## 1NC T

A. Your decision should answer the resolutional question: Is the enactment of topical action better than the status quo or a competitive option?

1. “Resolved” before a colon reflects a legislative forum

Army Officer School ‘04

(5-12, “# 12, Punctuation – The Colon and Semicolon”, http://usawocc.army.mil/IMI/wg12.htm)

The colon introduces the following: a.  A list, but only after "as follows," "the following," or a noun for which the list is an appositive: Each scout will carry the following: (colon) meals for three days, a survival knife, and his sleeping bag. The company had four new officers: (colon) Bill Smith, Frank Tucker, Peter Fillmore, and Oliver Lewis. b.  A long quotation (one or more paragraphs): In The Killer Angels Michael Shaara wrote: (colon) You may find it a different story from the one you learned in school. There have been many versions of that battle [Gettysburg] and that war [the Civil War]. (The quote continues for two more paragraphs.) c.  A formal quotation or question: The President declared: (colon) "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." The question is: (colon) what can we do about it? d.  A second independent clause which explains the first: Potter's motive is clear: (colon) he wants the assignment. e.  After the introduction of a business letter: Dear Sirs: (colon) Dear Madam: (colon) f.  The details following an announcement For sale: (colon) large lakeside cabin with dock g.  A *formal* resolution, after the word "resolved:"

Resolved: (colon) That this council petition the mayor.

2. “USFG should” means the debate is solely about a policy established by governmental means

Ericson ‘03

(Jon M., Dean Emeritus of the College of Liberal Arts – California Polytechnic U., et al., The Debater’s Guide, Third Edition, p. 4)

The Proposition of Policy: Urging Future Action In policy propositions, each topic contains certain key elements, although they have slightly different functions from comparable elements of value-oriented propositions. 1. An agent doing the acting ---“The United States” in “The United States should adopt a policy of free trade.” Like the object of evaluation in a proposition of value, the agent is the subject of the sentence. 2. The verb *should*—the first part of a verb phrase that urges action. 3. An action verb to follow *should* in the *should*-verb combination. For example, *should adopt* here **means to put a** program or **policy into action though governmental means**. 4. A specification of directions or a limitation of the action desired. The phrase *free trade*, for example, gives direction and limits to the topic, which would, for example, eliminate consideration of increasing tariffs, discussing diplomatic recognition, or discussing interstate commerce. Propositions of policy deal with future action. Nothing has yet occurred. The entire debate is about whether something ought to occur. What you agree to do, then, when you accept the *affirmative side* in such a debate is to offer sufficient and compelling reasons for an audience to perform the future action that you propose.

3. Restrictions on production are legal mandates of a decrease in the quantity produced

Anell 89

Chairman, WTO panel

"To examine, in the light of the relevant GATT provisions, the matter referred to the

CONTRACTING PARTIES by the United States in document L/6445 and to make such findings as will assist the CONTRACTING PARTIES in making the recommendations or in giving the rulings provided for in Article XXIII:2." 3. On 3 April 1989, the Council was informed that agreement had been reached on the following composition of the Panel (C/164): Composition Chairman: Mr. Lars E.R. Anell Members: Mr. Hugh W. Bartlett Mrs. Carmen Luz Guarda CANADA - IMPORT RESTRICTIONS ON ICE CREAM AND YOGHURT Report of the Panel adopted at the Forty-fifth Session of the CONTRACTING PARTIES on 5 December 1989 (L/6568 - 36S/68)

http://www.wto.org/english/tratop\_e/dispu\_e/88icecrm.pdf

The United States argued that Canada had failed to demonstrate that it effectively restricted domestic production of milk. The differentiation between "fluid" and "industrial" milk was an artificial one for administrative purposes; with regard to GATT obligations, the product at issue was raw milk from the cow, regardless of what further use was made of it. The use of the word "permitted" in Article XI:2(c)(i) required that there be a limitation on the total quantity of milk that domestic producers were authorized or allowed to produce or sell. The provincial controls on fluid milk did not restrict the quantities permitted to be produced; rather dairy farmers could produce and market as much milk as could be sold as beverage milk or table cream. There were no penalties for delivering more than a farmer's fluid milk quota, it was only if deliveries exceeded actual fluid milk usage or sales that it counted against his industrial milk quota. At least one province did not participate in this voluntary system, and another province had considered leaving it. Furthermore, Canada did not even prohibit the production or sale of milk that exceeded the Market Share Quota. The method used to calculate direct support payments on within-quota deliveries assured that most dairy farmers would completely recover all of their fixed and variable costs on their within-quota deliveries. The farmer was permitted to produce and market milk in excess of the quota, and perhaps had an economic incentive to do so. 27. The United States noted that in the past six years total industrial milk production had consistently exceeded the established Market Sharing Quota, and concluded that the Canadian system was a regulation of production but not a restriction of production. Proposals to amend Article XI:2(c)(i) to replace the word "restrict" with "regulate" had been defeated; what was required was the reduction of production. The results of the econometric analyses cited by Canada provided no indication of what would happen to milk production in the absence not only of the production quotas, but also of the accompanying high price guarantees which operated as incentives to produce. According to the official publication of the Canadian Dairy Commission, a key element of Canada's national dairy policy was to promote self-sufficiency in milk production. The effectiveness of the government supply controls had to be compared to what the situation would be in the absence of all government measures.

B. They claim to win the debate for reasons other than the desirability of topical action

C. You should vote negative:

1. Dialogue. Debate’s critical axis is a form of dialogic communication within a confined game space.

Unbridled affirmation outside the game space makes research impossible and destroys dialogue in debate

Hanghoj 8

http://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles/Files/Information\_til/Studerende\_ved\_SDU/Din\_uddannelse/phd\_hum/afhandlinger/2009/ThorkilHanghoej.pdf

Thorkild Hanghøj, Copenhagen, 2008

Since this PhD project began in 2004, the present author has been affiliated with DREAM (Danish

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Institute of Education at the University of Bristol and the institute formerly known as Learning Lab

Denmark at the School of Education, University of Aarhus, where I currently work as an assistant

professor.

Debate games are often based on pre-designed scenarios that include descriptions of issues to be debated, educational goals, game goals, roles, rules, time frames etc. In this way, debate games differ from textbooks and everyday classroom instruction as debate scenarios allow teachers and students to actively imagine, interact and communicate within a domain-specific game space. However, instead of mystifying debate games as a “magic circle” (Huizinga, 1950), I will try to overcome the epistemological dichotomy between “gaming” and “teaching” that tends to dominate discussions of educational games. In short, educational gaming is a form of teaching. As mentioned, education and games represent two different semiotic domains that both embody the three faces of knowledge: assertions, modes of representation and social forms of organisation (Gee, 2003; Barth, 2002; cf. chapter 2). In order to understand the interplay between these different domains and their interrelated knowledge forms, I will draw attention to a central assumption in Bakhtin’s dialogical philosophy. According to Bakhtin, all forms of communication and culture are subject to centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bakhtin, 1981). A centripetal force is the drive to impose one version of the truth, while a centrifugal force involves a range of possible truths and interpretations. This means that any form of expression involves a duality of centripetal and centrifugal forces: “Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear” (Bakhtin, 1981: 272). If we take teaching as an example, it is always affected by centripetal and centrifugal forces in the on-going negotiation of “truths” between teachers and students. In the words of Bakhtin: “Truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born between people collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction” (Bakhtin, 1984a: 110). Similarly, the dialogical space of debate games also embodies centrifugal and centripetal forces. Thus, the election scenario of The Power Game involves centripetal elements that are mainly determined by the rules and outcomes of the game, i.e. the election is based on a limited time frame and a fixed voting procedure. Similarly, the open-ended goals, roles and resources represent centrifugal elements and create virtually endless possibilities for researching, preparing, presenting, debating and evaluating a variety of key political issues. Consequently, the actual process of enacting a game scenario involves a complex negotiation between these centrifugal/centripetal forces that are inextricably linked with the teachers and students’ game activities. In this way, the enactment of The Power Game is a form of teaching that combines different pedagogical practices (i.e. group work, web quests, student presentations) and learning resources (i.e. websites, handouts, spoken language) within the interpretive frame of the election scenario. Obviously, tensions may arise if there is too much divergence between educational goals and game goals. This means that game facilitation requires a balance between focusing too narrowly on the rules or “facts” of a game (centripetal orientation) and a focusing too broadly on the contingent possibilities and interpretations of the game scenario (centrifugal orientation). For Bakhtin, the duality of centripetal/centrifugal forces often manifests itself as a dynamic between “monological” and “dialogical” forms of discourse. Bakhtin illustrates this point with the monological discourse of the Socrates/Plato dialogues in which the teacher never learns anything new from the students, despite Socrates’ ideological claims to the contrary (Bakhtin, 1984a). Thus, discourse becomes monologised when “someone who knows and possesses the truth instructs someone who is ignorant of it and in error”, where “a thought is either affirmed or repudiated” by the authority of the teacher (Bakhtin, 1984a: 81). In contrast to this, dialogical pedagogy fosters inclusive learning environments that are able to expand upon students’ existing knowledge and collaborative construction of “truths” (Dysthe, 1996). At this point, I should clarify that Bakhtin’s term “dialogic” is both a descriptive term (all utterances are per definition dialogic as they address other utterances as parts of a chain of communication) and a normative term as dialogue is an ideal to be worked for against the forces of “monologism” (Lillis, 2003: 197-8). In this project, I am mainly interested in describing the dialogical space of debate games. At the same time, I agree with Wegerif that “one of the goals of education, perhaps the most important goal, should be dialogue as an end in itself” (Wegerif, 2006: 61).

Dialogue is the biggest impact—the process of discussion precedes any truth claim by magnifying the benefits of any discussion

Morson 4

<http://www.flt.uae.ac.ma/elhirech/baktine/0521831059.pdf#page=331>

Northwestern Professor, Prof. Morson's work ranges over a variety of areas: literary theory (especially narrative); the history of ideas, both Russian and European; a variety of literary genres (especially satire, utopia, and the novel); and his favorite writers -- Chekhov, Gogol, and, above all, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. He is especially interested in the relation of literature to philosophy.

A belief in truly dialogic ideological becoming would lead to schools that were quite different. In such schools, the mind would be populated with a complexity of voices and perspectives it had not known, and the student would learn to think with those voices, to test ideas and experiences against them, and to shape convictions that are innerly persuasive in response. This very process would be central. Students would sense that whatever word they believed to be innerly persuasive was only tentatively so: the process of dialogue continues.We must keep the conversation going, and formal education only initiates the process. The innerly persuasive discourse would not be final, but would be, like experience itself, ever incomplete and growing. As Bakhtin observes of the innerly persuasive word: Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. It is not so much interpreted by us as it is further, that is, freely, developed, applied to new material, new conditions; it enters into interanimating relationships with new contexts. . . . The semantic structure of an innerly persuasive discourse is not finite, it is open; in each of the new contexts that dialogize it, this discourse is able to reveal ever newer ways to mean. (DI, 345–6) We not only learn, we also learn to learn, and we learn to learn best when we engage in a dialogue with others and ourselves. We appropriate the world of difference, and ourselves develop new potentials. Those potentials allow us to appropriate yet more voices. Becoming becomes endless becoming. We talk, we listen, and we achieve an open-ended wisdom. Difference becomes an opportunity (see Freedman and Ball, this volume). Our world manifests the spirit that Bakhtin attributed to Dostoevsky: “nothing conclusive has yet taken place in the world, the ultimate word of the world and about the world has not yet been spoken, the world is open and free, everything is in the future and will always be in the future.”3 Such a world becomes our world within, its dialogue lives within us, and we develop the potentials of our ever-learning selves. Letmedraw some inconclusive conclusions, which may provoke dialogue. Section I of this volume, “Ideologies in Dialogue: Theoretical Considerations” and Bakhtin’s thought in general suggest that we learn best when we are actually learning to learn. We engage in dialogue with ourselves and others, and the most important thing is the value of the open-ended process itself. Section II, “Voiced, Double Voiced, and Multivoiced Discourses in Our Schools” suggests that a belief in truly dialogic ideological becoming would lead to schools that were quite different. In such schools, the mind would be populated with a complexity of voices and perspectives it had not known, and the student would learn to think with those voices, to test ideas and experiences against them, and to shape convictions that are innerly persuasive in response. Teachers would not be trying to get students to hold the right opinions but to sense the world from perspectives they would not have encountered or dismissed out of hand. Students would develop the habit of getting inside the perspectives of other groups and other people. Literature in particular is especially good at fostering such dialogic habits. Section III, “Heteroglossia in a Changing World” may invite us to learn that dialogue involves really listening to others, hearing them not as our perspective would categorize what they say, but as they themselves would categorize what they say, and only then to bring our own perspective to bear. We talk, we listen, and we achieve an open-ended wisdom. The chapters in this volume seem to suggest that we view learning as a perpetual process. That was perhaps Bakhtin’s favorite idea: that to appreciate life, or dialogue, we must see value not only in achieving this or that result, but also in recognizing that honest and open striving in a world of uncertainty and difference is itself the most important thing. What we must do is keep the conversation going.

Dialogue is critical to affirming any value—shutting down deliberation devolves into totalitarianism and reinscribes oppression

Morson 4

http://www.flt.uae.ac.ma/elhirech/baktine/0521831059.pdf#page=331

Northwestern Professor, Prof. Morson's work ranges over a variety of areas: literary theory (especially narrative); the history of ideas, both Russian and European; a variety of literary genres (especially satire, utopia, and the novel); and his favorite writers -- Chekhov, Gogol, and, above all, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. He is especially interested in the relation of literature to philosophy.

Bakhtin viewed the whole process of “ideological” (in the sense of ideas and values, however unsystematic) development as an endless dialogue. As teachers, we find it difficult to avoid a voice of authority, however much we may think of ours as the rebel’s voice, because our rebelliousness against society at large speaks in the authoritative voice of our subculture.We speak the language and thoughts of academic educators, even when we imagine we are speaking in no jargon at all, and that jargon, inaudible to us, sounds with all the overtones of authority to our students. We are so prone to think of ourselves as fighting oppression that it takes some work to realize that we ourselves may be felt as oppressive and overbearing, and that our own voice may provoke the same reactions that we feel when we hear an authoritative voice with which we disagree. So it is often helpful to think back on the great authoritative oppressors and reconstruct their self-image: helpful, but often painful. I remember, many years ago, when, as a recent student rebel and activist, I taught a course on “The Theme of the Rebel” and discovered, to my considerable chagrin, that many of the great rebels of history were the very same people as the great oppressors. There is a famous exchange between Erasmus and Luther, who hoped to bring the great Dutch humanist over to the Reformation, but Erasmus kept asking Luther how he could be so certain of so many doctrinal points. We must accept a few things to be Christians at all, Erasmus wrote, but surely beyond that there must be room for us highly fallible beings to disagree. Luther would have none of such tentativeness. He knew, he was sure. The Protestant rebels were, for a while, far more intolerant than their orthodox opponents. Often enough, the oppressors are the ones who present themselves and really think of themselves as liberators. Certainty that one knows the root cause of evil: isn’t that itself often the root cause? We know from Tsar Ivan the Terrible’s letters denouncing Prince Kurbsky, a general who escaped to Poland, that Ivan saw himself as someone who had been oppressed by noblemen as a child and pictured himself as the great rebel against traditional authority when he killed masses of people or destroyed whole towns. There is something in the nature of maximal rebellion against authority that produces ever greater intolerance, unless one is very careful. For the skills of fighting or refuting an oppressive power are not those of openness, self-skepticism, or real dialogue. In preparing for my course, I remember my dismay at reading Hitler’s Mein Kampf and discovering that his self-consciousness was precisely that of the rebel speaking in the name of oppressed Germans, and that much of his amazing appeal – otherwise so inexplicable – was to the German sense that they were rebelling victims. In our time, the Serbian Communist and nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic exploited much the same appeal. Bakhtin surely knew that Communist totalitarianism, the Gulag, and the unprecedented censorship were constructed by rebels who had come to power. His favorite writer, Dostoevsky, used to emphasize that the worst oppression comes from those who, with the rebellious psychology of “the insulted and humiliated,” have seized power – unless they have somehow cultivated the value of dialogue, as Lenin surely had not, but which Eva, in the essay by Knoeller about teaching The Autobiography of Malcolm X, surely had. Rebels often make the worst tyrants because their word, the voice they hear in their consciousness, has borrowed something crucial from the authoritative word it opposed, and perhaps exaggerated it: the aura of righteous authority. If one’s ideological becoming is understood as a struggle in which one has at last achieved the truth, one is likely to want to impose that truth with maximal authority; and rebels of the next generation may proceed in much the same way, in an ongoing spiral of intolerance.

Preparation and clash: Changing the question now leaves one side unprepared, resulting in shallow, uneducational debate. Requiring debate on a communal topic forces argument development and develops persuasive skills.

Decisionmaking skills and engagement with the state energy apparatus prevents energy technocracy and actualizes radical politics

Hager, professor of political science – Bryn Mawr College, ‘92

(Carol J., “Democratizing Technology: Citizen & State in West German Energy Politics, 1974-1990” *Polity*, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 45-70)

During this phase, the citizen initiative attempted to overcome its defensive posture and **implement an alternative politics.** The strategy of legal and technical challenge might delay or even prevent plant construction, but it would not by itself accomplish the broader goal on the legitimation dimension, i.e., democratization. Indeed, it worked against broad participation. The activists had to find a viable means of achieving change. Citizens had proved they could contribute to a **substantive policy discussion.** Now, some activists turned to the parliamentary arena as a possible forum for an energy dialogue. Until now, parliament had been conspicuously absent as a relevant policy maker, but if parliament could be reshaped and activated, citizens would have a forum in which to address the broad questions of policy-making goals and forms. They would also have an **institutional lever** with which to pry apart the bureaucracy and utility. None of the established political parties could offer an alternative program. Thus, local activists met to discuss forming their own voting list.

These discussions provoked internal dissent. Many citizen initiative members objected to the idea of forming a political party. If the problem lay in the role of parliament itself, another political party would not solve it. On the contrary, parliamentary participation was likely to destroy what political innovations the extraparliamentary movement had made. Others argued that a political party would give the movement an institutional platform from which to introduce some of the grassroots democratic political forms the groups had developed. Founding a party as the parliamentary arm of the citizen movement would allow these groups to play an active, critical role in institutionalized politics, participating in the policy debates while retaining their outside perspective. Despite the disagreements, the Alternative List for Democracy and Environmental Protection Berlin (AL) was formed in 1978 and first won seats in the Land parliament with 7.2 percent of the vote in 1981.43 The founders of the AL were encouraged by the success of newly formed local green parties in Lower Saxony and Hamburg,44 whose evolution had been very similar to that of the West Berlin citizen move-ment. Throughout the FRG, unpopular administrative decisions affect-ing local environments, generally in the form of state-sponsored indus-trial projects, prompted the development of the citizen initiative and ecology movements. The groups in turn focused constant attention on state planning "errors," calling into question not only the decisions themselves, but also the conventional forms of political decision making that produced them.45 Disgruntled citizens increasingly aimed their critique at the established political parties, in particular the federal SPD/ FDP coalition, which seemed unable to cope with the economic, social, and political problems of the 1970s. Fanned by publications such as the Club of Rome's report, "The Limits to Growth," the view spread among activists that the crisis phenomena were not merely a passing phase, but indicated instead "a long-term structural crisis, whose cause lies in the industrial-technocratic growth society itself."46 As they broadened their critique to include the political **system as a whole**, many grassroots groups found the extraparliamentary arena too restrictive. Like many in the West Berlin group, they reasoned that the necessary change would require a degree of political restructuring that could only be accomplished through their direct participation in parliamentary politics. Green/alternative parties and voting lists sprang up nationwide and began to win seats in local assemblies. The West Berlin Alternative List saw itself not as a party, but as the parliamentary arm of the citizen initiative movement. One member explains: "the starting point for alternative electoral participation was simply the notion of achieving a greater audience for [our] own ideas and thus to work in support of the extraparliamentary movements and initia-tives,"47 including non-environmentally oriented groups. The AL wanted to avoid developing structures and functions autonomous from the citizen initiative movement. Members adhered to a list of principles, such as rotation and the imperative mandate, designed to keep parliamentarians attached to the grassroots. Although their insistence on grassroots democracy often resulted in interminable heated discussions, the participants recognized the importance of experimenting with new forms of decision making, of not succumbing to the same hierarchical forms they were challenging. Some argued that the proper role of citizen initiative groups was not to represent the public in government, but to mobilize other citizens to **participate directly in politics themselves**; self-determination was the aim of their activity.48

Once in parliament, the AL proposed establishment of a temporary parliamentary commission to study energy policy, which for the first time would draw all concerned participants together in a discussion of both short-term choices and long-term goals of energy policy. With help from the SPD faction, which had been forced into the opposition by its defeat in the 1981 elections, two such commissions were created, one in 1982-83 and the other in 1984-85.49 These commissions gave the citizen activists the forum they sought to push for modernization and technical innovation in energy policy.

Although it had scaled down the proposed new plant, the utility had produced no plan to upgrade its older, more polluting facilities or to install desulfurization devices. With prodding from the energy commission, Land and utility experts began to formulate such a plan, as did the citizen initiative. By exposing administrative failings in a public setting, and **by producing a** modernization **plan itself**, the combined citizen initiative and AL forced bureaucratic authorities to push the utility for improvements. They also forced the authorities to consider different technological solutions to West Berlin's energy and environmental problems. In this way, the activists served as technological innovators. In 1983, the first energy commission submitted a list of recommendations to the Land parliament which reflected the influence of the citizen protest movement. It emphasized goals of demand reduction and efficiency, noted the value of expanded citizen participation and urged authorities to "investigate more closely the positive role citizen participation can play in achieving policy goals."50 The second energy commission was created in 1984 to discuss the possibilities for modernization and shutdown of old plants and use of new, environmentally friendlier and cheaper technologies for electricity and heat generation. Its recommendations strengthened those of the first commission.51 Despite the non-binding nature of the commissions' recommendations, the public discussion of energy policy motivated policy makers to take stronger positions in favor of environmental protection.

III. Conclusion

The West Berlin energy project eventually cleared all planning hurdles, and construction began in the early 1980s. The new plant now conforms to the increasingly stringent environmental protection requirements of the law. The project was delayed, scaled down from 1200 to 600 MW, moved to a neutral location and, unlike other BEWAG plants, equipped with modern desulfurization devices. That the new plant, which opened in winter 1988-89, is the technologically most advanced and environmen-tally sound of BEWAG's plants is due entirely to the long legal battle with the citizen initiative group, during which nearly every aspect of the original plans was changed. In addition, through the efforts of the Alter-native List (AL) in parliament, the Land government and BEWAG formulated a long sought modernization and environmental protection plan for all of the city's plants. The AL prompted the other parliamentary parties to take pollution control seriously. Throughout the FRG, energy politics evolved in a similar fashion. As Habermas claimed, underlying the **objections against particular projects** was a reaction against the administrative-economic system in general.

One author, for example, describes the emergence of two-dimensional protest against nuclear energy: The resistance against a concrete project became understood simul-taneously as resistance against the entire atomic program. Questions of energy planning, of economic growth, of understanding of democracy entered the picture. . . . Besides concern for human health, for security of conditions for human existence and protec-tion of nature arose critique of what was perceived as undemocratic planning, the "shock" of the delayed public announcement of pro-ject plans and the fear of political decision errors that would aggra-vate the problem.52 This passage supports a West Berliner's statement that the citizen initiative began with a project critique and arrived at *Systemkritik*.53 I have labeled these two aspects of the problem the public policy and legitima-tion dimensions. In the course of these conflicts, the legitimation dimen-sion emergd as the more important and in many ways the more prob-lematic.

Parliamentary Politics

In the 1970s, energy politics began to develop in the direction Offe de-scribed, with bureaucrats and protesters avoiding the parliamentary channels through which they should interact. The citizen groups them-selves, however, have to a degree reversed the slide into irrelevance of parliamentary politics. Grassroots groups overcame their defensive posture enough to begin to **formulate an alternative politics**, based upon concepts such as decision making through mutual understanding rather than technical criteria or bargaining. This new politics required new modes of interaction which the old corporatist or pluralist forms could not provide. Through the formation of green/alternative parties and voting lists and through new parliamentary commissions such as the two described in the case study, some members of grassroots groups attempted to both operate within the political system and fundamentally change it, to restore the link between bureaucracy and citizenry.

Parliamentary politics was partially revived in the eyes of West German grassroots groups as a legitimate realm of citizen participation, an outcome the theory would not predict. It is not clear, however, that strengthening the parliamentary system would be a desirable outcome for everyone. Many remain skeptical that institutions that operate as part of the "system" can offer the kind of substantive participation that grass-roots groups want. The constant tension between institutionalized politics and grassroots action emerged clearly in the recent internal debate between "fundamentalist" and "realist" wings of the Greens. Fundis wanted to keep a firm footing outside the realm of institutionalized politics. They refused to bargain with the more established parties or to join coalition governments. Realos favored participating in institutionalized politics while pressing their grassroots agenda. Only this way, they claimed, would they have a chance to implement at least some parts of their program.

This internal debate, which has never been resolved, can be interpreted in different ways. On one hand, the tension limits the appeal of green and alternative parties to the broader public, as the Greens' poor showing in the December 1990 all-German elections attests. The failure to come to agreement on basic issues can be viewed as a hazard of grass-roots democracy. The Greens, like the West Berlin citizen initiative, are opposed in principle to forcing one faction to give way to another. Disunity thus persists within the group. **On the other hand**, the tension can be understood not as a failure, but as a kind of success: grassroots politics has not been absorbed into the bureaucratized system; it retains its critical dimension, both in relation to the political system and within the groups themselves. The **lively debate** stimulated by grassroots groups and parties **keeps questions of democracy on the public agenda.**

Technical Debate

In West Berlin, the two-dimensionality of the energy issue forced citizen activists to become both participants in and critics of the policy process. In order to defeat the plant, **activists engaged in technical debate.** They won several decisions in favor of environmental protection, often **proving to be more informed than bureaucratic experts** themselves. The case study demonstrates that grassroots groups, far from impeding techno-logical advancement, can actually serve as technological innovators.

The activists' role as technical experts, while it helped them achieve some success on the policy dimension, had mixed results on the legitimation dimension. On one hand, it helped them to **challenge the legitimacy of technocratic policy making**. They turned back the Land government's attempts to displace political problems by formulating them in technical terms.54 By demonstrating the fallibility of the technical arguments, activists forced authorities to acknowledge that energy demand was a political variable, whose value at any one point was as much influenced by the choices of policy makers as by independent technical criteria.

Submission to the form and language of technical debate, however, weakened activists' attempts to introduce an alternative, goal-oriented form of decision making into the political system. Those wishing to par-ticipate in energy politics on a long-term basis have had to accede to the language of bureaucratic discussion, if not the legitimacy of bureaucratic authorities. They have helped break down bureaucratic authority but have not yet offered a viable long-term alternative to bureaucracy. In the tension between form and language, goals and procedure, the legitima-tion issue persists. At the very least, however, grassroots action challenges critical theory's notion that technical discussion is inimical to democratic politics.55 Citizen groups have raised the possibility of a dialogue that is both technically sophisticated and democratic.

In sum, although the legitimation problems which gave rise to grass-roots protest have not been resolved, citizen action has worked to counter the marginalization of parliamentary politics and the technocratic character of policy debate that Offe and Habermas identify. The West Berlin case suggests that the solutions to current legitimation problems may not require total repudiation of those things previously associated with technocracy.56

In Berlin, the citizen initiative and AL continue to search for new, more legitimate forms of organization consistent with their principles. No permanent Land parliamentary body exists to coordinate and con-solidate energy policy making.57 In the 1989 Land elections, the CDU/ FDP coalition was defeated, and the AL formed a governing coalition with the SPD. In late 1990, however, the AL withdrew from the coali-tion. It remains to be seen whether the AL will remain an effective vehi-cle for grassroots concerns, and whether the citizenry itself, now includ-ing the former East Berliners, will remain active enough to give the AL direction as united Berlin faces the formidable challenges of the 1990s. On the policy dimension, grassroots groups achieved some success. On the legitimation dimension, it is difficult to judge the results of grass-roots activism by normal standards of efficacy or success. Activists have certainly not radically restructured politics. They agree that democracy is desirable, but troublesome questions persist about the degree to which those processes that are now bureaucratically organized can and should be restructured, where grassroots democracy is possible and where bureaucracy is necessary in order to get things done. In other words, grassroots groups have tried to remedy the Weberian problem of the marginalization of politics, but it is not yet clear what the boundaries of the political realm should be. It is, however, the act of calling existing boundaries into question that keeps democracy vital. In raising alternative possibilities and encouraging citizens to take an active, critical role in their own governance, the **contribution of grassroots** environmental **groups has been significant.** As Melucci states for new social movements in general, these groups mount a "symbolic" challenge by proposing "a different way of perceiving and naming the world."58 Rochon concurs for the case of the West German peace movement, noting that its effect on the public discussion of secur-ity issues **has been tremendous**.59 The effects of the legitimation issue in the FRG are evident in increased citizen interest in areas formerly left to technical experts. Citizens have formed nationwide associations of environmental and other grassroots groups as well as alternative and green parties at all levels of government. The level of information within the groups is generally quite high, and their participation, especially in local politics, has raised the awareness and engagement of the general populace noticeably.60 **Policy concessions** and new legal provisions for citizen participation **have not quelled grassroots action.** The attempts of the established political parties to coopt "green" issues have also met with limited success. Even green parties themselves have not tapped the full potential of public support for these issues. The persistence of legitima-tion concerns, along with the growth of a culture of informed political activism, will ensure that the search continues for a space for a delibera-tive politics in modern technological society.61

Debate over a controversial point of action creates argumentative stasis—that’s key to avoid a devolution of debate into competing truth claims, which destroys the decision-making benefits of the activity

Steinberg, lecturer of communication studies – University of Miami, and Freeley, Boston based attorney who focuses on criminal, personal injury and civil rights law, ‘8

(David L. and Austin J., Argumentation and Debate: Critical Thinking for Reasoned Decision Making p. 45)

Debate is a means of settling differences, so there must be a difference of opinion or a conflict of interest before there can be a debate. If everyone is in agreement on a tact or value or policy, there is no need for debate: the matter can be settled by unanimous consent. Thus, for example, it would be pointless to attempt to debate "Resolved: That two plus two equals four," because there is simply no controversy about this statement. (Controversy is an essential prerequisite of debate. Where there is no clash of ideas, proposals, interests, or expressed positions on issues, there is no debate. In addition, debate cannot produce effective decisions without clear identification of a question or questions to be answered. For example, general argument may occur about the broad topic of illegal immigration. How many illegal immigrants are in the United States? What is the impact of illegal immigration and immigrants on our economy? What is their impact on our communities? Do they commit crimes? Do they take jobs from American workers? Do they pay taxes? Do they require social services? Is it a problem that some do not speak English? Is it the responsibility of employers to discourage illegal immigration by not hiring undocumented workers? Should they have the opportunity- to gain citizenship? Docs illegal immigration pose a security threat to our country? Do illegal immigrants do work that American workers are unwilling to do? Are their rights as workers and as human beings at risk due to their status? Are they abused by employers, law enforcement, housing, and businesses? I low are their families impacted by their status? What is the moral and philosophical obligation of a nation state to maintain its borders? Should we build a wall on the Mexican border, establish a national identification can!, or enforce existing laws against employers? Should we invite immigrants to become U.S. citizens? Surely you can think of many more concerns to be addressed by a conversation about the topic area of illegal immigration. Participation in this "debate" is likely to be emotional and intense. However, it is not likely to be productive or useful without focus on a particular question and identification of a line demarcating sides in the controversy. To be discussed and resolved effectively, controversies must be stated clearly. Vague understanding results in unfocused deliberation and poor decisions, frustration, and emotional distress, as evidenced by the failure of the United States Congress to make progress on the immigration debate during the summer of 2007.

Someone disturbed by the problem of the growing underclass of poorly educated, socially disenfranchised youths might observe, "Public schools are doing a terrible job! They are overcrowded, and many teachers are poorly qualified in their subject areas. Even the best teachers can do little more than struggle to maintain order in their classrooms." That same concerned citizen, facing a complex range of issues, might arrive at an unhelpful decision, such as "We ought to do something about this" or. worse. "It's too complicated a problem to deal with." Groups of concerned citizens worried about the state of public education could join together to express their frustrations, anger, disillusionment, and emotions regarding the schools, but without a focus for their discussions, they could easily agree about the sorry state of education without finding points of clarity or potential solutions. A gripe session would follow. But if a precise question is posed—such as "What can be done to improve public education?"—then a more profitable area of discussion is opened up simply by placing a focus on the search for a concrete solution step. One or more judgments can be phrased in the form of debate propositions, motions for parliamentary debate, or bills for legislative assemblies. The statements "Resolved: That the federal government should implement a program of charter schools in at-risk communities" and "Resolved: That the state of Florida should adopt a school voucher program" more clearly identify specific ways of dealing with educational problems in a manageable form, suitable for debate. They provide specific policies to be investigated and aid discussants in identifying points of difference.

To have a productive debate, which facilitates effective decision making by directing and placing limits on the decision to be made, the basis for argument should be clearly defined. If we merely talk about "homelessness" or "abortion" or "crime'\* or "global warming" we are likely to have an interesting discussion but not to establish profitable basis for argument. For example, the statement "Resolved: That the pen is mightier than the sword" is debatable, yet fails to provide much basis for clear argumentation. If we take this statement to mean that the written word is more effective than physical force for some purposes, we can identify a problem area: the comparative effectiveness of writing or physical force for a specific purpose.

Although we now have a general subject, we have not yet stated a problem. It is still too broad, too loosely worded to promote well-organized argument. What sort of writing are we concerned with—poems, novels, government documents, website development, advertising, or what? What does "effectiveness" mean in this context? What kind of physical force is being compared—fists, dueling swords, bazookas, nuclear weapons, or what? A more specific question might be. "Would a mutual defense treaty or a visit by our fleet be more effective in assuring Liurania of our support in a certain crisis?" The basis for argument could be phrased in a debate proposition such as "Resolved: That the United States should enter into a mutual defense treatv with Laurania." Negative advocates might oppose this proposition by arguing that fleet maneuvers would be a better solution. This is not to say that debates should completely avoid creative interpretation of the controversy by advocates, or that good debates cannot occur over competing interpretations of the controversy; in fact, these sorts of debates may be very engaging. The point is that debate is best facilitated by the guidance provided by focus on a particular point of difference, which will be outlined in the following discussion.

Decisionmaking is the most portable skill—key to all facets of life and advocacy

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(David L. and Austin J., Argumentation and Debate: Critical Thinking for Reasoned Decision Making p. 9-10)

After several days of intense debate, first the United States House of Representatives and then the U.S. Senate voted to authorize President George W. Bush to attack Iraq if Saddam Hussein refused to give up weapons of mass destruction as required by United Nations's resolutions. Debate about a possible military\* action against Iraq continued in various governmental bodies and in the public for six months, until President Bush ordered an attack on Baghdad, beginning Operation Iraqi Freedom, the military campaign against the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. He did so despite the unwillingness of the U.N. Security Council to support the military action, and in the face of significant international opposition.

Meanwhile, and perhaps equally difficult for the parties involved, a young couple deliberated over whether they should purchase a large home to accommodate their growing family or should sacrifice living space to reside in an area with better public schools; elsewhere a college sophomore reconsidered his major and a senior her choice of law school, graduate school, or a job. Each of these\* situations called for decisions to be made. Each decision maker worked hard to make well-reasoned decisions.

Decision making is a thoughtful process of choosing among a variety of options for acting or thinking. It requires that the decider make a choice. Life demands decision making. We make countless individual decisions every day. To make some of those decisions, we work hard to employ care and consideration; others seem to just happen. Couples, families, groups of friends, and coworkers come together to make choices, and decision-making homes from committees to juries to the U.S. Congress and the United Nations make decisions that impact us all. Every profession requires effective and ethical decision making, as do our school, community, and social organizations.

We all make many decisions even- day. To refinance or sell one's home, to buy a high-performance SUV or an economical hybrid car. what major to select, what to have for dinner, what candidate CO vote for. paper or plastic, all present lis with choices. Should the president deal with an international crisis through military invasion or diplomacy? How should the U.S. Congress act to address illegal immigration?

Is the defendant guilty as accused? Tlie Daily Show or the ball game? And upon what information should I rely to make my decision? Certainly some of these decisions are more consequential than others. Which amendment to vote for, what television program to watch, what course to take, which phone plan to purchase, and which diet to pursue all present unique challenges. At our best, we seek out research and data to inform our decisions. Yet even the choice of which information to attend to requires decision making. In 2006, TIMI: magazine named YOU its "Person of the Year." Congratulations! Its selection was based on the participation not of ''great men" in the creation of history, but rather on the contributions of a community of anonymous participants in the evolution of information. Through blogs. online networking. You Tube. Facebook, MySpace, Wikipedia, and many other "wikis," knowledge and "truth" are created from the bottom up, bypassing the authoritarian control of newspeople. academics, and publishers. We have access to infinite quantities of information, but how do we sort through it and select the best information for our needs?

The ability of every decision maker to make good, reasoned, and ethical decisions relies heavily upon their ability to think critically. Critical thinking enables one to break argumentation down to its component parts in order to evaluate its relative validity and strength. Critical thinkers are better users of information, as well as better advocates.

Colleges and universities expect their students to develop their critical thinking skills and may require students to take designated courses to that end. The importance and value of such study is widely recognized.

Much of the most significant communication of our lives is conducted in the form of debates. These may take place in intrapersonal communications, in which we weigh the pros and cons of an important decision in our own minds, or they may take place in interpersonal communications, in which we listen to arguments intended to influence our decision or participate in exchanges to influence the decisions of others.

Our success or failure in life is largely determined by our ability to make wise decisions for ourselves and to influence the decisions of others in ways that are beneficial to us. Much of our significant, purposeful activity is concerned with making decisions. Whether to join a campus organization, go to graduate school, accept a job oiler, buy a car or house, move to another city, invest in a certain stock, or vote for Garcia—these are just a few of the thousands of decisions we may have to make. Often, intelligent self-interest or a sense of responsibility will require us to win the support of others. We may want a scholarship or a particular job for ourselves, a customer for out product, or a vote for our favored political candidate.

## 1NC ‘Production’

#### We affirm the elimination of the restriction on energy extraction imposed by the closed economy of the resolution.

The affirmative’s deployment of “production” reifies a deadly linguistic spillover that glorifies calculative, economic thought—this is uniquely true of energy usage. The more accurate term is extraction.

Catton ’73

(William Jr., Well-known American sociologist, former professor of sociology at Wash. State., “EXTENSIONAL ORIENTATION AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM,” <http://www.generalsemantics.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/articles/etc/63-3-catton.pdf>, AM)

The semantic malfunction that accounts for the president’s enormously inadequate recognition of “stark fact” was pointed out a generation ago. William Vogt said, “One of the chief causes of our ecologic imbalance is our **economic thinking**. We identify the symbolic dollar with real wealth.... We extract oil, and iron ore, and fine timber, and canvasbacks, and call it production [p.146].” (15) The word “production” was not unusual. Most words have multiple meanings. Context usually sorts them out. This, and the fact that the different meanings of a given word are usually related, normally enables communication to proceed, but there is a risk of spill-over of one meaning into an inappropriate context. When this happens, the consequences may or may not be serious; in the present instance they have been **deadly.** “Producing” means to the farmer “growing a crop,” transformation of material substances (soil, water, air) and energy (sunlight) by horticultural methods. “Producing” something in the manufacturing sense also means giving form, shape, or being to a product — making something by assembling components or by transforming raw materials. For the dramatist, “producing” a play refers to presentation of a work of art to an audience. It involves stage props, actors, scripts, costumes; but the word in this context has less reference to the manipulation of substances except as symbols. Use of the term to refer to symbolic manipulation becomes even sharper in a mathematical context, where to “produce” the side of a parallelogram means to project or extend it. This is the top of the abstraction ladder; no transformation of any substance is implied at all. When a consumer of manufactured goods, farm output, artistic performances, or mathematical knowledge “produces” coins from his pocket to pay for a purchase, the meaning is just below the top of the abstraction ladder. The coins are tangible, but he did not make them. “Produce” has become synonymous in this context with reveal or extract. It is easy to see how the mathematical and artistic meanings of the word are related to the meaning in a context of farming or manufacturing, but the difference is also apparent and it is unlikely that the word will be misunderstood in any of these contexts. However, it is not widely appreciated that companies or nations which “produce” crude oil (or natural gas, or coal) do so in the coin-from-pocket sense. They extract a substance from the earth. The substance was formed long before by processes of nature. Being carbon-rich and therefore oxidizable, it is rich in releasable energy. The so-called “producer,” however, did not put the energy into the substance or put the substance into the ground. To use the word “production” to denote extraction has seemed plausible because firms that extract such substances from the earth are as involved with engineering and commerce as any manufacturing concern. But this usage in reference to a process of extraction has enabled us to suppose the process could be expanded as freely as manufacturing and perpetuated as indefinitely as farming. From supposing what was untrue, we have come to grief. All of us, from petroleum prospector to consumer to president, have acted as if the rate at which we could afford to spend our coins was limited only by the rate at which we could extract them from our pockets. By ignoring other constraints we have implicitly assumed that it does not matter by what complex processes this wealth was stored away, at what rate the accumulation took place, or how these processes may be articulated with other natural processes that affect us.

Clinging to outdated word-maps like “production” guarantees violent resource conflict between the haves and have-nots.

Catton ’73

(William Jr., Well-known American sociologist, former professor of sociology at Wash. State., “EXTENSIONAL ORIENTATION AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM, <http://www.generalsemantics.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/articles/etc/63-3-catton.pdf>, AM)

Humanitarian attitudes to which many of us have been proud to adhere have caused us to imagine sometimes that conflicts of interest between nations have no real basis in nature, that they arise only from chauvinism or ethnocentrism, or from the historic ramifications of previous (and equally unnecessary) conflicts. These noble sentiments have made it hard for us to face a fact that should now be apparent — there is a real conflict of interest between nations already devouring resources at anything like 200,000 times their rate of accumulation and those nations not yet privileged to do so but already taught to covet the privilege. Struggles to keep on taking the earth’s resources, to acquire the ability to take them, and to keep them from being taken, will doubtless intensify human conflict in the decades ahead. Obsolete word-maps blind us to the reasons for this and will make a bad situation worse as long as we cling to them.

Extinction  
**Heinberg 3**

**(Richard, New College of California, The Party’s Over: Oil, War and the Fate of Industrial Societies, p. 230)**

While the US has not declared war on any nation since 1945, it has nevertheless bombed or invaded a total of 19 countries and stationed troops, or engaged in direct or indirect military action, in dozens of others. During the Cold War, the US military apparatus grew exponentially, ostensibly in response to the threat posed by an archrival: the Soviet Union. But after the end of the Cold War the American military and intelligence establishments did not shrink in scale to any appreciable degree. Rather, their implicit agenda — the protection of global resource interests emerged as the semi-explicit justification for their continued existence. With resource hegemony came challenges from nations or sub-national groups opposing that hegemony. But the immensity of US military might ensured that such challenges would be overwhelmingly asymmetrical. US strategists labeled such challenges “terrorism” — a term with a definition malleable enough to be applicable to any threat from any potential enemy, foreign or domestic, while never referring to any violent action on the part of the US, its agents, or its allies. This policy puts the **US on a collision course** with the rest of the world. If all-out competition is pursued with the available weapons of awesome power, the result could be the destruction not just of industrial civilization, but of humanity and most of the biosphere.

## 1NC Waste

#### Excess expenditure denies the way waste manifests itself on urban spaces – a reckless move that maintains the ontological wholeness of American modernity

Barnes 11

Thomas James Barnes Graduate Program in English A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1232&context=etd>, AM

American cities are like badger holes, ringed with trash—all of them—surrounded by piles of wrecked and rusting automobiles, and almost smothered with rubbish. Everything we use comes in boxes, cartons, bins, the so-called packaging we love so much. The mountains of things we throw away are much greater than the things we use. In this, if in no other way, we can see the wild and reckless exuberance of our production, and waste seems to be the index. Driving along I thought how in France or Italy every item of these thrown-out things would have been saved and used for something. This is not said in criticism of one system or the other but I do wonder whether there will come a time when we can no longer afford our wastefulness—chemical wastes in the rivers, metal wastes everywhere, and atomic wastes buried deep in the earth or sunk in the sea. When an Indian village became too deep in its own filth, the inhabitants moved. And we have no place to which to move. (John Steinbeck, Travels With Charley: In Search of America 25) In the above passage, American author John Steinbeck describes American postwar cities as suffering from a kind of donut-syndrome of public litter, in which the unused and unvalued objects of city life that have been discarded have come to litter the landscapes surrounding the metropolitan core. On his search for America, the aging author finds myriad examples of the rusted and wasted remainders of postwar consumer culture, the residues of the packaging industry—a real-world landscape reminiscent of the photographs of Charles Fenno Jacobs. A travelogue, and not fiction, the book aims to document its author’s impressions of the places and scenes as he encountered them. This landscape of trash becomes for Steinbeck a multifarious sign of a particularly American excess, and waste an index of reckless production and consumption habits. As he brings these garbaged landscapes and mountains of trash into relief, he gestures towards an American future in which the continual accumulation of waste materials, including and perhaps especially nuclear waste, will eventually overcome American spaces. Pointing to a view of material accumulation similar to later concepts of sustainability, he notes that while the Native Americans had the ability to move on when accumulations of waste and rubbish reached unlivable levels, modern Americans have no place left to go. With the American geographical frontier all but exhausted, the piles of waste and trash begin not only to represent a current era wrought with a public litter crises and organizations like Keep America Beautiful mobilized to clean it up, but a coming future in which waste begins to consume those forces that have produced and attempted to dispose of it.

#### The pseudo-denial of trash is the root cause of extinction. We create possibilities of our extinction in order to MASTER our own mortality. This links BOTH to trash and their claims to SOLVE apocalyptic scenarios

Kennedy 07

An Ontology of Trash, Greg Kennedy State Univ of New York Pr (January 11, 2007)

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Such an interpretation is as partial as it is plausible. It touches but half the matter. Disposable commodities, whose convenience purportedly saves time, would seem the reasonable response to the sharp abridgement of time implied by our extinction. Time's imperilled state would seem to justify our obsession for trying to save it. When faced with imminent destruction, prudence dictates living in the moment, which consistently includes consuming momentary objects. That the threat of extinction motivates the production of disposables is itself an intriguing thesis, one that satisfies certain psychological questions. Nevertheless the interpretation is ontologically insufficient. Dissatisfaction with this interpretation arises when explanation shifts from the being of commodities to the being of extinction. Stating that extinction brings forth the phenomenon of trash simply buries the basic ontological problem one level deeper. How does the phenomenon of extinction come into being? What, in other words, produces human extinction and can account for its dismal present influence? The troubling answer to these unsettling questions is ourselves. For the most part we assume a kind of anticipatory responsibility for human extinction. We know that our nuclear weapons, indeed even our nonmilitary nuclear generators, could snuff out all life on the planet many times over. International political protocols, such as the Kyoto Accord, acknowledge that disaster awaits our current rate and scale of consumption. Hollywood capitalizes on the underlying apprehension of a scientific people towards the audacity of their specialists' research and ingenuity. Such dubious accomplishments as the discovery of biological weapons make it painfully clear that, whether accidentally or intentionally, our curiosity could well prove fatal. The human imagination has a penchant for the cataclysmic. Even in his infancy, civilized man suspected his end was nigh. Long before Greece gave birth to metaphysics, doom overshadowed the working days of Hesiod, who entertained small hope for the future of his species: I wish I were not counted among the fifth race of men, This is the race of iron. Neither day nor night Will give them rest as they waste away with toil And pain. Growing cares will be given them by the gods, And their lot will be a blend of good and bad. Zeus will destroy this race of mortals When children are born gray at the temples.2 Plagues, famines, meteorological catastrophes, atmospheric upheavals, and sundry other natural disasters have long put the continuance of human habitation on planet earth into question. The intrinsic vulnerability of the individual person plays out on the aggregate level of humanity as a perpetual state of species-precariousness. Human extinction has always been a possibility. But only in the twentieth century did human extinction become a phenomenon. When does possibility become phenomenon? What differentiates our perilous situation from the no more desirable circumstances of Hesiod's ferric fellows? Both groups face potential destruction, and, in fact, the ancient situation, on its own interpretation, fares much worse than the modern. Whereas our perpetuity at times looks doubtful, the surety of a god guarantees the annihilation of Hesiod's. There is something of importance in this. We admit to the imminence of apocalyptic danger, yet we believe that fate lies in our own hands. If the planet and the human spccies do in fact need saving, we are the ones to save it. We presume that it is up to us to divert disaster and postpone indefinitely the actualization of the potentiality of our destruction. Such notions of grandeur have sent us chasing ludicrous fantasies like the colonization of Mars. Scientists zealously and with no small expense continue their philanthropic construction of the defensive missile system designed to deflect wayward comets. We have already begun hatching plans of escape from our solar system before its tired old sun betrays us and sputters out. All this busyness bespeaks our tacit assumption that any species that winds up extinct deserves its fate for not adapting quickly, boldly, and cunningly enough. Should we ever come to meet our end, we little doubt but that it will be by our own hand. Whether through nuclear warfare, environmental despoilage, or some gross scientific miscalculation, we feel that our demise will bear our signature. We claim sole authorship over it, assuming, not without arrogance, that nothing less than ourselves has the strength to defeat us. If allowed to happen, human extinction will be the final product to roll off the assembly line of our global industrial-military' complex.

#### This psychological alienation denies our connection to nature, enables militarism and escalates to extinction

Caputi ‘1

Jane, Professor of Women's Studies and Communications at Florida Atlantic University. She is the author of The Age of Sex Crime and Gossips, Gorgons, and Crones: The Fates of the Earth. She also collaborated with Mary Daly on Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language. Currently, she is working on a new book: Cunctipotence: On Female Potency and Possibility, “On the Lap of Necessity: A Mythic Reading of Teresa Brennan's Energetics Philosophy,” Hypatia 16.2 (2001) 1-26, AM

What might we make of Haraway's ascription of a desirable "cleanness" to the cyborg? The neo-colonial/militaristic/patriarchal culture, with its seemingly limitless capacity to generate toxins (material and psychic) and dump these onto others, is characteristically obsessed with promoting itself as the "light" and the "clean." High-tech and often futuristic spaces--in ads and other such iconic images for nuclear power plants, cloning, and biotechnologies--conventionally are presented as sterile places with "clean" functional lines and a total absence of color. There is no acknowledgment of the carnage and waste that is necessarily behind this façade. In Tar Baby (1981), Toni Morrison scathingly points to a colonizing culture's characteristic movement: "to defecate over a whole people and come there to live and defecate some more. . . . That was the sole lesson of their world: how to make waste, how to make machines that made more waste, how to make wasteful products, how to talk waste, how to study waste, how to design waste, how to cure people who were sickened by waste so that they could be well enough to endure it, how to mobilize waste, legalize waste and how to despise the culture that lived in cloth houses and shit on the ground far away from where they ate" (1981, 175).13 With the inversion and denial typical of the foundational fantasy, the colonizers imagine themselves as clean, advanced, white, pure, and progressive and those they subjugate, exploit, foist their psychophysical waste upon, and depend upon for sustenance as foul, dirty, smelly, dark, and backward. A key component of the foundational fantasy is a desire to poison, to piss and shit on the source--technologically, verbally, literally, and virtually. This superficial fixation on cleanness and lightness masks the colonial and technological obsession with its own waste and a concomitant denial and projection, resulting in the production of unprecedented toxins--nuclear waste, hydroflorocarbons, dioxin and so on. Behind the facade of every shiny consumer "good" is a "slimy bad by-product" (Sofia 1984, 46), bound and poisonous fixities, a strip mine, a deforestation, a wasted species, a pile of nuclear droppings (Caputi 1993, 223-24). [End Page 16] Consuming the Source/Feeding the Ego This ego-driven world, Brennan writes, characteristically refuses to acknowledge indebtedness to and dependence on the mother and, correspondingly, "on the extraordinary creativity of the 'God as Nature'" (1993, 194). This parallel factor makes the "feminist concern with symbolizing divinity in maternal terms an imperative" (1993, 194). A world in denial of responsibility to the Mother is one in which Being does not readily display itself. This world, founded upon reversal and imitation, is a world of virtual corpses that take even such everyday and familiar forms as TVs, VCRs, sport utility vehicles, and computers as well as dehumanizing images, objectifications, and stereotypes. Again, turning to the world of popular culture, we find an extraordinarily vivid enactment of the foundational fantasy. It is one of a series of television commercials for Radio Shack (November 2000). These all feature a pretend married couple, ex-football star Howie Long and actress Teri Hatcher, and all revolve around the jock making a joke of his "wife." In one, Hatcher, dressed all in white, invites Long, garbed all in black, into a stark, all-white space. She seats him in a throne-like black chair and swivels it around so that he can focus upon the large black television screen and speakers. She powers a remote control, switching on the TV, hands him a drink and popcorn, and then remains standing behind him. Long watches an outer-space machine fight scene from a Star Warsish movie. Zap, zap, zap go the laser beams. There is nothing alive anywhere in sight. He visibly glazes over, thoroughly engrossed in the fantasy. But, he smirks at her, one thing is missing, "a cup holder." Without even turning to look at her, he reaches back and deposits his cup into her outstretched hand. In this 30-second hallucination, the original (represented by the woman) seems to be utterly controlled. The instantaneously gratified ego (represented by the man) reposes in a completely de-natured environment, happily and perhaps permanently lost in the infantile fantasy. Of course, the real matrix is still behind him, supporting him, feeding him, making him possible. But he can't face her or his dependence. Instead, he treats her as a serviceable object and depository. And, in the fantasy, she doesn't even object to her abjection. It's "Mommie Poo Pants" all over again. While this scenario masquerades as a utopia of total consumer fulfillment, it actually is a vision of profound dissociation, sensory deprivation, and disaster. In a balanced world, one guided by respect for Death, an appreciation of the necessary energetic connections between living beings and forces, and respect for the need to check egocentric greed and self-indulgence, consumer items and images would not be fetishized and any production would be kept at a sustainable level.14 Yet, in this bizarre, artificial world, these fixities not only are endlessly reproduced, but themselves masquerade as the Source. For example, [End Page 17] a 1999 ad for computer software available through the Internet company Amazon.com displays a giant computer screen with these words writ large: "Feed Me." "Feeding" the computer is an elaborate means of feeding the foundational fantasy, nourishing the ever rapacious ego. This, of course, is the exact inverse of the original pattern whereby humans should nourish the Source, give energy back to the Mother. Poet, novelist, and essayist Linda Hogan (1995) writes that, estranged from the land, humans are lonely and alienated because we "have been split from what we could nurture, what could fill us." Still, she continues, many of us do "desire to see the world intact, to step outside our emptiness and remember the strong currents that pass between humans and the rest of nature, currents that are the felt voice of land, heard in the cells of the body" (1995, 84). Hogan is not being metaphorical here. It is through participating in these currents, that Brennan understands as those very real energetic transactions between living beings and forces, that we not only attain nourishment, energy, and ecstasy but ourselves feed the life force. This worldview and practice requires adult accountability and the abandonment of infantile fantasies. It recognizes that humans are not simple dependents on the original but participants in a complex interdependence. It is our responsibility to nurture the Earth and the elemental, to feed the green as it feeds us. Numerous ancient and still vibrant world traditions guide humans to nourish the gods, to "give back" to the Earth.15 Our job as humans, according to Hogan, is to offer prayer, which we can understand as energetic communication with the life force (1995, 81). It is also through our simple life processes, including sexual exuberance, excretion, respiration, and final expiration, that we feed the primal source--for example, by replenishing the soil as our waste and bodies decompose. Holy/Shit At the outset of this essay, I indicated that I would return to the consideration of a maternal concept that challenged the foundational fantasy. A radical symbolization of the original/Mother and a meditation on the cycling of energies, wastes, and affects cohere in one controversial recent artwork. In November 1999, Mayor Rudy Giuliani of New York City threatened to close down the Brooklyn Museum due to its presentation of the "Sensation" exhibit. All of the items in the show, works from young British artists, concerned the body--waste, sex, shit, death, and decay. The most inflammatory to Giuliani was a painting by Chris Ofili, The Holy Virgin Mary. It figures a standing Madonna with a flower-like form, dressed in a flowing blue robe. She is black, with pronounced African features. One eye gazes into those of her viewers, the other is cosmically remote. Surrounding the Madonna are cut-outs of buttocks from pornographic magazines. Moreover, the painting rests on two mounds of elephant dung, [End Page 18] on which, with colored pins, the name Holy Virgin Mary is spelled out. Her right breast is exposed; it too is composed of a blob of dung with a spiral shape painted on it. A golden aura radiates around her form, enhanced by the addition of glitter and resin to the paint. Here, the invisible energetic patterns are made visible, an alchemical transmutation (from shit to gold) is invoked. Ofili is of African ancestry. He indicates that his work is anti-colonialist, that he deliberately plays with racist expectations of Black art, and that the elephant dung is a reference to its use in some African art as well as a way of connecting his paintings to the Earth. Enormous angst shadowed the exhibit. Protestors prayed outside daily. In late December 1999, one elderly man threw white paint onto the Madonna's face and shoulders. His wife told the New York Times that her husband is a devout Roman Catholic who is opposed to abortion. He considered the painting blasphemous and attacked it to "try to clean it" (McFadden 1999, A29). Brennan observes: "The splitting that secures subjective identity is replayed at all the levels on which the fantasy is acted out" (1993, 194). As we have seen, the mother, including the sacred mother, is viciously divided into two. In the Catholic tradition, the Virgin Mary is identified with purity, asexuality, and life, while Eve is identified with sin, sex, dirt, and death. The Virgin Mary dogmatically is declared to be a product of "Immaculate Conception," that is, she was conceived without original sin. In this perverse fantasy, the Great Mother herself is rendered spotless, clean, utterly severed from the soil and mud, and, we might note with some astonishment, from the original. She is purified, as Mary Daly observes, of autonomous be-ing (1984, 104). Despite her dogmatic whitewashing, the Virgin Mary still ineluctably suggests the presence of the ancient Great Mother Goddesses. Even in the Catholic tradition, the continuing presence of the dark Earth/Mother survives, often in the figure of a Black Madonna (for example, the Virgins of Montserrat, Notre-Dame-aux-Neiges, and Czestochowa) (Begg 1986; Birnbaum 1993). The Dark Mother, be she Kali, Tlaelcuani, The Ephesian Diana, or the "dirty" Virgin of Ofili's painting, is the original unpurified, unrefined Thought/Sex/Source/Shit Goddess.16 She unifies the realms: sex and mind, matter and energy, heaven and Earth, food and waste, life and death.17 Swearing fealty only to their fantasy of a virginal, immaculate Madonna, Spanish Catholic conquistadors in Mexico deplored and defaced the "obscene" Goddesses they encountered, such as Tlazolteotl. In her aspect as confessor she also was know as Tlaelcuani, the "Filth Eater" (Cisneros 1996, 49). The Goddess bore this name because, like Kali, she is able to absorb the sins, ego, corruption, disease, and waste of human beings. Tlaelcuani is equally a metaphysical Mother; her core icon is a naked woman squatting and giving birth (Cisneros 1996, 49). Like Kali and other mythic Mothers, Talzolteotl/Tlaelcuani takes filth (pollutions of all types, psychical as well as material) back into [End Page 19] herself and cosmically recycles it, transforming and energizing the cosmos, and rebirthing matter. The exploitative "dumping" strategy of the ego that Brennan theorizes, whereby the masculine subject, aided by social inequality, dumps his negative affect into a feminine object who recycles it, keeping him invigorated, is a perverse imitation if not a thwarting of the transmutational powers and processes of the Original/Mother. Returning to Morrison's Tar Baby, we find an extraordinarily revealing confrontation between the white colonizer Valerian, his wife Margaret, and their servants, Sydney and Ondine, a Black island husband and wife. Valerian is rude and condescending to Ondine. Sydney, speaking up for his wife, asserts that Ondine should receive the same respect as Margaret. Ondine interrupts the conversation to tell all sorts of truths. She effectively defends against Valerian's and Margaret's attempted "spirit murder" by naming the profound inversion that governs the exploitative relationship and claiming the honor she deserves: "More . . . I should have more respect [than Margaret]. I am the one who cleans up her shit!" (Morrison 1981, 178). Brennan suggests that when the subject refuses its appointed role "to impose a negative image on the other . . . resist[s] and reverse[s] moments of objectifying aggression . . . these decisions may reverberate throughout the cosmos, like Lorenzo's butterfly" (1993, 188). So too, the aggressed against "object," like Ondine, can talk back, refusing to carry the waste and sustain the fantasy, becoming subject and insisting that all understand the world from her standpoint. Such resistance, a kind of reverse "dumping" engaged in here by Ondine, also releases psychical energies that previously have been bound. These everyday resistances powerfully "perturb the established pathways which otherwise guide and limit understanding" (Brennan 1997, 283). In the same way, realizing the significance of a symbol whose meaning has been forgotten or discredited, or discerning a Background presence that has been frozen into a stereotype,18 releases bound energy back into the cosmic flow. Feminist poets and philosophers--for example, Muriel Rukeyser (1994, 217), Mary Daly (1973; 1978), Luce Irigaray (1985), bell hooks (1989; 1992), and Gloria Anzaldúa (1987, 66-75)--have long insisted that naming, truth-telling, talking back, breaking silence, oppositional gazing, the decoding of myths and symbols, and transformative mythmaking can cause the world to "split open" (Rukeyser 1994, 217). Brennan's elegant theory affirms these central propositions of feminist thought and provides a framework of energetics to understand how, precisely, this happens. If we attend to Ondine's words in Tar Baby, we recognize the voice of Necessity. So too, we can absorb her glowing, pulsing presence when gazing upon the beauty and mystery of Ofili's Holy Virgin Mary. This Madonna overturns and renders moot what Brennan identifies as the splitting at the core of the [End Page 20] foundational fantasy. The realms of dark and light are connected; there is no separation of sex, the Earth, and even dung from the Holy. Yet I also suspect an accompanying admonition. At this advanced stage of the ego's era, perversely, all esteem, power, and gain is given to those who, overtly or collaboratively, deny dependence upon nature, produce toxic waste, ravage the land, bind energy into fixities, engage in exploitative dumping, cannibalize the Earth, and (suicidally) deny Death. Is this why the bared breast of the Virgin is made of dung? Has the "infant" finally succeeded in poisoning the breast with his own excrement? Or is there a more original interpretation? Let's get down. Let's be real. Ultimately, humans are not capable of poisoning the source, the "Ultimate monistic stuff from which everything emerges" (Dalmiya 2000, 134). We can, however, poison ourselves. Fatally. As Ofili's Virgin suggests, perhaps even She grows weary of the ego's assault, immaturity, and disrespect. Change direction, She warns. Grow down, clean up, or you might soon be eating shit.

#### Without comprehending the ontological and existential failure embodied in trash, any scientific or rational endeavor will only exacerbate ecological destruction and global systemic violence. We must instead PAUSE and INTERRUPT the progress toward elimination of waste, to instead EXAMINE its ontology

Kennedy 07

An Ontology of Trash, Greg Kennedy State Univ of New York Pr (January 11, 2007) 185-186

If psychoanalysis accomplishes any good in a person's life, it does so by operating on the conviction that this person cannot change in herself what she does not understand. The relation between understanding and change extends beyond the human psyche. Without a proper understanding of disposability, all our scientific bustling to develop new technologies to combat trash and potential extinction serves only to aggravate the perceived problems. The single goal of this study was to prepare our field of understanding wherein the seeds of change might naturally grow. To understand trash, and thus also the plight of a disposable world, we must become thoughtfully compassionate. First, we must feel the violence suffered by all beings under the autocratic rule of technology7. Yet the attendant shame and sadness must eventually give way to hope and humility7. When we can look into the mirror of trash and see not simply our own selfishness and failure, but also an opportunity7 for edification and transformation, only then can we turn away from the phenomenon and step toward a world of beings more commensurate with and true to our mortal existence. We then can give up the ill-fitting mantle of a lord and god; we can resume our natural place of service. By this return we do not at all demean ourselves. We simply quit the cosmic masquerade in which we have made of our human selves a ridiculous sight. The irony is seldom relished that those who most adamantly denounce the slightest form of technological determinism are also those who most stridently cry "we can't go back." The idea of reducing the current and rising level of technological sophistication and dependency seems to them so impossibly absurd that they do not deign even to entertain it. Science and technology7 must advance, they contend, and so imply that linear progress is the inflexible nature of science. Technology7 is our tool, yet we can do little besides watch it break out of the human scale and balloon beyond all proportion suited to its proper use. The tacit logic of their argument is as simple as it is flawed: we can't go back because technology7 pushes us forward. When you mistakenly turn down a blind alley and come to a dead end, you enter a situation of limited practical options. Either you can sit down, passive, frustrated, and trapped, to wait for the possibility7 that one day the way might clear of its own accord or you can retrace your steps, exit the cul-du-sac, and set off in a different direction. Prudence counsels for the latter alternative. Waiting for the phenomenon of human extinction to dissipate while we linger in the dead end of technological consumption is futile. It only7 speeds our destruction. Sanity7 itself screams "turn around." Thoreau's imperative, once simply morally7 intelligent, has become categorical: Simplify, simplify, simplify. The balkers who find technological determinism so offensive a concept are also those who elevate the status quo to a sacrament. Any exhortation of change in a direction not perfectly parallel to the trajectory of technology7 is rebuffed with the generic-brand objection: "too much, too soon." Our society7, much less our economy, they cry, could not possibly withstand such precipitous alterations. If we must voluntarily simplify, so be it, but slowly, and better tomorrow7. After all, nothing happens overnight. Thus, they adapt St. Augustine's infamous pray7er: "Lord, make me chaste, only not yet." Here again, mechanical thinking blinds us to the distortions of our own perspective. Throughout the entire twentieth century, vast, unimaginable changes repeatedly occurred all but overnight. Consider only the automobile's cometary rise to unconditional world autonomy. In less than two generations a single device has utterly transformed the face of the earth, the structure of societal life, and every level of economic production. The car is a veritable thunderclap in history. Yet very few have cautioned "too fast." On the contrary, the yearly extension of speedometers speaks only: "not fast enough." However, the astounding malleability of the human race to configure itself almost instantly to the rolling shape of the automobile gives us hope. If such transformations can take place so easily with little to no philosophical thought or awareness on our part, then we have some reason to anticipate great and redemptive change with the epiphany of understanding. Such changes we cannot now in any detail foresee. fortunately, prophecy is not among the philosopher's proper tasks. What we are called to do is to remain open through our questioning to the changes that present themselves. We must always bear in mind and cherish the humility that reminds us of our essential roles as receivers, stewards, and beneficiaries of Being. Yet reception does not equal passive acceptance; it involves continual active practice. To remain open, we must empty ourselves of the superfluities that clog our understanding. We need to practice simplicity—what prudent Christians have long called poverty7, and Buddhists detachment. Let me repeat that the imperative to simplify does not command us to go grubbing in the earth with sticks for edible roots and rodents. All of us do not have to flee the city, much less the world, to squat instead on a rocky patch of land and wring a subsistence out of it. We must, however, become careful, mindful, and meditatively compassionate. Trash presents us with an opportunity to comprehend the peril of our own existential and ontological failure. When we understand how contrary to our mortal essence is our technological treatment of worldly beings, convenient commodities will lose much of their luster. They will cease to comfort and sedate us in their old, advertised manner. Their a priori disposal will begin to alarm us, for therein we have caught a glimpse of our own insensitive rejection of ourselves.

## Case

#### Our monologue arguments prove Bataille’s politics snowball into fascism—even the best of intentions empirically yield violent exclusion and their link turns are junk.

Heinamaki ‘9

Elisa, University of Helsinki, “Politics of the Sacred: Eliade, Bataille and the Fascination of Fascism,” Distinktion No. 19 · 2009: 59–80, AM

How, then, do the above views of Bataille and Eliade bear upon analyses of the fascist politico-religious movements? As for Bataille, the texts written in the context of Collège de sociologie address this question via the question of power. Power, for Bataille, is a special instance of the modifications of collective affective experience. In his analysis, the primary requisite of power is the concentration of these affects in a single person – a chief, a leader, a king, whom the ambiguous collective affects render sacred. This concentration as such is not yet power, however. There is power when an individual manages to channel the affects directed at him or her to his or her own benefit or, by extension, to the benefit of the institution around him or her. In order to secure this benefit, it is necessary to turn violence or at least the threat thereof against those who by their ambiguous regard made power possible in the first place. Thus, Bataille defines power formally as ‘the institutional merging of the sacred force and military strength’ (1970d: 342; 1988c: 132). This, for Bataille, is a fateful modification of the ‘overall movement’ animating the community. As we remember, for Bataille the temporary suspension of taboos, giving in to the fascination of death and impurity, is an essential moment of this movement. In his eyes, power represents an attempt to put an end to this creative and destructive transgression. Bataille’s discussion of power is directed towards a diagnosis of the political realities of his day. In his analysis, he cursorily traces a historical development that has as its basic trend the evacuation of the transgressive sacred from the social world. What we are left with, he states, is an empty shell of military domination. And in point of fact, he is led to equate military domination in its core form, emptied of all religious energy, with fascist domination. The essence of fascism would thus be sheer outward aggression. In unequivocal terms, Bataille condemns ‘the nationalist stupidity’ (1970d: 353; 1988d: 149). This analysis of fascism is disappointing; it hardly throws light on its success. Besides, the analysis is surprising, given that Bataille had already proposed an analysis of ‘the psychological structure of fascism’ in the incisive article by the same name. The terms of that earlier article being compatible with the analysis of power in the Collège writings, it seems justifiable to combine those views for an alternative Bataillian view on fascism. In this line of thinking, the centre of fascism would be the cult of the leader that has become ‘the transcendent object of collective affectivity’ (Bataille, 1970b: 363). The collective affects confer sacred status upon the leader who, however, abuses his position to oppress the people. Returning to Bataille’s text on ‘the psychological structure of fascism’ brings to the fore an ambiguity that remains subterranean in the Collège texts. In the fascism article, Bataille defines the fascist leader as a personification of the pure sacred. In the sociological texts, the ambiguity of pure and impure is in the essential core of the sacred. The personification of the sacred, resulting in power, is regarded as an external deviation from this core. And still, this phenomenon is presented as an instance of the dynamic transformation from impure to pure (Bataille,1970d: 130; 1988c: 138). How is the ‘pure’ side of the sacred really defined? How is it differentiated from the concentration of power? The ambiguity is emblematic of the probing style of the (unfinished) Collège texts; emblematic also, we may think, of the real difficulty in distinguishing ‘good’ and ‘bad’ crystallizations of the sacred. Despite this ambiguity of terminology, it is possible to discern the two ‘models’, as it were, that Bataille proposes as the basic formations of human religious life. The first is the transgressive religious movement, giving free rein to affective energies and allowing a contact with the fascinating and terrifying death. Transgression may be followed by inevitable crystallizations of limits, but these are only re-instituted to be liquidated again. The second one, modification by power, presents this periodic movement with a halt. Transgression is thwarted, the pure and the impure are becoming reified into immobile entities, the pure being the sacred norm that can be used to legitimize violence and aggression, the impure being rejected as untouchable. The first one of these models is the one that Bataille advocates; the second he scorns. There is, however, yet a further ambiguity in Bataille’s understanding of the sacred and its modifications. As the essential differentiating feature between the two models above, Bataille suggests the direction of violence and the attitude towards death. The primary, transgressive encounter with the sacred is characterized, according to Bataille, by consent to inner violence – it means transgressing inner limits. The modification by power is defined by directing aggression outward. As the sacred is akin to death, one is led to imagine the inner violence as the exceeding of personal limits that occurs in the presence of death – typically, in funerary ritual gatherings. Directing the threat of death against others, on the other hand, would be a primitive strategy of power. But things are not so neatly delineated. In Bataille’s discussion of power, his personal distaste for the alienation of sacred energy leads to an invocation of ‘the spirit of tragedy’. It is this spirit, restoring the primary religious attitude, that Bataille calls forth as an antidote to fascism. And it seems that the spirit of tragedy is that of sacrifice. For Bataille, it is not funerary ritual but sacrifice that best exemplifies the momentary suspension of taboos and the transgressive contact with death. The senseless sense of sacrifice, as Bataille sees it, is – to be sure – the transgression of inner limits. But in its basic form, it also necessitates deliberate violation of the limits of others. This, Bataille muses, is also the exemplary way out of the alienation of the sacred in an instance of power: if power has been concentrated in the hands of a person, putting that person to death is the liberating crime that restores the free course of affective energy (see Bataille, 1970d: 346; 1988c: 346). Thus, for Bataille, crime is the safeguard against alienation. This means, however, that the sacred is not innocent of violence against others and of inflicting death – as long as one does not spare oneself either, as long as one really faces the horror, as long as one is not after any kind of profit. To sum up, in Bataille’s texts, we find a critical analysis of fascism as a formation that abuses – and eventually tries to extinguish – sacred power for the benefit of a person and, by extension, the institution around him or her. At the same time, with his fascination with death and sacrifice, Bataille is flirting with realities that were in fact at the core of the fascist animation. Bataille thinks he is providing a crucial distinction between inner and outer violence; yet the fact that outward acts of violence are part of sacrifice seems to go without saying. It was precisely this combination of inner and outer violence, crystallized in the celebration of sacrifice, that was central to Romanian fascist mysticism.18 In Romania, an emphasis on inner violence did not prevent but was fatefully intermingled with an escalation of murderous acts of violence directed against others (notably Jews). Bataille may well be sincerely opposed to such violent exclusion of wretched, ‘impure’ others.19 What he does not see is how difficult it is to maintain the distinction between the good (transgressive) sacred and bad power, once he has fixed crime as the centre of the sacred.

The aff is a double-turn—sacrifice for energy production codes the 1AC in terms of utility which contradicts their calls for pure excess.

#### Their politics are impossible to actualize—it’s a zero-sum trade-off between Bataille’s politics and engagement.

Dollimore, Sociology – U Sussex, ’98

(Jonathan, Death, Desire and Loss in Western Culture, googlebooks)

It is here (hat this increasingly influential writer manifests that fundamental conflict between, on the one hand, the erotics of mutability and death and, on the other, the commitment to social praxis. What I have not mentioned so far is that Bataille, especially in The Accursed Share, aspired to develop a new political economy from his theory of life as non-productive expenditure. That book runs to three volumes, yet nowhere in it does there emerge a plausible account of what society might be like if reorganized in accord with the truth of life as expenditure. And how could there, if Bataille is even half correct in thinking that 'death, the rupture of the discontinuous individualities to which we cleave in terror, stands there before us more real than life itself\* (Erotism, p. 19)? At the opening of Cultural Materialism: Theory and Practice, Scott Wilson announces that a 'revitalized, left-wing Marxist project' must engage with the ideas of Bataille - 'one of the most important and most neglected thinkers of the twentieth century\* (p. xi). In that Wilson is unable to substantiate this claim, he replicates Bataillc's own problem, failing to address let alone resolve the conflict between praxis and (annihilating) desire which recurs through Bataillc's writing and is apparent in remarks like the following: Men committed to political struggle will never be able to yield to the truth of eroticism. Erotic activity always takes place at the expense of the forces committed to their combat. (Accursed Share, II.191) The problem is at least recognized in a remarkable book by Nick Land which really does live up to its title, The Thirst for Annihilation. Land derives from Bataille the view that all political opposition to fascism is only ever its timid counter-image: The thought that there might be a political response to fascism makes me laugh. Shall we set out our little fascism against their big one? Organize ourselves, become disciplined, maybe we could make ourselves some smart uniforms and stomp about in the street? Politics is the last great sentimental indulgence of mankind, and it has never achieved anything except a deeper idiocy, more work, more repression ... (p. 197) In a sense Land is right, at least to this extent: the paradoxical nature of a radical, liberating praxis is that it quite probably requires in the achievement of its aims as much if not more repression than does the maintenance of the repressive society it seeks to change. No realistic assessment of the cost and difficulty of large-scale social transformation can avoid this fact. It is just one aspect of the tragedy inherent in revolutionary endeavour. Any aesthetic, political or erotic project which privileges expenditure, and in particular the undoing or the subversion of repression above all else, is a non-starter in terms of radical social change.

**We must transition to a sustainable society—delay causes extinction in the biosphere.**

**Barry ‘8**

Glen Barry, Ph.D. in Land Resources from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, MS in Conservation Biology and Sustainable Development from Madison, Founder and President of Ecological Internet, January 14, 2008, “Economic Collapse and Global Ecology,” online: <http://www.countercurrents.org/barry140108.htm>)

Humanity and the Earth are faced with an enormous conundrum -- sufficient climate policies enjoy political support only in times of rapid economic growth. Yet this growth is the primary factor driving greenhouse gas emissions and other environmental ills. The growth machine has pushed the planet well beyond its ecological carrying capacity, and unless constrained, can **only** lead to **human extinction** and an end to complex life. With every economic downturn, like the one now looming in the United States, it becomes more difficult and less likely that policy sufficient to ensure global ecological sustainability will be embraced. This essay explores the possibility that from a biocentric viewpoint of needs for long-term global ecological, economic and social sustainability; it would be better for the economic collapse to come now rather than later. Economic growth is a deadly disease upon the Earth, with capitalism as its most virulent strain. Throw-away consumption and explosive population growth are made possible by using up fossil fuels and destroying ecosystems. Holiday shopping numbers are covered by media in the same breath as Arctic ice melt, ignoring their deep connection. Exponential economic growth destroys ecosystems and pushes the biosphere closer to failure. Humanity has proven itself unwilling and unable to address climate change and other environmental threats with necessary haste and ambition. Action on coal, forests, population, renewable energy and emission reductions could be taken now at net benefit to the economy. Yet, the losers -- primarily fossil fuel industries and their bought oligarchy -- successfully resist futures not dependent upon their deadly products. Perpetual economic growth, and necessary climate and other ecological policies, **are fundamentally incompatible**. Global ecological sustainability depends critically upon establishing a steady state economy, whereby production is right-sized to not diminish natural capital. Whole industries like coal and natural forest logging will be eliminated even as new opportunities emerge in solar energy and environmental restoration. This critical transition to both economic and ecological sustainability is simply not happening on any scale. The challenge is how to carry out necessary environmental policies even as economic growth ends and consumption plunges. The natural response is going to be liquidation of even more life-giving ecosystems, and jettisoning of climate policies, to vainly try to maintain high growth and personal consumption. We know that humanity must reduce greenhouse gas emissions by at least 80% over coming decades. How will this and other necessary climate mitigation strategies be maintained during years of economic downturns, resource wars, reasonable demands for equitable consumption, and frankly, the weather being more pleasant in some places? If efforts to reduce emissions and move to a steady state economy fail; the **collapse of ecological, economic and social systems is assured**. Bright greens take the continued existence of a habitable Earth with viable, sustainable populations of all species including humans as the ultimate truth and the meaning of life. Whether this is possible in a time of economic collapse is crucially dependent upon whether enough ecosystems and resources remain post collapse to allow humanity to recover and reconstitute sustainable, relocalized societies. It may be better for the Earth and humanity's future that economic collapse comes sooner rather than later, while more ecosystems and opportunities to return to nature's fold exist. Economic collapse will be deeply wrenching -- part Great Depression, part African famine. There will be starvation and civil strife, and a long period of suffering and turmoil. Many will be killed as balance returns to the Earth. Most people have forgotten how to grow food and that their identity is more than what they own. Yet there is some justice, in that those who have lived most lightly upon the land will have an easier time of it, even as those super-consumers living in massive cities finally learn where their food comes from and that ecology is the meaning of life. Economic collapse now means humanity and the Earth ultimately survive to prosper again. Human suffering -- already the norm for many, but hitting the currently materially affluent -- **is inevitable** given the degree to which the planet's carrying capacity has been exceeded. We are a couple decades at most away from societal strife of a much greater magnitude as the Earth's biosphere fails. Humanity can take the bitter medicine now, and recover while emerging better for it; or our total collapse can be a final, fatal death swoon.

Sustainability is key to solve environmental action

Byrne et al 12

<http://www.ceep.udel.edu/energy/publications/2012_es_Reformulation_of_Success_in_the_Climate_Change_Negotiations.pdf>

Envisioning a reformulation¶ Instead, CEEP argues for the adoption of principles¶ of ecological justice as the basis of acting on issues¶ of climate change. In CEEP’s approach, ecological¶ justice for climate action concerns the simultaneous¶ pursuit of ecological sustainability and social justice¶ through international policy. In this, we argue for the¶ reformulation of success away from the imposition of¶ emission reduction targets achieved through marketbased¶ policies towards country-context specific¶ sustainable development objectives. In this, we view¶ it as a prerequisite that developed countries take¶ domestic mitigation responsibility while supporting¶ developing countries’ sustainable development¶ efforts. We identify developments in the international¶ community that together provide a new foundation¶ for action and new mechanisms and processes to¶ formulate such action, and renewed motivation and¶ momentum for such action. Momentum for change is¶ provided by the Rio+20 worldwide review of progress¶ towards sustainable development.

Try or die—only communal energy prevents ecological catastrophe and ensures sustainable alternative energy

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Shedding the institutions that created the prospect of climate change will not happen on the watch of the green titans or extra large nuclear power. The modern cornucopian political economy fueled by abundant, carbon-free energy machines will, in fact, risk the possibility of climate change **continually** because of the core properties of the modern institutional design. Although the abundant energy machine originated and matured in the United States and industrial Europe, the logic of unending growth built into the modern model has promoted its global spread. Today, both extra-large nuclear power and industrial-scale renewables are at the forefront of the trillion dollar clean energy technology development and transfer process envisioned for the globe (International Energy Agency, 2006). Nuclear energy is seen as offering unlimited potential for rapid development in India and China, while large-scale renewables seamlessly fit into existing international financial aid schemes. A burgeoning renewables industry boasts economic opportunities in standardization and certification for delivering green titans to developing countries. If institutional change is to occur, if energy-society relations are to be transformed, and if the threat of global warming **is to be earnestly addressed,** we will have to design and experiment with alternatives other than these. Given the global character of the challenge, cookie cutter counter-strategies are certain to fail. Often, outside the box alternatives may not be sensible in the modern context. Like a paradigm shift, we need ideas, and actions guided by them, which fail in one context (here, specifically, the context of energy obesity) in order hopefully to support the appearance of a new context. The concept and practice of a sustainable energy utility is offered in this spirit.11 The sustainable energy utility (**SEU**) involves the creation of an institution with the explicit purpose of enabling communities to reduce and eventually eliminate use of obese energy resources and reliance on obese energy organizations. It is formed as a nonprofit organization to support commons energy development and management. Unlike its for-profit contemporaries, it has no financial or other interest in commodification of energy, ecological, or social relations; its success lies wholly in the creation of **shared benefits and responsibilities**. The SEU is not a panacea nor is it a blueprint for fixing our energy-carbon problems. **It is a strategy to change energy-ecology-society relations.** It may not work, but we believe it is worth the effort to invent and pursue the possibility. There should be little doubt about the difficulty of the task. Regimes develop through the interplay of technology and society over time, rather than through prescribed programs. They alter history and then seek to prevent its change, except in ways that bolster regime power. Of specific importance here, obese utilities will not simply cede political and economic success to an antithetical institution—the SEU. That is why change is so hard to realize. Shifting a society towards a new energy regime requires diverse actors working in tandem, across all areas of regime influence. Economic models, political will, social norm development, all these things must be shifted, rather than pulled, from the current paradigm. The SEU constructs energy–ecology-society relations as phenomena of a commons governance regime. It **explicitly reframes** the preeminent obese energy regime organization—the energy utility—in **the antithetical context** of using less energy. And, when energy use is needed, it relies on renewable sources available to and therefore governable by the community of users (rather than the titan technology approach of governance by producers). In contrast to the cornucopian strategy of expanding inputs in an effort to endlessly feed the obese regime, the SEU focuses on techniques and social arrangements which can serve the aims of sustainability and equity. It combines political and economic change for the purpose of building a postmodern energy commons; that is, a form of political economy that relies on **commons, rather than commodity,** relations for its evolution. Specifically, it uses the ideas of a commonwealth economy and a community trust to achieve the goal of postmodern energy sustainability. The meanings of commonwealth, community trust, and commons, relevant to a SEU, are explored below.