historical counterparts, contemporary terrorists have introduced a new scale of violence interms of conventional and unconventional threats and impact. The internationalization and brutalization of current and future terrorism make it clear we have entered an Age of Super Terrorism (e.g. biological,chemical, radiological, nuclear and cyber) with its serious implications concerning national, regional andglobal security concerns

## ADVANTAGE 4

#### Ext. Brown 05: Neolib = racism and sexism outweighs

#### Ext. Giroux 04: Exterminating public space is neoliberal = social exclusion and racial apartheid

#### Ext. Elden 02: Racism is the logic of extermination

#### Status quo implementation of transportation infrastructure is profoundly neo-liberal. Policy makers focus on market mechanisms and privatization 🡺 racism and social exclusion

Farmer Sociology Dep’t Roosevelt University 2011 Stephanie Uneven public transportation development in neoliberalizing Chicago, USA Environment and Planning http://envplan.com/epa/fulltext/a43/a43409.pdf

Contemporary urbanization processes are strongly shaped by the logic and policies of neoliberalism. Neoliberal ideology advocates the extension of market-based principles in the arena of the state in order to `liberate' both public services from so-called `state inefficiencies' and capital `squandered' by taxation that could be more profitability deployed by private actors. Accordingly, neoliberal regulatory frameworks promote market discipline over the state, usually achieved by such policy mechanisms as lowering taxes on businesses and the wealthy, shrinking or dismantling public services, and subjecting public services to the logic of markets through public - private partnerships or outright privatization. The creative-destructive processes of neoliberal state strategy reconfigure the territorial organization of accumulation, and consequently produce new forms of uneven geographic development.

The literature on neoliberal urbanization establishes the broader processes of political, economic, and social restructuring and rescaling in response to declining profitability of the Fordist accumulation regime (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002). The roll-back of Fordist regulatory configurations and the roll-out of neoliberalization transformed the sociospatial hierarchy of regulatory frameworks with the nation-state as the center of state regulation to a more multiscalar regulatory framework articulated by the interactions of global, national, and local scales (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Cities emerged as crucial sites of neoliberalization and institutional restructuring. In the United States, neoliberal policies restructured Fordist forms of territorial organization by devolving the relatively centralized, managerial -redistributive system of urban planning and financing at the federal level to subregional states and municipalities (Eisinger, 1998; Harvey, 1989). Thus localities were forced to finance local infrastructure, transit, housing, and other forms of collective consumption on their own or abandon them altogether. By starving cities of revenues, neoliberal state restructuring rendered states and municipalities more dependent upon locally generated tax revenues as well as intensifying intercity competition (Harvey, 1989).

Cities starved by neoliberal state restructuring responded to their fiscal troubles by adopting entrepreneurial norms, practices, and institutional frameworks. Entre-preneurial municipal governments prioritize policies that create a good business climate and competitive advantages for businesses (Harvey, 1989; Smith, 2002) by “reconstituting social welfare provisions as anticompetitive costs'', and by implementing ``an extremely narrow urban policy repertoire based on capital subsidies, place promotion, supply side intervention, central-city makeovers and local boosterism'' (Peck and Tickell, 2002, pages 47 ^ 48). In effect, neoliberal urbanization encourages local governments to retreat from social redistribution and integrated social welfare policies in favor of bolstering business activity (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). As a consequence, entrepreneurial mayors emerged in the 1980s to forge alliances between government and business leaders (what I refer to as the `global city growth machine') under the banner of urban revitalization (Judd and Simpson, 2003). City space is mobilized ``as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices'' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, page 21). The abandonment of Fordist planning, privileging a more integrated urban form in favor of selective investment in privileged places, has resulted in what scholars have variously deemed as a fragmented, polarized, splintered, or quartered urbanity (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000; Sassen 1991; Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

The business-friendly policies and practices pursued by entrepreneurial urban governments must also be understood in relation to the global reorganization of production. Global cities emerged as the command and control nodes of the global economy, where multinational headquarters, producer services, and FIRE (finance, insurance, and real estate) firms cluster (Sassen, 1991). To lure multinational corporate headquarters, producer services, professional ^ managerial workers, and tourists to their city, municipal governments recreate urban space by prioritizing megaprojects and infrastructure that help businesses gain competitive advantages and keep them connected within global networks as well as providing financing and amenities for gentrification, tourism, and cultural consumption (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Fainstein, 2008; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Swyngedouw et al, 2002). These urban development strategies are ideologically and discursively legitimized by the global city growth machine as necessary for `global city' or `world-class city' formation (McGuirk, 2004; Wilson, 2004).

Public transportation policy is one dimension of spatial restructuring deployed by entrepreneurial governments to create place-based competitive advantages for global capital. Transportation represents a fixed, place-based geographic element where the local and the global interact; where global processes shape local geographies and where local politics shape global networks. As Keil and Young (2008) suggest, transportation should now be considered in relation to globalized trade and economic networks and consumption-oriented patterns of everyday life. Growth demands in cities experiencing gentrification, the development of luxury consumption spaces, and a surge of tourism have placed pressure on local agencies to expand airports, roads, and rail and public transit capacities. Large-scale urban redevelopment plans have made a comeback as city planners conceive of megaprojects that concentrate new public transit investment in the revalorized core (Fainstein, 2008; Keil and Young, 2008; Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

Air transportation has become the leading form of global connectivity, influencing the decisions of global, national, and regional elites to create air-transportation infrastructure (Cidell, 2006; Erie, 2004; Keil and Young, 2008; Phang, 2007). For instance, there is a growing network of world-class cities (Shanghai, London, and Tokyo) that enables air travelers to connect seamlessly from one global city core to the next, with direct express train service from the downtown business core to the city's international airports (Graham and Marvin, 2001). These specialized public transit systems more closely integrate a city into global markets, thereby making the city more attractive for business activities (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Graham, 2000). The resulting “premium network spaces'' are ``geared to the logistical and exchange demands of foreign direct investors, tourist spaces or socioeconomically affluent groups'' (Graham and Marvin, 2001, page 100). Interactions with the surrounding residential districts are carefully managed by filtering `proper' users through nonstop services or prohibitively expensive fares. In addition, premium transport services tend to be bundled with upscale shopping centers, entertainment spectacles, hotels, or office spaces to form a giant, integrated bubble of luxury. Subsequently, sociospatial relations are reconfigured as premium infrastructure bypasses devalorized places and exclude economically disadvantaged users from accessing the transit service. The neoliberal trend towards premium public transportation deployed for the purposes of constructing competitive advantages in the global capitalist system privileges profit making for capital, or exchange-value purposes, and not necessarily for everyday use, or use-value purposes (Keil and Young, 2008; Logan and Molotch, 1987).

In order to finance new urban transit projects, cash-strapped entrepreneurial governments are increasingly entering into long-term partnerships with the private sector, or public- private partnerships (PPPs), in which the public sector pays for services and infrastructure delivered by the private sector (Phang, 2007; Siemiatycki, 2006; Solin¬o and Vassallo, 2009). In studies of PPPs used both for large-scale urban redevelopment projects and urban rail projects, scholars have noticed that planning agencies are increasingly favoring infrastructure projects favoring affluent segments of the population that have greater potential for profitability rather than delivering the largest public benefit (Fainstein, 2008; Siemiatycki, 2006; Swyngedouw et al, 2002).

By privileging market-based metrics of efficiency, entrepreneurial administrations have profoundly changed the function of public transportation. In the Fordist era, public transportation involved a modicum of centralized planning aimed at industrial development, mitigating labor costs and alleviating the effects of uneven development produced by the highly subsidized highway system (Grengs, 2004; Weiner, 1999). Neoliberal statecraft abandons the Fordist strategy of territorial redistribution mobilizing public transportation to enhance economically disadvantaged groups' access to the city. In its place, socially regressive neoliberal practices favor market-oriented growth and elite consumption patterns (Boschken, 2002; Grengs, 2004; Young and Keil, 2010). Thus, public transportation service has become a battleground in the global city growth machine's revanchist claims to the city (Smith, 1996).

As municipalities sink their meager financial resources into lumpy global city public transportation infrastructure, residents outside the myopic global city vision are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain development dollars for their communities (Judd, 2003). In this regard, entrepreneurial public transportation policies are reshaping the contours of race-based social exclusion. As real estate developers and creative class workers mobilize their political and financial power to outcompete lower income groups for rights to the (central) city, they are pushing working-class and minority residents to the margins of the city and into the devalorized inner-suburban ring where affordable housing can be found but public transit service is meager (Dreier et al, 2004). These deepening patterns of exclusion are also reinforced by policies dismantling and disbursing public housing out of the central area and away from public transit. And yet, poor urban African-Americans are more structurally dependent on public transportation to access jobs, services, and cultural amenities (Bullard and Johnson, 1997; Kasarda, 1989). In a more egalitarian policy-making environment, public transportation policy can be a means to reduce the effects of hyper sociospatial racial segregation (Wilson, 1990). However, in the neoliberal approach to urban planning and economic development, public transportation is but one of a constellation of institutions that create and reproduce spatialized racial inequalities.

## Solvency

### Free transit key

#### Ext. Schein 11: Free and accessible public transit solves

#### Ext. Farmer 11: Public transit reverses inequality

### Decreases Neoliberalism

#### Ext. Brown 03: Changing Neolib key to establish new market

#### The role of the ballot is to choose between competing ideas—there is an alternative to Neoliberalism

Lebowitz 5 — Michael A. Lebowitz, Emeritus Professor of Economics at Simon Fraser University (Canada), 2005 (“The Knowledge of a Better World,” *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, Volume 57, Issue 3, July-August, Available Online to Subscribing Institutions via Academic Search Elite, p. 67)

The most immediate obstacle, though, is the belief in TINA, i.e., that there is no alternative. Without the vision of a better world, every crisis of capitalism (such as the one upon us) can bring in the end only a painful restructuring—with the pain felt by those already exploited and excluded. The concept of an alternative, of a society based upon solidarity, is an essential weapon in defense of humanity. We need to recognize the possibility of a world in which the products of the social brain and the social hand are common property and the basis for our self-development—the possibility in Marx's words of "a society of free individuality, based on the universal development of individuals and on their subordination of their communal, social productivity as their social wealth" (Grundrisse [Penguin, 1973], 158). For this reason, the battle of ideas is essential.

#### Collective political strategies resist neoliberalism

Read Professor of Philosophy at the University of Southern Maine 2009 Jason A Genealogy of Homo-Economicus: Neoliberalism and the Production of Subjectivity, Foucault Studies http://rauli.cbs.dk/index.php/foucault-studies/article/viewFile/2465/2463

Despite Negri’s tendency to lapse back into an opposition between labor and ideology, his object raises important questions echoed by other critics of neoliberalism. What is lost in neoliberalism is the critical distance opened up between different spheres and representations of subjectivity, not only the difference between work and the market, as in Marxism, but also the difference between the citizen and the economic subject, as in classical liberalism. All of these differences are effaced as one relation; that of economic self-interest, or competition, replaces the multiple spaces and relations of worker, citizen, and economic subject of consumption. To put the problem in Foucault’s terms, what has disappeared in neoliberalism is the tactical polyvalence of discourse; everything is framed in terms of interests, freedoms and risks. 22 As Wendy Brown argues, one can survey the quotidian effects or practices of governmentality in the manner in which individualized/market based solutions appear in lieu of collective political solutions: gated communities for concerns about security and safety; bottled water for concerns about water purity; and private schools (or vouchers) for failing public schools, all of which offer the opportunity for individuals to opt out rather than address political problems. 23 Privatization is not just neoliberalism’s strategy for dealing with the public sector, what David Harvey calls accumulation by dispossession, but a consistent element of its particular form of governmentality, its ethos, everything becomes privatized, institutions, structures, issues, and problems that used to constitute the public. 24 It is privatization all the way down. For Brown, neoliberalism entails a massive de-democratization, as terms such as the public good, rights and debate, no longer have any meaning. “The model neoliberal citizen is one who strategizes for her or himself among various social, political, and economic options, not one who strives with others to alter or organize these options.” 25 Thus, while it is possible to argue that neoliberalism is a more flexible, an open form of power as opposed to the closed spaces of disciplines, a form of power that operates on freedoms, on a constitutive multiplicity, it is in some sense all the more closed in that as a form of governmentality, as a political rationality, it is without an outside. It does not encounter any tension with a competing logic of worker or citizen, with a different articulation of subjectivity. States, corporations, individuals are all governed by the same logic, that of interest and competition.

Foucault’s development, albeit partial, of account of neoliberalism as governmentality has as its major advantage a clarification of the terrain on which neo-liberalism can be countered. It is not enough to simply oppose neoliberalism as ideology, revealing the truth of social existence that it misses, or to enumerate its various failings as policy. Rather any opposition to neoliberalism must take seriously its effectiveness, the manner in which it has transformed work subjectivity and social relationships. As Foucault argues, neoliberalism operates less on actions, directly curtailing them, then on the condition and effects of actions, on the sense of possibility. The reigning ideal of interest and the calculations of cost and benefit do not so much limit what one can do, neoliberal thinkers are famously indifferent to prescriptive ideals, examining the illegal drug trade as a more or less rational investment, but limit the sense of what is possible. Specifically the ideal of the fundamentally self-interested individual curtails any collective transformation of the conditions of existence. It is not that such actions are not prohibited, restricted by the dictates of a sovereign or the structures of disciplinary power, they are not seen as possible, closed off by a society made up of self-interested individuals. It is perhaps no accident that one of the most famous political implementers of neoliberal reforms, Margaret Thatcher, used the slogan, “there is no alternative,” legitimating neoliberalism based on the stark absence of possibilities. Similarly, and as part of a belated response to the former Prime Minister, it also perhaps no accident that the slogan of the famous Seattle protests against the IMF and World Bank was, “another world is possible,” and it is very often the sense of a possibility of not only another world, but of another way of organizing politics that is remembered, the image of turtles and teamsters marching hand and hand, when those protests are referred to. 26 It is also this sense of possibility that the present seems to be lacking; it is difficult to imagine let alone enact a future other than a future dominated by interest and the destructive vicissitudes of competition. A political response to neoliberalism must meet it on its terrain, that of the production of subjectivity, freedom and possibility.

## Framework

### Apocalyptic Rhetoric

#### Ext. Gross and Gilles: Apocalyptic Rhetoric should be abandoned

#### A: Did the world end after the US government didn’t increase space exploration during last year’s topic? No! That empirically proves the apocalyptic view in policy rounds such as this one.

#### Apocalyptic rhetoric 🡺 failed political solutions to catastrophe

Gross new media strategist & Gilles domestic abuse advocate 2012 Matthew Barrett & Mel The Atlantic 4/23

http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/04/how-apocalyptic-thinking-prevents-us-from-taking-political-action/255758/

Talking about climate change or peak oil through the rhetoric of apocalypse may make for good television and attention-grabbing editorials, but such apocalyptic framing hasn't mobilized the world into action. Most of us are familiar with the platitude "When the only tool you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail." In a similar way, our over-reliance on the apocalyptic storyline stands between us and our ability to properly assess the problems before us. Some see the looming crises of global warming and resource and energy depletion and conclude that inaction will bring about the end of civilization: only through a radical shift toward clean energy and conservation, those on the Left argue, can we continue the way of life that we have known. Those on the Right dismiss the apocalyptic threats altogether, because the proposed solutions to peak oil, global warming, and overpopulation conflict with core conservative beliefs about deregulation and the free-market economy, or with a religious worldview that believes humanity is not powerful enough to alter something as large as our climate. Still others dismiss the catalog of doom and gloom as mere apocalypticism itself. Surely, we convince ourselves, all the dire warnings about the effects of global warming aren't that different from the world-ending expectations of the Rapturists?

The result is that the energy we could expend addressing the problems before us is instead consumed by our efforts to either dismiss the threat of apocalypse or to prove it real. Ultimately, the question becomes not what to do about the threats before us but whether you believe in the threats before us.

By allowing the challenges of the 21st century to be hijacked by the apocalyptic storyline, we find ourselves awaiting a moment of clarity when the problems we must confront will become apparent to all -- or when those challenges will magically disappear, like other failed prophecies about the end of the world. Yet the real challenges we must face are not future events that we imagine or dismiss through apocalyptic scenarios of collapse -- they are existing trends. The evidence suggests that much of what we fear in the future -- the collapse of the economy, the arrival of peak oil and global warming and resource wars -- has already begun. We can wait forever, while the world unravels before our very eyes, for an apocalypse that won't come.

The apocalyptic storyline becomes a form of daydreaming escape: the threat of global warming becomes a fantasy to one day live off the grid, or buy a farm, or grow our own food; economic collapse becomes like a prison break from the drudgery of meaningless and increasingly underpaid work in a soul-crushing cubicle; peak oil promises the chance to finally form a community with the neighbors to whom you've never spoken. Yet despite the fantasia peddled by Hollywood and numerous writers, a world battered by natural disasters and global warming, facing declining natural resources and civic unrest, without adequate water or energy or food, with gross inequalities between the rich and the poor, is not a setting for a picaresque adventure, nor is it the ideal place to start living in accord with your dreams.

The deeper we entangle the challenges of the 21st century with apocalyptic fantasy, the more likely we are to paralyze ourselves with inaction -- or with the wrong course of action. We react to the idea of the apocalypse -- rather than to the underlying issues activating the apocalyptic storyline to begin with -- by either denying its reality ("global warming isn't real") or by despairing at its inevitability ("why bother recycling when the whole world is burning up?"). We react to apocalyptic threats by either partying (assuaging our apocalyptic anxiety through increased consumerism, reasoning that if it all may be gone tomorrow, we might as well enjoy it today), praying (in hopes that divine intervention or mere time will allow us to avoid confronting the challenges before us), or preparing (packing "bugout" packs for a quick escape or stocking up on gold, guns, and canned food, as though the transformative moment we anticipate will be but a brief interlude, a bad winter storm that might trap us indoors for a few days or weeks but that will eventually melt away).

None of these responses avert, nor even mitigate, the very threats that have elicited our apocalyptic anxiety in the first place. Buying an electric car doesn't solve the problem of a culture dependent on endless growth in a finite world; building a bunker to defend against the zombie hordes doesn't solve the growing inequities between the rich and poor; praying for deliverance from the trials of history doesn't change that we must live in the times in which we were born. Indeed, neither partying, nor preparing, nor praying achieves what should be the natural goal when we perceive a threat on the horizon: we should not seek to ignore it, or simply brace for it, but to avert it.

### Warming specific

#### A-To Warming: Framing warming in apocalyptic terms fails – it cedes too much to climate deniers and creates a disincentive for change

Gross new media strategist & Gilles domestic abuse advocate 2012 Matthew Barrett & Mel The Atlantic 4/23

http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2012/04/how-apocalyptic-thinking-prevents-us-from-taking-political-action/255758/

For example, annual climate-related disasters such as droughts, storms, and floods rose dramatically during the last decade, increasing an average 75 percent compared to the 1990s -- just as many climate models predicted they would if global warming were left unchecked. Yet this rise in natural disasters hasn't produced a moment of universal recognition of the dangers of climate change; instead, belief in climate change is actually on the decline as we adjust to the "new normal" of ever-weirder weather or convince ourselves that our perception of this increased frequency is a magnifying trick of more readily available cable and Internet coverage.

To understand why fewer people believe in climate change even as evidence mounts, we must look beyond the industry-funded movement to deny the reality and effects of climate change. Perhaps equally important -- if not quite equally culpable -- has been the extent to which both the proponents and opponents of human-made climate change have led us down a cul-de-sac of conversation by exploiting the apocalyptic metaphor to make their case.

Whether by design or by accident, the initial warnings of environmentalists -- of oceans rising to engulf our most beloved metropolises, of amber waves of grain scorched into a desert landscape -- activated the apocalyptic impulse. The focus on disastrous repercussions for our behavior at some point in the future echoed the warnings of the Israelite priests to wayward Jews in Babylon or, later, to those who submitted too willingly to Alexander's process of Hellenization. It was a familiar story: change, and change radically, or face hell on earth. Perhaps there was no other way to sound the alarm about the devastating threat presented by global climate change, but that echo of apocalyptic warning was quickly seized upon by the naysayers to dismiss the evidence out of hand.

We've heard this story before, the deniers insisted, and throughout history those who have declared the end of the world was near have always been proven wrong. As early as 1989, the industry front man Patrick Michaels, a climatologist and global warming skeptic, was warning in the op-ed pages of the Washington Post of this new brand of "apocalyptic environmentalism," which represented "the most popular new religion to come along since Marxism." That the solutions to global warming (a less carbon-intensive economy, a more localized trade system, a greater respect for nature's power) parallel so perfectly the dream of environmentalists, and that the causes of global warming (an unrestrained industrial capitalism reliant on the continued and accelerating consumption of fossil fuels) parallel the economic dream of conservatives, has simply exacerbated the fact that global warming has now become just another front in the culture wars. By seizing upon and mocking the apocalyptic imagery and rhetoric of those sounding the alarm, the industry front groups succeeded in framing the debate about global warming into a question about what one believes. Thus, entangled with the myth of apocalypse -- and its attendant hold on our own sense of belief and self-identity -- the debate about anthropogenic climate change has reached an impasse. You believe in the Rapture; I believe in global warming -- and so the conversation stops. But global climate change is not an apocalyptic event that will take place in the future; it is a human-caused trend that is occurring now. And as we expend more time either fearfully imagining or vehemently denying whether that trend will bring about a future apocalypse, scientists tell us that the trend is accelerating.

### **Nuke Specific**

#### Nuclear extinction is a product of the media

Martin 82’ (Critique of nuclear extinction, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1982, pp. 287-300. Brian Martin, Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Wollongong, Australia, <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/82jpr.html)phol>

(k) Media. The media tend to promote drama and death, and hence promote exaggeration and emphasis on worst cases in relation to nuclear war, and promote those who make these emphases. This arises partly from the lack of continuity and social context in most media stories, and from providing sufficient bad news (death, destruction) so that the consumers of the media can delight in the 'good' news (advertising of products, one's own ordinary untraumatic life). These tendencies in the media are accentuated by centralised control over the form and content of the media.

## A-to Neoliberalism good

### Neolib = war shell

#### A. Surplus Capital and Economic Coercion

Robinson, 7—Professor of Sociology, Global and International Studies, Latin American and Iberian Studies at the University of California-Santa Barbara

(William I., “The Pitfalls of Realist Analysis of Global Capitalism: A Critique of Ellen Meiksins Wood’s Empire of Capital”, Historical Materialism, 2007, http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/disciplines/politics/research/hmrg/activities/documents/Robinson.pdf)

By the early twenty-ﬁrst century, global capitalism was in crisis. This crisis involves three interrelated dimensions. First it is a crisis of social polarization. The system cannot meet the needs of a majority of humanity, or even assure minimal social reproduction. Second is a structural crisis of over accumulation. The system cannot expand because the marginalization of a signiﬁcant portion of humanity from direct productive participation, the downward pressure on wages and popular consumption worldwide, and the polarization of income, have reduced the ability of the world market to absorb world output. The problem of surplus absorption makes state-driven military spending and the growth of military-industrial complexes an outlet for surplus and **gives the current global order a frightening built-in war drive**. Third is a crisis of HIMA legitimacy and authority. The legitimacy of the system has increasingly been called into question by millions, perhaps even billions, of people around the world, and is facing an expanded counter-hegemonic challenge. Neoliberalism ‘peacefully’ forced open new areas for global capital in the 1980s and the 1990s. This was often accomplished through economic coercion alone, as Wood would likely agree, made possible by the structural power of the global economy over individual countries. But this structural power became less effective in the face of the three-pronged crisis mentioned above. Opportunities for both intensive and extensive expansion dried up as privatizations ran their course, as the former ‘socialist’ countries became re-integrated into global capitalism, as the consumption of high-income sectors worldwide reached a ceiling, and so on. The space for ‘peaceful’ expansion, both intensive and extensive, became ever more restricted. Military aggression has become in this context an instrument for prying open new sectors and regions, for the forcible restructuring of space in order to further accumulation. The train of neoliberalism became latched on to military intervention and the threat of coercive sanctions as a locomotive for pulling the moribund Washington consensus forward. The ‘war on terrorism’ provides a seemingly endless military outlet for surplus capital, generates a colossal deﬁcit that justiﬁes the ever-deeper dismantling of the Keynesian welfare state and locks neoliberal austerity in place, and legitimates the creation of a police state to repress political dissent in the name of security. In the post 9/11 period, the military dimension appeared to exercise an over determining inﬂuence in the reconﬁguration of global politics. The Bush régime militarized social and economic contradictions, launching a permanent war mobilization to try to stabilize the system through direct coercion. But was all this evidence for a new US bid for hegemony? A US campaign to ‘compete’ with other major states? To defend ‘its own domestic capital’? To ‘maintain a critical balance’ and ‘control major [state] competitors’? I trust my reasons for rejecting such an argument have been made clear in this critical article.

#### B. Resource Drive

Bhagwat, 11 (Vishnu, former Chief of the Naval Staff of India, Thee Weaponization of Space: Corporate Driven Military Unleashes Pre-emptive Wars, July 13, 2011, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=21432>)

We must understand the reality of our present lawless world, where **corporate driven military** **might** unleashes **pre-emptive wars, invasions and occupations** and the UN system stands paralyzed , its Charter disregarded  , the Treaties and conventions signed and ratified , flouted at every step . It is necessary for us to focus on the stark truth that those treaties and conventions do not protect humanity from the forces that want to dominate and exploit the resources of the world using every weapon system and all mediums  --be they land , sea , the seabed **or space** and if the world system does not create a  balance very soon  than even from military bases that may be established on the earth’s planetary system. Vladimir Putin, then President and now the  Prime Minister of Russia, speaking at the European Security Conference in Munich on 10th February 2007, said: “The unipolar  world refers to a world in which there is one master, one center of authority, one center of force, one centre of decision making. At the end of the day this is pernicious not only for those  within the system , but also for the Sovereign himself from within ; what is more important is that the model itself is flawed because as its basis there is and can be no moral foundation for modern civilization ( and even less for democracy ). We are seeing a greater and greater disdain for the basic principles of international law. We are witnessing an almost uncontained hyper use of force in international relations , force that is plunging the world into an abyss of permament conflicts . I am convinced that we have reached that decisive moment when we must seriously  think about the architecture of global security.” We have to move heaven and earth , the might of humanity to dismantle that decision making ruling elite in the ‘joint corporate –military board rooms ,’ be they located underground in the Strategic Command in Nebraska  or at multi-locations in Wall Street , the City ( London ) or Tel a Viv . The unlimited quest for establishing monopoly over the planet  earth’s resources and markets , has led the world to witness unending wars , sometimes referred to as ‘long wars’ , if that phrase makes it seem less destructive , **and the unending pursuit of weapon platform**s , for attaining  ‘full spectrum dominance’ and the ‘Strategic Defense Initiative’ (SDI ) or the Star Wars initiated by the ‘free market’ of the Reagan administration and Thatcherism , **accelerating the death and destruction that we have witnessed , all across the globe be it in Angola , Congo, Somalia, Afghanistan , Iraq , Palestine , Central and Latin America   , Yugoslavia , Lebanon , Gaza and earlier in Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia** among other countries with the  UN Security Council in some cases acquiescing and even assisting .

#### C. Imperial Competition

Foster, 5 (Foster, Oregon University Department of Sociology Professor, John B., Monthly Review, http://www.monthlyreview.org/0905jbf.htm, 6/22/11)

The global actions of the United States since September 11, 2001, are often seen as constituting a “new militarism” and a “new imperialism.” Yet, neither militarism nor imperialism is new to the United States, which has been an expansionist power—continental, hemispheric, and global—since its inception. What has changed is the nakedness with which this is being promoted, and the unlimited, planetary extent of U.S. ambitions. Max Boot, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, insists that the “greatest danger” facing the United States in Iraq and around the world “is that we won’t use all of our power for fear of the ‘I’ word—imperialism….Given the historical baggage that ‘imperialism’ carries, there’s no need for the U.S. government to embrace the term. But it should definitely embrace the practice.” The United States, he says, should be “prepared to embrace its imperial rule unapologetically.” If Washington is not planning on “permanent bases in Iraq…they should be….If that raises hackles about American imperialism, so be it” (“American Imperialism?: No Need to Run from the Label,” USA Today, May 6, 2003). Similarly, Deepak Lal, James S. Coleman Professor of International Development Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, states: “The primary task of a Pax Americana must be to find ways to create a new order in the Middle East….It is accusingly said by many that any such rearrangement of the status quo would be an act of imperialism and would largely be motivated by the desire to control Middle Eastern oil. But far from being objectionable, imperialism is precisely what is needed to restore order in the Middle East” (“In Defense of Empires,” in Andrew Bacevich, ed., The Imperial Tense, 2003). These views, although emanating from neoconservatives, are fully within the mainstream of U.S. foreign policy. Indeed, there is little dissent in U.S. ruling circles about current attempts to expand the American Empire. For Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, senior fellows at the Brookings Institution, “the real debate…is not whether to have an empire, but what kind” (New York Times, May 10, 2003). Michael Ignatieff, director of Harvard University’s Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, states unequivocally: “This new imperialism…is humanitarian in theory but imperial in practice; it creates ‘subsovereignty,’ in which states possess independence in theory but not in fact. The reason the Americans are in Afghanistan, or the Balkans, after all, is to maintain imperial order in zones essential to the interest of the United States. They are there to maintain order against a barbarian threat.” As “the West’s last military state” and its last “remaining empire,” the United States has a responsibility for “imperial structuring and ordering” in “analogy to Rome….We have now awakened to the barbarians….Retribution has been visited on the barbarians, and more will follow” (“The Challenges of American Imperial Power,” Naval War College Review, Spring 2003). All of this reflects the realities of U.S. imperial power. In his preamble to the National Security Strategy of the United States, released in fall 2002, President George W. Bush declared that since the fall of the Soviet Union there was now “a single sustainable model for national success: freedom, democracy and free enterprise,” as embodied concretely in U.S. capitalism. Any society that rejected the guidance of that model was destined to fail—and would, it was implied, be declared a security threat to the United States. The main body of the document that followed was an open declaration of Washington’s goal of strategic dominance over the entire planet for the indefinite future. It announced U.S. intentions of waging “preemptive” (or preventive) war against nations that threatened or in the future could conceivably threaten U.S. dominance directly—or that might be considered a threat indirectly through dangers they posed to U.S. friends or allies anywhere on the globe. Preventive actions would be taken, the new National Security Strategy emphasized, to ensure that no power would be allowed to rise up to rival the United States in military capabilities anytime in the future. On April 13, 2004, President Bush proclaimed that the United States needed to “go on the offensive and stay on the offensive,” waging an unrelenting war against all those it considered its enemies.

### More

#### The competitive economic system uses our military as its global policeman – forcing us to be a permanent state of war.

Mooers, 6 – Chair of the Department of Politics and School of Public Administration at Ryerson University [Colin, “The New Imperialists,” 2006, pg 5-6]

The current round of imperialism, therefore, has as its goal the export and entrenchment of capitalist social-property relations throughout the world; it is about the universalization of capitalism. And just as in earlier phases of capitalism, state military power has been central to the imposition of this new stage of primitive accumulation and enclosure. However, if state military power is still essential for the imposition of capitalism in some parts of the world, and if its spectacular display remains vital to U.S. global hegemony, there is an important sense in which the dynamics of imperialism have changed markedly. Unlike its earlier forms, imperialism today no longer relies on direct colonization. Nor does military rivalry between states over resources and territory exist on the scale that it did in the time of Lenin and Bukharin. But if imperialism is no longer defined by formal empire and military competition, how have militarism and capitalist imperatives become so closely linked in the new imperialism? The simple answer is that in a world comprised of limited territorial states and the global reach of capital, the use of overwhelming military might becomes the only way of policing capitalist interests. When terrorist violence beyond the state is thrown into the mix, the problem becomes even more intractable. For these reasons, a more or less permanent state of warfare – war without end – has become definitive of twenty-first-century capitalism: “Boundless domination of a global economy, and of the multiple states that administer it, requires military action without end, in purpose or time.” 12 If a state of permanent war has become the “new normal” of our time, it is clear why the discourse of empire has become so vital to those who defend this new order of things: the domestication of war and imperial conquest has become an urgent ideological imperative.

#### Globalization will cause endless war and will make any other country not part of it, “rogue”

Chowdhury, 6 (Kanishka, Professor on American Culture at St. Thomas University, “Interrogating ‘Newness’”, Culture Critique, 2006, http://muse.jhu.edu.turing.library.northwestern.edu/journals/cultural\_critique/v062/62.1chowdhury.html#FOOT4)

In a sense, globalization is now used as a cover for endless war. Countries are designated as "rogue" regimes to the extent that they fail to assimilate into global capitalism. Globalization, then, has been presented as the natural economic order and one connected inextricably to the forces of democracy and civilization. Globalization as described by its advocates thus suggests a natural, neutral process, one in which a larger, benign global family looks out for each member's interests, and where the powerful nations teach, at a cost, those who are economically "backward" the ways of the world. This is a process in which the "Third World" elite are, of course, willing participants. Consider, for instance, the text of the May 6, 2003, full-page advertisement in the New York Times celebrating the new Nigeria: "In Nigeria, a new generation is looking to attract increased foreign investment. . . . New legislation has made foreign involvement easier. . . . Several state-owned enterprises are being prepared for privatization. . . . Foreign investors with unique and innovative projects are granted 'pioneer status.' . . . We have very generous tax-waivers—five years for pioneer status companies. . . . We are doing everything possible to cooperate with the United States" (C11). One doesn't have to look very hard at this advertisement to understand that the forces of multinational capital have produced this text many times over. After all, such "promotions," paid for in more ways than one by Third World citizens, are created in the West, for the Western consumer, and by Western advertising firms. Despite such glossy claims, we are clearly not considering [End Page 128] a harmonious, mutually beneficial process of global cooperation here; rather, we are witnessing the legitimized and systematic looting and subjugation of a sovereign nation, assisted by its national bourgeoisie; in short, we are observing another step in the process of endless war. Let us then begin our analysis of globalization by reattaching the designation "capitalist" to globalization, so we can focus on the unvarnished economic logic of this violent process of endless war. Globalization, of course, is not merely an economic process but one that has multiple cultural articulations. Although advocates celebrate the growth of cultural exchange, the greater accessibility to a range of cultural products, and the potential democratization of authoritarian societies through so-called liberatory cultural imports, these cultural transactions are characterized by and depend upon existing economic inequalities between metropolitan centers and the peripheries. Certainly the speed and volume of production and distribution of culture have made cultural goods like film and music more widely available, but the profits from these transactions are controlled by and distributed among an elite minority. Increased access to cultural material, moreover, has not translated into increased access to economic opportunity. Finally, those who have economic power establish the terms and rules for cultural exchange. Consequently, even though much is made of the occasional cultural product from the developing world that makes it way to the West, the financial and cultural traffic largely flows one way.6

#### The logic of commodification makes war inevitable

Goodman Senior Lecturer at the University of Technology Sydney 2009 James Global Capitalism and the Production of Insecurity Rethinking Insecurity War and Violence, edited by Grenfell and James page 52

In a global system that relies upon opportunity and risk, insecurity is always on the horizon. As the United States and its allies take on “the impossible task of suppressing the expressions of the fundamental problems of the world today” we are forced to live with endemic instability and violence (Ichiyo2002). The war for security must go on forever - there is “never enough”- and thus war has to be domesticated and naturalized (Ferguson and Turnbull2004). This systemic insecurity may however be seen as the central and even fatal ﬂaw of commodiﬁcation. The totalizing command state can never secure control (James 2004). Security can only be achieved by forcing instability to the margins, even as it erupts across the multiplying arcs of instability.

#### Capitalism necessitates imperialist wars

Harvey Distinguished Professor at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York 2008 David The Right to the City New Left Review 53 Sept/Oct http://newleftreview.org/?view=2740

The perpetual need to find profitable terrains for capital-surplus production and absorption shapes the politics of capitalism. It also presents the capitalist with a number of barriers to continuous and trouble-free expansion. If labour is scarce and wages are high, either existing labour has to be disciplined—technologically induced unemployment or an assault on organized working-class power are two prime methods—or fresh labour forces must be found by immigration, export of capital or proletarianization of hitherto independent elements of the population. Capitalists must also discover new means of production in general and natural resources in particular, which puts increasing pressure on the natural environment to yield up necessary raw materials and absorb the inevitable waste. They need to open up terrains for raw-material extraction—often the objective of imperialist and neo-colonial endeavours.

### Neolib unsustainable

#### Neoliberalism is an unsustainable economic system – empirical evidence proves

Loranger ‘95 (Jean-Guy, Department of Economics at University of Montreal, “Neoliberalism and the Overwhelming Influence of Financial Markets: a Comparative Analysis between NAFTA Countries and Other G-& Countries," http://hdl.handle.net/1866/2004.) NT

Our main hypothesis to be tested is that the neoliberal regime, which succeeded to the fordist regime since the mid-seventies, has placed the global economy into a worse situation than the previous one that it was supposed to correct. Our empirical evidence shows that, outside the US which are the core of NAFTA and the world economy, the other 5 countries which were under examination have witnessed a worsening of their macroeconomic indicators between the fordist period and the neoliberal period. This is illustrated in particular by a significant slowdown of the growth rate, of the final demand and each of its components, of the real wage and the rate of employment. Since neoliberalism is based on neo-monetarism, all countries have adopted an austere monetary policy, the aim of which is to fight inflation. The battle against inflation has been won but at the same time has created a serious bias of income inequality in favor of the rentier class. Short-run as well long-run real interest rates have reached an unprecedented level with the consequence of creating a negative gap between the growth rate of the economy and the real interest rate. This situation is leading to an unsustainable economic development, because, at the micro level, it forces the other social groups to pay an ever increasing surplus value to the rentier class and, at the macro level, it places the US economy as the only winner and all the other countries as losers. This is illustrated in particular by the negative gap between the growth rate and the interest rate, the increased indebtedness which compels national governments to make drastic cuts in their spending programs in order to create a larger operation surplus which will pay for the ever increasing debt service. A similar situation prevails for external indebtedness which applies for three countries: Mexico, Canada and Italy. Mexico was shaken this year by one of the most severe crisis that ever occurred in this country. Canada and Italy, both facing an unstable political situation, could be next on the list for a major crisis.

#### Neoliberalism is a self-destructing system that destroys its working class

Pramono 2 (Siswo, School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University, Canberra, <http://www.fatihun.edu.tr/~jesr/Neoliberalism.pdf>, pg. 121-122) JDO

If genocide relates to policy that gives effect to the destruction of particular group(s), leading to the collapse of the whole societies, then a discussion focusing on how neoliberalism destroys the working class might help reveal its genocidal mentality. Neoliberalism is by nature genocidal (and suicidal) because in order to survive, it has to eat its own tail. In other words, by 'killing' the working class, capitalism is digging its own grave. When the working class is dying, society is dying, which at the end will lead to the death of capitalism itself. But what or who is the working class? The working class, which is condemned to extinction by neoliberalism, should be viewed as socio-cultural, rather than solely an economic institution (Polanyi, 1944; see also Block and Somers, 1984). The working class, therefore, is a socio-cultural institution of workers —blue and white collars— for whom "employment is far more than a measure of income: … it is the essential measure of self-worth" of individuals in a society based on work (Rifkin, 1995: 195). The emphasis on class is nevertheless significant because this working class represents an important segment of human society that is threatened by the integrated mode of global production. The end of history in fact has led the world to the end of work: the alienation of the concept of work from its socio-cultural environment. As the world is now entering the Third Industrial Revolution —the era of the information super highway— technology has caused productivity to be uncoupled from mass labour (Rifkin, 1995). Economic neoliberal creed, then, dictates rationalisation and efficiency in all lines of production through job killing methods like downsizing, out sourcing, and re-engineering production (Martin and Schumann, 1997). The result is an alarming massive unemployment that has already led to global upheavals as symbolically expressed in various protests in Seattle in 1999, Washington DC in 2000, Quebec and Genoa in 2001. Thus, the end of work, in the sense described above, means a ‘requiem for the working class’ (Rifkin, 1995).

#### Neoliberalism is an unsustainable system

**Farmer 9** (Stephanie, B.A. from Kansas State University, a M.A. from the University of Illinois at Chicago and a PhD from Binghamton University, State University of New York. “Chicago’s public transportation system: The contradictions of neoliberalism in the global city,” ProQuest Dissertations for SUNY Binghampton, publication number 3366108. P. 1-2) NT

October 11, 2008 – As I sit to write this introduction, the credit markets and their speculative scaffolding have collapsed under the weight of the contradictions of neoliberal financialization. Much of the growth experienced by the neoliberal economy was based on an expansion of credit with little productive gains to back it up. Simply, neoliberal accumulation was propped up by borrowing on the future and the future has arrived. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of the neoliberal accumulation regime. In tandem to the collapse of the financial markets, other trends likewise are projecting neoliberalism’s downfall. The physical infrastructure of the United States is also crumbling under the weight of neoliberal contradictions. Rather than investing to maintain their physical infrastructure, the United States government has been forming policy for restoring profitability for capital. With neoliberal policies aiming to provide a good business climate and stimulate the supply side economy through such practices as low taxation, reducing the state’s role in public services, and marketizing public services, the state skirted its responsibilities for maintaining the most basic forms of physical infrastructure. With state retrenchment from investment in physical infrastructure, the roads, trains, bridges and building of America have deteriorated, prompting critics to characterize this physical infrastructure as ‘made of sugar’. The deterioration of American physical infrastructure has created an obstacle course for accumulation. Physical infrastructure is the most basic form of organizing and efficiently circulating goods and labor, i.e. capital, in the built environment. As my case study of Chicago’s public transportation system reveals, as the efficiency of the built environment is undermined by disinvestment, so too will the circulation of capital, and thereby the conditions for accumulation, will be undermined as well.

### AT: Neolib Solves Poverty

#### Their argument is misleading – even if poverty is being reduced social inequality is sky-rocketing

Harvey Distinguished Professor at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York 2006 David A Conversation with David Harvey Logos 5.1 http://www.logosjournal.com/issue\_5.1/harvey.htm

I’ll respond in two ways, there is a lot of controversy over the kind of data you look at and how you prove that. For instance if you ask the question of how many people were in poverty in 1980 and how many people there are in poverty today, you might say, there are fewer people in poverty now than there was back then. But when you look at the economic performance, of say China and India, and you look at the aggregate data, it looks like the world is better off. If you start to look at social inequality however, you start to see in many instances, that neo-liberalization has increased social inequality, even at the same time that it has lifted some of the people at the bottom out of poverty. If you look at the concentration of wealth, at the very top bracket of society, you will see immense concentrations of wealth at the very top 0.1% of the population.

At this point the question is: who is neo-liberalization really benefiting? And if you look at concentrations of political and economic power, it has largely benefited a very very small elite. And we have to start looking at that. For instance, the New York Times had this interesting data a couple of months ago. How rich, on average, are the richest 200 (or 400) families in the United States? I think the data showed that back in 1980, they had something like $680 million. In constant dollars it is something like $2.8 billion. They have quadrupled their wealth in the last twenty years and this is a familiar story not just in the U.S but also globally. In Mexico, after neo-liberalization, you see the same thing. You see the same think happening in China and in India. When Thomas Friedman talks about a flat world, he is saying you do not have to come to America to be a billionaire; you can be a billionaire in Bangalore now. You do not have to migrate to America, but the social inequality in India is increasing dramatically.

#### Neolib necessitates poverty – only the aff can solve

McMillian PhD in Psychoanalysis from Massey University 2009 Chris Disavowed Foundations1/30http://chrismcmillan.org/2009/01/30/hello-world/

Nonetheless, one should not jump to the vulgar conclusion that exclusion, suffering and hunger are active created by capitalist subjectivity, that some mysterious conspiring agents are secretly maintaining this situation in the name of Capital. Rather, the situation is much more complex and subsequently more horrific. Extreme poverty is not the consequence of a contingent aberration in the system, soon to be eliminated by economic progress or the enlightenment of the masses. Nor are some sinister agents of power responsible, such that a mere act of political will can rectify the situation. Instead, I contend that this extreme and absolute poverty is the systematic result of our mediocre day-to-day economic interactions and pleasures. That is, for the capitalist system to remain functional, providing the wealth available in the western world, extreme poverty, hunger and death occur on a horrific scale as the necessary consequence of capitalist subjectivity.

Consequently any discourse which seeks to intervene in the suffering of the hungry cannot do so within the epistemological limits of capitalism. Instead, we must develop a new space for our globally shared social life, or rather the material reproduction of that life. This new economic space must avoid both the exceptionality and the exclusion of both the masses and the even more marginalised hungry. In our current circumstances, however, such an alternative form of economy is not on the horizon. Capitalism has become so pervasive that both conservatives and many radicals have come to support Francis Fukuyama’s ‘End of History’ thesis. While conservatives celebrate the victory of liberal-democratic (capitalism), for radicals such a resignation is tinged with more than a hint of tragedy. Meanwhile, although any alternative to capitalism is likely to be in the socialist, or at least Marxist, tradition, the existence of actually existing socialism provides little in the way of inspiration, but much in the way of melancholy and nostalgia.

### AT: Neolib Solves Environment

#### Neolibs conservation of catastrophe makes environmental collapse inevitable

Foster associate professor of sociology at the University of Oregon 2011 John Bellamy Monthly Review December http://monthlyreview.org/2011/12/01/capitalism-and-the-accumulation-of-catastrophe

Over the next few decades we are facing the possibility, indeed the probability, of global catastrophe on a level unprecedented in human history. The message of science is clear. As James Hansen, the foremost climate scientist in the United States, has warned, this may be “our last chance to save humanity.”1 In order to understand the full nature of this threat and how it needs to be addressed, it is essential to get a historical perspective on how we got where we are, and how this is related to the current socioeconomic system, namely capitalism.

Fundamental to the ecological critique of capitalism, I believe, is what world-historian William McNeill called the law of “the conservation of catastrophe.” For McNeill, who applied his “law” to environmental crisis in particular, “catastrophe is the underside of the human condition—a price we pay for being able to alter natural balances and to transform the face of the earth through collective effort and the use of tools.” The better we become at altering and supposedly controlling nature, he wrote, the more vulnerable human society becomes to catastrophes that “recur perpetually on an ever-increasing scale as our skills and knowledge grow.”2 The potential for catastrophe is thus not only conserved, but it can be said to be cumulative, and reappears in an evermore colossal form in response to our growing transformation of the world around us.

In the age of climate change and other global planetary threats McNeill’s thesis on the conservation of catastrophe deserves close consideration. Rather than treating it as a universal aspect of the human condition, however, this dynamic needs to be understood in historically specific terms, focusing on the tendency toward the conservation of catastrophe under historical capitalism. The issue then becomes one of understanding how the exploitation of nature under the regime of capital has led over time to the accumulation of catastrophe. As Marx explained, it is necessary, in any critique of capitalism, to understand not only the enormous productive force generated by capital, but also “the negative, i.e. destructive side” of its interaction with the environment, “from the point of view of natural science.”3

### AT: Economy Impact

#### Attempts to cure recession have lead to continued crisis – further attempts to remedy economic meltdown will lead to never ending wars

Zizek 2009 Slavoj First as Tragedy, Then as Farce page 19-20

Against this tendency, one should insist on the key question: what is the "flaw" in the system as such that opens up the possibility for such crises and collapses? The first thing to bear in mind here is that the origin of the crisis is a "benevolent" one: as we have noted, after the dotcom bubble burst, the decision, taken in a bipartisan fashion, was to facilitate real estate investment in order to keep the economy going and prevent recession-today's meltdown is thus simply the price being paid for the measures taken in the US to avoid recession a few years ago. The danger is thus that the predominant narrative of the meltdown will be the one which, instead of awakening us from a dream, will enable us to continue dreaming. And it is here that we should start to worry-not only about the economic consequences of the meltdown, but about the obvious temptation to reinvigorate the "war on terror" and US interventionism in order to keep the motor of the economy running, or at least to use the crisis to impose further tough measures of "structural adjustment.”

## AT: States CP

#### Strategies of devolution and privatization are beholden to the ideology of neoliberalism – don’t trust their evidence its all biased against public action

Fine Prof of Economics U of London & Hall Director of the Public Services International Research Unit – U of Greenwich 2010 Ben & Contesting Neoliberalism: Public Sector Alternatives for Service Delivery Working Paper for the Milan European Economy Workshops http://www.economia.unimi.it/uploads/wp/DEAS-2010\_27wp.pdf

Other areas of policymaking, as with industrial and regional policy, health, education and welfare, R&D, and skills and training, have all been profoundly influenced by neoliberalism, quite apart from the pressure for ’flexibility’ in labour markets, signifying a race to the bottom in wages and working conditions. The priority assigned to private participation in delivery has both squeezed public sector alternatives and the rationale for, and capacity to deliver, them. As already suggested, the logic and practice is to push for what the private sector can deliver with limited regard to broader social and economic objectives or the presumption that these should be picked up by other compensating policy measures. Whether this ever happens is a moot point as opposed to journeying further down the evaluatory trap. There is also significant reliance upon devolution and decentralisation with the presumption of greater local and democratic participation whereas this can often turn out to be the passing on of responsibility for delivery by an authoritarian central state without provision of support for necessary resources.

In short, neoliberalism is not just marked by policy and ideology favouring the private over the public sector, but this has itself been institutionalised within government capacity itself and the commercial pressures to which it responds. And this has been devastating for the potential for formulating and implementing alternative forms of public provision.

For, government and international policy-making itself is subject to institutionalised corporate capture/influence through the extensive use of management consultants and business appointees. These consultancies are themselves made up of a small group of multinational firms - such as Price-Waterhouse, Deloittes, Ernst and Young - which act as a policy replication mechanism. Another form of this is the appointment of increasing numbers of businessmen and women to government policy positions which would normally be held by career civil servants. The process can also be seen at an international level, most obviously in the collaboration between companies, donors and development banks over privatisations.

The institutionalisation of these relationships can be seen as a generalised, if tacit, form of collusion, bordering upon corruption (see above). For these individual acts occur as part of a systematic network between political parties and institutions, on the one hand, and corporate interests on the other, regularly agreeing which policies to adopt, which companies get which contracts and at what price (Della Porta and Vanucci 1999). The process includes not only bribes but also legal donations and other networks of influence, constituting effective “state capture” (Hellman et al 2003). The operation of conditionalities by the development banks can also be recognised as tantamount to corruption, whereby money – in the form of finance for a socially and politically valuable project – is offered in exchange for a national government transferring assets and/or contracts to the corporate interests in the sector, through privatisation or PPPs.

#### The strategy of state implementation is beholden to the logic of neo-liberalism – means the CP cannot solve

Martinez-Fernandez et al Urban Research Centre, University of Western Sydney 2012 Cristina Shrinking Cities: Urban Challenges of Globalization International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 36.2 Wiley Online

Shrinking places are for Smith et al. (2001) and Smith (2002) a form of neoliberal urbanism that is the manifestation in the built environment of contemporary capitalism's creative destruction (Harvey, 2005). Drawing on political economic notions of the global neoliberal project, embodied in the Washington Consensus's doctrine of free trade, state devolution and market deregulation, Smith et al. (2001)3 empirically challenge conventional formulations of urban shrinkage and decline expressed in terms of invasion–succession processes or in terms of who moves in or out of neighbourhoods. In contemporary capitalist societies, neoliberal policy aims to restore and preserve economic and political privilege among the upper economic classes through privatization of all aspects of economic life, financialization of risk and debt, the management and manipulation of financial crises and state redistributional tactics. The resultant neoliberal project's physical and economic decline stems from new processes of wealth accumulation by a few through the growing dispossession of the masses (Harvey, 2005).4 Viewed from this perspective, skills, cultural, educational or other spatial mismatches or deficiencies among residents of shrinking places are not the root of the problem. Rather, speculative circulation of capital in the built environment, such as predatory mortgage lending and its securitization in global financial markets, is largely to blame. As evident in the current and previous financial and real-estate debacles, these speculative processes have brought widespread disinvestment and real-estate devastation to many a neighbourhood and furthered the spread of economic shrinkage and physical decline across the regional and global urban landscapes.

#### Federal funding shapes state and local policies – key to burden sharing

The Economist 4/28/2011 http://www.economist.com/node/18620944

The federal government is responsible for only a quarter of total transport spending, but the way it allocates funding shapes the way things are done at the state and local levels. Unfortunately, it tends not to reward the prudent, thanks to formulas that govern over 70% of federal investment. Petrol-tax revenues, for instance, are returned to the states according to the miles of highway they contain, the distances their residents drive, and the fuel they burn. The system is awash with perverse incentives. A state using road-pricing to limit travel and congestion would be punished for its efforts with reduced funding, whereas one that built highways it could not afford to maintain would receive a larger allocation.

Formula-determined block grants to states are, at least, designed to leave important decisions to local authorities. But the formulas used to allocate the money shape infrastructure planning in a remarkably block-headed manner. Cost-benefit studies are almost entirely lacking. Federal guidelines for new construction tend to reflect politics rather than anything else. States tend to use federal money as a substitute for local spending, rather than to supplement or leverage it. The Government Accountability Office estimates that substitution has risen substantially since the 1980s, and increases particularly when states get into budget difficulties. From 1998 to 2002, a period during which economic fortunes were generally deteriorating, state and local transport investment declined by 4% while federal investment rose by 40%. State and local shrinkage is almost certainly worse now.

States can make bad planners. Big metropolitan areas—Chicago, New York and Washington among them—often sprawl across state lines. State governments frequently bicker over how (and how much) to invest. Facing tight budget constraints, New Jersey’s Republican governor, Chris Christie, recently scuttled a large project to expand the railway network into New York City. New Jersey commuter trains share a 100-year-old tunnel with Amtrak, a major bottleneck. Mr Christie’s decision was widely criticised for short-sightedness; but New Jersey faced cost overruns that in a better system should have been shared with other potential beneficiaries all along the north-eastern corridor. Regional planning could help to avoid problems like this.

#### Federal budget cuts fiscally constrains cities allowing neoliberal policies to be internalized into urban policy regimes

Brenner & Theodore 02 [Neil, Department of Sociology and Metropolitan Studies Program, New York University and Nik, Urban Planning and Policy Program and Center for Urban Economic Development, University of Illinois at Chicago, Cities and the Geographies of “Actually Existing Neoliberalism”, 2002,

[http://www.urbaneconomy.org/sites/default/files/Theodore\_](http://www.urbaneconomy.org/sites/default/files/Theodore_ citiesandactuallyexistingneoliberalism.pdf)

[citiesandactuallyexistingneoliberalism.pdf](http://www.urbaneconomy.org/sites/default/files/Theodore_ citiesandactuallyexistingneoliberalism.pdf)] TM

The preceding discussion underscored the ways in which the worldwide ascendancy of neoliberalism during the early 1980s was closely intertwined with a pervasive rescaling of capital-labor relations, intercapitalist competition, financial and monetary regulation, state power, the international configuration, and uneven development throughout the world economy. As the taken-for-granted primacy of the national scale has been undermined in each of these arenas, inherited formations of urban governance have likewise been reconfigured quite systematically throughout the older industrialized world. While the processes of institutional creative destruction associated with actually existing neoliberalism are clearly transpiring at all spatial scales, it can be argued that they are occurring with particular intensity at the urban scale, within major cities and city-regions. On the one hand, cities today are embedded within a highly uncertain geoeconomic environment characterized by monetary chaos, speculative movements of financial capital, global location strategies by major transnational corporations, and rapidly intensifying interlocality competition (Swyngedouw 1992b). In the context of this deepening “global-local disorder” (Peck and Tickell 1994), most local governments have been constrained—to some degree, independently of their political orientation and national context—to adjust to heightened levels of economic uncertainty by engaging in short-termist forms of interspatial competition, place-marketing, and regulatory undercutting in order to attract investments and jobs (Leitner and Sheppard 1998). Meanwhile, the retrenchment of national welfare state regimes and national intergovernmental systems has likewise imposed powerful new fiscal constraints upon cities, leading to major budgetary cuts during a period in which local social problems and conflicts have intensified in conjunction with rapid economic restructuring.On the other hand, in many cases, neoliberal programs have also been directly “interiorized” into urban policy regimes, as newly formed territorial alliances attempt to rejuvenate local economies through a shock treatment of deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and enhanced fiscal austerity. In this context, cities—including their suburban peripheries—have become increasingly important geographical targets and institutional laboratories for a variety of neoliberal policy experiments, from place-marketing, enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public– private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism to workfare policies, property-redevelopment schemes, business-incubator projects, new strategies of social control, policing, and surveillance, and a host of other institutional modifications within the local and regional state apparatus. As the contributions to this volume indicate in detail, the overarching goal of such neoliberal urban policy experiments is to mobilize city space as an arena both for market-oriented economic growth and for elite consumption practices. Table 2 schematically illustrates some of the many politico-institutional mechanisms through which neoliberal projects have been localized within North American and western European cities during the past two decades, distinguishing in turn their constituent (partially) destructive and (tendentially) creative moments. Table 2 is intended to provide a broad overview of the manifold ways in which contemporary processes of neoliberalization have affected the institutional geographies of cities throughout North America and Western Europe. For present purposes, two additional aspects of the processes of creative destruction depicted in the table deserve explication.

## AT: Cap K

### Perm:

#### Perm use the plan to accomplish the K, allow policy making against Neoliberalism as a stepping stone to eventually complete the reformation from capitalism. Getting rid of Capitalism can’t happen overnight, radical change leads to power struggles, refer back toward advantage 2, Aff solves for both of these

#### Perm – do both – their alternative cannot 🡺 liberation only the permutations embrace of multiple oppositional historical narratives can 🡺 revolution

De Lissovoy Ass’t Prof Cultural Studies in Education – UT-Austin 2008 Noah Dialectic of Emergency/Emergency of the Dialectic Capitalism, Nature, Socialism 19.1 proquest

In light of the foreshortening of historicity discussed above, liberation no longer appears slowly in the form of a newly consolidated class subject that emerges from the bosom of the old order to challenge and to take over from it. It needs, rather, to condense a new agent and a different history. This agent must confront not simply the existing powers, but the logic of power itself. It represents a strange progress, even a kind of egress, from the dialectic itself as traditionally conceptualized. In this context, historical agency does not belong to a single consolidated representative of the totality (i.e., the traditional proletariat). Rather, the subject is no longer separate from its intermittent and provisional communicative production. Thus the new form of this historical subject becomes a continuous condition rather than an organized identification. This dialectic is one of radical unfinishedness and openness, and it reemphasizes the moment of discontinuity in Marx in which the settled meanings and subjects that are consolidated by the hegemony of a class are thrown open in the process of revolution.

As a continuous production and proliferation, rather than simple consolidation, a new revolutionary subject would materialize a range of possibilities and locations simultaneously.37 This subject would appropriate a "compound standpoint" which would press together the range of oppositional narrations of reality. The bringing together of ecological and socialist standpoints in ecosocialism is an example of such a synthesis, as is David Harvey's call for links between struggles against "accumulation by dispossession" (imperialism, privatization, enclosures) and struggles within the sphere of reproduction proper (e.g. trade-union movements). This condensation of standpoints, different from both unification and simple coalition, is also signaled in the contemporary idea of a "movement of movements." It would discover a kind of agency fundamentally different from customary senses, oriented not only toward the dismantling of dominative power but also toward the reorganization of available oppositional selves.

### AT: Cap generic

#### The mantra of individual change is an ineffective and dangerous political strategy – it not only fails to change structures of oppression it also shifts responsibility from state and corporate structures onto the oppressed

Portwood-Stacer PhD Comm - USC 2010 Laura The Practice of Everyday Politics: Lifestyle and Identity as Radical Activism – PhD Dissertation at USC http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/assetserver/controller/item/etd-PortwoodStacer-3737.pdf

In the absence of systemic support, many individuals may find individual resistance a practical impossibility. Alyssa was an interviewee who had moved to a small Canadian town after having lived in Northern California for many years. She explained that many of the anti-consumption practices she had engaged in while living in Santa Cruz (a California college town known for its liberal community), such as dumpstering and participating in a bike collective, were simply not feasible in her new location. So while she still stuck to a vegan diet and commuted by bicycle, “so many of those things were available to me in the culture of Santa Cruz, and really aren’t here (the dumpsters are locked, there are no collective spaces like the Bike Church or Free Radio, etc).” Jeremy, another interviewee, called it a “flawed idea that one can individualize capitalism or ‘drop out’ of it.” The fact that completely dropping out of capitalism is in reality a practical impossibility further attests to this incommensurability between individual refusal and systemic power. That is, capitalism is so well integrated into every aspect of life that there is no getting away from it completely, no matter how much the individual might intend to liberate themself from its hold.

Furthermore, even assuming the possibility of individual resistance, it may not be the case that there are enough activists out there to have a quantitatively significant impact on the whole capitalist system, or even one industry or corporation within that system. In this vein, writer Derrick Jensen (a controversial figure among anarchists who take differing stances on lifestyle politics) argues that even if ethical consumption practices were to be adopted by masses of individuals, their material impact might still be relatively small. In an essay titled “Forget Shorter Showers: Why Personal Change Does Not Equal Political Change,” Jensen points out that the environmental damage caused by individuals is miniscule when compared with that of government and corporate institutions. Thus exhortations for individuals to minimize their detrimental effect on the planet through changes in personal consumption have the dual negative consequence of displacing responsibility, and perhaps inconvenience, onto those who are least equipped to cope with it, and allowing the worst offenders to go on conducting (unethical) business as usual.

Littler finds this “responsibilization” of the individual to be a troubling manifestation of neoliberal ideology that masks and displaces the obligations to society which ought to be assumed by policy-makers and vast corporate entities (Littler 2009, 95). Speaking in the context of “green consumerism” Littler asserts that “in ‘the new green order’ individuals are responsibilized into dramatic yet ineffectual actions while corporations and the state shirk their responsibilities” (Ibid., 114). Jensen takes a similar view, arguing that “we’ve been victims of a campaign of systematic misdirection. Consumer culture and the capitalist mindset have taught us to substitute acts of personal consumption (or enlightenment) for organized political resistance” (Jensen 2009). Emily, the interviewee, also had qualms about individual practices of non-consumption as a political tactic:

You hear about sweatshops and you hear about maquiladoras and you know that all these things are involved in how everything is produced and so the best way to feel like you’re not a cause of that is to extract yourself from the situation by not consuming, but it’s a political move that doesn’t generate power it just generates people extracting themselves. I think it’s great, I don’t have any problem with it, but I’m more interested in seeing people organize. If you’re interested in sweatshops, or in consuming fewer resources, build things that enable people to know about it or do something about it to change it in their everyday lives.

As Emily insinuates, anarchist practices of refusal may be quite important at a personal, ethical level yet they may not prove to be very effective tactics for accomplishing the material goals of the movement.

#### A: Neg revolution leads to violent power struggle which case works to avoid, vote Aff on the ground that Aff accomplishes the same end without violence.

### AT: Marx specific

#### Marxist methodology is naïve – the dialectic cannot lead to a revolution – the plan imagined as a movement against capitalism is a more effective methodology

De Lissovoy Ass’t Prof Cultural Studies in Education – UT-Austin 2008 Noah Dialectic of Emergency/Emergency of the Dialectic Capitalism, Nature, Socialism 19.1 proquest

This does not mean abandoning the idea of the dialectic, but it points up the impossibility of realizing the promise of a naive Marxism that saw the dialectic as a kind of locomotive of history, pulling civilization along on the track to revolution. We now see the dialectic as entailing a necessarily radical openness, since the kind of oppositional movement that is called for is unprecedented and challenges our sense (often preserved even among socialists) of historical development as ultimately orderly and organic. Mészáros contrasts a Marxist understanding of the uneven dialectic of history with a unified and Hegelian one by emphasizing that the continuity of historical progress (the persistence through time of antagonistic class relations) is made out of a succession of radical discontinuities taking the form of epochal social transformations and ruptures.15 Just as the unraveling of ecologies is non-linear, as quantitative increases in degradation lead to qualitatively greater orders of destruction, in the same way the formation of a global oppositional movement must develop not only in an accelerated fashion, but in a different manner-crystallizing a new force not from the painstaking construction of a new party, for instance, but from the sudden concatenation of multiple movements. Paradoxically, this emergent movement requires a departure from a faith in its own methodical progressivity, in the form of a radical and unprecedented imaginativeness.

### AT: NORMATIVITY

#### Criticisms of normativity 🡺 neo-liberalism – they rely on a false sense of autonomy and dismiss real life obstacles to change

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The problem with a puristic anti-normativity position is that it risks reproducing the neoliberal model of free choice that treats individual acts as pure expressions of personal agency, even though systemic power relations are always at work in structuring those acts. To invoke this discourse is both to dismiss the real obstacles that work against the adoption of counter-hegemonic identifications and practices and to excuse people when their choices happen to replicate traditional oppressive relationships. That is, the likely effect of a movement purporting to reject norms altogether is the invisible conservation of dominant norms within and beyond that movement. Philosophically, it might make sense to oppose the way that norms, both mainstream and subcultural, constrain personal autonomy. Yet, unless anarchism is to stand for a kind of moral relativism, standards of ethical authenticity, and the dynamics of disciplinarity they generate, are politically defensible. Insofar as contemporary anarchists advocate social transformation, they may find it useful to commit to some normative content within their political project.

### AT: Anti-Politics

#### Their over-simplification of the left is misleading and dangerous – ignores the fractured and multidimensional nature of the left – neo-liberalism precludes the progress of the left

Ghosh professor of economics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi 2012 Jayati “The Emerging Left in the 'Emerging' World” Economic & Political Weekly 6/16 page lexis

The topic "The Emerging Left in the 'Emerging' World" may appear to be an excessively ambitious one. After all, to talk of one single "emerging left" even in any single part of the world is not just brave but foolhardy. Left politics and left positions have always been - and will continue to be - extremely diverse, within and across national boundaries. Given the profusion and variation of the multiplicity of approaches, it could justifiably be argued that attempts to fit all types of progressive thinking in very different parts of the world into a common box would be over-simplistic and even misleading.

This perception is also a reflection of the accentuated fragmentation of "left" positions. For much of the 20th century, it was easier to talk of an overarching socialist framework, a "grand vision" within which more specific debates were conducted. Of course there were many strands of socialism, however defined, and there were also fierce and occasionally violent struggles between them. Even so, they shared more than a common historical lineage - they also shared a fundamental perception or basic vision. At the risk of crude simplification, this vision can be summarised in terms of perceiving the working class to be the most fundamental agent of positive change, capable (once organised) of transforming not only existing property and material relations but also wider society and culture through its own actions.

But in recent times the very idea of a grand vision has been in retreat, battered not just by the complexities and limitations of "actually existing socialism" in its various incarnations, but more recently and thoroughly by the ferocious triumphalism of its opposite. Indeed, it may be fair to say that insofar as any grand vision has existed at all in recent times, the one that increasingly came to dominate public life almost everywhere in the world by the late 20th century was that of the market as a self-regulating and inherently efficient mechanism for organising economic life. This idea had already fallen by the wayside a century previously, before it was resurrected and dusted off for use in a slightly more "post-modern" format that became the theoretical underpinning for the vast explosion of global economic integration under the aegis of finance capital that has marked the period of globalisation.

## A-To Neolib can’t solve through Fed

#### Look back toward the solvency contention, specifically this mentions how public transit is key to solve for Neolib, if not done through the federal gov. then public transit will not be accomplished and thus the best way to solve for Neolib goes with it. Specifically CA Shein 11 and Farmer 11, talking about how this public transit is key, then CA Olsen 07 which gives data as to how the plan solves through our own economic system

#### A: is this really an argument? Neolib is based upon small government, by not using the government we further decrease its power and make it harder to solve for Neolib. If we further empower the state, we further decrease neolib

## A-To Statism K

#### Formation of ideal state can be achieved through recognition of diversity, equal treatment

Houtart, Belgian Marxist Sociologist, serves as an advisor to CETRI, was awarded the UNESCO-Madanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-Violence, 2011

(Francois, 11/26/11, “From ‘Common Goods’ to the ‘Common Good of Humanity,” HAOL, Volume: 26, p. 87-102, EBB)

Our third central theme, in revising the paradigm of collective life and the Common Good of Humanity, is the generalizing of democracy, not only in the political field but also in the economic system, in relationships between men and women and in all institutions. In other words, the mere forms of democracy, which are often used to establish a fake equality and to perpetuate unacknowledged social inequalities, must be left behind. This involves a revision of the concept of the State and the reclamation of human rights in all their dimensions, individual and collective. It is a matter of treating every human being, with no distinction of race, sex, or class, as partners in the building of society, thus confirming their self-worth and participation (Franz Hinkelammert, 2005). The concept of the State is absolutely central in this field. The model of the Jacobin centralized state of the French Revolution, erasing all differences in order to construct citizens who were in principle equal, is not enough to build a real democracy. Such a state was without doubt a step forward when compared to the political structures of the European ancien régime. But it is now necessary not only to take into account the existence of opposing classes, and to realize that any one class, or a coalition of them, can take possession of the State to ensure that their own interests dominate; but also to acknowledge the existence of all the various nationalities that live in a territory and who have the right to affirm their cultures, their territorial reference points and their social institutions. This is not a matter of falling into the kind of communitarianism that weakens the State, as has happened in certain European countries in the neoliberal era or of accepting the neo-anarchism of certain legitimate and massive protests. Neither is it a matter of retreating into nostalgia for a romantic past, like certain politicoreligious movements, nor of falling into the clutches of powerful economic interests (transnational enterprises or international financial institutions) that prefer to negotiate with small-scale local bodies. The aim is to reach equilibrium between these different dimensions of collective life, international, regional and local, recognizing their existence and setting up mechanisms for participation. The role of the State cannot be formulated without taking into account the situation of the most marginalized social groups: landless peasants, lower castes and the dalits (the former untouchables), who have been ignored for thousands of years, as well as the indigenous peoples of America and those of African descent who have been excluded for over 500 years and, within these groups, the women who are doubly marginalized. Juridical processes, even constitutional ones, are not enough to change the situation, necessary though these are. Racism and prejudice will not rapidly disappear in any society. In this field the cultural factor is decisive and can be the subject of specific policies to protect people against aggression by the ‘all market’ and which provide the basic necessities constitute an important step in the transition process, as long as they are not just ‘band-aids’, detached from structural reform.

#### Plan achieves utopia by advancing society in favor of collective humanity

Houtart, Belgian Marxist Sociologist, serves as an advisor to CETRI, was awarded the UNESCO-Madanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-Violence, 2011

(Francois, 11/26/11, “From ‘Common Goods’ to the ‘Common Good of Humanity,” HAOL, Volume: 26, p. 87-102, EBB)

It therefore follows that the ‘Common Good of Humanity’ will result from successfully achieving all these four goals, each of which is fundamental to the collective life of human beings on the planet. The goals defined by capitalism, guaranteed by political forces and transmitted by the dominant culture, are not sustainable, and so cannot ensure ‘the Common Good of Humanity’. On the contrary, they work against the continuance of life (François Houtart, 2009). There has to be a change of paradigms, to permit a symbiosis between human beings and nature, access of all to goods and services, and the participation of every individual and every collective group in the social and political organizing processes, each having their own cultural and ethical expression: in other words to realize the Common Good of Humanity. This will be a generally long-term process, dialectic and not linear, and the result of many social struggles. The concept of Common Good as used in this work goes well beyond the classical Greek conception, taken up by the Renaissance (J. Sanchez Parga, 2005, 378-386), and beyond the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, based on the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. It is for this reason that a complete theoretical rethinking is necessary, on the one hand dealing with all the elements that have led the world into a systemic crisis situation and with the wearing out of a historical model; and on the other hand, redefining the objectives of a new social construct that is respectful of nature and capable of ensuring human life as a shared endeavour. As Enrique Dussel (2006) has said, what must be ensured are the production, reproduction and development of the human life of each ethical subject (each human being). This is what the Common Good of Humanity means. The ultimate reference of all paradigms of human development is life in its concrete reality, including relations with nature, which is, in fact, negated by the logic of capitalism. There may be objections that this is a fanciful utopia. The fact is that human beings need utopias, and capitalism has destroyed utopian thinking, announcing the end of history ('there are no alternatives'), so that the search for the Common Good of Humanity is indeed a utopia, in the sense of a goal that does not exist today, but that could exist tomorrow. At the same time utopia also has a dynamic dimension: there will always be a tomorrow. All political and religious regimes that claim to embody utopia end up in catastrophe. Utopia is a call to advance. 3 It is for this reason that it is not simply a ‘harmless utopia’ (Evelyn Pieiller, 2011, 27). The need for it is felt by hundreds of thousands of social movements, citizen organizations, political groups, all in their own way struggling for better relations with nature and for its protection, for peasant and organic agriculture, for a social economy, for the abolition of illicit debts, for the collective taking over of the means of production and for the primacy of work over capital, for the defence of human rights, for a participatory democracy and for the recognition of the value of different cultures. The World Social Forums have made it possible to visualize this reality, which is gradually creating a new global social consciousness.