# RND 2 v. Southwestern

## 1NC

## 1st Off

### T-All 1NC

#### First- Interpretation: the affirmative can only affect the six listed fuels in the topic:

1. One or more of the following refers to the items in the group

Google dictionary, no date [http://dev.w3.org/html5/markup/aria/terminology.html]

(one or more) The "+" (plus sign) symbol after an element name, pattern name, or group indicates that is must occur at least once, and can occur more than once.

#### That’s limited to the six fuels listed- CEDA no date:

Resolved: The United States Federal Government should substantially reduce restrictions on, and/or substantially increase financial incentives for, energy production in the United States of one or more of the following: coal, crude oil, natural gas, nuclear power, solar power, wind power.

#### Second- Violation- the plan says ‘all existing energy’:

#### Third, vote negative:

#### Extra-T is a voting issue because it creates an infinite limit to additional planks that can be added- the aff always wins because they’ll have more specific and unpredictable link turns in that world

#### Limits- their version of the topic is literally boundless- justifies all other renewables, biofuels, hydropower, thermal and heat, OTEC, psychic energy, social energy, biopower, fusion energy, wave and tidal, etc- that is impossible to prepare for.

#### Education- such a giant limit forces us to go for generics or impact turn the case- kills restrictions and incentives topic focus.

#### Fourth, Topicality is a prima facie burden and should be evaluated through competing interpretations

## 2nd Off

### T Restrictions/Incentives

#### First, interpretation- the affirmative is limited to direct financial contributions to encourage energy or in directly removing legal prohibitions:

#### a- Reduce means to bring down

Random House Dictionary 9

<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/reduce>.

to bring down to a smaller extent, size, amount, number, etc.

#### b- Restrictions are policy instruments—either statutory or regulatory—that directly limit activity

Free Legal Dictionary, accessed 12

[http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/restriction //wyo-tjc]

restriction n. any limitation on activity, by statute, regulation or contract provision. In multi-unit real estate developments, condominium and cooperative housing projects, managed by homeowners' associations or similar organizations are usually required by state law to impose restrictions on use. Thus, the restrictions are part of the "covenants, conditions and restrictions," intended to enhance the use of common facilities and property, recorded and incorporated into the title of each owner.

#### c- Increase is to make larger

American Heritage Dictionary 1[www.answers.com/topic/increase ,2/1/200]

To become greater or larger. To multiply; reproduce.

#### d- Financial incentives for energy require a direct expenditure or loss of revenue in order to stimulate production

Gielecki et al 1

[Mark, Fred Mayes, and Lawrence Prete, Report Date: February 2001, “Incentives, Mandates, and

Government Programs for Promoting Renewable Energy”, p. <http://lobby.la.psu.edu/_107th/128_PURPA/Agency_Activities/EIA/Incentive_Mandates_and_Government.htm> //wyo-tjc]

Over the years, incentives and mandates for renewable energy have been used to advance different energy policies, such as ensuring energy security or promoting environmentally benign energy sources. Renewable energy has beneficial attributes, such as low emissions and replenishable energy supply, that are not fully reflected in the market price. Accordingly, governments have used a variety of programs to promote renewable energy resources, technologies, and renewable-based transportation fuels. (1) This paper discusses: (1) financial incentives and regulatory mandates used by Federal and State governments and Federal research and development (R&D), (2), (3) and (2) their effectiveness in promoting renewables.

A financial incentive is defined in this report as providing one or more of the following benefits:

A transfer of economic resources by the Government to the buyer or seller of a good or service that has the effect of reducing the price paid, or, increasing the price received, respectively;

Reducing the cost of production of the good or service; or,

Creating or expanding a market for producers.

The intended effect of a financial incentive is to increase the production or consumption of the good or service over what it otherwise would have been without the incentive. Examples of financial incentives are: tax credits, production payments, trust funds, and low-cost loans. Research and development is included as a support program because its effect is to decrease cost, thus enhancing the commercial viability of the good(s) provided. (4)

#### Third, vote negative:

#### The affirmative is anti-topical- they increase restrictions on private energy production by corporations which causes a net decrease in production- that means the neg doesn’t’ even get our bottom of the barrel production advantages.

#### Any production that is spurred is an indirect inducement and would be an interp of the topic that has no limit because indirect incentives or restrictions are boundless.

#### Fourth, T is a voter and err negative. There are already six fuels that all trade off with each other and two mechanisms that are bidirectional

## 3rd Off

#### Immigration will pass- momentum

Martin 3/22/13

[Gary Martin, reporter, 3/22/13, GOP developments on immigration reform give hope of eventual legislative action, <http://www.mysanantonio.com/opinion/columnists/gary_martin/article/GOP-developments-on-immigration-reform-give-hope-4377241.php#ixzz2OKhxtIMN>, uwyo//amp]

Several developments on Capitol Hill this week led many to believe Congress will pass a comprehensive immigration reform bill this year. Those developments involved traditional Republican opposition to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. First, the Republican National Committee issued a report that recommended the GOP embrace comprehensive reform — which commonly denotes citizenship. Second was the support for eventual citizenship by GOP presidential hopeful Rand Paul, although tortured in his explanation. Paul's nuanced speech to the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce was careful to avoid the actual word “citizenship,” which conservatives often claim to be “amnesty.” All this was watched intently by Democrats, who voiced disbelief at how fast the GOP position on immigration reform has shifted since the November election.

#### PC key to keep both sides at the table-healthcare reform fight proves

Sink Feb. 19th

[Justin Sink, Feb. 19th, 2013, Obama seeks to repair rift with Republicans on immigration reform, http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/283877-obama-seeks-to-repair-rift-with-with-gop-on-immigration#ixzz2LazOnYVM ,uwyo//amp]

A senior Democratic congressional aide close to the bipartisan immigration talks downplayed the criticism from Rubio and other Republicans about the leaked White House bill. The aide suggested it was all part of the complicated political dance that must take place to keep both liberals and conservatives at the table on immigration reform. “I don’t think it hurts the process at all,” the aide said. “It shows the president is serious, and he’s not going to wait forever for Congress to act.” The White House in recent weeks has made a public show of demonstrating that it has learned the lessons of its fight for healthcare reform in 2009. Then, Obama faced criticism for allowing bipartisan Senate talks to drag on for too long, wasting political momentum and allowing opposition to escalate into a firestorm. Now, the White House has offered repeated public reminders that it is prepared to submit its own bill if Congress dawdles, and the leak of parts of it over the weekend could serve as a spur for that process.“I wouldn’t say we were surprised” by the leak, the Democratic aide said. The aide did voice regret that the published proposal did not encompass the entirety of the principles Obama has laid out on immigration reform, which include enhancements to border security and reforms to the legal immigration system. “It’s unfortunate that only a piece of it was leaked out,” the aide said. Janet Murguía, head of the National Council of La Raza, an Hispanic civil-rights group, said there’s “some legitimacy” to Rubio’s criticisms of Obama. But she was quick to add that it’s also “legitimate and appropriate” for the president to remind lawmakers that he’ll push his own reforms if Congress fails to reach a deal on its own. She characterized the partisan barbs as “healthy tensions” that put pressure on both sides to secure comprehensive reforms this year.

#### Every energy policy is polarizing and saps capital

Christine Todd Whitman 12, CASEnergy Co-Chair, Former EPA Administrator and New Jersey Governor, “Nuclear Power Garners Bipartisan Support”, August 13, http://energy.nationaljournal.com/2012/08/finding-the-sweet-spot-biparti.php?rss=1&utm\_source=feedburner&utm\_medium=feed&utm\_campaign=Feed%3A+njgroup-energy+%28Energy+%26+Environment+Experts--Q+with+Answer+Previews%29#2237728

It’s clear from the debate around the merits and drawbacks of various electricity and fuel sources that energy policy can be a highly polarizing topic. In fact, it’s arguable that there is no energy option that holds a truly bipartisan appeal: Every form of energy faces pockets of dissent. This makes crafting universally accepted energy policy particularly challenging.

#### Immigration key to solves US-India relations

**LA Times**, 11/9/**20**12 (Other countries eagerly await U.S. immigration reform, p. http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world\_now/2012/11/us-immigration-reform-eagerly-awaited-by-source-countries.html)

"Comprehensive immigration reform will see expansion of skilled labor visas," predicted B. Lindsay Lowell, director of policy studies for the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University. A former research chief for the congressionally appointed Commission on Immigration Reform, Lowell said he expects to see at least a fivefold increase in the number of highly skilled labor visas that would provide "a significant shot in the arm for India and China." There is widespread consensus among economists and academics that skilled migration fosters new trade and business relationships between countries and enhances links to the global economy, Lowell said. "Countries like India and China weigh the opportunities of business abroad from their expats with the possibility of brain drain, and I think they still see the immigration opportunity as a bigger plus than not," he said.

#### US/India relations averts South Asian nuclear war

Schaffer, Spring **200**2 (Teresita – Director of the South Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Security, Washington Quarterly, p. Lexis)

Washington's increased interest in India since the late 1990s reflects India's economic expansion and position as Asia's newest rising power. New Delhi, for its part, is adjusting to the end of the Cold War. As a result, both giant democracies see that they can benefit by closer cooperation. For Washington, the advantages include a wider network of friends in Asia at a time when the region is changing rapidly, as well as a stronger position from which to help calm possible future nuclear tensions in the region. Enhanced trade and investment benefit both countries and are a prerequisite for improved U.S. relations with India. For India, the country's ambition to assume a stronger leadership role in the world and to maintain an economy that lifts its people out of poverty depends critically on good relations with the United States.

## 4th Off

#### Text: The workers should seize all existing energy for their democratic control.

#### Cannot use state, all forms of politics must be rethought to escape from the current bloody planetary order

Agamben, 98

(Giorgio, philosopher and bad ass, “Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.” 1998, Stanford University Press, MB)

Carl Schmitt's definition of sovereignty ("Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception") became a commonplace even before there was any understanding that what was at issue in it was nothing less than the limit concept of the doctrine of law and the State, in which sovereignty borders (since every limit concept is always the limit between two concepts) on the sphere of life and becomes indistinguishable from it. As long as the form of the State constituted the fundamental horizon of all communal life and the political, religious, juridical, and economic doctrines that sustained this form were still strong, this "most extreme sphere" could not truly come to light. The problem of sovereignty was reduced to the question of who within the political order was invested with certain powers, and the very threshold of the political order itself was never called into question. Today, now that the great State structures have entered into a process of dissolution and the emergency has, as Walter Benjamin foresaw, become the rule, the time is ripe to place the problem of the originary structure and limits of the form of the State in a new perspective. The weakness of anarchist and Marxian critiques of the State was precisely to have not caught sight of this structure and thus to have quickly left the arcanum imperii'aside, as if it had no substance outside of the simulacra and. the ideologies invoked to justify it. But one ends up identifying with an enemy whose structure one does not understand, and the theory of the State (and in particular of the state of exception, which is to say, of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the transitional phase leading to the stateless society) is the reef on which the revolutions of our century have been shipwrecked.This book, which was originally conceived as a response to the bloody mystification of a new planetary order, therefore had to reckon with problems—first of all that of the sacredness of life— which the author had not, in the beginning, foreseen. In the course of the undertaking, however, it became clear that one cannot, in such an area, accept as a guarantee any of the notions that the social sciences (from jurisprudence to anthropology) thought they had defined or presupposed as evident, and that many of these notions demanded—in the urgency of catastrophe—to be revised without reserve.

#### The aff prevents recognition of the violence created by the global system-

MESZAROS (Prof. Emeritus @ Univ. Sussex) 1995

[Istavan, Beyond Capital: Towards a Theory of Transition, p. 65// wyo]

The modern state as the comprehensive political command structure of capital — is both the necessary prerequisite for the transformation of capital’s at first fragmented units into a viable system, and the overall framework for the full articulation and maintenance of the latter as a global system. In this fundamental sense the state on account of its constitutive and permanently sustaining role must be understood as an integral part of capital’s material ground itself. Or it contributes in a substantive way not only to the formation and consolidation of all of the major reproductive structures of society but also to their continued functioning. However, the close interrelationship holds also when viewed from the other side. For the modern state itself is quite inconceivable without capital as its social metabolic foundation. This makes the material reproductive structures of the capital system the necessary condition not only for the original constitution but also for the continued survival (and appropriate historical transformations) of the modern state in all its dimensions. These reproductive structures extend their Impact over everything, from the strictly material/repressive instruments cid juridical institutions of the state all the way to the most mediated ideological and political theorizations of its raison d’être and claimed legitimacy. It is on account of this reciprocal determination that we must speak of a close match between the social metabolic ground of the capital system on the one hand, and the modern state as the totalizing political command structure of the established productive and reproductive order on the other. For socialists this is a most uncomfortable and challenging reciprocity. It puts into relief the sobering fact that any intervention in the political domain — even when it envisages the radical overthrow of the capitalist state — can have only a very limited impact in the realization of the socialist project. And the other way round, the corollary of the same sobering fact is that, precisely because socialists have to confront the power of capital’s self-sustaining reciprocity under its fundamental dimensions, it should be never forgotten or ignored - although the tragedy of seventy years (if Soviet experience is that it had been willfully ignored — that there can be no chance of overcoming the power of capital without remaining faithful to the Marxian concern with the ‘withering away’ of the state.

#### Using the state allows biopolitical domination- this makes extermination and nuclear annihilation inevitable

Butler 93

Judith Butler, Johns Hopkins University, “Sexual Inversions,” Foucault and the Critique of Institutions. 1993; mac//sam

He warned us, wisely, that "we must not think that by saying yes to sex, one says no to power; on the contrary, one tracks along the course laid out by the general deployment of sexuality. It is the agency of sex that we must break away from."" And that is right, for sex does not cause AIDS. There are discursive and institutional regimes that regulate and punish sexuality, laying down tracks that will not save us, indeed, that may lead rather quickly to our demise. One ought not to think that by saying yes to power, one says no to death, for death can be not the limit of power but its very aim. Foucault clearly saw that death could become an aim of politics, for he argued that war itself had become sublimated into politics: "the force relationships that for a long time had found expression in war, in every form of warfare, gradually became invested in the order of political power."" He writes in The History of Sexuality: 'One might say that the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death."" When he claims that "sex is worth dying for,' he means that preserving the regime of 'sex" is worth dying for and that political wars are waged so that populations and their reproduction can be secured. "Wars are no longer waged in the name of a sovereign who must be defended, they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity: massacres have become vital."" He then adds: the principle underlying the tactics of battle-that one has to be capable of killing in order to go on living-has become the principle that defines the strategy of the states. But the existence in question is no longer the juridical existence of sovereignty; at stake is the biological existence of a population. If genocide is indeed the dream of modern powers, this is not because of a recent return of the ancient right to kill; it is because power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population." It is not only that modern states have the capacity to destroy one another through nuclear arsenals but that "populations" have become the objects of war, and it is in the name of whole "populations" that ostensibly defensive wars are waged. In a sense, Foucault knew full well that death had not ceased to be the goal of 'modern" states but only that the aim of annihilation is achieved through more subtle means. In the political decisions that administer the scientific, technological, and social resources to respond to the epidemic of AIDS, the parameters of that crisis are insidiously circumscribed; the lives to be saved are insidiously demarcated from those who will be left to die; "innocent' victims are separated from those who "deserve it." But this demarcation is, of course, largely implicit, for modern power 'administers" life in part through the silent withdrawal of its resources. In this way politics can achieve the goal of death, can target its own population, under the very sign of the administration of life. This "inversion" of power performs the work of death under the signs of life, scientific progress, technological advance, that is, under the signs that ostensibly promise the preservation of life. And because this kind of dissimulated killing takes place through the public, discursive production of a scientific community in competition to find a cure, working under difficult conditions, victims of economic scarcity, the question of how little is allocated and how poorly it is directed can hardly be heard The technological aim to preserve life, then, becomes the silent sanction by Which this dissimulated killing silently proceeds. We must not think that by saying yes to technology, we say no to death, for there is always the question of how and for what aim that technology is produced. The deeper offense is surely to be found in the claim that it is the failure neither of government nor of science but of "sex" itself that continues this unfathomable procession of death.

## 5th Off

#### Liberalism is a life enjoyed because of the industrialized world- it promotes a life of abundance and

Mulligana 11

[Shane Mulligana, Owner of Radicle Consulting, Director, Past President- Community Renewable Energy Waterloo, Previous Assistant professor of Concordia in IR on energy power and security, Postdoctoral Researcher – Energy at University of Waterloo June 2008 – May 2010 (2 years)Centre for Global Governance, Environmental Politics, Volume 20, Issue 5, 2011, “Special Issue: The politics of energy: Challenges for a sustainable future”, Taylor and Francis Online, \\wyo-bb]

By many measures, the quality of life enjoyed in the industrialized world is unprecedented in human history. It is a life of abundance, and this abundance enables a wide range of luxuries, and a wide range of choices, from the shoes we wear to the cars we drive to our places of work and residence. But perhaps most importantly, it frees many of us from the burdens of providing for human needs through physical human labor. It is difficult to overestimate the degree to which the use of energy and the manipulation of materials has reduced the crushing burdens of physical work, lessened the concentration of human effort on food production, freed men for other pursuits, and extended to millions a wealth and opportunity formerly enjoyed by the smallest elite. (Ward and Dubos 1972, p. 16) Thanks to the availability of fossil energy, we live like kings; indeed, Ward and Dubos estimated in 1972 that the average American has at his/her disposal the labor of some 400 ‘energy slaves’ (a term coined by Buckminster Fuller to express the ‘muscle power’ embodied in modern machines). Much as with human slavery, the institution of energy slavery enables a degree of personal freedom for the masters that would be impossible in its absence. These personal freedoms are not only embodied in the life expectations of many westerners, but also in the political ideology of liberalism. This is more than a coincidence, as liberalism is itself an ideology of abundance. In his seminal text, William Ophuls (1977, p. 9) suggests that ‘virtually all the philosophies, values, and institutions typical of modern society are the luxuriant fruit of an era of apparently endless abundance’, and argues that these cannot be expected to last beyond those conditions. Under conditions of ecological scarcity the individual, possessing an inalienable right to pursue happiness as he defines it and exercising his liberty in a basically laissez-faire system, will inevitably produce the ruin of the commons. Accordingly, the individualistic basis of society, the concept of inalienable rights, the purely self-defined pursuit of happiness, liberty as maximum freedom of action, and laissez-faire itself all become problematic, requiring major modification or even abandonment if we wish to avert inexorable environmental degradation and eventual extinction as a civilization. Certainly, democracy as we know it cannot conceivably survive. (Ophuls 1977, p. 9) While Ophuls' argument may tend toward hyperbole, it represents a widely held view that what is necessary in order to avert catastrophe is the heavy hand of enlightened rulers. (One might argue, of course, that the loss of liberties, and of democracy as we know it, represents another kind of catastrophe.) The related question is whether governing institutions will be compelled to implement a range of coercive measures, and to curtail personal freedoms, in the interests of maintaining some degree of order under ecological constraints (Hardin 1968). In a more profound sense, perhaps, the impending peaks in fossil fuel supply are not only a geophysical constraint, but also a psychological one. That is, we have long known that fossil fuels are limited, but we have continued to act as if they are not. Moreover, we have by and large pretended that the decline cannot follow – as John Peet (1992, p. 155) has noted: the standard politico-economic world view denies the possibility that humankind will not be able to achieve any technological feat that may be needed [to overcome energy constraints], and in the meantime, resources are being used without any thought for the future. (Emphasis added) There is of course no end of debate on the inevitability of energy descent, and no shortage of alternative energy proposals, some of which are widely seen to offer a (more or less) easy way out of an energy dilemma. The history of cold fusion, for example, is a modern day quest for the perpetual motion machine (although under a different physic). Whether breeder reactors, shale oil, or large-scale solar collection can provide a way forth on the scale (and in the timeline) needed remains to be seen, but it is hardly reassuring that, even while certain technologies have been known for decades, it has not been economically feasible to develop them (Smil 2008). The ability to deny that an era of human history is ending, then, may be one of the more disturbing losses of the coming energy descent.

#### Worsening environmental crisis turns all of their impacts, but embracing eco-authoritarianism unites humanity and solves all war

Shearman ‘7

[David, Emeritus professor of medicine at Adelaide University, Secretary of Doctors for the Environment Australia, and an Independent Assessor on the IPCC; and Joseph Wayne Smith, lawyer and philosopher with a research interest in environmentalism, 2007, The Climate Change Challenge and the Failure of Democracy, p. 85-86//wyo-hdm]

Our position differs from Wolff and other anarchists also insofar as we reject the principle of autonomy, the foundation belief of liberalism. It is the argument of this work that liberalism has essentially overdosed on freedom and liberty. It is true that freedom and liberty are important values, but such values are by no means fundamental or ultimate values. These values are far down the list of what we believe to be core values based upon an ecological philosophy of humanity: survival and the integrity of ecological systems. Without such values, values such as freedom and autonomy make no sense at all. If one is not living, one cannot be free. Indeed liberal freedom essentially presupposes the idea of a sustainable life for otherwise the only freedom that the liberal social world would have would be to perish in a polluted environment. The issue of values calls into question the Western view of the world or perhaps more specifically the viewpoint that originates from Anglo Saxon development. It is significant that the “clash of civilizations” thinking espoused by Samuel Huntington, a precursor of the neoconservatives, has generated much debate and support. Huntington’s analysis involves potential conflict between “Western universalism, Muslim militancy and Chinese assertion.”18 The divisions are based on cultural inheritance. It is a world in which enemies are essential for peoples seeking identity and where the most severe conflicts lie at the points where the major civilizations of the world clash. Hopefully this viewpoint will be superseded, for humanity no longer has time for the indulgence of irrational hates. The important clash will not be of civilizations but of values. The fault line cuts across all civilizations. It is a clash of values between the conservatives and the consumers. The latter are well described in this book. They rule the world economically, and their thinking excludes true care for the future of the world. The conservatives at present are a powerless polyglot of scientists, environmentalists, farming and subsistence communities, and peoples of various religious faiths, including a minority of right-wing creationists who think that God wishes the world to be cared for. They recognize the environmental perils and place their banishment as the preeminent task of humanity. The fight for minds, not liberal democracy, will determine the future of the world’s population. If conservative thought prevails it may unite humanity in common cause and heal the cultural fault lines.

#### Alternative- We should embrace a steady state government with the ethic of ecology.

#### An ethic of ecology is the only cure for the modern hubris, all ism’s and the destruction of the environment

Ophuls 11

[William Ophuls (Patrick Ophuls), Served for eight years as a Foreign Service Officer in Washington, Abidjan, and Tokyo before receiving a PhD in political science from Yale University, Taught at Northwestern University, he became an independent scholar and author, Pg 29, The Book-“Plato’s Revenge: Politics in the Age of Ecology”, \\wyo-bb]

This will to power over nature is the essence of modern hubris — an overweening end that is pursued by excessively rational means and driven by irrational urges. Ren é Descartes and Francis Bacon, two of the principal authors of the modern way of life, regarded nature as a hostile power to be dominated without ruth or scruple. 5 Sigmund Freud, the last great defender of the Enlightenment (despite his own rediscovery of the irrational), put his fi nger on the neurotic origin and character of this hostility: “ Against the dreaded external world one can only defend oneself by . . . going over to the attack against nature and subjecting ~~her~~ to the human will. ” 6 So modern hubris originates in irrational dread and manifests as an unlimited war against nature for wealth, power, and dominion. Preserving the environment is thus the lesser part of the problem. Industrial civilization must indeed stop abusing nature and depleting resources before it follows previous civilizations in committing ecological suicide. 7 But the only real solution is to put an end to the hubris itself by dissolving the dread-driven, neurotic hostility to nature that fuels the urge for domination. Ecology is the surest cure for modern hubris. To understand ecology is to see that the goal of domination is impossible — in fact, mad — and that the crude means we have employed to this end are destroying us. To understand ecology is also to see that some of the most vaunted achievements of modern life — our extraordinary agricultural productivity, the dazzling wonders of technological medicine, and, indeed, even the affl uence of the developed economies — are not at all what they seem but instead are castles built on ecological sand that cannot be sustained over the long term. In short, ecology exposes the grand illusion of modern civilization: our apparent abundance is really scarcity in disguise, and our supposed mastery of nature is ultimately a lie. 8 To put it more positively, ecology contains an intrinsic wisdom and an implied ethic that, by transforming man from an enemy into a partner of nature, will make it possible to preserve the best of civilization ’ s achievements for many generations to come and also to attain a higher quality of civilized life. Both the wisdom and the ethic follow directly from the ecological facts of life: natural limits, balance, and interrelationship necessarily entail human humility, moderation, and connection.

### Case

#### War causes racism

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA), March 18, 1991, LN

Unfortunately, in times of war it is common to demonize one's enemies and to slide into the kind of racism of which our treatment of Japanese Americans in World War II is one of the most shameful examples. It is no small irony that one of my Saudi graduate students receives hate calls because of his Arab family name, even though Saudi Arabs have risked their lives as our allies.

#### Cap improves standards of living and has been the most beneficial to the most people, no other social system could benefit the masses.

Shermer 08

(Michael, Adjunct professor of economics at Claremont Graduate University, “The Mind of the Market,” 2008 p. 247//wyo-mm)

In his magnum opus on the power of free minds and free markets, Human Action, the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises observed: “The truth is that capitalism has not only multiplied population figures but at the same time improved the people’s standard of living in an unprecedented way. Neither economic thinking nor historical experience suggest that any other social system could be as beneficial to the masses as capitalism. The results speak for themselves. The market economy needs no apologists and propagandists. It can apply to itself the words of Sir Christopher Wren’s epitaph in St. Paul’s: Si monumentum requires, circumspice.” If you seek his monument, look around.

#### Democratic capitalism is the best system to provide the most protected, socially equal, and the greatest prosperity for the greatest number of people.

Shermer 08

(Michael, Adjunct professor of economics at Claremont Graduate University, “The Mind of the Market,” 2008 pgs 42-43//wyo-mm)

Such utopian visions sound so Lennonesque! Imagine no borders, no countries. No need for greed or hunger. A brotherhood of man. But as the sage pop philosopher Yogi Berra once said, “In theory, there is no difference between theory and practice. In practice, there is.” In order to keep the free market both free and fair, we need political states based on the rule of law, with property rights, a secure and trustworthy banking and monetary system, economic stability, a reliable infrastructure, protection of civil liberties, a clean and safe environment, and various freedoms: of movement, of the press, of association, and of education. We need a robust military for protection of our liberties from attacks by other states. We need a potent police force for protection of our freedoms from attacks by other people within the state. We need a viable legislative system for establishing fair and just laws. We need an effective judicial system for the equitable enforcement of those fair and just laws. The best politico-economic system to date is a liberal democracy and free market capitalism, or democratic-capitalism. In a system of democratic-capitalism social liberalism and fiscal conservatism is a synergistic marriage that leads to the greatest prosperity, the greatest liberty, and the greatest happiness for the greatest number.

#### Cap increases quality of life

Saunders 08

(Peter, Social Research Director at the Centre for Independent Studies, “Why Capitalism is Good for the Soul,” The Insider, 2008, http://www.insideronline.org/archives/2008/spring/chap3.pdf//wyo-mm)

By perpetually raising productivity, capitalism has not only driven down poverty rates and raised life expectancy, it has also released much of humanity from the crushing burden of physical labour, freeing us to pursue 'higher' objectives instead. What Clive Hamilton airily dismisses as a 'growth fetish' has resulted in one hour of work today delivering twenty-five times more value than it did in 1850. This has freed huge chunks of our time for leisure, art, sport, learning, and other ' soul - enriching' pursuits. Despite all the exaggerated talk of an 'imbalance' between work and family life, the average Australian today spends a much greater proportion of his or her lifetime free of work than they would had they belonged to any previous generation in history

**-- No extinction**

**Easterbrook 3** (Gregg, Senior Fellow – New Republic, “We’re All Gonna Die!”, Wired Magazine, July, http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/11.07/doomsday.html?pg=1&topic=&topic\_set=)

**If we're talking about**doomsday - **the end of human civilization - many scenarios**simply **don't measure up**. A single nuclear bomb ignited by terrorists, for example, would be awful beyond words, but life would go on. People and machines might converge in ways that you and I would find ghastly, but from the standpoint of the future, they would probably represent an adaptation. **Environmentalcollapsemightmake parts of the globe unpleasant, but considering that the biosphere**has **survived ice ages, itwouldn't be the final curtain**. Depression, which has become 10 times more prevalent in Western nations in the postwar era, might grow so widespread that vast numbers of people would refuse to get out of bed, a possibility that Petranek suggested in a doomsday talk at the Technology Entertainment Design conference in 2002. But Marcel Proust, as miserable as he was, wrote Remembrance of Things Past while lying in bed.

**-- Long time-frame**

Kay 1 (Jane, “Study Takes Historical Peek at Plight of Ocean Ecosystems”, San Francisco Chronicle, 7-26, Lexis)

The **collapse of ecosystems**often **occur over along period**. In one example, **when** Aleut **hunters killed the**Alaskan **sea otter**about **2,500 years ago**, the **population of their**natural **prey**, the sea urchin, **grew larger**than its normal size. In turn, the urchins grazed down the kelp forests, important habitat for a whole host of ocean life. **Then**, when fur traders in the 1800s hunted the otters and sea cows almost to extinction, the **kelp forests disappeared** and didn't start to regenerate until the federal government protected the sea otters in the 20th century. In California, the diversity of spiny lobsters, sheephead fish and abalone kept down the urchin numbers. At present in Alaska, the kelp beds are declining again in areas where killer whales are preying on sea otters. Biologists think the **killer whales switched to otters for food** because there are fewer seals and sea lions to eat.

#### Capitalism won’t fall: current economy too strong, no market pressure, and no currency rivals.

Bremmer and Gordon 12

(Ian and David, USA Today, “Global negativity and 2012: Don't buy it: Fear-mongering is keeping investors on the sidelines. Ignore the hand-wringing -- this is 1979,” January 2012, ProQuest//wyo-mm)

More important, the current state of the global economic and political environment makes it virtually certain that the U.S. will not face major market pressure this year. America's long-term fiscal situation is troubling, but U.S. capital markets are still the world's largest, healthiest and most liquid, and Treasury bills are still the safest global financial asset. The dollar has no credible rival as a reserve currency.

#### Cap sustainable: rising now and can recapture growth

Corcoran, 11

Terence Corcoran, Financial Post · Saturday, Jan. 8, 2011, Capitalism's comeback,  
<http://www.financialpost.com/opinion/columnists/Capitalism+comeback/4078699/story.html#ixzz1CYct9eqf> , accessed 1-30-2011, WYO/JF

The markets are ready to take up the challenge. Corporations and investors are sitting on unprecedented volumes of cash. This is the capital that will drive capitalism's recapture of the economy and a return to growth. That's already happening, as Richard Salsman of InterMarket Forecasting noted recently (see commentary nearby). That these trends toward more growth and production will continue through the year seems all but inevitable. What is not certain is the ability of governments to get out of the way fast enough to make growth solid and sustainable. Getting out of the way means two things: reducing government spending and reining in monetary policy. All governments now talk about reducing deficits. But if Washington, Ottawa and the provinces are to avoid fiscal calamities -- and even Eurostyle debt meltdowns -- they must begin by reducing spending. So far, politicians are talking about the need for fiscal reform but nobody is doing anything. The second big uncertainty is monetary policy. Unprecedented printing of money by the Federal Reserve has flooded the world economy with U.S. dollars. As a result, the U.S. dollar is going down and commodity prices are rising, including oil. Low interest rates and monetary expansion are creating an environment that could fuel pockets of inflation--bubbles--that risk a repeat of the mortgage bubble that was at the heart of the financial crisis. But there's no denying a major shift in the political and economic landscape -- a shift back to markets, growth and competition. Capitalism is on the rise, but the state has yet to get as far out of the way as it should.

#### Overthrowing the ‘rich’ would be the worst thing we could do. First, the upper class makes everyone richer. Second, people who start businesses are the last to benefit. Third, empirically this would cause economic collapse.

Ames and Forbes 09

(Elizabeth and Steve, president of BOLDE Communications, chairman, CEO, and editor in chief at Forbes Media and an internationally respected authority in economics, finance, and corporate leadership, “How Capitalism Will Save Us,” 2009, pg 322//wyo-mm)

5 “The rich” make everyone richer. People become rich by meeting the needs and wants of other people. They build or invest in the innovative, job-creating businesses whose goods and services make life better. The outsized wealth of many rich individuals reflects the risks they take as entrepreneurs or investors. People who start businesses are the last ones to benefit from the wealth they create. They reap their profits after paying off their workers, creditors, and investors—and that’s when things are going well. People who buy into capitalism’s bad rap think rich and poor are fixed groups with opposing interests, but in the Real World, rich people are not only necessary, they’re vital to a healthy economy. Their investment, entrepreneurship, and spending provide opportunities that enable other people to build their own wealth. Throughout history, countries that have scapegoated and destroyed their merchant class—from Uganda to fifteenth-century Spain—have seen their economies collapse or decline.

#### Economic collapse leads to nuclear world war

**Mead in 92**

[Walter Russel, Depending on the Kindness of Strangers,” New Perspectives Quarterly, Summer, v. 9, n. 3]

There is something breathtakingly casual in the way the American elite responds to its failures. The savings and loan debacle, the disintegration of our inner cities, the budget deficit: Our public and private elites don't care about them. Perhaps because they grew up in the years when the U.S. faced no real economic challenges and knew no real limits, they don't understand that failure has a price. If so, this new failure--the failure to develop an international system to hedge against the possibility of worldwide depression--will open their eyes to their folly. Hundreds of millions-- billions--of people around the world have pinned their hopes on the international market economy. They and their leaders have embraced market principles--and drawn closer to the West--because they believe that our system can work for them. But what if it can't? What if the global economy stagnates--or even shrinks? In that case, we will face a new period of international conflict: South against North, rich against poor. Russia, China, India--these countries with their billions of people and their nuclear weapons will pose a much greater danger to world order than Germany and Japan did in the '30s.

### NW Turns Environment

#### The environment is resilient but nuclear war turns it

Schweickart 10 – David Schweickart 10 is Professor at Loyola University Chicago. He holds a Ph.D. in Mathematics (University of Virginia), and a Ph.D. in Philosophy (Ohio State University). “Is Sustainable Capitalism Possible?” Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences 41 (2010) 6739–6752

It is not true either that the various ecological crises we are facing will bring about “the end of the world.” Consider the projections of the Stern Review, the recently released report commissioned by the British Government. If nothing is done, we risk “major disruption to economic and social activity, later in this century and the next, on a scale similar to those associated with the great wars and economic depression of the first half of the 20th century.”¶ This is serious. Some sixty million people died in World War Two. The Stern Review estimates as many as 200 million people could be permanently displaced by rising sea level and drought. But this is not “the end of the world.” Even if the effects are far worse, resulting in billions of deaths—a highly unlikely scenario—there would still be lots of us left. If three-quarters of the present population perished, that would still leave us with 1.6 billion people—the population of the planet in 1900. ¶ I say this not to minimize the potentially horrific impact of relentless environmental destruction, but to caution against exaggeration. We are not talking about **thermonuclear war**—which could have extinguished us as a species. (It still might.) And we shouldn’t lose sight of the fact that millions of people on the planet right now, caught up in savage civil wars or terrorized by U.S. bombers (which dropped some 100,000 lbs. of explosives on a Baghdad neighborhood during one ten-day period in January 2008—the amount the fascists used to level the Basque town of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War), are faced with conditions more terrible than anyone here is likely to face in his or her lifetime due to environmental degradation.

### 2AC K2 Envtm

#### Capitalism key to environmental protection

Taylor, 03

director of natural resource studies at CATO, Aprill 22, 2003

[Jerry, *Happy Earth Day? Thank Capitalism*, http://www.cato.org/pub\_display.php?pub\_id=3073]

Indeed, we wouldn't even have environmentalists in our midst were it not for capitalism. Environmental amenities, after all, are luxury goods. America -- like much of the Third World today -- had no environmental movement to speak of until living standards rose sufficiently so that we could turn our attention from simply providing for food, shelter, and a reasonable education to higher "quality of life" issues. The richer you are, the more likely you are to be an environmentalist. And people wouldn't be rich without capitalism. Wealth not only breeds environmentalists, it begets environmental quality. There are dozens of studies showing that, as per capita income initially rises from subsistence levels, air and water pollution increases correspondingly. But once per capita income hits between $3,500 and $15,000 (dependent upon the pollutant), the ambient concentration of pollutants begins to decline just as rapidly as it had previously increased. This relationship is found for virtually every significant pollutant in every single region of the planet. It is an iron law. Given that wealthier societies use more resources than poorer societies, such findings are indeed counterintuitive. But the data don't lie. How do we explain this? The obvious answer -- that wealthier societies are willing to trade-off the economic costs of government regulation for environmental improvements and that poorer societies are not -- is only partially correct. In the United States, pollution declines generally predated the passage of laws mandating pollution controls. In fact, for most pollutants, declines were greater before the federal government passed its panoply of environmental regulations than after the EPA came upon the scene. Much of this had to do with individual demands for environmental quality. People who could afford cleaner-burning furnaces, for instance, bought them. People who wanted recreational services spent their money accordingly, creating profit opportunities for the provision of untrammeled nature. Property values rose in cleaner areas and declined in more polluted areas, shifting capital from Brown to Green investments. Market agents will supply whatever it is that people are willing to spend money on. And when people are willing to spend money on environmental quality, the market will provide it. Meanwhile, capitalism rewards efficiency and punishes waste. Profit-hungry companies found ingenious ways to reduce the natural resource inputs necessary to produce all kinds of goods, which in turn reduced environmental demands on the land and the amount of waste that flowed through smokestacks and water pipes. As we learned to do more and more with a given unit of resources, the waste involved (which manifests itself in the form of pollution) shrank. This trend was magnified by the shift away from manufacturing to service industries, which characterizes wealthy, growing economies. The latter are far less pollution-intensive than the former. But the former are necessary prerequisites for the latter . Property rights -- a necessary prerequisite for free market economies -- also provide strong incentives to invest in resource health. Without them, no one cares about future returns because no one can be sure they'll be around to reap the gains. Property rights are also important means by which private desires for resource conservation and preservation can be realized. When the government, on the other hand, holds a monopoly on such decisions, minority preferences in developing societies are overruled (see the old Soviet block for details). Furthermore, only wealthy societies can afford the investments necessary to secure basic environmental improvements, such as sewage treatment and electrification. Unsanitary water and the indoor air pollution (caused primarily by burning organic fuels in the home for heating and cooking needs) are directly responsible for about 10 million deaths a year in the Third World, making poverty the number one environmental killer on the planet today. Capitalism can save more lives threatened by environmental pollution than all the environmental organizations combined.

#### Capitalism solves war, creates peace and establishes stability

Bandow 5

(Doug, Senior fellow at the Cato Institute, “Spreading Capitalism Is Good for Peace,” Cato Institute, November 10, 2005, http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/spreading-capitalism-is-good-peace//wyo-MM)

The shift from statist mercantilism to high-tech capitalism has transformed the economics behind war. Markets generate economic opportunities that make war less desirable. Territorial aggrandizement no longer provides the best path to riches. Free-flowing capital markets and other aspects of globalization simultaneously draw nations together and raise the economic price of military conflict. Moreover, sanctions, which interfere with economic prosperity, provides a coercive step short of war to achieve foreign policy ends. Positive economic trends are not enough to prevent war, but then, neither is democracy. It long has been obvious that democracies are willing to fight, just usually not each other. Contends Gartzke, "liberal political systems, in and of themselves, have no impact on whether states fight." In particular, poorer democracies perform like non-democracies. He explains: "Democracy does not have a measurable impact, while nations with very low levels of economic freedom are 14 times more prone to conflict than those with very high levels." Gartzke considers other variables, including alliance memberships, nuclear deterrence, and regional differences. Although the causes of conflict vary, the relationship between economic liberty and peace remains. His conclusion hasn't gone unchallenged. Author R.J. Rummel, an avid proponent of the democratic peace theory, challenges Gartzke's methodology and worries that it "may well lead intelligent and policy-wise analysts and commentators to draw the wrong conclusions about the importance of democratization." Gartzke responds in detail, noting that he relied on the same data as most democratic peace theorists. If it is true that democratic states don't go to war, then it also is true that "states with advanced free market economies never go to war with each other, either." The point is not that democracy is valueless. Free political systems naturally entail free elections and are more likely to protect other forms of liberty - civil and economic, for instance. However, democracy alone doesn't yield peace. To believe is does is dangerous: There's no panacea for creating a conflict-free world. That doesn't mean that nothing can be done. But promoting open international markets - that is, spreading capitalism - is the best means to encourage peace as well as prosperity. Notes Gartzke: "Warfare among developing nations will remain unaffected by the capitalist peace as long as the economies of many developing countries remain fettered by governmental control." Freeing those economies is critical. It's a particularly important lesson for the anti-capitalist left. For the most part, the enemies of economic liberty also most stridently denounce war, often in near-pacifist terms. Yet they oppose the very economic policies most likely to encourage peace. If market critics don't realize the obvious economic and philosophical value of markets - prosperity and freedom - they should appreciate the unintended peace dividend. Trade encourages prosperity and stability; technological innovation reduces the financial value of conquest; globalization creates economic interdependence, increasing the cost of war.

### 2AC K2 Space

#### Capitalism is key to space exploration and development

Blundell, 04

John Blundell, director general of the Institute for Economic Affairs, 2004 (“Mission to Mars must go private to succeed,” February 2, http://www.iea.org.uk/record.jsp?type=news&ID=166)

What we need is capitalists in space. Capitalism needs property rights, enforcement of contracts and the rule of law. The ideological tussle does not cease once we are beyond the ionosphere. With the exception of Arthur C Clarke, none of us imagined the entertainment potential from satellites. Geostationary lumps of electronic gadgetry beam us our BSkyB television pictures. I remain in awe that Rupert Murdoch can place a device in the skies above Brazil that sends a signal to every home in each hemisphere. Who could have foreseen that mobile phones could keep us chattering without any wiring, or that global position techniques could plot where we all are to within a metre? These are business applications. Business is already in space. Markets detect and apply opportunities that are not envisaged by even the most accomplished technicians. I’m not saying Murdoch has special competences. I imagine he is as baffled by digital miracles as I am. The point is that companies define and refine what public bodies cannot achieve. Lift the veil of course and all those satellite firms are an intricate web of experts supplying ideas and services. We have an infant space market. What use will the Moon be? Is there value on Mars other than the TV rights? The answer is nobody can know. We can only make some guesses. The Spanish ships that set off for the US thought they would get to India. The Portuguese knew they’d reach China. The English followed them westwards seeking gold. In fact, they got tobacco. Events always confound expectations. The arguments for putting men on Mars are expressly vague from President Bush. Perhaps he was really bidding for votes. From my reading the best results may be medical. Zero, or low, gravity techniques may allow therapies of which we are ignorant. It seems facetious to suggest tourism may be a big part of space opportunity but as both the North and South poles are over-populated and there is a queue at the top of Mount Everest, a trip to the Sea of Tranquility may prove a magnet for the wealthy. Instead of NASA’s grotesque bureaucracy it may be Thomas Cook will be a greater force for exploration. NASA could be a procurement body. It need not design and run all space ventures. It could sub-contract far more extensively. Without specialised engineering expertise it is not easy to criticise projects such as the shuttle. It seems to be excessively costly and far too fragile. There are private space entrepreneurs already. They are tiddlers up against the mighty NASA. Yet Dan Goldin, the NASA leader, says he favours the privatisation of space: "We can’t afford to do solar system exploration until we turn these activities over to the cutting edge private sector..."Some may say that commercialising portions of NASA’s functions is heresy. Others may think we are taking a path that will ruin the wonders of space. I believe that when NASA can creatively partner, all of humankind will reap the benefits of access to open space". Is it possible the Moon has a more noble future than merely a branch office of NASA? Is it tolerable that Mars could be a subsidiary of the USA? Could it be nominally a further state of the union? These are not silly questions. In time space will be defined by lawyers and accountants as property rights will need to be deliberated. One possibility may be that both environments are so hostile that Mars and the Moon will never be more than token pockets for humanity. On the evidence so far it is the orbiting satellites that have made us see the Earth through new eyes. We can survey and explore the planet better from 200 miles up than stomping on the surface. The emerging commercial body of space law is derived from telecommunications law. It is perplexing and contrary to our immediate senses. How can you own or exchange something as intangible as digital messages bouncing off satellites? Yet we all pay our mobile phone bills. Many of the business results of space exploration are unintended consequences of NASA’s early adventures. Computer development would probably have been slower but for the need for instrumentation for Apollo. Are there prospects for Scottish firms in space? The prizes will not go to only the mega corporations. Perhaps Dobbies, the Edinburgh garden centre group, can create new roses by placing pots beyond gravity. Edinburgh University laboratories, or rather their commercial spin offs, could patent new medicines. Is it possible the genetic magicians at the Bush could hitch a ride into space and extend their discoveries? NASA is a monopolist. All monopolies are bad for business. They only stunt opportunities. They blunt alternatives. By opening space to entrepreneurship we will be starting on what FA Hayek memorably describes as "a discovery procedure". Science is an open system. So is capitalism.

#### Space solves multiple existential threats –key to survival

Pelton 03

(Joseph, Director of the Space and Advanced Communications Research institute at George Washington University and Executive Director of the Arthur C. Clarke Foundation, “COMMENTARY: Why Space? The Top 10 Reasons”, September 23, http://www.space.com/news/commentary\_top10\_030912.html)

Actually the lack of a space program could get us all killed. I dont mean you or me or my wife or children. I mean that Homo sapiens as a species are actually endangered. Surprising to some, a well conceived space program may well be our only hope for long-term survival. The right or wrong decisions about space research and exploration may be key to the futures of our grandchildren or great-grandchildren or those that follow. Arthur C. Clarke, the author and screenplay writer for 2001: A Space Odyssey, put the issue rather starkly some years back when he said: The dinosaurs are not around today because they did not have a space program. He was, of course, referring to the fact that we now know a quite largish meteor crashed into the earth, released poisonous Iridium chemicals into our atmosphere and created a killer cloud above the Earth that blocked out the sun for a prolonged period of time. This could have been foreseen and averted with a sufficiently advanced space program. But this is only one example of how space programs, such as NASAs Spaceguard program, help protect our fragile planet. Without a space program we would not know about the large ozone hole in our atmosphere, the hazards of solar radiation, the path of killer hurricanes or many other environmental dangers. But this is only a fraction of the ways that space programs are crucial to our future. He Continues… Protection against catastrophic planetary accidents: It is easy to assume that an erratic meteor or comet will not bring destruction to the Earth because the probabilities are low. The truth is we are bombarded from space daily. The dangers are greatest not from a cataclysmic collision, but from not knowing enough about solar storms, cosmic radiation and the ozone layer. An enhanced Spaceguard Program is actually a prudent course that could save our species in time.

### NW Turns Warming

#### Nuclear war turns warming

Duncan Clark 9, editorial environmental consultant to the London Guardian, co-director of GreenProfile, January 2, 2009, “The carbon footprint of nuclear war,” online: http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2009/jan/02/nuclear-war-emissions

Almost 700m [million] tonnes of CO2 would be released into the Earth's atmosphere by even the smallest nuclear conflict, according to a US study that compares the environmental costs of developing various power sources

Just when you might have thought it was ethically sound to unleash a nuclear attack on a nearby city, along comes a pesky scientist and points out that atomic warfare is bad for the climate. According to a new paper in the journal Energy & Environmental Science, even a very limited nuclear exchange, using just a thousandth of the weaponry of a full-scale nuclear war, would cause up to 690m tonnes of CO2 to enter the atmosphere

– more than UK's annual total.

The upside (kind of) is that the conflict would also generate as much as 313m tonnes of soot. This would stop a great deal of sunlight reaching the earth, creating a significant regional cooling effect in the short and medium terms – just like when a major volcano erupts. Ultimately, though, the CO2 would win out and crank up global temperatures an extra few notches.

The paper's author, Mark Z Jacobson, a professor of civil and environmental engineering at Stanford University, calculated the emissions of such a conflict by totting up the burn rate and carbon content of the fabric of our cities. "Materials have the following carbon contents: plastics, 38–92%; tyres and other rubbers, 59–91%; synthetic fibres, 63–86%; woody biomass, 41–45%; charcoal, 71%; asphalt, 80%; steel, 0.05–2%. We approximate roughly the carbon content of all combustible material in a city as 40–60%."

But why would a Stanford engineer bother calculating such a thing? Given that the nuclear exchange would also kill up to 17 million people, who's going to be thinking about the impact on global warming?

The purpose of the paper is to compare the total human and environmental costs of a wide range of different power sources, from solar and wind to nuclear and biofuels. One of the side-effects of nuclear power, the report argues, is an increased risk of nuclear war: "Because the production of nuclear weapons material is occurring only in countries that have developed civilian nuclear energy programs, the risk of a limited nuclear exchange between countries or the detonation of a nuclear device by terrorists has increased due to the dissemination of nuclear energy facilities worldwide."

"As such," Jacobson continues, "it is a valid exercise to estimate the potential number of immediate deaths and carbon emissions due to the burning of buildings and infrastructure associated with the proliferation of nuclear energy facilities and the resulting proliferation of nuclear weapons … Although concern at the time of an explosion will be the deaths and not carbon emissions, policy makers today must weigh all the potential future risks of mortality and carbon emissions when comparing energy sources."

## 2NC

### T

### 2AC – AT: Reps/Language First

#### Rhetoric describes and reflects reality, it does not shape it—objective reality exists outside of language

Fram-Cohen ‘85

[Michelle, “Reality, Language, Translation: What Makes Translation Possible?” American Translators Association Conference, enlightenment.supersaturated.com/essays/text/michelleframcohen//possibilityoftranslation.html, 9-24-06//uwyo-ajl]

Nida did not provide the philosophical basis of the view that the external world is the common source of all languages. Such a basis can be found in the philosophy of Objectivism, originated by Ayn Rand. Objectivism, as its name implies, upholds the objectivity of reality. This means that reality is independent of consciousness, consciousness being the means of perceiving ?reality, not of creating it. Rand defines language as "a code of visual-auditory symbols that denote concepts." (15) These symbols are the written or spoken words of any language. Concepts are defined as the "mental integration of two or more units possessing the same distinguishing characteristic(s), with their particular measurements omitted." (16) This means that concepts are abstractions of units perceived in reality. Since words denote concepts, words are the symbols of such abstractions; words are the means of representing concepts in a language. Since reality provides the data from which we abstract and form concepts, reality is the source of all words--and of all languages. The very existence of translation demonstrates this fact. If there was no objective reality, there could be no similar concepts expressed in different verbal symbols. There could be no similarity between the content of different languages, and so, no translation. Translation is the transfer of conceptual knowledge from one language into another. It is the transfer of one set of symbols denoting concepts into another set of symbols denoting the same concepts. This process is possible because concepts have specific referents in reality. Even if a certain word and the concept it designates exist in one language but not in another, the referent this word and concept stand for nevertheless exists in reality, and can be referred to in translation by a descriptive phrase or neologism. Language is a means describing reality, and as such can and should expand to include newly discovered or innovated objects in reality. The revival of the ancient Hebrew language in the late 19th Century demonstrated the dependence of language on outward reality. Those who wanted to use Hebrew had to innovate an enormous number of words in order to describe the new objects that did not confront the ancient Hebrew speakers. On the other hand, those objects that existed 2000 years ago could be referred to by the same words. Ancient Hebrew could not by itself provide a sufficient image of modern reality for modern users.

#### Policy analysis should precede discourse – most effective way to challenge power

Jill Taft-Kaufman, Speech prof @ CMU, 1995, Southern Comm. Journal, Spring, v. 60, Iss. 3, “Other Ways”, p pq

The postmodern passwords of "polyvocality," "Otherness," and "difference," unsupported by substantial analysis of the concrete contexts of subjects, creates a solipsistic quagmire. The political sympathies of the new cultural critics, with their ostensible concern for the lack of power experienced by marginalized people, aligns them with the political left. Yet, despite their adversarial posture and talk of opposition, their discourses on intertextuality and inter-referentiality isolate them from and ignore the conditions that have produced leftist politics--conflict, racism, poverty, and injustice. In short, as Clarke (1991) asserts, postmodern emphasis on new subjects conceals the old subjects, those who have limited access to good jobs, food, housing, health care, and transportation, as well as to the media that depict them. Merod (1987) decries this situation as one which leaves no vision, will, or commitment to activism. He notes that academic lip service to the oppositional is underscored by the absence of focused collective or politically active intellectual communities. Provoked by the academic manifestations of this problem Di Leonardo (1990) echoes Merod and laments: Has there ever been a historical era characterized by as little radical analysis or activism and as much radical-chic writing as ours? Maundering on about Otherness: phallocentrism or Eurocentric tropes has become a lazy academic substitute for actual engagement with the detailed histories and contemporary realities of Western racial minorities, white women, or any Third World population. (p. 530) Clarke's assessment of the postmodern elevation of language to the "sine qua non" of critical discussion is an even stronger indictment against the trend. Clarke examines Lyotard's (1984) The Postmodern Condition in which Lyotard maintains that virtually all social relations are linguistic, and, therefore, it is through the coercion that threatens speech that we enter the "realm of terror" and society falls apart. To this assertion, Clarke replies: I can think of few more striking indicators of the political and intellectual impoverishment of a view of society that can only recognize the discursive. If the worst terror we can envisage is the threat not to be allowed to speak, we are appallingly ignorant of terror in its elaborate contemporary forms. It may be the intellectual's conception of terror (what else do we do but speak?), but its projection onto the rest of the world would be calamitous....(pp. 2-27) The realm of the discursive is derived from the requisites for human life, which are in the physical world, rather than in a world of ideas or symbols.(4) Nutrition, shelter, and protection are basic human needs that require collective activity for their fulfillment. Postmodern emphasis on the discursive without an accompanying analysis of how the discursive emerges from material circumstances hides the complex task of envisioning and working towards concrete social goals (Merod, 1987). Although the material conditions that create the situation of marginality escape the purview of the postmodernist, the situation and its consequences are not overlooked by scholars from marginalized groups. Robinson (1990) for example, argues that "the justice that working people deserve is economic, not just textual" (p. 571). Lopez (1992) states that "the starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present existential, concrete situation" (p. 299). West (1988) asserts that borrowing French post-structuralist discourses about "Otherness" blinds us to realities of American difference going on in front of us (p. 170). Unlike postmodern "textual radicals" who Rabinow (1986) acknowledges are "fuzzy about power and the realities of socioeconomic constraints" (p. 255), most writers from marginalized groups are clear about how discourse interweaves with the concrete circumstances that create lived experience. People whose lives form the material for postmodern counter-hegemonic discourse do not share the optimism over the new recognition of their discursive subjectivities, because such an acknowledgment does not address sufficiently their collective historical and current struggles against racism, sexism, homophobia, and economic injustice. They do not appreciate being told they are living in a world in which there are no more real subjects. Ideas have consequences. Emphasizing the discursive self when a person is hungry and homeless represents both a cultural and humane failure. The need to look beyond texts to the perception and attainment of concrete social goals keeps writers from marginalized groups ever-mindful of the specifics of how power works through political agendas, institutions, agencies, and the budgets that fuel them.

#### Saying “language and meaning” are prior questions is a circular practice that does nothing

Taft-Kaufman, 95 - Professor, Department of Speech Communication And Dramatic Arts, Central Michigan University – 1995 (Jill, “Other ways: Postmodernism and performance praxis,”  [The Southern Communication Journal](http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?RQT=318&pmid=17630&TS=1184952735&clientId=17822&VType=PQD&VName=PQD&VInst=PROD), Vol.60, Iss. 3;  pg. 222)

In its elevation of language to the primary analysis of social life and its relegation of the de-centered subject to a set of language positions, postmodernism ignores the way real people make their way in the world. While the notion of decentering does much to remedy the idea of an essential, unchanging self, it also presents problems. According to Clarke (1991): Having established the material quality of ideology, everything else we had hitherto thought of as material has disappeared. There is nothing outside of ideology (or discourse). Where Althusser was concerned with ideology as the imaginary relations of subjects to the real relations of their existence, the connective quality of this view of ideology has been dissolved because it lays claim to an outside, a real, an extra-discursive for which there exists no epistemological warrant without lapsing back into the bad old ways of empiricism or metaphysics. (pp. 25-26) Clarke explains how the same disconnection between the discursive and the extra-discursive has been performed in semiological analysis: Where it used to contain a relation between the signifier (the representation) and the signified (the referent), antiempiricism has taken the formal arbitrariness of the connection between the signifier and signified and replaced it with the abolition of the signified (there can be no real objects out there, because there is no out there for real objects to be). (p. 26) To the postmodernist, then, real objects have vanished. So, too, have real people. Smith (1988) suggests that postmodernism has canonized doubt about the availability of the referent to the point that "the real often disappears from consideration" (p. 159). Real individuals become abstractions. Subject positions rather than subjects are the focus. The emphasis on subject positions or construction of the discursive self engenders an accompanying critical sense of irony which recognizes that "all conceptualizations are limited" (Fischer, 1986, p. 224). This postmodern position evokes what Connor (1989) calls "an absolute weightlessness in which anything is imaginatively possible because nothing really matters" (p. 227). Clarke (1991) dubs it a "playfulness that produces emotional and/or political disinvestment: a refusal to be engaged" (p. 103). The luxury of being able to muse about what constitutes the self is a posture in keeping with a critical venue that divorces language from material objects and bodily subjects.

### DA

### Predictions Good

#### Scenario planning is good. In a catastrophe-ridden world—it’s vital to make predictions about the future.

Kurasawa, 2004

[Fuyuki, Professor of Sociology at York University, “Cautionary Tales: The Global Culture of Prevention

and the Work of Foresight.” 2004, Constellations, Vol. 11, No. 4]

Independently of this room for maneuver and the chances of success. Humanitarian, environmental, and techno-scientific activists have convincingly shown that we cannot afford not to engage in preventive labor. contractualist justification, global civil society actors are putting forth a number of arguments countering temporal myopia on rational grounds. They make the case that no generation, and no part of the world, is immune from catastrophe. Complacency and parochialism are deeply flawed in that even if we earn a temporary reprieve, our children and grandchildren will likely not be so fortunate unless steps are taken today. Similarly, though it might be possible to minimize or contain the risks and harms of actions to faraway places over the short-term, parrying the eventual blowback or spillover effect is improbable. In fact, as I argued in the previous section, all but the smallest and most isolated of crises are rapidly becoming globalized due to the existence of transnational circuits of ideas, images, people, and commodities. Regardless of where they live, our descendants will increasingly be subjected to the impact of environmental degradation, the spread of epidemics, gross North-South socioeconomic inequalities, refugee flows, civil wars, and genocides. What may have previously appeared to be temporally and spatially remote risks are ‘coming home to roost’ in ever faster cycles. In a word, then, procrastination makes little sense for three principal reasons: it exponentially raises the costs of eventual future action; it reduces preventive options; and it erodes their effectiveness. With the foreclosing of long-range alternatives, later generations may be left with a single course of action, namely, that of merely reacting to large-scale emergencies as they arise. We need only think of how it gradually becomes more difficult to control climate change, let alone reverse it, or to halt mass atrocities once they are underway. Preventive foresight is grounded in the opposite logic, whereby the decision to work through perils today greatly enhances both the subsequent Moreover, I would contend that farsighted cosmopolitanism is not as remote or idealistic a prospect as it appears to some, for as Falk writes, “[g]lobal justice between temporal communities, however, actually seems to be increasing, as evidenced by various expressions of greater sensitivity to past injustices and future dangers.”36 Global civil society may well be helping a new generational self-conception take root, according to which we view ourselves as the provisional caretakers of our planetary commons. Out of our sense of responsibility for the well-being of those who will follow us, we come to be more concerned about the here and now.

## 1NR

#### Slower growth in the US provides the worst treatment of racial others throughout history.

Friedman 5 (Benjamin, Prof of Political Econ @ Harvard, “Meltdown: A Case Study” The Atlantic, August 5, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/07/meltdown-a-case-study/4049/)

When slow growth together with widening inequality halted improvements in living standards for many Americans in the 1920s, the upshot was the revival of the Ku Klux Klan (not just in the South—at the Klan's peak perhaps one in ten white Protestant U.S. men was a member), the tightest and most discriminatory immigration restrictions in the nation's history, and the elimination of both federal and state laws designed to protect women and children. Similar economic conditions in the 1970s and 1980s provided the backdrop for another round of anti-immigrant agitation, the rise of the right-wing militia movement, and incidents of politically motivated domestic terrorism.

#### Growth leads to environmental protections that sustain habitats

Anderson 4 [Terry L. professor of economics at Montana State University, Ph.D. in economics, “Why Economic Growth is Good for the Environment,” http://www.perc.org/articles/article446.php]

Market forces also cause economic growth, which in turn leads to environmental improvements. Put simply, poor people are willing to sacrifice clean water and air, healthy forests, and wildlife habitat for economic growth. But as their incomes rise above subsistence, "economic growth helps to undo the damage done in earlier years," says economist Bruce Yandle. "If economic growth is good for the environment, policies that stimulate growth ought to be good for the environment."

#### Cont. from 1NC-Dunell-

§ that are not envisaged by even the most accomplished technicians. I’m not saying Murdoch has special competences. I imagine he is as baffled by digital miracles as I am. The point is that companies define and refine what public bodies cannot achieve. Lift the veil of course and all those satellite firms are an intricate web of experts supplying ideas and services. We have an infant space market. What use will the Moon be? Is there value on Mars other than the TV rights? The answer is nobody can know. We can only make some guesses. The Spanish ships that set off for the US thought they would get to India. The Portuguese knew they’d reach China. The English followed them westwards seeking gold. In fact, they got tobacco. Events always confound expectations. The arguments for putting men on Mars are expressly vague from President Bush. Perhaps he was really bidding for votes. From my reading the best results may be medical. Zero, or low, gravity techniques may allow therapies of which we are ignorant. It seems facetious to suggest tourism may be a big part of space opportunity but as both the North and South poles are over-populated and there is a queue at the top of Mount Everest, a trip to the Sea of Tranquility may prove a magnet for the wealthy. Instead of NASA’s grotesque bureaucracy it may be Thomas Cook will be a greater force for exploration. NASA could be a procurement body. It need not design and run all space ventures. It could sub-contract far more extensively. Without specialised engineering expertise it is not easy to criticise projects such as the shuttle. It seems to be excessively costly and far too fragile. There are private space entrepreneurs already. They are tiddlers up against the mighty NASA. Yet Dan Goldin, the NASA leader, says he favours the privatisation of space: "We can’t afford to do solar system exploration until we turn these activities over to the cutting edge private sector..."Some may say that commercialising portions of NASA’s functions is heresy. Others may think we are taking a path that will ruin the wonders of space. I believe that when NASA can creatively partner, all of humankind will reap the benefits of access to open space". Is it possible the Moon has a more noble future than merely a branch office of NASA? Is it tolerable that Mars could be a subsidiary of the USA? Could it be nominally a further state of the union? These are not silly questions. In time space will be defined by lawyers and accountants as property rights will need to be deliberated. One possibility may be that both environments are so hostile that Mars and the Moon will never be more than token pockets for humanity. On the evidence so far it is the orbiting satellites that have made us see the Earth through new eyes. We can survey and explore the planet better from 200 miles up than stomping on the surface. The emerging commercial body of space law is derived from telecommunications law. It is perplexing and contrary to our immediate senses. How can you own or exchange something as intangible as digital messages bouncing off satellites? Yet we all pay our mobile phone bills. Many of the business results of space exploration are unintended consequences of NASA’s early adventures. Computer development would probably have been slower but for the need for instrumentation for Apollo. Are there prospects for Scottish firms in space? The prizes will not go to only the mega corporations. Perhaps Dobbies, the Edinburgh garden centre group, can create new roses by placing pots beyond gravity. Edinburgh University laboratories, or rather their commercial spin offs, could patent new medicines. Is it possible the genetic magicians at the Bush could hitch a ride into space and extend their discoveries? NASA is a monopolist. All monopolies are bad for business. They only stunt opportunities. They blunt alternatives. By opening space to entrepreneurship we will be starting on what FA Hayek memorably describes as "a discovery procedure". Science is an open system. So is capitalism.

#### Space solves multiple existential threats –key to survival

Pelton 03

(Joseph, Director of the Space and Advanced Communications Research institute at George Washington University and Executive Director of the Arthur C. Clarke Foundation, “COMMENTARY: Why Space? The Top 10 Reasons”, September 23, http://www.space.com/news/commentary\_top10\_030912.html)

Actually the lack of a space program could get us all killed. I dont mean you or me or my wife or children. I mean that Homo sapiens as a species are actually endangered. Surprising to some, a well conceived space program may well be our only hope for long-term survival. The right or wrong decisions about space research and exploration may be key to the futures of our grandchildren or great-grandchildren or those that follow. Arthur C. Clarke, the author and screenplay writer for 2001: A Space Odyssey, put the issue rather starkly some years back when he said: The dinosaurs are not around today because they did not have a space program. He was, of course, referring to the fact that we now know a quite largish meteor crashed into the earth, released poisonous Iridium chemicals into our atmosphere and created a killer cloud above the Earth that blocked out the sun for a prolonged period of time. This could have been foreseen and averted with a sufficiently advanced space program. But this is only one example of how space programs, such as NASAs Spaceguard program, help protect our fragile planet. Without a space program we would not know about the large ozone hole in our atmosphere, the hazards of solar radiation, the path of killer hurricanes or many other environmental dangers. But this is only a fraction of the ways that space programs are crucial to our future. He Continues… Protection against catastrophic planetary accidents: It is easy to assume that an erratic meteor or comet will not bring destruction to the Earth because the probabilities are low. The truth is we are bombarded from space daily. The dangers are greatest not from a cataclysmic collision, but from not knowing enough about solar storms, cosmic radiation and the ozone layer. An enhanced Spaceguard Program is actually a prudent course that could save our species in time.

#### Capitalism has led to the innovations in medicine that are increasing life expectancy and solving disease.

Dworkin 12

(Ronald, Hoover Institution at Stanford University, “Retirement and the Social Contract,” February 1, 2012, http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/106466//wyo-mm)

But it was medical science that sealed Marxism's fate. In 1900, average life expectancy in the U.S. was 47. Today, it is 79. Thanks to better medicine, people retiring in their late fifties and early sixties can hope to live another twenty years, "at home," escaping the division of labor. No leftist politician has come close to medicine's record in rescuing humanity. This outcome was not the result of any concerted plan. When Social Security was passed in 1935, life expectancy was only 62--three years less than when the benefit kicked in. In addition, the benefit was too small for most people to live on. When Medicare was passed in 1965, life expectancy was 70; thus, recipients were expected, on average, to receive benefits for only five years. The original intention behind these two pieces of legislation was not to help people escape the division of labor for twenty years, but to make life just a little less hard. However, as medical science pushed life expectancy higher, not by curing people so much as by making it possible for people to live longer with chronic disease, a tidal change occurred. I say a tidal change as opposed to any crashing wave. Waves are obvious and everyone notices them. Debates over tax rates are crashing waves. So are debates over free trade. But the mass breakout from the division of labor went almost unnoticed. Medicine gradually lengthened life; the eligible age for receiving Social Security and Medicare barely changed; Social Security and Medicare benefits gradually increased; and the problem of alienation and the division of labor faded. Average citizens and even a few policy makers missed the event.

#### Stopping disease key to prevent extinction

Steinbruner 98

(John D., Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, “Biological Weapons: A Plague Upon All Houses,” FOREIGN POLICY n. 109, Winter 1997/1998, pp. 85-96, ASP.)

It is a considerable comfort and undoubtedly a key to our survival that, so far, the main lines of defense against this threat have not depended on explicit policies or organized efforts. In the long course of evolution, the human body has developed physical barriers and a biochemical immune system whose sophistication and effectiveness exceed anything we could design or as yet even fully understand. But evolution is a sword that cuts both ways: New diseases emerge, while old diseases mutate and adapt. Throughout history, there have been epidemics during which human immunity has broken down on an epic scale. An infectious agent believed to have been the plague bacterium killed an estimated 20 million people over a four-year period in the fourteenth century, including nearly one-quarter of Western Europe's population at the time. Since its recognized appearance in 1981, some 20 variations of the HIV virus have infected an estimated 29.4 million worldwide, with 1.5 million people currently dying of AIDS each year. Malaria, tuberculosis, and cholera - once thought to be under control - are now making a comeback. As we enter the twenty-first century, changing conditions have enhanced the potential for widespread contagion. The rapid growth rate of the total world population, the unprecedented freedom of movement across international borders, and scientific advances that expand the capability for the deliberate manipulation of pathogens are all cause for worry that the problem might be greater in the future than it has ever been in the past. The threat of infectious pathogens is not just an issue of public health, but a fundamental security problem for the species as a whole.

#### Capitalism is the opposite of exploitation: it promotes benefits for all people.

Ames and Forbes 09

(Elizabeth and Steve, president of BOLDE Communications, chairman, CEO, and editor in chief at Forbes Media and an internationally respected authority in economics, finance, and corporate leadership, “How Capitalism Will Save Us,” 2009, p 321//wyo-mm)

1 Free markets are best at serving the needs and wants of people. Adam Smith explained in his classic work The Wealth of Nations that transactions in a free market are about achieving the greatest possible mutual benefit. Because no one is forced to enter into a free-market transaction, it can take place only if both sides benefit. This is the opposite of “exploitation.” 2 Self-interest—not “greed”—compels people in free markets to meet the needs and wants of others. There are greedy and unethical people in all societies. But greed, which means taking too much of something that you do not rightfully deserve, does not drive transactions in a free market. It undermines them. The bank robber’s coercive demand, “your money or your life,” is the exact opposite of a free-market transaction: there is no mutual benefit, and it deprives the other person of free choice.

#### Cap key to democracy: that’s 1NC Bandow- says prerequisite for successful achieves economic freedom

Leeson 10

(Peter, Visiting Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago’s Becker Center on Chicago Price Theory and BB&T Professor for the Study of Capitalism at George Mason University, “Two Cheers for Capitalism?” Society, Volume 47, Number 3, 2010, SpringerLink//wyo-mm)

Figure 4d depicts our final relationship of interest: capitalism and democracy. The figure isn’t as pretty as Fig. 4a–c because the Polity IV Project’s democracy data are discrete. Further, the relationship isn’t as tight as the relationship between capitalism and wealth, health, and education. Still, more capitalist countries tend to be more democratic than less democratic countries. Unlike the cases considered above, here there are some notable exceptions. For example, Singapore has a low democracy score but a high economic freedom score. It’s located in the lower-right quadrant of Fig. 4d, a lone “free-market autocracy” in the world. On the other side you’ve got a few countries like Ukraine that score well on the democracy index but have very low economic freedom. These countries are in the upper-left quadrant of Fig. 4d. The overarching relationship depicted in this figure is clearly positive, however. And there’s again no evidence at all for a Lorenz curve relationship. On average, as a country becomes more capitalist, it becomes more democratic at all levels of economic freedom. Capitalism deserves three cheers. The two cheers for capitalism view turns out to be nonsense again.

#### DEMOCRACY CHECKS WAR, GENOCIDE AND MASS MURDER

DIAMOND 1999

[Larry, Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institute, “Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation,” Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 6]

Beyond the violence between states and between or against ethnic groups within states lies a more stunning generalization: "Power kills, absolute power kills absolutely. 112 2 Rudolph Rummel's exhaustive study of deaths from war, genocide, mass murder, and domestic violence in this, history's most murderous, century, demonstrates that every instance of mass murder by a state against its own people has happened under authoritarian rule and that the more absolutist the regime the greater the tendency toward democide (genocide and mass murder of innocent civilians. Thus, "the way to virtually eliminate genocide and mass murder appears to be through restricting and checking power. This means to foster democratic freedom."

#### Prefer our evidence—cap bad authors rely on non-falsifiable assertions and theories, only facts provide knowledge of social world

Galles 08

professor of economics at Pepperdine University, 4/4/08

[Gary, Not Just Survival; Not Just of the Fittest, http://mises.org/story/2909]

Real, positive knowledge of the profit motive and the price system, of saving and capital accumulation, of money, economic competition, and economic inequality, and of the harmony of interests among men that results from the joint operation of these leading features of capitalism—all of this knowledge is almost entirely lacking on the part of the great majority of today’s intellectuals. In the absence of such knowledge, such theoretical knowledge, of which von Mises is far and away the most important source, concrete, historical facts are generally insufficient to change the intellectuals’ ideas or attitudes. Merely to show them such facts as the economic superiority of West Germany over East Germany, of South Korea over North Korea, of Taiwan over mainland China, and, of course, and above all, of the United States over the Soviet Union, makes virtually no impression. It does not because the intellectuals operate on the basis of a theory. Theory, even when it is actually wrong, is held as an understanding of reality in terms of a system of principles, that is, in terms of logical connections between propositions which are regarded either as self-evidently true or as logically derived from such propositions. Finding a fact at variance with what is considered to be such knowledge, usually only serves to call into question the fact, not the theory. The situation is comparable to someone who knows the laws of arithmetic being confronted with a situation in which the facts of the case appear to contradict those laws, e.g., a case in which two plus two appears to add up to five. In such a case, the truth of two plus two equals four will not be questioned. What will be questioned is the report of their adding up to five and every aspect of the process of reaching such a mistaken conclusion.

# RND 3 v. NT MQ

## 1NC

### 1st Off

#### [A.] Uniqueness – US regulatory climate causing shift to China to develop next generation reactors

Hall-Energy Digital-1/23/12

US to Explore Small Nuclear Reactor Designs

<http://www.energydigital.com/green_technology/us-to-explore-small-nuclear-reactor-designs>

In the wake of the Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster last year, technology companies are stepping up to develop safer, more economical nuclear reactors in an attempt to wean dependence on conventional, large-scale nuclear used all over the world today. After Bill Gates took his concepts to China—where regulations on nuclear plants are less stringent and innovations gain support—the DOE's announcement is a positive step in spurring more US manufacturing. “America’s choice is clear - we can either develop the next generation of clean energy technologies, which will help create thousands of new jobs and export opportunities here in America, or we can wait for other countries to take the lead,” said Energy Secretary Steven Chu. “The funding opportunity announced today is a significant step forward in designing, manufacturing, and exporting U.S. small modular reactors, advancing our competitive edge in the global clean energy race.”

#### [B.] Link – The plans revitalizing of the US industry undermines Chinese export markets

Ferguson 10—President of the Federation of American Scientists. Adjunct Professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University and an Adjunct Lecturer in the National Security Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University. (Charles, Nuclear Energy and Nonproliferation: The Implications of Expanded Nuclear Energy in Asia, in Asia’s Rising Power and America’s Continued Purpose, Ed Tellis, Marble and Tanner, 146)

Although China began to develop commercial nuclear energy a decade or two after Japan and South Korea, Beijing is emulating the course charted by Tokyo and Seoul. If China achieves its ambitious goal of more than one hundred operating commercial reactors by 2030, it will likely become the state with the most nuclear power plants in the world unless a major surge in construction occurs in the United States. China may also emerge by then as a major supplier of nuclear technologies and may garner clients in Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

#### [C.] Impact – Chinese soft power

#### [1.] Chinese nuclear exports key to soft power

Blank-prof strategic studies institute, Army War College-6/16/10

China puts down marker in nuclear power race<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China_Business/LF16Cb01.html>

Therefore, China's recent nuclear exports to Pakistan and the future of its nuclear exports in general need to be examined in these three contexts. The first context is that of the overall growth of the assertiveness of China's diplomacy in general and efforts to use nuclear power and military instruments like missiles as sources of influence abroad. In the case of exports to Pakistan, a second context is the long-standing geopolitical rivalry among India, China and Pakistan in which China's "all-weather" friendship with Pakistan has been a deliberate and conscious Chinese strategy to inhibit the growth of Indian power. Finally, we must keep in mind that China is not only an exporter of nuclear energy, it also is a consumer of that energy and so it will be a key market for other exports from the likes of Russia, the United States, France, South Korea, and Japan. As an importer, it obviously will welcome the rivalry of exporters who wish to sell to it so that it can obtain more favorable terms. However, as an exporter of nuclear energy and a power that wants to export more of it for both economic and political gain, it cannot afford to let either its rivals outpace it in Asia or in other areas that China deems as essential to the pursuit of its larger strategic goals.

#### [2.] Chinese soft power key to international security and resolving all global problems

Zhang-professor at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations-9/4/12

http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-09/04/content\_26421330.htm

The rise of China's political soft power

As China plays an increasingly significant role in the world, its soft power must be attractive both domestically as well as internationally. The world faces many difficulties, including widespread poverty, international conflict, the clash of civilizations and environmental protection. Thus far, the Western model has not been able to decisively address these issues; the China model therefore brings hope that we can make progress in conquering these dilemmas. Poverty and development The Western-dominated global economic order has worsened poverty in developing countries. Per-capita consumption of resources in developed countries is 32 times as large as that in developing countries. Almost half of the population in the world still lives in poverty. Western countries nevertheless still are striving to consolidate their wealth using any and all necessary means. In contrast, China forged a new path of development for its citizens in spite of this unfair international order which enabled it to virtually eliminate extreme poverty at home. This extensive experience would indeed be helpful in the fight against global poverty. War and peace In the past few years, the American model of "exporting democracy'" has produced a more turbulent world, as the increased risk of terrorism threatens global security. In contrast, China insists that "harmony is most precious". It is more practical, the Chinese system argues, to strengthen international cooperation while addressing both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism. The clash of civilizations Conflict between Western countries and the Islamic world is intensifying. "In a world, which is diversified and where multiple civilizations coexist, the obligation of Western countries is to protect their own benefits yet promote benefits of other nations," wrote Harvard University professor Samuel P. Huntington in his seminal 1993 essay "The Clash of Civilizations?". China strives for "being harmonious yet remaining different", which means to respect other nations, and learn from each other. This philosophy is, in fact, wiser than that of Huntington, and it's also the reason why few religious conflicts have broken out in China. China's stance in regards to reconciling cultural conflicts, therefore, is more preferable than its "self-centered" Western counterargument. Environmental protection Poorer countries and their people are the most obvious victims of global warming, yet they are the least responsible for the emission of greenhouse gases. Although Europeans and Americans have a strong awareness of environmental protection, it is still hard to change their extravagant lifestyles. Chinese environmental protection standards are not yet ideal, but some effective environmental ideas can be extracted from the China model. Perfecting the China model The China model is still being perfected, but its unique influence in dealing with the above four issues grows as China becomes stronger. China's experiences in eliminating poverty, prioritizing modernization while maintaining traditional values, and creating core values for its citizens demonstrate our insight and sense of human consciousness. Indeed, the success of the China model has not only brought about China's rise, but also a new trend that can't be explained by Western theory. In essence, the rise of China is the rise of China's political soft power, which has significantly helped China deal with challenges, assist developing countries in reducing poverty, and manage global issues. As the China model improves, it will continue to surprise the world.

### 2nd Off

#### TPA will pass (also in 2NC: K2 Trans-Pacific FTA F/L)

Fatka 3/20

[Jacqui Fatka, 3/20/2013, USTR voices support for Trade Promotion Authority, <http://feedstuffs.com/story-ustr-voices-support-trade-promotion-authority-45-96288>, uwyo//amp]

Committee chairman Sen. Max Baucus (D., Mont.) said given the ambitious trade agenda including the TPP and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership in Europe the need for TPA is clear. "TPA is a key negotiating tool and will help bring these trade agreements to a successful conclusion," he said, adding that it's been more than a decade since the last TPA was renewed. Since then exports have more than doubled, which means a new TPA should reflect new realities that come with economic priorities and challenges. "I’m pleased that the Administration has indicated its interest in working with Congress to get TPA done. Working together, we will pass this important trade legislation," Baucus said.

#### Obama pc key to Democrats

Palmer 3/1

[Doug Palmer, reuters, 3/1/2013, White House says it will seek "fast-track" trade authority, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/03/01/us-obama-trade-idUSBRE9200PK20130301>, uwyo//amp]

Trade promotion authority, also known as TPA or "fast track," allows the White House to submit deals to Congress for straight up-or-down votes without any amendments. It is considered essential to assuring other countries that any deal they reach with the United States will not be picked apart by U.S. lawmakers during the approval process. Both Camp and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Max Baucus, a Democrat from Montana, have announced plans to pursue TPA legislation. But many lawmakers believe a strong push from Obama is needed because trade bills are unpopular with many Democrats. After four years of telling Congress they would seek TPA at "the appropriate time," the annual trade agenda released on Friday by the U.S. trade representative's office contained the administration's most forward-leaning language yet. "To facilitate the conclusion, approval, and implementation of market-opening negotiating efforts, we will also work with Congress on Trade Promotion Authority. Such authority will guide current and future negotiations, and will thus support a jobs-focused trade agenda moving forward," the report said.

#### Nuclear power has significant opposition – public and congressional

Andrew Freedman, Editor and Senior Science writer for Climate Central, “Feds Approve First Nuclear Reactors Since 1970s”, Climatecentral.org, February 9th, 2012.

By a v ote of 4 to 1 , the Nuclear Regulatory Commission approv ed the construction of the first new nuclear reactors to be built in the United States since 1 97 8. The reactors would be built at the Vogtle power plant near Way nesboro, Ga., which is a nuclear power plant operated by the Southern Company . As The Hill's E-2 Wire blog noted, the lone dissenting v ote was cast by NRC Chairman Gregory Jaczko. The nuclear industry has faced numerous obstacles, most recently the backlash following the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan, in its efforts to build new nuclear plants in the U.S., and the Commission has issued recommendations on how to better protect U.S. reactors from earthquakes and floods. The country currently operates 1 04 nuclear reactors, but all were approv ed at least three decades ago. “This is a historic day ,” said Marv in Fertel, president of the Nuclear Energy Institute, the industry ’s trade group in a statement. “Today ’s licensing action sounds a clarion call to the world that the United States recognizes the importance of expanding nuclear energy as a key component of a low-carbon energy future that is central to job creation, div ersity of electricity supply and energy security .” Andrew Restuccia, writing for The Hill, noted the project still needs to ov ercome public opposition to nuclear power that may result in a lawsuit against the project, and congressional opposition to a hefty $8.3 billion federal conditional loan guarantee for reactor construction. "Some Democrats in Congress — noting that the loan guarantee is more than 1 5 times the size of the one granted to the failed solar firm Soly ndra — hav e called on Obama not to finalize the loan." “Ithink we are putting our taxpay er money at unnecessary risk giv en the unresolv ed safety issues and the lessons that hav e been learned from Fukushima,” Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.), a senior Democrat on the House Energy and Commerce Committee and a v ocal critic of nuclear power, told The Hill Wednesday . The Obama administration has supported the dev elopment of new nuclear power plants as a way to reduce greenhouse gas emissons and cut the use of fossil fuels.

#### TPA is key successful free trade

Needham 3/1

[Vicki Needham, March 01, 2013, White House calls for renewal of fast-track authority,http://thehill.com/blogs/on-the-money/1005-trade/285721-white-house-calls-for-renewal-of-fast-track-authority, uwyo//amp]

Trade supporters say new free-trade agreements are needed to create jobs here and boost the economy. "Once a global leader on trade, the United States is now falling behind," Hatch said. "Our stagnant economy needs the boost that trade can provide. I hope the President recognizes this reality and begins to work with Congress immediately on legislation to renew TPA.” With global competition growing and 95 percent of the world’s consumers outside of U.S. borders, trade agreements are a way to boost exports for manufacturers. "As part of an aggressive trade agenda, the administration and Congress must work together now to restore the executive–congressional trade-negotiating pact known as trade promotion authority," said David Hoover, NAM's chairman of its international economic policy committee. "This is vital to accelerating and implementing comprehensive market-opening negotiations. Implementing the right trade policies will make us more competitive globally and create manufacturing jobs right here at home," he said. The White House said it is committed to completing the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) deal, which is expected this year, and launching negotiations with the European Union, which could take upward of two years, according to the report sent to Congress. Other initiatives include working on an international services agreement and expanding the Information Technology Agreement. "President Obama’s trade strategy for 2013 calls for continued progress and bold steps that will build on last year’s record-setting U.S. export performance in support of greater economic growth and jobs for more Americans,” said U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk.

#### Trade solves terrorism: economic globalization gets rid of the incentives for terrorists to attack because benefits of economic integration increase opportunity.

Gries and Meierrieks 11

(Thomas and Daniel, University of Paderborn [Department of Economics], University of Paderborn [Department of Economics], “Forces of Good and Evil: U.S. Economic and Politico‐Military Power,

Globalization, and Anti‐American Terrorism,” September 2011, [http://www.pubchoicesoc.org/papers\_2012/Meierrieks\_Gries.pdf//wyo-mm](http://www.pubchoicesoc.org/papers_2012/Meierrieks_Gries.pdf/wyo-mm))

There are, however, some studies showing that globalization may produce favorable economic outcomes. For instance, Dreher (2006) finds that economic globalization spurs economic growth, while Dollar (2005) argues that economic globalization has contributed to global growth, poverty reduction, and a modest decline in global inequality. If these studies are correct, we ought to expect a diminishing effect of economic globalization on terrorism. When socioeconomic conditions improve as a consequence of economic globalization, (potential) terrorists have fewer incentives to attack (e.g., Li and Schaub 2004). In particular, they ought to have little incentives to attack the U.S. as a prime “globalizer”, given that terrorist activity may cut them off from the benefits of globalization. Economically speaking, if the benefits of economic integration exceed its costs, the opportunity costs of terrorism are expected to increase (e.g., due to additional economic alternatives to violence), meaning that terrorist recruitment is likely to be aggravated and popular support for terrorism likely to decrease (e.g., Freytag et al. 2011). Following this discussion, our alternative hypothesis (H3b) concerning the relationship between economic integration and anti‐U.S. terrorism is: Hypothesis 3b: Economic globalization (an increasing economic influence of the United States) is associated with fewer attacks against U.S. interests.

#### Nuclear terrorism is an existential threat—it escalates to nuclear war with Russia and China.

Ayson 10

Professor of Strategic Studies and Director of the Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand at the Victoria University of Wellington (Robert, “After a Terrorist Nuclear Attack: Envisaging Catalytic Effects,” Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, Volume 33, Issue 7, July, Available Online to Subscribing Institutions via InformaWorld)

A terrorist nuclear attack, and even the use of nuclear weapons in response by the country attacked in the first place, would not necessarily represent the worst of the nuclear worlds imaginable. Indeed, there are reasons to wonder whether nuclear terrorism should ever be regarded as belonging in the category of truly existential threats. A contrast can be drawn here with the global catastrophe that would come from a massive nuclear exchange between two or more of the sovereign states that possess these weapons in significant numbers. Even the worst terrorism that the twenty-first century might bring would fade into insignificance alongside considerations of what a general nuclear war would have wrought in the Cold War period. And it must be admitted that as long as the major nuclear weapons states have hundreds and even thousands of nuclear weapons at their disposal, there is always the possibility of a truly awful nuclear exchange taking place precipitated entirely by state possessors themselves. But these two nuclear worlds—a non-state actor nuclear attack and a catastrophic interstate nuclear exchange—are not necessarily separable. It is just possible that some sort of terrorist attack, and especially an act of nuclear terrorism, could precipitate a chain of events leading to a massive exchange of nuclear weapons between two or more of the states that possess them. In this context, today’s and tomorrow’s terrorist groups might assume the place allotted during the early Cold War years to new state possessors of small nuclear arsenals who were seen as raising the risks of a catalytic nuclear war between the superpowers started by third parties. These risks were considered in the late 1950s and early 1960s as concerns grew about nuclear proliferation, the so-called n+1 problem. It may require a considerable amount of imagination to depict an especially plausible situation where an act of nuclear terrorism could lead to such a massive inter-state nuclear war. For example, in the event of a terrorist nuclear attack on the United States, it might well be wondered just how Russia and/or China could plausibly be brought into the picture, not least because they seem unlikely to be fingered as the most obvious state sponsors or encouragers of terrorist groups. They would seem far too responsible to be involved in supporting that sort of terrorist behavior that could just as easily threaten them as well. Some possibilities, however remote, do suggest themselves. For example, how might the United States react if it was thought or discovered that the fissile material used in the act of nuclear terrorism had come from Russian stocks,40 and if for some reason Moscow denied any responsibility for nuclear laxity? The correct attribution of that nuclear material to a particular country might not be a case of science fiction given the observation by Michael May et al. that while the debris resulting from a nuclear explosion would be “spread over a wide area in tiny fragments, its radioactivity makes it detectable, identifiable and collectable, and a wealth of information can be obtained from its analysis: the efficiency of the explosion, the materials used and, most important … some indication of where the nuclear material came from.”41 Alternatively, if the act of nuclear terrorism came as a complete surprise, and American officials refused to believe that a terrorist group was fully responsible (or responsible at all) suspicion would shift immediately to state possessors. Ruling out Western ally countries like the United Kingdom and France, and probably Israel and India as well, authorities in Washington would be left with a very short list consisting of North Korea, perhaps Iran if its program continues, and possibly Pakistan. But at what stage would Russia and China be definitely ruled out in this high stakes game of nuclear Cluedo? In particular, if the act of nuclear terrorism occurred against a backdrop of existing tension in Washington’s relations with Russia and/or China, and at a time when threats had already been traded between these major powers, would officials and political leaders not be tempted to assume the worst? Of course, the chances of this occurring would only seem to increase if the United States was already involved in some sort of limited armed conflict with Russia and/or China, or if they were confronting each other from a distance in a proxy war, as unlikely as these developments may seem at the present time. The reverse might well apply too: should a nuclear terrorist attack occur in Russia or China during a period of heightened tension or even limited conflict with the United States, could Moscow and Beijing resist the pressures that might rise domestically to consider the United States as a possible perpetrator or encourager of the attack? Washington’s early response to a terrorist nuclear attack on its own soil might also raise the possibility of an unwanted (and nuclear aided) confrontation with Russia and/or China. For example, in the noise and confusion during the immediate aftermath of the terrorist nuclear attack, the U.S. president might be expected to place the country’s armed forces, including its nuclear arsenal, on a higher stage of alert. In such a tense environment, when careful planning runs up against the friction of reality, it is just possible that Moscow and/or China might mistakenly read this as a sign of U.S. intentions to use force (and possibly nuclear force) against them. In that situation, the temptations to preempt such actions might grow, although it must be admitted that any preemption would probably still meet with a devastating response.

### 3rd Off

#### No exports-mass congressional and manufacturing division

Rascoe 2013

[Ayesha Rascoe, Reuters, February 12, 2013, U.S. senate panel mulls future of natural gas policy, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/12/us-usa-congress-natural-gas-idUSBRE91B15Q20130212>, uwyo//amp]

The issue has divided lawmakers and manufacturers however, with some raising concerns that copious exports will hurt certain energy intensive domestic industries that recently have used low gas prices to gain a competitive advantage. "Unchecked LNG export licensing can cause demand shocks, and the resulting price volatility can have substantial adverse impacts on U.S. manufacturing and competitiveness," Andrew Liveris, chief executive of Dow Chemical, said in prepared testimony. Dow, one of the most vocal critics of unfettered exports, left the National Association of Manufacturers over its opposition to any bans on gas exports.

#### Plan causes exports-puts downward pressure on prices and trades off

Perry 12 (Mark J., Scholar – AEI, Professor of Economics and Finance – University of Michigan, “Natural gas and nuclear power need to share the lead in power generation for the future,” American Enterprise Institute, 9-26, http://www.aei.org/article/natural-gas-and-nuclear-power-need-to-share-the-lead-in-power-generation-for-the-future/)

Recent advances in drilling technologies have unleashed a boom in domestic natural gas production. The United States may have more than 100 years' worth of gas reserves, and perhaps much more, including large untapped resources in Michigan. Policy makers are increasingly looking to natural gas as the locomotive of economic growth. A striking example is the increasing use of gas in electricity production. For the last several years, natural gas has accounted for more than 80% of new electric generating capacity in the United States. It now provides 32% of total electricity generation, up from 25% just two years ago, and its share could reach 50% by 2030. Natural gas, of course, has many virtues as a fuel. Its carbon content is less than half that of coal and it emits no mercury or other toxic particulates. But natural gas is needed for much more than electricity generation. In addition to residential and commercial heating, gas accounts for the bulk of the fuel used by the petrochemical industry. Manufacturing relies on the availability of cheap gas, and its use in transportation is increasing. Additionally, gas producers are gearing up to export some of the gas to markets in Europe and Asia, where gas costs up to five times more than it does in the United States. A dozen or more U.S. companies have applied for licenses to export liquefied natural gas from terminals, mainly on the Gulf of Mexico. Because of its multiple uses and rising popularity, the demand for natural gas is starting to increase, and its price could rise significantly. That is a real possibility, and would be consistent with its long history of price volatility. If we hope to maintain the security of our energy supply, we will need to expand the use of other energy sources, including nuclear power, which is also environmentally attractive and affordable. Although the capital cost of building a nuclear plant is high, the average price of nuclear-generated electricity is lower than power produced from natural gas. In 2011, the production cost of nuclear power was 2.19 cents per kilowatt-hour, compared to 4.51 cents for natural gas and 3.23 cents for coal. Today about 20% of America’s electricity comes from nuclear power. But demand for electricity is growing steadily and that trend will continue in the future. Without building new nuclear plants, pressure will build to use even more natural gas for electricity generation, making less available for manufacturing and transportation.

#### Low prices bring chemical innovation back to the US

Brady 12 – Jeff Brady, writer for NPR, February 13, 2012, "Natural Gas Boom Energizing The Chemical Industry" [www.npr.org/2012/02/13/146803953/natural-gas-boom-energizing-the-chemical-industry](http://www.npr.org/2012/02/13/146803953/natural-gas-boom-energizing-the-chemical-industry)

Just outside of West Virginia's capital city, Charleston, on the banks of the Kanawha River, sits the Institute Industrial Park. Chemical plants have operated here continuously since World War II, when the local factories cranked out synthetic rubber. Today there are industrial pipes, tanks and buildings stretching in just about every direction.¶ Soon, there could be more.¶ U.S. chemical companies are the latest beneficiaries of the nation's natural gas drilling boom. Long focused on cheap gas sources elsewhere in the world, companies are now looking to expand here. **A surplus of natural gas has pushed down prices, making it more attractive for chemical companies** that use lots of gas to reopen shuttered plants and build new ones.¶ Sleepy rural communities across the country are turning into industrial zones — and that worries people who live nearby. But the boom is good news for manufacturers that need cheap, plentiful supplies of natural gas.¶ The natural gas drilling boom near Charleston has local business boosters lobbying for a huge new chemical plant, called an ethane cracker, which could bring jobs to the state.¶ "It will take approximately 2,000 construction workers two years just to build the facility," says Matthew Ballard, president and chief executive officer of the Charleston Area Alliance. "Once up and running, there will be several hundred jobs at that cracking facility."¶ The plant would "crack" ethane — break it down at the molecular level — and turn it into ethylene. Kevin DiGregorio, executive director of the Chemical Alliance Zone in Charleston, says ethylene is used to produce all sorts of things, from the cushions we sit on to the clothes we wear.¶ "Everything that's not wood, or maybe brick, is made with chemicals, certainly. But probably 40 to 60 percent of it is made from ethylene," DiGregorio says. "It's very, very important to our daily lives."¶ States Compete For Plants, Jobs¶ The Marcellus Shale, from which nearby drillers are pulling natural gas, is particularly ethane-rich. Most natural gas contains anywhere from 2 to 8 percent of ethane, DiGregorio says, but "Marcellus natural gas contains as much as 14 to 16 percent" of ethane.¶ Bayer CropScience, the company that operates the industrial park near Charleston, is talking with companies interested in building ethane crackers in the region. No official announcement has been made, but business leaders here are keeping their fingers crossed.¶ The same is true elsewhere around northern Appalachia. Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia are competing to lure a new ethane cracker that the oil company Shell plans to build. Firms in Canada also see opportunity in the Marcellus Shale.¶ Economy¶ Project's Promise Of Jobs Has Appalachia Seeing Stars¶ "We wouldn't have to go back very far — literally just seven or eight years — and the picture for the industry here in North America was pretty uncertain," says Randy Woelfel, CEO of NOVA Chemicals in Calgary, Alberta.¶ He says high oil prices sent a lot of petrochemical manufacturing overseas to the Middle East and Asia. But now, low natural gas prices and the ethane-rich Marcellus Shale have changed everything.¶ "That means ... that we'll be back in the hiring business, rather than the consolidation and survival/cost-cutting mode that NOVA was clearly in for much of the last decade," Woelfel says.

#### A competitive chemical industry is key to sustainability, and solves extinction

ICCA 2 – ICCA (International Council of Chemical Associations), June 20, 2002, “SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY,” online: http://www.cefic.be/position/icca/pp\_ic010.htm

Sustainability in economic terms means the efficient management of scarce resources as well as a prospering industry and economy. Sustainability in the environmental sense means not placing an intolerable load on the ecosphere and maintaining the natural basis for life. Seen from society's viewpoint, sustainability means that human beings are the centre of concern. In view, particularly, of the population increase worldwide, there needs to be provided as large a measure of equal opportunities, freedom, social justice and security as possible. ¶ The chemical industry views Sustainable Development as a challenge put before all parts of society. In the advances made in its own operations, its improved performance and in the improvements to the human condition made through its products, the chemical industry sees cause for optimism and believes that Sustainable Development can be the intellectual framework around which the chemical industry, other industries and other sectors of society can reach consensus on how to improve living standards and the environment. ¶ The main challenges facing the world include:- ¶ \* Optimizing the benefits obtained from depleting resources¶ \* Assuring against excessive strains placed on the eco-system¶ \* The dynamic growth of the world population¶ \* Remedying social and economic inequalities¶ These are challenges on a global scale. It follows, therefore, that the attainment of Sustainable Development will call for action on the part of the people, governments, businesses and organisations around the world. The global chemical industry has realized this challenge. ¶ CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT¶ The chemical industry is a key industry. Its products and services are instrumental in meeting the needs of mankind. It is present in all areas of life, from food and clothing, housing, communications, transport - right through to leisure activities. In addition, it helps to solve the problems of other sectors of industry, such as the energy sector, information technologies, environmental industries and the waste disposal sector, as examples.¶ Due to its size, the chemical industry is an important supplier to a broad range of downstream industries and is, as well, a customer of a broad range of products and services from other industries. It follows, therefore, that the chemical industry plays a major role in providing/ supporting performance improvements, research and development progress and, last but not least, employment in other industries.¶ In itself, it is a large-scale provider of jobs and makes a significant contribution to wealth creation and, hence, to the financing of both public works and the exercise of public responsibilities. Since living standards are determined to a large degree by material considerations, it is clear that the chemical industry with its unique capabilities is in a position to make a decisive contribution to Sustainable Development.¶ Commitment by the world chemical industry to the concept of Sustainable Development requires words to be transposed into company-specific action programmes in order to provide a framework for all those working in the sector. Its "Responsible Care" initiative, self-monitoring systems and other voluntary programmes such as Sustainable Technology (SUSTECH), Education-Industry Partnerships, Energy Efficiency Programmes are also part of this framework. Thereby, companies are also confronted with new challenges and must act responsibly. They must take account of the consequences of their actions upon society and future generations.¶ The global chemical industry believes that the key to improving the performance of the industry is both its commitment to achieving environmentally sound Sustainable Development and improved performance and transparency. Under the concept ¶ environment, to seek continuous improvement in performance, to educate all staff and work with customers and communities regarding product use and overall operation. Through these efforts the industry is improving its efficiency, reducing risks to health and the environment and making better products which, in turn, help individual and industry customers.¶ THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY's LEADERSHIP IN INNOVATION¶ The very notion of Sustainable Development will require new approaches in a number of areas. Innovation at all levels and in all fields of activity is the most effective instrument for ensuring that the economic, and environmental goals, as well as those of society, are being advanced.¶ The chemical industry's contribution is to continue innovation of new products that meet customer needs and manufacturing processes that reduce risks to health and the environment. This contribution is based upon the knowledge and experience the industry has acquired from applying innovation not only to making, handling and use of chemical compounds, but also to reprocessing, recycling and solving environmental problems. The challenge facing the chemical industry is to maximize innovation, which can contribute to society meeting its goals for Sustainable Development. ¶ The chemical industry is firmly convinced that leadership in innovation represents the best way of attaining Sustainable Development. For the individual company, this means:- ¶ \* a consistent orientation towards products, technologies and solutions which offer the greatest promise for the future¶ \* development of new integrated environmental technologies¶ \* a close cooperation with the customers of the chemical industry¶ \* adaptation to the conditions of global competition¶ \* bringing the most promising products quickly on the market¶ \* strengthening the R&D effort which requires resources which can only be financed from profitable earnings¶ \* actively contributing ideas and suggestions to the policy debates taking place in society¶ \* improving process yield (efficiency).¶ APPROACH TO THE ECONOMIC GOAL OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT¶ The internationalization of the economy at large, in conjunction with a growing trend towards global competition, is becoming more and more apparent. This is being manifested by:- ¶ \* an increase of imports and exports of goods as well as services¶ \* growing outward and inward flows of direct investment¶ \* an ever increasing exchange of technology transfers¶ \* globalization of monetary and financial schemes. ¶ The inter-relation of economic systems is complex, with a variety of relationships among countries. Multi-national chemical companies apply common standards in spreading investment capital and stimulating markets around the globe, thus setting the scene for the world market. What they need, in order to play a constructive role in Sustainable Development, is, first and foremost, freedom and fairness in international trade. Trade as an engine of economic growth is essential for Sustainable Development. A climate needs to be fostered within which such growth may take place on the basis of a clear set of rules with predictable consequences, by which investors may be guided in their long-term decision-making process. This includes bringing to a halt the growing intervention by governments in industry and their ever increasing demands to raise income by taxation, thus imposing a disproportionate load on the business community.¶ Wealth creation and **profits are fundamental to Sustainable Development**. They sustain economies (not just the chemical industry), and contribute, via re-investment and R&D, to new technologies and environmental improvements. Profits are needed to create flexible company structures oriented towards economic, environmental and society-related requirements.¶ The chemical industry is a major industrial sector and an essential contributor to welfare and employment on a global scale. In order to maintain this position under the imperative of Sustainable Development, the long-term future of the industry must be rooted in a dynamic policy, whereby continual innovation and re-engineering of companies result in an increase of productivity and, thus, keeping up international competitiveness as a pre-requisite of sustainable job creation.

### 4th Off

#### The 50 states, Washington D.C., and relevant territories should offer power purchase agreements to companies that generate electricity from small modular reactors in the United States.

#### States can take the lead in SMR development – South Carolina proves

Chourey 6/23/12 (Sarita, Savannah Morning News, “S.C. hopes to lead in small modular nuclear reactors,” <http://savannahnow.com/hardeeville/2012-06-23/sc-hopes-lead-small-modular-nuclear-reactors#.UB1RxshWpJU>, TGA)

COLUMBIA — Thousands of jobs could be coming to South Carolina, if federal funding helps develop small modular reactors in the state, a prospect that drew a challenge from a nuclear safety group during a news conference Tuesday. Government and industry leaders gathered outside the S.C. Statehouse to lay out how a grant program from the U.S. Department of Energy could strengthen the state’s economy and plug it into the potential $100 billion market. During Tuesday’s event, nuclear-safety activist Tom Clements tried to ask Republican Gov. Nikki Haley how the Palmetto State would address the risk that South Carolina could be stuck with spent fuel as a result of the new small modular reactors (SMR). “It’s logical that the spent reactors and all the spent nuclear fuel would come back here to South Carolina. Are you advocating that we become some kind of holding ground?” said Clements, addressing Haley. “That’s a different conversation altogether,” she responded. “This is about new technology and the new way that we look at nuclear. And so this is not a side conversation that we’re going to have ... .” Clements was then confronted by a Haley staff member, who sought to curtail his questions. Holtec International, whose corporate headquarters are in Jupiter, Fla., is among those competing for federal energy funding to design, license, manufacture and commercialize SMR technology. Representatives from Holtec, SCE&G and Areva, as well as Columbia Mayor Steve Benjamin, others, also convened around the podium at Tuesday’s news conference. SCE&G has offered to operate the reactor if Holtec builds it at the Savannah River Site. “Not only do we have the incredible regulatory environment, we have great support at the federal level, at the state level, and certainly at the local level ... which is, I must say, rare,” said Benjamin. Haley said landing the new industry would benefit generations. “We want the country to see South Carolina is stepping forward not backward,” she said.

### 5th Off

#### Nuclear industry fuels the power of the state and militarism enables social repression and control through the establishment of hierarchal social relationships and technology

Plumwood, 1984

[Val, Presenting to the social control conference @ Sydney, “The state and the expansion of nuclear technology.” Online, http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/radicalideas/files/2010/11/Plumwood-1984-The-state-and-the-explanation-of-nuclear-technology-1.PDF] /Wyo-MB

The nuclear industry then has been largely state-developed, owned and promoted. We can't explain the phenomenon of its development, in the face of apparently major problems, risks and disadvantages, without seeing the state as having a crucial and largely independent role, independent that is of its more conventionally attributed role of protecting long-term capitalist interests.¶ Nuclear technology is not obviously in the interests of capital, although it does have numerous features which make it attractive for profit-making e.g. it is capital- intensive, large-scale, centralised and suitable for monopolisation. So of course are many other possible energy sources. But capital has required constant coaxing and reassurance to continue to participate, and the industry would apparently have become defunct some time ago if those mythical ft market forces had been allowed to prevail. Thus there have been no new orders for reactors in the U.S. since 1977, and the industry is in a financial mess even with the highly favourable conditions provided by the state. [2]¶ The industry does however seem to be highly suited to increasing the power of the state itself, both through its military connection, and through its contribution to overall technological, social and bureaucratic centralisation.¶ This seems to present a fairly clear case then where the state has operated with some relative autonomy in promoting a technology which appears to be in its own interests rather than primarily that of capital, and to be the chief promoter and beneficiary of the industry which capitalism has to be coaxed to support.¶ So far the data I have presented is consistent both with a sophisticated Marxist theory which allows some relative autonomy [3] to institutions such as the state, and with more traditional anarchist theories which see the state as the central organ of social repression and the production of hierarchical social relationships and associated technologies (this last a modern addition). There are however other factors which have to be taken into account to understand the kind of social control being exercised here, and which show that the state reduction model - the reduction of all significant factors to the state (or to some combination of state and capital) is too simple and has other defects as well. These factors show the need to press on beyond purely state or other reductive models and to develop a more pluralistic model of the operation of power which sees power as " a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression". [4]

#### Technological control through nuclear power makes nuclear apocalypse inevitable- the tools the state uses lead to destruction of life

Hubbard, 1997

[Bryan, MA Thesis at Arizona state University, Nuclear criticism after the cold war: a rhetorical analysis of two contemporary atomic campaigns, 8-1-1997, http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA327948] /Wyo-MB

Brummett (1989) notes the entelechial drive toward perfection at work in the rhetoric of nuclear weapons strategy. Hirschbein (1989) also saw the eventual progress of nuclear science enabling an "ersatz immortality -- immortalization through making a lasting monumental impact on history" (p. 167). This impulse to power is not new. Humanity has always feared death, seized the greatest power available to avoid death and then created rationalizations to romanticize death. Like other continuities flowing into the nuclear age, the drive toward perfection accelerates with nuclear knowledge and its accompanying industrial capacity. The drive toward perfection informs the other two continuities present in the nuclear age -- the desire to cut and control and a shared fascination with the apocalypse.¶ Since humanity became a problem-solving organism, it has strived to cut and control its environment in hopes of improving its strategic situation. Harris (1991) claimed the drive to control the environment involves an attempt to master energy. He¶ traced the search for energy through ancient times noting that the control of energy enabled the control not only of the environment but of its inhabiting organisms. As people became more organized and specialized, the control of energy became centralized. The modem experience of nuclear energy enables an acceleration of this process placing virtually unlimited power (energy) in the hands of an unprecedented few (Mumford, 1980). The tendency Harris observed is one continuity flowing through our current nuclear experiences. J. Burke and Omstein (1995) call this continuity the drive to cut and control.¶ This desire to cut and control nature makes human beings human and links our creativity and destructive capacities, our tool-using nature, and our problem-solving inclinations (J. Burke & Omstein, 1995). In The Chalice and The Blade: Our History, Our Future, Eisler (1988) sees the modem nuclear predicament as the logical perfection of ancient traditions which claim authority and legitimacy through the "power of the lethal Blade" (p. 184). She sees the current path of society set along a grim trajectory and says, "[a] dominator future is therefore, sooner or later, almost certainly also a future of global nuclear war -- and the end of all of humanity's problems and aspirations" (Eisler, p. 184). This trajectory for her originates thousands of years prior to the discovery of the atom. The cult of the blade originated in the "Initial Kurganization" of Old Europe from 4000-3500 B.C.E. according to Eisler (p. 250). The impulse to cut and control (J. Burke & Omstein, 1995) guides the development of humanity from its earliest tool-making days. The potential destructive power parallels the productive capacity of humanity's tools. This trajectory accelerates into the twentieth century creating a situation where,¶ according to Eisler, would-be totalitarians and their "faith in the power of the lethal Blade as the instrument of deliverance" (p. 184) become one source of today's nuclearism.

#### The alternative is to refuse nuclear power production in favor of the 1NC criticism.

#### And the alt solves—need analysis of power relationships embedded in nuclear knowledge and structures—key to resist centralized development of knowledge and power (green highlighting)

Plumwood, 1984

[Val, Presenting to the social control conference @ Sydney, “The state and the expansion of nuclear technology.” Online, http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/radicalideas/files/2010/11/Plumwood-1984-The-state-and-the-explanation-of-nuclear-technology-1.PDF] /Wyo-MB

What is clear from recent events in Australia is the importance of moving beyond a narrow, 'political' approach to the nuclear issue to one which is based on an analysis of the power structures embedded in it. This is important for the survival of the anti-nuclear movement as an important social force in Australia. The anti-nuclear movement in Australia has had great strength and by some criteria, great success. But the recent treatment of the issue at the hands of politicians illustrates vividly the ultimate bankruptcy of elite-oriented strategies for change based on appeals to decision-makers and working within a state and electoral framework. An inability to focus on alternative strategies will probably cause the death or serious weakening of the movement in the coming period of political confrontation, yet its demise as a widespread activist issue would be a serious loss. An alternative approach, stressing long-term strategies and institutional analysis, has great promise because the multiplicity of factors, critiques and sites of resistance to nuclear power gives the issue great potential. And such a social movement also has the ability to bring about or reinforce social awareness of the undemocratic character of social life and of the need for other sorts of fundamental changes in social relations, provided of course that the means adopted, for example, for working in groups, are themselves appropriate to these multiple goals and sufficiently challenging to day-to-day hierarchical social relationships and power structures e.g. sexist and racist ones. [9]¶ In this strategy then the critique of the role of the state is critical, but it must be combined with a critique of the wider power structure involved. What implications does this analysis have for anarchism itself? Does anarchism emerge as just another form of activism and critique, and anarchists as anti-state activists along with feminists as anti-patriarchy activists for example? This may seem quite threatening to many anarchists, since it threatens the claim to a more central or 'purer' position.¶ Such a view however ignores the relation between the different critiques - it assumes that they just coexist peacefully side-by-side as separate pieces of an overall puzzle, needing only to be assembled in their separate purity to providing a critique, not only of general power structures, but of the means and strategies adopted by other social movements. This concern with means and the stress on appropriate ways of pursuing other political goals, has been traditionally important in anarchist thought.¶ If anarchism is conceived, to a large extent at least, as involving another way of doing something else, of pursuing other social and political goals and effecting social changes in appropriate ways, rather than just as a utopian and unrealizable goal, disconnected from strategies and from other movements for social change, then there is an important relationship between anarchism and other social movements for change. Links with other activist groups become crucial, as does attention to the means by which particular resistances to particular forms of power are conducted. Stress on purity of anarchist doctrine, on 'keeping the hands clean' by not mixing it with less idealistic or utopian social movements must then be seen as sterile and self-defeating, and as removing this fertile area for achieving change. The real challenge to contemporary anarchism, conceived of as a general resistance to hierarchical and centralising structures, would then be in the struggle within movements for social change for appropriate non-hierarchical processes and to achieve alternative social relations, as well as for the adoption of non-centralising means for achieving particular social goals.¶ Anarchism in this picture has a crucial role to play for other social movements in maintaining the means/ends critique, and in promoting non-centralising and non state-strengthening strategies for other activist movements. Other social movements such as the anti-nuclear movement then provide a crucial 'field' for anarchism, which, to the extent that it is a general critique of power and of processes for achieving change, may still have some claim to a central (if not centralising or reductive) role.

### Case

Kills ecosystems, crops, people

K to stop extn

No redundancy

Real, emission cuts k

Coal biggest link

Tipping points

Cooling doesn’t prove

Adaptation fails

Not inevitable

Now and ocean can’t self correct

Ocean health k2 surv

No wars

Att shift

Nuclear war doesn’t escalate

#### 3. Coal industry declining now, multiple reasons.

Lacey, 12

(“[U.S. Coal Generation Drops 19 Percent In One Year, Leaving Coal With 36 Percent Share Of Electricity](http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/)” By [Stephen Lacey](http://thinkprogress.org/author/stephen/) reporter/blogger for Climate Progress, where he writes on clean energy policy, technologies, and finance. Before joining CP, he was an editor/producer with RenewableEnergyWorld.com. He received his B.A. in journalism from Franklin Pierce University, 14, 2012 <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/>) KH

The U.S. coal industry is facing major headwinds. The current drop in generation is mostly due to competition from natural gas. But there are other factors that will assist in pushing coal out of the electricity mix: An aging fleet of plants, cost-competitive renewables, new clean air regulations, and a strong anti-coal movement are working together to reduce the attractiveness of coal. Since 2010, plant operators [have announced 106 retirements](http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/02/29/435012/dirty-aging-coal-plants-set-to-close/) of coal facilities — representing 13 percent of the U.S. fleet, according to the Sierra Club.

#### 4. Natural Gas directly trades off with coal.

Lacey, 12

(“[U.S. Coal Generation Drops 19 Percent In One Year, Leaving Coal With 36 Percent Share Of Electricity](http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/)” By [Stephen Lacey](http://thinkprogress.org/author/stephen/) reporter/blogger for Climate Progress, where he writes on clean energy policy, technologies, and finance. Before joining CP, he was an editor/producer with RenewableEnergyWorld.com. He received his B.A. in journalism from Franklin Pierce University, 14, 2012 <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/>) KH

Power generation from coal is falling quickly. According to [new figures](http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/steo/) from the U.S. Energy Information Administration, coal made up 36 percent of U.S. electricity in the first quarter of 2012 — down from 44.6 percent in the first quarter of 2011. That stunning drop, which represented almost a 20 percent decline in coal generation over the last year, was primarily due to low natural gas prices. As EIA explains, natural gas generation will climb steadily this year, while coal will see a double-digit drop by the end of 2012: Natural‐gas‐fired generation continues to expand its share of total generation at the expense of coal‐fired generation. During the first quarter of 2012, natural gas accounted for 28.7 percent of total generation compared with 20.7 percent during the same quarter last year. In contrast, coal’s share of total generation declined from 44.6 percent to 36.0 percent over the same period. Prices for natural gas delivered to the electric power industry fell by 7.5 percent in 2011, which contributed to a significant increase in the share of natural‐gas‐fired generation. EIA expects this trend to continue in 2012, with electric power sector coal consumption falling by 14 percent. Natural gas in the electric power sector grows by almost 21 percent in 2012, primarily driven by the increasing relative cost advantages of natural gas over coal for power generation in some regions. EIA also projects that coal production at mines will fall by more than 10 percent this year. However, with prices falling due to an increase in secondary inventories, the agency predicts that domestic consumption may rise by just over 1 percent next year.

### AT Biod

**No impact to biodiversity**

**Sagoff et al 97**  Mark, Senior Research Scholar – Institute for Philosophy and Public policy in School of Public Affairs – U. Maryland, William and Mary Law Review, “INSTITUTE OF BILL OF RIGHTS LAW SYMPOSIUM DEFINING TAKINGS: PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION: MUDDLE OR MUDDLE THROUGH? TAKINGS JURISPRUDENCE MEETS THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT”, 38 Wm and Mary L. Rev. 825, March, L/N

Note – Colin Tudge - Research Fellow at the Centre for Philosophy at the London School of Economics. Frmr Zoological Society of London: Scientific Fellow and tons of other positions. PhD. Read zoology at Cambridge.

Simon Levin = Moffet Professor of Biology, Princeton. 2007 American Institute of Biological Sciences Distinguished Scientist Award 2008 Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti 2009 Honorary Doctorate of Science, Michigan State University 2010 Eminent Ecologist Award, Ecological Society of America 2010 Margalef Prize in Ecology, etc… PhD

Although one may agree with ecologists such as Ehrlich and Raven that the earth stands on **the brink of** an episode of **massive extinction, it may not follow** from this grim fact **that human** being**s will suffer** as a result. On the contrary, skeptics such as science writer Colin Tudge have challenged biologists to explain **why we need more than a tenth of the 10 to 100 million species that grace the earth**. Noting that "cultivated systems often out-produce wild systems by 100-fold or more," Tudge declared that "the argument that humans need the variety of other species is, when you think about it, a theological one." n343 Tudge observed that "the **elimination of all but a tiny minorityof our fellow creatures does not affect the material well-being of humans one iota."**n344 This skeptic challenged ecologists to list more than 10,000 species (other than unthreatened microbes) that are essential to ecosystem productivity or functioning. n345 "**The human species could survive just as well if 99.9% of our fellow creatures went extinct,** provided only that we retained the appropriate 0.1% that we need." n346   [\*906]   The monumental Global Biodiversity Assessment ("the Assessment") identified two positions with respect to redundancy of species. "At one extreme is the idea that each species is unique and important, such that its removal or loss will have demonstrable consequences to the functioning of the community or ecosystem." n347 The authors of the Assessment, a panel of eminent ecologists, endorsed this position, saying it is "unlikely that there is much, if any, ecological redundancy in communities over time scales of decades to centuries, the time period over which environmental policy should operate." n348 These eminent ecologists rejected the opposing view, "the notion that species overlap in function to a sufficient degree that removal or loss of a species will be compensated by others, with negligible overall consequences to the community or ecosystem." n349  Other biologists believe, however, that species are so fabulously redundant in the ecological functions they perform that the life-support systems and processes of the planet and ecological processesin general will function perfectly well with fewer of them, certainly fewer than the millions and millions we can expect to remain **even ifevery threatened organism becomes extinct**. n350 Even the kind of sparse and miserable world depicted in the movie Blade Runner could provide a "sustainable" context for the human economy as long as people forgot their aesthetic and moral commitment to the glory and beauty of the natural world. n351 The Assessment makes this point. "Although any ecosystem contains hundreds to thousands of species interacting among themselves and their physical environment, the emerging consensus is that the system is driven by a small number of . . . biotic variables on whose interactions the balance of species are, in a sense, carried along." n352   [\*907]   To make up your mind on the question of the functional redundancy of species, consider an endangered species of bird, plant, or insect and ask how the ecosystem would fare in its absence. The fact that the creature is endangered suggests an answer: it is already in limbo as far as ecosystem processes are concerned. What crucial ecological services does the black-capped vireo, for example, serve? Are any of the species threatened with extinction necessary to the provision of any ecosystem service on which humans depend? If so, which ones are they?  Ecosystems and the species that compose them have changed, dramatically, continually, and totally in virtually every part of the United States. There is little ecological similarity, for example, between New England today and the land where the Pilgrims died. n353 In view of the constant reconfiguration of the biota, **one may wonder why Americans have not suffered more as a result of ecological catastrophes**. The cast of species in nearly every environment changes constantly-local extinction is commonplace in nature-but the crops still grow. Somehow, it seems, property values keep going up on Martha's Vineyard in spite of the tragic disappearance of the heath hen.  One might argue thatthe sheer number and variety of creatures available to any ecosystem buffers that system against stress. Accordingly, we should be concerned if the "library" of creatures ready, willing, and able to colonize ecosystems gets too small. (Advances in genetic engineering may well permit us to write a large number of additions to that "library.") In the United States as in many other parts of the world, however, **the number of species has been increasing dramatically**, not decreasing, as a result of human activity. This is because the hordes of exotic species coming into ecosystems in the United States far exceed the number of species that are becoming extinct. Indeed, introductions may outnumber extinctions by more than ten to one, so that the United States is becoming more and more species-rich all the time largely as a result of human action. n354 [\*908] Peter Vitousek and colleagues estimate that over 1000 non-native plants grow in California alone; in Hawaii there are 861; in Florida, 1210. n355 In Florida more than 1000 non-native insects, 23 species of mammals, and about 11 exotic birds have established themselves. n356 Anyone who waters a lawn or hoes a garden knows how many weeds desire to grow there, how many birds and bugs visit the yard, and how many fungi, creepy-crawlies, and other odd life forms show forth when it rains. All belong to nature, from wherever they might hail, but not many homeowners would claim that there are too few of them. Now, not all exotic species provide ecosystem services; indeed, some may be disruptive or have no instrumental value. n357 This also may be true, of course, of native species as well, especially because all exotics are native somewhere. Certain exotic species, however, such as Kentucky blue grass, establish an area's sense of identity and place; others, such as the green crabs showing up around Martha's Vineyard, are nuisances. n358 Consider an analogy [\*909] with human migration. Everyone knows that after a generation or two, immigrants to this country are hard to distinguish from everyone else. The vast majority of Americans did not evolve here, as it were, from hominids; most of us "came over" at one time or another. This is true of many of our fellow species as well, and they may fit in here just as well as we do. It is possible to distinguish exotic species from native ones for a period of time, just as we can distinguish immigrants from native-born Americans, but as the centuries roll by, species, like people, fit into the landscape or the society, changing and often enriching it. Shall we have a rule that a species had to come over on the Mayflower, as so many did, to count as "truly" American? Plainly not. When, then, is the cutoff date? Insofar as we are concerned with the absolute numbers of "rivets" holding ecosystems together, extinction seems not to pose a general problem because a far greater number of kinds of mammals, insects, fish, plants, and other creatures thrive on land and in water in America today than in prelapsarian times. n359 The Ecological Society of America has urged managers to maintain biological diversity as a critical component in strengthening ecosystems against disturbance. n360 Yet as Simon Levin observed, "much of the detail about species composition will be irrelevant in terms of influences on ecosystem properties." n361 [\*910] He added: "For net primary productivity, as is likely to be the case for any system property, **biodiversity matters only up to a point**; above a certain level, increasing biodiversity is likely to make **little difference**." n362 What about the use of plants and animals in agriculture? There is no scarcity foreseeable. "Of an estimated 80,000 types of plants [we] know to be edible," a U.S. Department of the Interior document says, "only about 150 are extensively cultivated." n363 About twenty species, not one of which is endangered, provide ninety percent of the food the world takes from plants. n364 Any new food has to take "shelf space" or "market share" from one that is now produced. Corporations also find it difficult to create demand for a new product; for example, people are not inclined to eat paw-paws, even though they are delicious. It is hard enough to get people to eat their broccoli and lima beans. It is harder still to develop consumer demand for new foods. This may be the reason the Kraft Corporation does not prospect in remote places for rare and unusual plants and animals to add to the world's diet. Of the roughly 235,000 flowering plants and 325,000 nonflowering plants (including mosses, lichens, and seaweeds) available, farmers ignore virtually all of them in favor of a very few that are profitable. n365 To be sure, any of the more than 600,000 species of plants could have an application in agriculture, but would they be preferable to the species that are now dominant? Has anyone found any consumer demand for any of these half-million or more plants to replace rice or wheat in the human diet? There are reasons that farmers cultivate rice, wheat, and corn rather than, say, Furbish's lousewort. There are many kinds of louseworts, so named because these weeds were thought to cause lice in sheep. How many does agriculture really require? [\*911] The species on which agriculture relies are domesticated, not naturally occurring; they are developed by artificial not natural selection; they might not be able to survive in the wild. n366 This argument is not intended to deny the religious, aesthetic, cultural, and moral reasons that command us to respect and protect the natural world. These spiritual and ethical values should evoke action, of course, but we should also recognize that they are spiritual and ethical values. We should recognize that ecosystems and all that dwell therein compel our moral respect, our aesthetic appreciation, and our spiritual veneration; we should clearly seek to achieve the goals of the ESA. There is no reason to assume, however, that these goals have anything to do with human well-being or welfare as economists understand that term. These are ethical goals, in other words, not economic ones. Protecting the marsh may be the right thing to do for moral, cultural, and spiritual reasons. We should do it-but someone will have to pay the costs. In the narrow sense of promoting human welfare, protecting nature often represents a net "cost," not a net "benefit." It is largely for moral, not economic, reasons-ethical, not prudential, reasons- that we care about all our fellow creatures. They are valuable as objects of love not as objects of use. What is good for   [\*912]  the marsh may be good in itself even if it is not, in the economic sense, good for mankind. **The most valuable things are quite useless**.

#### Deforestation makes biodiversity loss inevitable

**Cardillo, 06** (Marcel, Division of Biology, Imperial College London, 2006, “Disappearing forests and biodiversity loss: which areas should we protect?,” *International Forestry Review* Volume 8, Issue 2, http://www.tempoandmode.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/int-forestry-review-june-2006-cardillo.pdf,)

**The destruction of forests and other habitats is the single most important cause of biodiversity loss** (IUCN 2004), and it is inevitable that the massive loss of forests that will occur over the next few decades will result in widespread extinctions. The magnitude of this impending extinction event can be estimated, roughly, using the species-area relationship. The species-area relationship describes the increase in species richness (S) with area of habitat (A), which can usually be modelled as a power function of the form S = cAz, the value of z indicating the slope of the increase. The expected loss of species from time t to t+1 can therefore be estimated as a function of habitat loss, using the equation St+1/St = (At+1/At)z. Using this method it has been predicted, for example, that endemic mammal species richness in the Brazilian Amazon could be reduced by 518% under different modelled scenarios of forest loss to 2020 (Grelle 2005).

**Species adapt and migrate**

Ian **Thompson et al.**, Canadian Forest Service, Brendan Mackey, The Australian National University, The Fenner School of Environment and Society, College of Medicine, Biology and Environment, Steven McNulty, USDA Forest Service, Alex Mosseler, Canadian Forest Service, 20**09**, Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity “Forest Resilience, Biodiversity, and Climate Change” Convention on Biological Diversity

While resilience can be attributed to many levels of organization of biodiversity, the genetic composition of species is the most fundamental. Molecular genetic diversity within a species, species diversity within a forested community, and community or ecosystem diversity across a landscape and bioregion represent expressions of biological diversity at different scales. The basis of all expressions of biological diversity is the genotypic variation found in populations. The individuals that comprise populations at each level of ecological organization are subject to natural se- lection and contribute to the adaptive capacityor re- silienceof tree species and forest ecosystems (Mull- er-Starck et al. 2005). Diversity at each of these levels has fostered natural (and artificial) regeneration of forest ecosystems and facilitated their adaptation to dramatic climate changes that occurred during the quaternary period (review by: DeHayes et al. 2000); this diversity must be maintained in the face of antici- pated changes from anthropogenic climate warming. Genetic diversity (e.g., additive genetic variance) within a species is important because it is the basis for the natural selection of genotypes within popu- lations and species as they respond or adapt to en- vironmental changes (Fisher 1930, Pitelka 1988, Pease et al. 1989, Burger and Lynch 1995, Burdon and Thrall, 2001, Etterson 2004, Reusch et al. 2005, Schaberg et al. 2008). The potential for evolutionary change has been demonstrated in numerous long- term programmes based on artificial selection (Fal- coner 1989),and genetic strategies for reforestation in the presence of rapid climate change must focus on maintaining species diversity and genetic diversi- ty within species (Ledig and Kitzmiller 1992). In the face of rapid environmental change, it is important to understand that the genetic diversity and adap- tive capacity of forested ecosystems depends largely on in situ genetic variation within each population of a species (Bradshaw 1991). Populations exposed to a rate of environmental change exceeding the rate at which populations can adapt, or disperse, may be doomed to extinction (Lynch and Lande 1993, Burger and Lynch 1995). Genetic diversity deter- mines the range of fundamental eco-physiological tolerances of a species. It governs inter-specific competitive interactions, which, together with dispersal mechanisms, constitute the fundamental de- terminants of potential species responses to change (Pease et al. 1989, Halpin 1997). In the past, plants have responded to dramatic changes in climate both through adaptation and migration (Davis and Shaw 2001). The capacity for long-distance migration of plants by seed dispersal is particularly important in the event of rapid environmental change. Most, and probably all, species are capable of long-distance seed disper- sal, despite morphological dispersal syndromes that would indicate morphological adaptations primarily for short-distance dispersal (Cwyner and MacDon- ald 1986, Higgins et al. 2003). Assessments of mean migration rates found no significant differences be- tween wind and animal dispersed plants (Wilkinson 1997, Higgins et al. 2003). Long-distance migration can also be strongly influenced by habitat suitabil- ity (Higgins and Richardson 1999) suggesting that rapid migration may become more frequent and vis- ible with rapid changes in habitat suitability under scenarios of rapid climate change. The discrepancy between estimated and observed migration rates during re-colonization of northern temperate forests following the retreat of glaciers can be accounted for by the underestimation of long-distance disper- sal rates and events (Brunet and von Oheimb 1998, Clark 1998, Cain et al. 1998, 2000). Nevertheless, concerns persist that potential migration and ad- aptation rates of many tree species may not be able to keep pace with projected global warming (Davis 1989, Huntley 1991, Dyer 1995, Collingham et al. 1996, Malcolm et al. 2002). However, these models refer to fundamental niches and generally ignore the ecological interactions that also govern species dis- tributions.

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### AT: Warming

#### No impact to Warming- Mitigation and adaptation will solve

Robert O. Mendelsohn 9, the Edwin Weyerhaeuser Davis Professor, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University, June 2009, “Climate Change and Economic Growth,” online: http://www.growthcommission.org/storage/cgdev/documents/gcwp060web.pdf

These statements are largely alarmist and misleading. Although climate change is a serious problem that deserves attention, society’s immediate behavior has an extremely low probability of leading to catastrophic consequences. The science and economics of climate change is quite clear that emissions over the next few decades will lead to only mild consequences. The severe impacts predicted by alarmists require a century (or two in the case of Stern 2006) of no mitigation. Many of the predicted impacts assume there will be no or little adaptation. The net economic impacts from climate change over the next 50 years will be small regardless. Most of the more severe impacts will take more than a century or even a millennium to unfold and many of these “potential” impacts will never occur because people will adapt. It is not at all apparent that immediate and dramatic policies need to be developed to thwart long‐range climate risks. What is needed are long‐run balanced responses.

#### No impact to warming – new NASA data

Taylor,11

Senior fellow for environment policy at the Heartland Institute, 7-27-11

(James, “New NASA Data Blow Gaping Hole in Global Warming Alarmism,” <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jamestaylor/2011/07/27/new-nasa-data-blow-gaping-hold-in-global-warming-alarmism/>) JDB

NASA satellite data from the years 2000 through 2011 show the Earth’s atmosphere is allowing far more heat to be released into space than alarmist computer models have predicted, reports a new study in the peer-reviewed science journal [Remote Sensing](http://www.mdpi.com/2072-4292/3/8/1603/pdf). The study indicates far less future global warming will occur than United Nations computer models have predicted, and supports prior studies indicating increases in atmospheric carbon dioxide trap far less heat than alarmists have claimed. Study co-author Dr. Roy Spencer, a principal research scientist at the University of Alabama in Huntsville and U.S. Science Team Leader for the Advanced Microwave Scanning Radiometer flying on NASA’s Aqua satellite, reports that real-world data from NASA’s Terra satellite contradict multiple assumptions fed into alarmist computer models. “The satellite observations suggest there is much more energy lost to space during and after warming than the climate models show,” Spencer said in a July 26 University of Alabama [press release](http://pielkeclimatesci.wordpress.com/2011/07/26/new-paper-on-the-misdiagnosis-of-surface-temperature-feedbacks-from-variations-in-earth%E2%80%99s-radiant-energy-balance-by-spencer-and-braswell-2011/). “There is a huge discrepancy between the data and the forecasts that is especially big over the oceans.” In addition to finding that far less heat is being trapped than alarmist computer models have predicted, the NASA satellite data show the atmosphere begins shedding heat into space long before United Nations computer models predicted. The new findings are extremely important and should dramatically alter the global warming debate. Scientists on all sides of the global warming debate are in general agreement about how much heat is being directly trapped by human emissions of carbon dioxide (the answer is “not much”). However, the single most important issue in the global warming debate is whether carbon dioxide emissions will indirectly trap far more heat by causing large increases in atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds. Alarmist computer models assume human carbon dioxide emissions indirectly cause substantial increases in atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds (each of which are very effective at trapping heat), but real-world data have long shown that carbon dioxide emissions are not causing as much atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds as the alarmist computer models have predicted. The new NASA Terra satellite data are consistent with long-term NOAA and NASA data indicating atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds are not increasing in the manner predicted by alarmist computer models. The Terra satellite data also support data collected by NASA’s ERBS satellite showing far more longwave radiation (and thus, heat) escaped into space between 1985 and 1999 than alarmist computer models [had predicted](http://wattsupwiththat.com/2009/03/30/lindzen-on-negative-climate-feedback/). Together, the NASA ERBS and Terra satellite data show that for 25 years and counting, carbon dioxide emissions have directly and indirectly trapped far less heat than alarmist computer models have predicted. In short, the central premise of alarmist global warming theory is that carbon dioxide emissions should be directly and indirectly trapping a certain amount of heat in the earth’s atmosphere and preventing it from escaping into space. Real-world measurements, however, show far less heat is being trapped in the earth’s atmosphere than the alarmist computer models predict, and far more heat is escaping into space than the alarmist computer models predict. When objective NASA satellite data, reported in a peer-reviewed scientific journal, show a “huge discrepancy” between alarmist climate models and real-world facts, climate scientists, the media and our elected officials would be wise to take notice. Whether or not they do so will tell us a great deal about how honest the purveyors of global warming alarmism truly are.

#### China outweighs and won’t be influenced by the plan

Harvey, environment reporter – the Guardian, 11/9/’11

(Fiona, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/nov/09/fossil-fuel-infrastructure-climate-change>)

Birol also warned that China – the world's biggest emitter – would have to take on a much greater role in combating climate change. For years, Chinese officials have argued that the country's emissions per capita were much lower than those of developed countries, it was not required to take such stringent action on emissions. But the IEA's analysis found that within about four years, China's per capita emissions were likely to exceed those of the EU. In addition, by 2035 at the latest, China's cumulative emissions since 1900 are likely to exceed those of the EU, which will further weaken Beijing's argument that developed countries should take on more of the burden of emissions reduction as they carry more of the responsibility for past emissions. In a recent interview with the Guardian recently, China's top climate change official, Xie Zhenhua, called on developing countries to take a greater part in the talks, while insisting that developed countries must sign up to a continuation of the Kyoto protocol – something only the European Union is willing to do. His words were greeted cautiously by other participants in the talks. Continuing its gloomy outlook, the IEA report said: "There are few signs that the urgently needed change in direction in global energy trends is under way. Although the recovery in the world economy since 2009 has been uneven, and future economic prospects remain uncertain, global primary energy demand rebounded by a remarkable 5% in 2010, pushing CO2 emissions to a new high. Subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption of fossil fuels jumped to over $400bn (£250.7bn)."Meanwhile, an "unacceptably high" number of people – about 1.3bn – still lack access to electricity. If people are to be lifted out of poverty, this must be solved – but providing people with renewable forms of energy generation is still expensive. Charlie Kronick of Greenpeace said: "The decisions being made by politicians today risk passing a monumental carbon debt to the next generation, one for which they will pay a very heavy price. What's seriously lacking is a global plan and the political leverage to enact it. Governments have a chance to begin to turn this around when they meet in Durban later this month for the next round of global climate talks." One close observer of the climate talks said the $400bn subsidies devoted to fossil fuels, uncovered by the IEA, were "staggering", and the way in which these subsidies distort the market presented a massive problem in encouraging the move to renewables. He added that Birol's comments, though urgent and timely, were unlikely to galvanise China and the US – the world's two biggest emittters – into action on the international stage. "The US can't move (owing to Republican opposition) and there's no upside for China domestically in doing so. At least China is moving up the learning curve with its deployment of renewables, but it's doing so in parallel to the hugely damaging coal-fired assets that it is unlikely to ever want (to turn off in order to) to meet climate targets in years to come."

### High Threshold

#### They have an incredibly high threshold for winning impact uniqueness—catastrophic harm is inevitable and stopping global climate change would require insane emissions cuts: 50% below 1990 levels by 2050

Barnett 10

[Jon, Australian Research Council Fellow in the School of Social and Environmental Enquiry at the University of Melbourne, POLICY RESEARCH WORKING PAPER, “Accommodating Migration to Promote Adaptation to Climate Change”, April 2010, p. online//wyo-tjc]

There are a number of things that governments can do to minimize the costs and maximize the benefits of migration exacerbated by climate change. Principal among them is to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. **Stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions to avoid 2oC of warming above pre-industrial levels may now be all but impossible, and therefore ‘dangerous’ climate change is almost certain** to occur. However, deep cuts in emissions can minimize the danger, and in terms of this report, minimize the number of people whose movements would constitute an impact of climate change, and maximize the scope for more voluntary migrations to contribute to adaptation. **Stern** (2008) **suggests stabilizing concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere at 500ppm CO2 e is not impossible, even though this would mean global emissions need to fall by at least 50% relative to 1990 levels by 2050**.

### AT: Ocean Acidification

**No impact to ocean acidification -- alarmists are empirically denied**

**Taylor 10** [James M. Taylor is a senior fellow of The Heartland Institute and managing editor of Environment & Climate News., “Ocean Acidification Scare Pushed at Copenhagen,” Feb 10 http://www.heartland.org/publications/environment%20climate/article/26815/Ocean\_Acidification\_Scare\_Pushed\_at\_Copenhagen.html]

With global temperatures continuing their decade-long decline and United Nations-sponsored global warming talks falling apart in Copenhagen, **alarmists** at the U.N. talks **spent considerable time claiming carbon dioxide** emissions **will cause catastrophic ocean acidification**, regardless of whether temperatures rise. **The latest scientific data, however, show no such catastrophe is likely to occur**. Food Supply Risk Claimed The United Kingdom’s environment secretary, Hilary Benn, initiated the Copenhagen ocean scare with a high-profile speech and numerous media interviews claiming ocean acidification threatens the world’s food supply. “**The fact is our seas absorb CO2**. They absorb about a quarter of the total that we produce, but it is making our seas more acidic,” said Benn in his speech. “If this continues as a problem, then it can affect the one billion people who depend on fish as their principle source of protein, and we have to feed another 2½ to 3 billion people over the next 40 to 50 years.” **Benn’s claim of oceans becoming “more acidic” is misleading**, however. **Water with a pH of 7.0 is considered neutral. pH values lower than 7.0 are considered acidic**, while those higher than 7.0 are considered alkaline. **The world’s oceans have a pH of 8.1, making them alkaline, not acidic. Increasing carbon dioxide** concentrations **would make the oceans less alkaline but not acidic**. **Since human industrial activity first began** emitting carbon dioxide into the atmosphere a little more than 200 years ago, **the pH of the oceans has fallen merely 0.1**, from 8.2 to 8.1. Following Benn’s December 14 speech and public relations efforts, most of the world’s major media outlets produced stories claiming ocean acidification is threatening the world’s marine life. An Associated Press headline, for example, went so far as to call ocean acidification the “evil twin” of climate change. Studies Show CO2 Benefits Numerous recent scientific studies show **higher carbon dioxide levels in the** world’s **oceans have the same beneficial effect on marine life as higher levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide have on terrestrial plant life**. **In a 2005 study published in the Journal of Geophysical Research, scientists examined trends in chlorophyll concentrations**, critical building blocks in the oceanic food chain. The French and American scientists reported “an overall increase of the world ocean average chlorophyll concentration by about 22 percent” during the prior two decades of increasing carbon dioxide concentrations. In a 2006 study published in Global Change Biology, scientists observed higher CO2 levels are correlated with better growth conditions for oceanic life. **The highest CO2 concentrations produced “higher growth rates and biomass yields” than the lower CO2 conditions**. **Higher CO2 levels may well fuel “subsequent primary production, phytoplankton blooms, and sustaining oceanic food-webs**,” the study concluded. Ocean Life ‘Surprisingly Resilient’ **In a 2008 study published in Biogeosciences, scientists subjected marine organisms to varying concentrations of CO2, including abrupt changes of CO2 concentration. The ecosystems were “surprisingly resilient” to changes** in atmospheric CO2, and “the ecosystem composition, bacterial and phytoplankton abundances and productivity, grazing rates and total grazer abundance and reproduction were not significantly affected by CO2-induced effects.” In a 2009 study published in Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, scientists reported, “Sea star growth and feeding rates increased with water temperature from 5ºC to 21ºC. A doubling of current [CO2] also increased growth rates both with and without a concurrent temperature increase from 12ºC to 15ºC.” Another False CO2 Scare “**Far too many predictions of CO2-induced catastrophes are treated by alarmists as sure to occur, when real-world observations show these doomsday scenarios to be highly unlikely or even virtual impossibilities,**” said Craig Idso, Ph.D., author of the 2009 book CO2, Global Warming and Coral Reefs. “The phenomenon of CO2-induced ocean acidification appears to be no different.

Natural variability makes the impact inevitable and means that oceans will adapt—their studies don’t assume this

Hofmann, Professor of Ecology, Evolution and Marine Biology – University of California Santa Barbara et al., ‘11

(Gretchen E., “High-Frequency Dynamics of Ocean pH: A Multi-Ecosystem Comparison,” *PLoS ONE* Vol. 6, No. 12)

Since the publication of two reports in 2005–2006 [1], [2], the drive to forecast the effects of anthropogenic ocean acidification (OA) on marine ecosystems and their resident calcifying marine organisms has resulted in a growing body of research. Numerous laboratory studies testing the effects of altered seawater chemistry (low pH, altered pCO2, and undersaturation states - Ω - for calcium carbonate polymorphs) on biogenic calcification, growth, metabolism, and development have demonstrated a range of responses in marine organisms (for reviews see [3]–[8]). However, the emerging picture of biological consequences of OA – from data gathered largely from laboratory experiments – is not currently matched by equally available environmental data that describe present-day pH exposures or the natural variation in the carbonate system experienced by most marine organisms. Although researchers have documented variability in seawater carbonate chemistry on several occasions in different marine ecosystems (e.g., [9]–[15]), this variation has been under-appreciated in these early stages of OA research.Recently, a deeper consideration of ecosystem-specific variation in seawater chemistry has emerged (e.g., [16]–[18]), one that is pertinent to the study of biological consequences of OA. Specifically, assessments of environmental heterogeneity present a nuanced complement to current laboratory experiments. The dynamics of specific natural carbonate chemistry on local scales provide critical context because outcomes of experiments on single species are used in meta-analyses to project the overall biological consequences of OA [7], [19], to forecast ecosystem-level outcomes [20], and ultimately to contribute to policy decisions [21] and the management of fisheries [22], [23]. As noted earlier [24], natural variability in pH is seldom considered when effects of ocean acidification are considered. Natural variability may occur at rates much higher than the rate at which carbon dioxide is decreasing ocean pH, about −0.0017 pH/year [25], [26]. This ambient fluctuation in pH may have a large impact on the development of resilience in marine populations, or it may combine with the steady effects of acidification to produce extreme events with large impacts [24]. In either case, understanding the environmental variability in ocean pH is essential. Although data on the natural variation in the seawater CO2 system are emerging, nearly all high-resolution (e.g. hourly) time series are based on pCO2 sensors, with comparatively few pH time series found in the literature. From a research perspective, the absence of information regarding natural pH dynamics is a critical data gap for the biological and ecological arm of the multidisciplinary investigation of OA. Our ability to understand processes ranging from physiological tolerances to local adaptation is compromised. Specifically, laboratory experiments to test tolerances are often not designed to encompass the actual habitat exposure of the organisms under study, a critical design criterion in organismal physiology that also applies to global change biology [27]–[29]. It is noted that neither pH nor pCO2 alone provide the information sufficient to fully constrain the CO2 system, and while it is preferred to measure both, the preference for measuring one over the other is evaluated on a case-by-case basis and is often dictated by the equipment available. Discussion Collected by 15 individual SeaFET sensors in seven types of marine habitats, data presented here highlight natural variability in seawater pH. Based on Figure 3, it is evident that regions of the ocean exhibit a continuum of pH variability. At sites in the open ocean (CCE-1), Antarctica, and Kingman reef (a coastal region in the permanently stratified open Pacific Ocean with very low residence times, and thus representative of the surrounding open ocean water), pH was very stable (SD<0.01 pH over 30 days). Elsewhere, pH was highly variable across a range of ecosystems where sensors were deployed. The salient conclusions from this comparative dataset are two-fold: (1) most non-open ocean sites are indeed characterized by natural variation in seawater chemistry that can now be revealed through continuous monitoring by autonomous instrumentation, and (2) in some cases, seawater in these sites reaches extremes in pH, sometimes daily, that are often considered to only occur in open ocean systems well into the future [46]. Admittedly, pH is only part of the story with regard to the biological impacts of OA on marine organisms. However, continuous long-term observations provided by sensors such as the SeaFET are a great first step in elucidating the biophysical link between natural variation and physiological capacity in resident marine organisms. In the end, knowledge of spatial and temporal variation in seawater chemistry is a critical resource for biological research, for aquaculture, and for management efforts. From a biological perspective, the evolutionary history of the resident organisms will greatly influence the adaptation potential of organisms in marine populations. Thus, present-day natural variation will likely shape capacity for adaptation of resident organisms, influencing the resilience of critical marine ecosystems to future anthropogenic acidification. Below we discuss the comparative SeaFET-collected data and, where applicable, the biological consequences of the temporal heterogeneity that we found in each of the marine ecosystems where sensors were deployed. As the most stable area, the open ocean behaves in a predictable way and generally adheres to global models attempting to predict future CO2 conditions based on equilibration of the surface ocean with a given atmospheric pCO2 (e.g. [47]). This can be shown with longer-term pH records obtained with SeaFET sensors, which are available at the CCE-1 mooring (Fig. 4). The ambient pH values for this open ocean location can be predicted to better than ±0.02 from the CO2-corrected climatology mentioned above; pH has dropped by about 0.015 units since 2000. At CCE-1, the annual carbonate cycle followed the sea surface temperature cycle, and pH was driven mostly by changes in the temperature dependence of CO2 system thermodynamics (Figure 4). SeaFET observations at CCE-1 agree with the climatology to +0.017±0.014 pH units, with episodic excursions from the climatology but a general return to the climatological mean. Although the annual cycle in the open ocean is somewhat predictable, it is notable that even at these seemingly stable locations, climatology-based forecasts consistently underestimate natural variability. Our observations confirm an annual mean variability in pH at CCE-1 of nearly 0.1, suggest an inter-annual variability of ~0.02 pH, and capture episodic changes that deviate from the climatology (Figure 4). Similar underestimates of CO2 variability were observed at nine other open ocean locations, where the Takahashi pCO2 climatology overlaps PMEL moorings with pCO2 sensors (not shown). Thus, on both a monthly (Fig. 2) and annual scale (Fig. 4), even the most stable open ocean sites see pH changes many times larger than the annual rate of acidification. This natural variability has prompted the suggestion that “an appropriate null hypothesis may be, until evidence is obtained to the contrary, that major biogeochemical processes in the oceans other than calcification will not be fundamentally different under future higher CO2/lower pH conditions” [24]. Similarly, the sensors deployed on the benthos in the Antarctic (Cindercones and Cape Evans, Figure 2B) recorded relatively stable pH conditions when compared to other sites in the study. Very few data exist for the Southern Ocean; however, open-water areas in this region experience a strong seasonal shift in seawater pH (~0.3–0.5 units) between austral summer and winter [48], [49] due to a decline in photosynthesis during winter and a disequilibrium of air-sea CO2 exchange due to annual surface sea ice and deep water entrainment [50]. Given the timing of deployment of our sensor in McMurdo Sound (austral spring: October–November), the sensor did not capture the change in seawater chemistry that might have occurred in the austral winter [49]. In general, due to sea ice conditions, observations from the Southern Ocean are limited, with water chemistry data falling into two categories: (1) discrete sampling events during oceanographic cruises (e.g. US Joint Global Ocean Flux Study, http://www1.whoi.edu/) and (2) single-point measurements from locations under sea ice [49], [51], [52]. Biologically speaking, the Southern Ocean is a region expected to experience acidification and undersaturated conditions earlier in time than other parts of the ocean [47], and calcifying Antarctic organisms are thought to be quite vulnerable to anthropogenic OA given the already challenging saturation states that are characteristic of cold polar waters [53]–[56]. Short-term CO2 perturbation experiments have shown that Antarctic calcifying marine invertebrates are sensitive to decreased saturation states [51], [57], although the number of species-level studies and community-level studies are very limited. The Western Antarctic Peninsula and the sub-Antarctic islands will experience pronounced increases in temperature [54] and could consequently undergo more variation and/or undersaturation given the increased potential for biological activity. Importantly, depending on the patterns of seasonally-dependent saturation state that will be revealed with improved observations [58], Antarctic organisms may experience more variation than might be expected, a situation that will influence their resilience to future acidification. Three other types of study sites – the coastal upwelling, kelp forest and estuarine/near-shore sites – all exhibited variability due to a combination of mixing, tidal excursions, biological activity, and variable residence time (Fig. 2). Although these sites are all united by fairly obvious heterogeneity in pH, organisms living in these areas encounter unique complexities in seawater chemistry that will influence their physiological response, resilience, and potential for adaptation. Typically, estuarine environments have riverine input that naturally creates very low saturation states [59]–[61]. Seawater chemistry conditions in these areas often shift dramatically, challenging biogenic calcification by resident organisms. Additionally, these species must also tolerate abiotic factors that interact with pH, such as temperature [62]. Two sensors in the Monterey Bay region, L1 (at the mouth of Elkhorn Slough) and L20 (~2 km seaward and north of L1), recorded rapid changes in pH. However, as opposed to riverine input, the low pH fluctuations observed here are likely due to isopycnal shoaling or low CO2 water that is pulsing up to the near shore on internal tides. These locations may also experience high river run-off in the rainy season, but such conditions were not reflected in the time series shown in Fig. 2. Organisms living in upwelling regions may be acclimatized and adapted to extremes in seawater chemistry; here, deep CO2-enriched waters reach the surface and may shoal onto the benthos on the continental shelf [31], [32]. Data collected from our upwelling sites support the patterns found by cruise-based investigations; pH fluctuations were often sharp, and large transitions of up to ~0.35 pH units occurred over the course of days (Fig. 2). Laboratory studies on calcifying marine invertebrates living in upwelling regions suggest that these organisms maintain function under such stochastic conditions. However, overall performance may be reduced, suggesting that these species are indeed threatened by future acidification [17], [18], [63]. For kelp forests, although there is less influence from riverine inputs, pH variation is quite dynamic at these sites in the coastal California region (Fig 2; [18]). Patterns here are likely driven by fluctuations in coastal upwelling, biological activity, currents, internal tides, seasonally shoaling isopleths, as well as the size of the kelp forest, which may influence residence times via reduced flow. Kelps may respond positively to increased availability of CO2 and HCO3−, which may allow for reduced metabolic costs and increased productivity [64]. Increased kelp production may elevate pH within the forest during periods of photosynthesis, causing wider daily fluctuations in pH, though this is speculative at this time. As a result, kelp forests, particularly those of surface canopy forming species such as Macrocystis pyrifera, may contain a greater level of spatial heterogeneity in terms of the pH environment; vertical gradients in pH may form due to enhanced levels of photosynthesis at shallower depths. Such gradients may increase the risk of low pH exposure for benthic species while buffering those found within the surface canopy. Kelp forests provide habitat to a rich diversity of organisms from a wide range of calcifying and non-calcifying taxa [65]. As with organisms from the other coastal locations (estuarine and upwelling), the biota living within kelp forest environments are most likely acclimatized to this degree of natural variation. However, continued declines in oxygenation and shoaling of hypoxic boundaries observed in recent decades in the southern California bight [66], [67] are likely accompanied by a reduction in pH and saturation state. Thus, pH exposure regimes for the coastal California region's kelp forest biota may be changing over relatively short time scales. Over longer temporal scales as pH and carbonate saturation levels decrease, the relative abundances of these species may change, with community shifts favoring non-calcified species, as exemplified by long-term studies in intertidal communities by Wootton et al. [15]. For all the marine habitats described above, one very important consideration is that the extreme range of environmental variability does not necessarily translate to extreme resistance to future OA. Instead, such a range of variation may mean that the organisms resident in tidal, estuarine, and upwelling regions are already operating at the limits of their physiological tolerances (a la the classic tolerance windows of Fox – see [68]). Thus, future acidification, whether it be atmospheric or from other sources, may drive the physiology of these organisms closer to the edges of their tolerance windows. When environmental change is layered upon their present-day range of environmental exposures, they may thereby be pushed to the “guardrails” of their tolerance [20], [68]. In contrast to more stochastic changes in pH that were observed in some sites, our coral reef locations displayed a strikingly consistent pattern of diel fluctuations over the 30-day recording period. Similar short-term pH time series with lower daily resolution [69], [70] have reported regular diel pH fluctuation correlated to changes in total alkalinity and oxygen levels. These environmental patterns of pH suggest that reef organisms may be acclimatized to consistent but moderate changes in the carbonate system. Coral reefs have been at the center of research regarding the effects of OA on marine ecosystems [71]–[73]. Along with the calcification biology of the dominant scleractinian corals and coralline algae, the biodiversity on coral reefs includes many other calcifying species that will likely be affected [74]–[77]. Across the existing datasets in tropical reef ecosystems, the biological response of calcifying species to variation in seawater chemistry is complex (see [78]) –all corals or calcifying algal species will not respond similarly, in part because these calcifying reef-builders are photo-autotrophs (or mixotrophs), with algal symbionts that complicate the physiological response of the animal to changes in seawater chemistry. Finally, the “Extreme” sites in our comparative dataset are of interest in that the low pH levels observed here represent a natural analogue to OA conditions in the future, demonstrating how the abundance and distribution of calcifying benthic organisms, as well as multi-species assemblages, can vary as a function of seawater chemistry [16], [35], [36], [79]. The variability in seawater pH was higher at both the groundwater springs off the coast of Mexico and the natural CO2 vents off the coast of Italy than at any of the other sensor locations. Offshore of Puerto Morelos, Mexico (and at other sites along the Mesoamerican Reef), natural low-saturation (Ω~0.5, pH 6.70–7.30, due to non-ventilated, high CO2, high alkalinity groundwater) submarine springs have been discharging for millennia. Here, variability in pH is due to long-term respiration driving a low ratio of alkalinity to dissolved inorganic carbon in effluent ground water. These sites provide insight into potential long-term responses of coral backreef ecosystems to low saturation conditions [79]. Unlike Puerto Morelos, the variability of pH at volcanic CO2 vents at Ischia, Italy is almost purely abiotically derived, due entirely to CO2 venting and subsequent mixing. This site in the Mediterranean Sea hosts a benthic assemblage that reflects the impacts of OA on rocky reef communities [16], [36]. Overall, the ‘extreme’ systems provide an opportunity to examine how variability in pH and extreme events (sensu [80]) affects ecological processes. Knowledge of this biophysical link is essential for forecasting ecological responses to acidification in ecosystems with sharp fluctuations in pH, such as upwelling or estuarine environments. Despite reductions in species richness, several calcifying organisms are found in low pH conditions close to the vents [16] and the springs [79]. The persistence of calcifying organisms at these extreme sites, where mean pH values are comparable to those that have reduced organism performance in laboratory experiments (i.e., pHT 7.8; reviewed in [16]), suggest that long exposures to such variability in pH, versus a consistently low-pH environment, could play an important role in regulating organism performance. Variability in pH could potentially promote acclimatization or adaptation to acidification through repeated exposure to low pH conditions [24]; alternatively, transient exposures to high pH conditions could buffer the effects of acidification by relieving physiological stress. Thus, the ecological patterns coupled with the high fluctuations in pH at the extreme sites highlight the need to consider carbonate chemistry variability in experiments and models aimed at understanding the impacts of acidification.

#### Great power conflict is possible – resource conflicts, environmental crises and rising powers could spark global war

Dyer, 6

Gwynne Dyer is a London-based independent journalist, 'Has the world really changed since 9/11?,' September 7, http://www.straight.com/has-the-world-really-changed-since-9-11

Without 9/11 there would still be a “terrorist threat”, of course, because there is always some terrorism. It's rarely a big enough threat to justify expanding police powers, let alone launching a “global war” against it, but the fluke success of the 9/11 attacks (which has not been duplicated once in the subsequent five years) created the illusion that terrorism was a major problem. Various special interests climbed aboard the bandwagon, and off we all went. That is a pity, because without 9/11 there would have been no governments justifying torture in the name of fighting terrorism, no “special renditions”, no camps like GuantÃ¡namo. Tens of thousands of people killed in the various invasions of the past five years would still be alive, and western countries with large Muslim minorities would not now face a potential terrorist backlash at home from their own disaffected young Muslims. The United States would not be seen by most of the world as a rogue state. But that's as far as the damage goes. Current U.S. policy and the hostility it arouses elsewhere in the world are both transient things. The Sunni Muslim extremists””they would call themselves Salafis””who were responsible for 9/11 have not seized power in a single country since then, despite the boost they were given by the flailing U.S. response to that attack. The world is actually much the same as it would have been if 9/11 had never happened. Economically, 9/11 and its aftermath have had almost no discernible long-term impact: even the soaring price of oil is mostly due to rising demand in Asia, not to military events in the Middle East. The lack of decisive action on climate change is largely due to Bush policies that were already in place before 9/11. And, strategically, the relations between the great powers have not yet been gravely damaged by the U.S. response to 9/11. There may even be a hidden benefit in the concept of a “war on terror”. It is a profoundly dishonest concept, since it is actually directed mainly against Muslim groups that have grievances against the great powers: Chechens against Russia, Uyghurs against China, Kashmiri Muslims and their Pakistani cousins against India, and practically everybody in the Arab world against the U.S. and Britain. The terrorists' methods are reprehensible but their grievances are often real. However, the determination of the great powers to oppose not only their methods but their goals is also real. That gives them a common enemy and a shared strategy. The main risk at this point in history is that the great powers will drift back into some kind of alliance confrontation. Key resources are getting scarcer, the climate is changing, and the rise of China and India means that the pecking order of the great powers is due to change again in the relatively near future. Any strategic analyst worth his salt, given those preconditions, could draw you up a dozen different scenarios of disaster by lunchtime.

#### Great power conflict is possible – terrorism and regional conflicts

Dibb, 2

Paul, 'The Future of International Coalitions,' *The Washington Quarterly* 25.2 (2002) 131-144, pg. project muse

The assertion that the events of September 11 initiated a fundamentally new era in world politics has become commonplace. The spectacular building of the coalition against terrorism is cited as evidence, as is the almost universal condemnation of the terrorist attacks. On September 12, the prominent French newspaper Le Monde proclaimed, "We are all Americans now." Attendees at the International Institute for Strategic Studies' annual conference, held in Geneva, coincidentally the day after the attacks, came to the conclusion that the world had passed through a defining moment. A war on terrorism had to be waged, a broad coalition needed to be established for this purpose, and the war would have to be conducted with both [End Page 132] diplomatic and military means. The will to fight this war would need to be sustained over a very long haul, and risks would have to be taken to ensure a chance for success. Building a coalition would not be easy and would involve unprecedented cooperation. Conference attendees also believed that, if the United States fails in its taskof freeing the world from the scourge of terrorism, the concept of world order would be relegated to the realm of imaginative literature. The task for the United States, as the custodial power in the international system, is immense. The United States will have an enormous challenge before it to keep its allies and newfound friends focused on a war that may appear to conform to a purely U.S. agenda. Maintaining a coalition against a virtual and hidden enemy will be difficult. New coalition building that has no institutional base such as NATO is a huge task. The United States will have to work hard to keep just NATO behind the effort; a wider coalition will require an intensity of diplomacy and degree of cooperation with culturally different countries that is without precedent. The coexistence of a broad political coalition and a narrow military one will strain diplomatic support for the overall campaign. Maintaining the strength of the coalition will be difficult when disagreements over other elements of U.S. foreign policy intrude. The coalition has an awesome agenda, offering as much scope for disagreement as for cooperation. As Avery Goldstein has observed, believing that the terrorist attacks of September 11 so transformed the post-Cold War world that they have heralded the beginning of an age whose only defining feature will be the global struggle against terrorism would be a mistake. For this realignment to occur, the international community would need to present a united front among almost all statesand mute their disagreements on less pressing matters.

## 2NC

Nuke power k

## 1NR

### 2NC – AT: Nuclear Power Inevitable

#### Transition from hard energy path is possible—social change is key

Morrison and Lodwick, 1981

[Denton and Dora, Dept of Sociology @ Michigan state university, The Social Impact of soft and hard energy systems: The lovins’ claims as a social science challenge, Annual energy review, 1981, 6: 357-78] /Wyo-MB

Lovins' argues for a path change. He asserts that it is possible, over a 50-year period, for industrialized countries to make the transition from a hard to a soft energy path. Fundamental to this tradition is a shift from HETs to SETs, i.e. the SETs deploy and gradually and completely displace the HETs. The two types of technologies exist together during the transition in constantly and purposefully changing proportions until the HETs are retired. What brings about this technological shift?¶ The inertia of the HEP is not complete. It contains the seeds of its own change in both the economic and social forces that are operative. Particu­ larly in his more recent papers, Lovins attempts to demonstrate in detail that the SETs have substantially lower overall costs and higher productivity than the HETs (4, 45, 46). For this and other reasons the SETs displace the HETs. Economic factors, especially competitive advantage, will be the driving force in the displacement of the RETs by SETs. This, however, is not sufficient for a path transition.¶ Path transition requires, in addition, that the RET to SET shift take place in the social context of cultural value preferences that promotes institu­ tional and organizational change processes to implement the SETs in a way that will produce the soft social impacts. Thus, in an important sense, the hard impacts are themselves instrumental in destabilizing the REP and in bringing forth an energy system transformation, as consciousness of the undesirability of the continuation of such impacts emerges. The economic forces that bring the displacement of the HETs by SETs must, for a path transition, be coordinated with a set of social forces that will implement the displacement of the hard social impacts by soft social impacts.7¶ Lovins is somewhat sketchy about the particulars of implementation. He is explicit in his insistence that the implementation process be noncoercive, and the importance of equitable implementation is uniformly implied in his analyses of SET deployment (4, 9, 43, 45, 46). It is clear, however, that Lovins thinks that the nascent cultural values that will result in the neces­ sary institutional and organizational changes to properly implement the SETs for a soft path transition are found in the United States and other Western democracies. Similarly, the economic forces are potentially opera­ tive in these social contexts: "...the social and economic advantages of a soft path are so great that if we let them show themselves, it would largely implement itself through existing market and political processes (46)."

### 2NC – AT - Permutation

#### 1st, Extend Plumwood. The perm makes no sense and is mutually exclusive with the critique:

#### A. We reject nuclear power, need to develop a resistance to nuclear power technology and the power over live that it creates. Failure to do this makes annihilation and control inevitable

#### B. We reject centralization of power, through the state. Instead we need a critique of centralization and bureaucracy. The Alt is key to break down power relationships and the expert monopoly on nuclear knowledge.

#### Perm fails—can’t make nuclear power safer—need complete resistance and transition from elite controlled nuclear energy

Martin, 1986

[Brian, “Nuclear disarmament is not enough.” Published in Peace Studies, No. 3, June/July 1986, pp. 36-39, Online, http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/86ps.html] /Wyo-MB

An analogy can be drawn with the movement against nuclear power. Initially the objections to nuclear power were very limited: the hazards of nuclear reactor accidents, the environmental implications of heating up local water resources, the dangers of transportation of nuclear materials. These objections could have been answered by technical fixes, such as better safety precautions. But as a social movement developed around the world in the mid-1970s, the basis for concern broadened. It was realised that expansion of the nuclear fuel cycle could promote the proliferation of nuclear weapons, lead to attacks on civil liberties and create an entrenched political and economic system built around the nuclear industry. The campaign became one of stopping nuclear power entirely, not just making it safer.¶ As long as the anti-nuclear power movement was simply one of opposition, it was vulnerable to attack on the grounds that nuclear power was, or would become, an essential energy source, and also that nuclear power compared favourably with polluting alternatives such as coal. A great stride forward came with the elaboration of alternatives to nuclear power, notably the soft energy path. Energy efficiency and renewable energy sources can be promoted as a positive alternative, and activists could do much to promote them locally. At the same time, the critique of nuclear power as a 'hard energy source' was extended to other energy sources - including coal, oil and solar satellites - which are large scale, capital intensive, environmentally risky and dependent on control by experts and elites.

#### Perm still links—fuels the desire for perfect control of nuclear technology and power

Hubbard, 1997

[Bryan, MA Thesis at Arizona state University, Nuclear criticism after the cold war: a rhetorical analysis of two contemporary atomic campaigns, 8-1-1997, http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA327948] /Wyo-MB

Today's nuclear industry has created a global complex bordering on panoptic proportions. Lifton and Markusen (1990) show that within the United States the system¶ of highways and nuclear production facilities creates a grid of security touching most Americans. Kato (1993) explained the creation of global theory of nuclear strategy places the entire globe within a system of control reducing every threat to "precise grid locations" (Robins & Levidow, 1995, p. 121). Because nuclear capability and industrial capacity go hand-in-hand, nuclear technology further entrenches control for industrial powers because the only solution to nuclear dilemma from within nuclearism is bigger science and more control. The drive to control becomes perfected in a nuclear-capable world because the arms industry becomes a cooperative global process (Bitzinger, 1994) demanding complex theories of mutual security, arms and trade agreements, and interaction. Though this process of globalization may weaken Western states, Bitzinger says, in their place will grow megafirms of multinational corporations without loyalties to creed, country or citizenry. Because of the huge economic incentive in the arms industry, proliferation and technology diffusion destabilize the global situation while increasing the means to control masses. Profit, control and the desire for advantage provide a rationality behind the nuclear technology and the arms race (Hamlett, 1990). An irony develops: as nuclear technology escalates the reaction to strengthen our impulses to control also grows (E. Lewis, 1990). The mission of research and¶ development becomes "enhancing capability and cost-effectiveness" and "outperforming¶ potential adversaries" (Greenwood, 1990, p. 417). The desire to control, the will to perfect our control and the inability to achieve control make technology difficult to¶ constrain. Again this dilemma is not unique to the nuclear age and only marks a continuity which accelerates when fueled by nuclear technology.

#### And, the perm answers the wrong questions—say’s it’s a problem of expertise—no technological elitism itself

Hubbard, 1997

[Bryan, MA Thesis at Arizona state University, Nuclear criticism after the cold war: a rhetorical analysis of two contemporary atomic campaigns, 8-1-1997, http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA327948] /Wyo-MB

In addition to the advances and accompanying fear of scientific progress of the early twentieth century, the period also saw significant growth in industrial capacity which contributed greatly to the ability to convert science into production. Roszak (1989) chronicles the advance of industry in the 20th century and documents a pervasive attitude of our technocracy:¶ The message is clear. The ills that plague urban-industrial society are not techno-genetic in essence; they are not the result of a radically distorted relationship between human beings and their environment. Rather they result from as yet incomplete or poorly co-ordinated application of scientific expertise. (p. 37)¶ Industry put to practical use the advances of theoretical and engineering sciences to answer the "central problem of the age [which] was how to feed and clothe and employ¶ generations of children outnumbering by far those of any earlier time" (Ashton, 1948/1969, p. 111).

### Econ

#### Economic securitization embedded in same centralized logic the 1NC criticizes and guarantees worse conflicts-

Taleb & Blyth 11

[Nassim Nicholas and Mark, Distinguished Professor of Risk Engineering at New York University's Polytechnic Institute and Professor of International Political Economy at Brown University, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, “The Black Swan of Cairo”, June 2011, p. asp //wyo-tjc]

Why is surprise the permanent condition of the U.S. political and economic elite? In 2007-8, when the global financial system imploded, the cry that no one could have seen this coming was heard everywhere, despite the existence of numerous analyses showing that a crisis was unavoidable. It is no surprise that one hears precisely the same response today regarding the current turmoil in the Middle East. The critical issue in both cases is the artificial suppression of volatility--the ups and downs of life--in the name of stability. It is both misguided and dangerous to push unobserved risks further into the statistical tails of the probability distribution of outcomes and allow these high-impact, low-probability "tail risks" to disappear from policymakers' fields of observation. What the world is witnessing in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya is simply what happens when highly constrained systems explode. Complex systems that have artificially suppressed volatility tend to become extremely fragile, while at the same time exhibiting no visible risks. In fact, they tend to be too calm and exhibit minimal variability as silent risks accumulate beneath the surface. Although the stated intention of political leaders and economic policymakers is to stabilize the system by inhibiting fluctuations, the result tends to be the opposite. These artificially constrained systems become prone to "Black Swans"--that is, they become extremely vulnerable to large-scale events that lie far from the statistical norm and were largely unpredictable to a given set of observers. Such environments eventually experience massive blowups, catching everyone off-guard and undoing years of stability or, in some cases, ending up far worse than they were in their initial volatile state. Indeed, the longer it takes for the blowup to occur, the worse the resulting harm in both economic and political systems. Seeking to restrict variability seems to be good policy (who does not prefer stability to chaos?), so it is with very good intentions that policymakers unwittingly increase the risk of major blowups. And it is the same misperception of the properties of natural systems that led to both the economic crisis of 2007-8 and the current turmoil in the Arab world. The policy implications are identical: to make systems robust, all risks must be visible and out in the open--fluctuat nec mergitur (it fluctuates but does not sink) goes the Latin saying. Just as a robust economic system is one that encourages early failures (the concepts of "fail small" and "fail fast"), the U.S. government should stop supporting dictatorial regimes for the sake of pseudostability and instead allow political noise to rise to the surface. Making an economy robust in the face of business swings requires allowing risk to be visible; the same is true in politics.

#### The apocalyptic imagining of climate change leaves the root cause of environmental destruction intact and makes other environmental problems seem acceptable and allows for species elimination, ocean destruction, and deforestation

Crist, 2k7

Eileen Crist, Associate Professor of Science and Technology Studies in the Center for Interdisciplinary Studies at Virginia Tech “Beyond the Climate Crisis: A Critique of Climate Change Discourse” Telos 141 Winter 2007

While the dangers of climate change are real, I argue that there are even greater dangers in representing it as the most urgent problem we face. Framing climate change in such a manner deserves to be challenged for two reasons: it encourages the restriction of proposed solutions to the technical realm, by powerfully insinuating that the needed approaches are those that directly address the problem; and it detracts attention from the planet’s ecological predicament as a whole, by virtue of claiming the limelight for the one issue that trumps all others. Identifying climate change as the biggest threat to civilization, and ushering it into center stage as the highest priority problem, has bolstered the proliferation of technical proposals that address the specific challenge. The race is on for figuring out what technologies, or portfolio thereof, will solve “the problem.” Whether the call is for reviving nuclear power, boosting the installation of wind turbines, using a variety of renewable energy sources, increasing the efficiency of fossil-fuel use, developing carbon-sequestering technologies, or placing mirrors in space to deflect the sun’s rays, the narrow character of such proposals is evident: confront the problem of greenhouse gas emissions by technologically phasing them out, superseding them, capturing them, or mitigating their heating effects. In his *The Revenge of Gaia*, for example, Lovelock briefly mentions the need to face climate change by “changing our whole style of living.”16 But the thrust of this work, what readers and policy-makers come away with, is his repeated and strident call for investing in nuclear energy as, in his words, “the one lifeline we can use immediately.”17 In the policy realm, the first step toward the technological fix for global warming is often identified with implementing the Kyoto protocol. Biologist Tim Flannery agitates for the treaty, comparing the need for its successful endorsement to that of the Montreal protocol that phased out the ozone-depleting CFCs. “The Montreal protocol,” he submits, “marks a signal moment in human societal development, representing the first ever victory by humanity over a global pollution problem.”18 He hopes for a similar victory for the global climate-change problem. Yet the deepening realization of the threat of climate change, virtually in the wake of stratospheric ozone depletion, also suggests that dealing with global problems treaty-by-treaty is no solution to the planet’s predicament. Just as the risks of unanticipated ozone depletion have been followed by the dangers of a long underappreciated climate crisis, so it would be naïve not to anticipate another (perhaps even entirely unforeseeable) catastrophe arising after the (hoped-for) resolution of the above two. Furthermore, if greenhouse gases were restricted successfully by means of technological shifts and innovations, the root cause of the ecological crisis as a whole would remain unaddressed. The destructive patterns of production, trade, extraction, land-use, waste proliferation, and consumption, coupled with population growth, would go unchallenged, continuing to run down the integrity, beauty, and biological richness of the Earth. Industrial-consumer civilization has entrenched a form of life that admits virtually no limits to its expansiveness within, and perceived entitlement to, the entire planet.19 But questioning this civilization is by and large sidestepped in climate-change discourse, with its single-minded quest for a global-warming techno-fix.20 Instead of confronting the forms of social organization that are causing the climate crisis—among numerous other catastrophes—climate-change literature often focuses on how global warming is endangering the culprit, and agonizes over what technological means can save itfrom impending tipping points.21 The dominant frame of climate change funnels cognitive and pragmatic work toward specifically addressing global warming, while muting a host of equally monumental issues. Climate change looms so huge on the environmental and political agenda today that it has contributed to downplaying other facets of the ecological crisis: mass extinction of species, the devastation of the oceans by industrial fishing, continued old-growth deforestation, topsoil losses and desertification, endocrine disruption, incessant development, and so on, are made to appear secondary and more forgiving by comparison with “dangerous anthropogenic interference” with the climate system. In what follows, I will focus specifically on how climate-change discourse encourages the continued marginalization of the biodiversity crisis—a crisis that has been soberly described as a holocaust,22 and which despite decades of scientific and environmentalist pleas remains a virtual non-topic in society, the mass media, and humanistic and other academic literatures. Several works on climate change (though by no means all) extensively examine the consequences of global warming for biodiversity, 23 but rarely is it mentioned that biodepletion predates dangerous greenhouse-gas buildup by decades, centuries, or longer, and will not be stopped by a technological resolution of global warming. Climate change is poised to exacerbate species and ecosystem losses—indeed, is doing so already. But while technologically preempting the worst of climate change may temporarily avert some of those losses, such a resolution of the climate quandary will not put an end to—will barely address—the ongoing destruction of life on Earth.

#### No Impact to Warming:

#### [1] Numerous scientific studies prove that emissions have little consequences, and the timframe for severe impacts is a millennium out. And even if they win a risk, humans and the environment will be able to adapt which will avoid the impact. –That’s Mendelsohn

#### No impact to warming – new NASA data

Taylor,11

Senior fellow for environment policy at the Heartland Institute, 7-27-11

(James, “New NASA Data Blow Gaping Hole in Global Warming Alarmism,” <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jamestaylor/2011/07/27/new-nasa-data-blow-gaping-hold-in-global-warming-alarmism/>) JDB

NASA satellite data from the years 2000 through 2011 show the Earth’s atmosphere is allowing far more heat to be released into space than alarmist computer models have predicted, reports a new study in the peer-reviewed science journal [Remote Sensing](http://www.mdpi.com/2072-4292/3/8/1603/pdf). The study indicates far less future global warming will occur than United Nations computer models have predicted, and supports prior studies indicating increases in atmospheric carbon dioxide trap far less heat than alarmists have claimed. Study co-author Dr. Roy Spencer, a principal research scientist at the University of Alabama in Huntsville and U.S. Science Team Leader for the Advanced Microwave Scanning Radiometer flying on NASA’s Aqua satellite, reports that real-world data from NASA’s Terra satellite contradict multiple assumptions fed into alarmist computer models. “The satellite observations suggest there is much more energy lost to space during and after warming than the climate models show,” Spencer said in a July 26 University of Alabama [press release](http://pielkeclimatesci.wordpress.com/2011/07/26/new-paper-on-the-misdiagnosis-of-surface-temperature-feedbacks-from-variations-in-earth%E2%80%99s-radiant-energy-balance-by-spencer-and-braswell-2011/). “There is a huge discrepancy between the data and the forecasts that is especially big over the oceans.” In addition to finding that far less heat is being trapped than alarmist computer models have predicted, the NASA satellite data show the atmosphere begins shedding heat into space long before United Nations computer models predicted. The new findings are extremely important and should dramatically alter the global warming debate. Scientists on all sides of the global warming debate are in general agreement about how much heat is being directly trapped by human emissions of carbon dioxide (the answer is “not much”). However, the single most important issue in the global warming debate is whether carbon dioxide emissions will indirectly trap far more heat by causing large increases in atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds. Alarmist computer models assume human carbon dioxide emissions indirectly cause substantial increases in atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds (each of which are very effective at trapping heat), but real-world data have long shown that carbon dioxide emissions are not causing as much atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds as the alarmist computer models have predicted. The new NASA Terra satellite data are consistent with long-term NOAA and NASA data indicating atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds are not increasing in the manner predicted by alarmist computer models. The Terra satellite data also support data collected by NASA’s ERBS satellite showing far more longwave radiation (and thus, heat) escaped into space between 1985 and 1999 than alarmist computer models [had predicted](http://wattsupwiththat.com/2009/03/30/lindzen-on-negative-climate-feedback/). Together, the NASA ERBS and Terra satellite data show that for 25 years and counting, carbon dioxide emissions have directly and indirectly trapped far less heat than alarmist computer models have predicted. In short, the central premise of alarmist global warming theory is that carbon dioxide emissions should be directly and indirectly trapping a certain amount of heat in the earth’s atmosphere and preventing it from escaping into space. Real-world measurements, however, show far less heat is being trapped in the earth’s atmosphere than the alarmist computer models predict, and far more heat is escaping into space than the alarmist computer models predict. When objective NASA satellite data, reported in a peer-reviewed scientific journal, show a “huge discrepancy” between alarmist climate models and real-world facts, climate scientists, the media and our elected officials would be wise to take notice. Whether or not they do so will tell us a great deal about how honest the purveyors of global warming alarmism truly are.

#### No impact- incorrect models disprove the impact and the ocean has become for less alkaline before- the ocean and Earth survived

Ball 2011

[Dr. Tim Ball, Ph.D. (Doctor of Science), Queen Mary College, University of London (England), 1982, May 10, 2011, Analysis of Alarmism: Ocean Acidification, http://drtimball.com/2011/analysis-of-alarmism-ocean-acidification/, uwyo//amp]

The claim of ocean acidification is based on estimates and computer models; these use the very questionable pre-industrial atmospheric level of CO2 to calculate an increase of about 0.1 pH units. Of course, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) attributes the CO2 increase to human production, which is wrong because the global carbon cycle is very vague about sources, storage and length of time in each condition. For example, the error in the estimate of CO2 from the oceans each year is greater than the total human contribution§ Marked 15:56 § . The idea that a 0.1 pH unit increase is significant is ludicrous when the estimate has a range of 0.3 units. There is a subtle but important point here, because words are part of the scare component. Even if you accept the claimed change it, is not acidification; it is proper to say the solution is becoming less alkaline, but that doesn’t sound threatening. More problematic is the validity of the measures Although pH in seawater has been measured for many decades, a reliable long-term trend of ocean water pH cannot be established due to data quality issues, in particular the lack of strict and stable calibration procedures and standards. Moreover, seawater pH is very sensitive to temperature, and temperature is not always recorded or measured at sufficient accuracy to constrain the pH measurement. Even if CO2 increases to 560 ppm by 2050 as the IPCC predict, it would only result in a 0.2 unit reduction of pH. This is still within the error of the estimate of global average. What is the Real Threat? So what is threatened by this reduced alkalinity? Most marine life, if you read all the stories; but scare stories need one issue people view positively. Coral fits the bill well because the underwater scenes of color and diversity of life mesmerize us all. According to the experts, ocean acidification may render most regions of the ocean inhospitable to coral reefs by 2050, if atmospheric CO2 levels continue to increase. It could lead to substantial changes in commercial fish stocks, threatening food security for millions of people as well as the multi-billion dollar fishing industry. Scares require dramatic change beyond any previously recorded: Ocean acidification is more rapid than ever in the history of the earth and if you look at the pCO2 (partial pressure of carbon dioxide) levels we have reached now, you have to go back 35 million years in time to find the equivalents. Scares also require an impending critical point beyond which remedial action is useless. This so-called “tipping point” is currently estimated to allow a drop of about 0.2 pH units, a value that could be reached in as near as 30 years. It is no surprise the author of these outrageous and incorrect remarks is chair of the EuroCLIMATE program Scientific Committee. A plot of CO2 levels over the last 600 million years shows current levels are very low at 385 ppm. Figure 1: Average global temperature The only period in 600 million years when CO2 levels were equal to the present was over 300 million years ago. Since that time CO2 levels averaged 1000 to 1200 ppm or 3 to 4 times current levels. How did the plant and animal life survive those levels? It makes a mockery of the claim that even a doubling of atmospheric CO2 is a problem. More recent measures of pH levels show how current levels and claimed changes are well within natural variability. Here is a reconstruction of pH levels for the South China Seas by Liu et al (2009) that illustrates the point.

# RND 5 v. Wake CW

## 1NC

### 1st Off

#### OUR INTERPRETATION: The affirmative should endorse that the United States federal government should either reduce restrictions on and/or defend that incentives be increased for the production of any of the 6 topic fuels. The role of the ballot should be to affirm or reject the actions and outcomes of the plan.

#### 1. THE TOPIC IS DEFINED BY THE PHRASE FOLLOWING THE COLON – THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS THE AGENT OF THE RESOLUTION, NOT THE INDIVIDUAL DEBATERS

Webster’s Guide to Grammar and Writing 2K

<http://ccc.commnet.edu/grammar/marks/colon.htm>

Use of a colon before a list or an explanation that is preceded by a clause that can stand by itself. Think of the colon as a gate, inviting one to go on… If the introductory phrase preceding the colon is very brief and the clause following the colon represents the real business of the sentence, begin the clause after the colon with a capital letter.

#### 2. “RESOLVED” EXPRESSES INTENT TO IMPLEMENT THE PLAN

American Heritage Dictionary 2K

[www.dictionary.com/cgi-bin/dict.pl?term=resolved](http://www.dictionary.com/cgi-bin/dict.pl?term=resolved)

To find a solution to; solve …

To bring to a usually successful conclusion

#### 3. “SHOULD” DENOTES AN EXPECTATION OF ENACTING A PLAN

American Heritage Dictionary – 2K

[www.dictionary.com]

3 Used to express probability or expectation

#### 4. THE U.S.F.G. is the three branches of government

Dictionary.com 2k6 [<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/united+states+government>]

|  |
| --- |
| noun |
| the executive and legislative and judicial branches of the federal government of the United States |

#### 5. Reduce means to bring down

Random House Dictionary 9

<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/reduce>.

to bring down to a smaller extent, size, amount, number, etc.

#### 6. Restrictions are policy instruments—either statutory or regulatory—that directly limit activity

Free Legal Dictionary, accessed 12

[http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/restriction //wyo-tjc]

restriction n. any limitation on activity, by statute, regulation or contract provision. In multi-unit real estate developments, condominium and cooperative housing projects, managed by homeowners' associations or similar organizations are usually required by state law to impose restrictions on use. Thus, the restrictions are part of the "covenants, conditions and restrictions," intended to enhance the use of common facilities and property, recorded and incorporated into the title of each owner.

#### 7. Increase is to make larger

American Heritage Dictionary 1[www.answers.com/topic/increase ,2/1/200]

To become greater or larger. To multiply; reproduce.

#### d- Financial incentives for energy require a direct expenditure or loss of revenue in order to stimulate production

Gielecki et al 1

[Mark, Fred Mayes, and Lawrence Prete, Report Date: February 2001, “Incentives, Mandates, and

Government Programs for Promoting Renewable Energy”, p. <http://lobby.la.psu.edu/_107th/128_PURPA/Agency_Activities/EIA/Incentive_Mandates_and_Government.htm> //wyo-tjc]

Over the years, incentives and mandates for renewable energy have been used to advance different energy policies, such as ensuring energy security or promoting environmentally benign energy sources. Renewable energy has beneficial attributes, such as low emissions and replenishable energy supply, that are not fully reflected in the market price. Accordingly, governments have used a variety of programs to promote renewable energy resources, technologies, and renewable-based transportation fuels. (1) This paper discusses: (1) financial incentives and regulatory mandates used by Federal and State governments and Federal research and development (R&D), (2), (3) and (2) their effectiveness in promoting renewables.

A financial incentive is defined in this report as providing one or more of the following benefits:

A transfer of economic resources by the Government to the buyer or seller of a good or service that has the effect of reducing the price paid, or, increasing the price received, respectively;

Reducing the cost of production of the good or service; or,

Creating or expanding a market for producers.

The intended effect of a financial incentive is to increase the production or consumption of the good or service over what it otherwise would have been without the incentive. Examples of financial incentives are: tax credits, production payments, trust funds, and low-cost loans. Research and development is included as a support program because its effect is to decrease cost, thus enhancing the commercial viability of the good(s) provided. (4)

#### Third, vote negative:

#### The affirmative is anti-topical, they endorse that environmental justice should be at the center of our debate, not that an advocacy ought to occur-

#### Kills neg ground- kills all counterplan and disad ground, makes impossible to generate specific links

#### Limits and fair division of ground are key to education, limits are necessary for negative research and ground sets up the conditions for equitable debate

#### Prefer our interp-

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

Hager, Bryn Mawr College political science professor, ‘92

[Carol J., “Democratizing Technology: Citizen & State in West German Energy Politics, 1974-1990” *Polity*, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 45-70, accessed 10-7-12, AFB]

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

#### Limits outweighs: embrace a model of debate that strikes a balance between predictability and creativity—preparing to debate in a common framework enhances education because it maximizes testing of ideas. SEVERLEY DISCOUNT impact claims because those claims haven’t been submitted to rigorous testing

Goodin 03

[Robert E. Goodin and Simon J. Niemeyer- Australian National University- 2003, When Does Deliberation Begin? Internal Reflection versus Public Discussion in Deliberative Democracy, POLITICAL STUDIES: 2003 VOL 51, 627–649, uwyo//amp]

Suppose that instead of highly polarized symbolic attitudes, what we have at the outset is mass ignorance or mass apathy or non-attitudes. There again, people's engaging with the issue – focusing on it, acquiring information about it, thinking hard about it – would be something that is likely to occur earlier rather than later in the deliberative process. And more to our point, it is something that is most likely to occur within individuals themselves or in informal interactions, well in advance of any formal, organized group discussion. There is much in the large literature on attitudes and the mechanisms by which they change to support that speculation.31 Consider, for example, the literature on ‘central’ versus ‘peripheral’ routes to the formation of attitudes. Before deliberation, individuals may not have given the issue much thought or bothered to engage in an extensive process of reflection.32 In such cases, positions may be arrived at via peripheral routes, taking cognitive shortcuts or arriving at ‘top of the head’ conclusions or even simply following the lead of others believed to hold similar attitudes or values (Lupia, 1994). These shorthand approaches involve the use of available cues such as ‘expertness’ or ‘attractiveness’ (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986) – not deliberation in the internal-reflective sense we have described. Where peripheral shortcuts are employed, there may be inconsistencies in logic and the formation of positions, based on partial information or incomplete information processing. In contrast, ‘central’ routes to the development of attitudes involve the application of more deliberate effort to the matter at hand, in a way that is more akin to the internal-reflective deliberative ideal. Importantly for our thesis, there is nothing intrinsic to the ‘central’ route that requires group deliberation. Research in this area stresses instead the importance simply of ‘sufficient impetus’ for engaging in deliberation, such as when an individual is stimulated by personal involvement in the issue.33 The same is true of ‘on-line’ versus ‘memory-based’ processes of attitude change.34 The suggestion here is that we lead our ordinary lives largely on autopilot, doing routine things in routine ways without much thought or reflection. When we come across something ‘new’, we update our routines – our ‘running’ beliefs and procedures, attitudes and evaluations – accordingly. But having updated, we then drop the impetus for the update into deep-stored ‘memory’. A consequence of this procedure is that, when asked in the ordinary course of events ‘what we believe’ or ‘what attitude we take’ toward something, we easily retrieve what we think but we cannot so easily retrieve the reasons why. That more fully reasoned assessment – the sort of thing we have been calling internal-reflective deliberation – requires us to call up reasons from stored memory rather than just consulting our running on-line ‘summary judgments’. Crucially for our present discussion, once again, what prompts that shift from on-line to more deeply reflective deliberation is not necessarily interpersonal discussion. The impetus for fixing one's attention on a topic, and retrieving reasons from stored memory, might come from any of a number sources: group discussion is only one. And again, even in the context of a group discussion, this shift from ‘on-line’ to ‘memory-based’ processing is likely to occur earlier rather than later in the process, often before the formal discussion ever begins. All this is simply to say that, on a great many models and in a great many different sorts of settings, it seems likely that elements of the pre-discursive process are likely to prove crucial to the shaping and reshaping of people's attitudes in a citizens’ jury-style process. The initial processes of focusing attention on a topic, providing information about it and inviting people to think hard about it is likely to provide a strong impetus to internal-reflective deliberation, altering not just the information people have about the issue but also the way people process that information and hence (perhaps) what they think about the issue. What happens once people have shifted into this more internal-reflective mode is, obviously, an open question. Maybe people would then come to an easy consensus, as they did in their attitudes toward the Daintree rainforest.35 Or maybe people would come to divergent conclusions; and they then may (or may not) be open to argument and counter-argument, with talk actually changing minds. Our claim is not that group discussion will always matter as little as it did in our citizens’ jury.36 Our claim is instead merely that the earliest steps in the jury process – the sheer focusing of attention on the issue at hand and acquiring more information about it, and the internal-reflective deliberation that that prompts – will invariably matter more than deliberative democrats of a more discursive stripe would have us believe. However much or little difference formal group discussions might make, on any given occasion, the pre-discursive phases of the jury process will invariably have a considerable impact on changing the way jurors approach an issue.

#### Switch side debate is good-direct engagement with identities we do not identify with- it’s critical to overcome the existential resentment we feel towards those with whom we disagree. Lack of switch-side causes refusal to accept that our position is within question

Glover 10

[Robert, Professor of Political Science at University of Connecticut, Philosophy and Social Criticism, “Games without Frontiers?: Democratic Engagement, Agonistic Pluralism, and the Question of Exclusion”, Vol. 36, p. asp uwyo//amp]

In this vein, Connolly sees the goal of political engagement as securing a positive ‘ethos of engagement’ in relation to popular movements which alter existing assumptions, that is, a positive attitude towards attempts at pluralization. Connolly suggests we do so through thecultivation of two essential virtues: agonistic respect and critical responsiveness. 88 Agonisticrespect is defined as a situation whereby each political actor arrives at an appreciation for the factthat their own self-definition is bound with that of others, as well as recognition of the degree towhich each of these projections is profoundly contestable. 89 While Connolly notes that agonistic respect is a ‘kissing cousin’ of liberal tolerance, he distinguishes it by saying that the latter typically carries ‘the onus of being at the mercy of a putative majority that often construes itsown position to be beyond question.’ 90 Thus, agonistic respect is a reciprocal democratic virtue meant to operate across relations of difference, and Connolly deploys it as a regulative ideal forthe creation agonistic democratic spaces. 91 In a somewhat related way, the virtue of ‘critical responsiveness’ also attempts to move beyond liberal tolerance. 92 Critical responsiveness entails ‘ careful listening and presumptive generosity to constituencies struggling to move from an obscure or degraded subsistence below the field of recognition, justice, obligation, rights, or legitimacy to a place on one or more of those registers.’ 93 Critical responsiveness is not pity, charity, or paternalism but implies anenhanced degree of concern for others, driven by the cultivation of reciprocal empathic concern 21 for that which you are not. 94 This attitude cannot be developed in an abstract relation to thesenew and existing forms of radical cultural, political, religious, and philosophical difference.Critical responsiveness above all requires that one ‘get[s] a whiff of experiences heretofore aliento [us]’, recognizing that while this may be unsettling or cause discomfort, direct engagement isthe means by which you, ‘work tactically on yourself and others to overcome existential resentment of this persistent condition of human being.’

#### And, vote negative- There are already six fuels that all trade off with each other and two mechanisms that are bidirectional, and T is a prima facie burden should be evaluated through the lens of competing interpretations

### 2nd Off

#### Natural exports are coming but it will be close

Smith 13

[Larry Smith, long time investor, 1-6-2013, “The U.S. May Lead LNG Exports: Who Will Be The Winners?” Seeking Alpha, <http://seekingalpha.com/article/1096911-the-u-s-may-lead-lng-exports-who-will-be-the-winners>]

Events from the last few weeks have made it clear to me that the United Sates is poised to become a big exporter of Liquefied Natural Gas [LNG]. Exporting of natural gas from the United States requires regulatory approval, and it appears the people who hold that power want to see the export of natural gas happen. First, the Department of Energy [DOE] released a report they had commissioned that showed LNG exports would have an overall positive economic impact on the United States. The report states: Across all these scenarios, the US was projected to gain net economic benefits from allowing LNG exports. the study concluded. Here Moreover, for every one of the market scenarios examined, net economic benefits increased as the level of LNG exports increased. In particular, scenarios with unlimited exports always had higher net economic benefits than corresponding cases with limited exports. Second, during an interview with David Gregory on Meet The Press, President Obama stated the following when asked what his priorities are for his second term: Number three. You know, we've got a huge opportunity around energy. We are producing more energy and America can become an energy exporter. How do we do that in a way that also deals with some of the environmental challenges that we have at the same time?" Here Finally, the DOE has already begun approving some LNG projects. In April, the DOE voted to approve Cheniere Energy's (LNG) request to export LNG from the Sabine Pass facility. In August, Exxon (XOM) and its partner Qatar received approval to export LNG from its Golden Pass fac89ility to free-trade countries. In December, Sempra Energy (SRE) applied to receive U.S. government approval to construct export facilities at its Cameron LNG terminal in Louisiana. Sempra had earlier received approval to export LNG to free-trade countries. The projects I listed are just the beginning, as there is a queue at the DOE door awaiting approval for various projects. Companies first request to export LNG to free-trade partners and then must submit another request to export to non-free trade countries. There are currently 15 requests awaiting DOE approval for approval to export to non free-trade countries. Assuming LNG does become a reality, there are several positive benefits for the country. More jobs from the construction of the LNG terminals, more revenue for federal and state budgets from licensing and taxes, and a reduction in the trade deficit. Won't Happen Without a Fight Although I believe LNG export is coming, it will not come without a fight. As one would expect, environmentalist agencies, such as The Sierra Club, vow to fight the exporting of LNG, since they believe LNG exporting will require more hydraulic fracturing, which they want to stop. Some politicians, such as Congressman Ed Markey from Massachusetts, have stated they oppose LNG exports; they complain it will result in higher natural gas prices for consumers and businesses. Even some American businesses oppose LNG export or feel exports should be limited. The American Public Gas Association stated they oppose LNG for the following reason: APGA opposes the large scale export of LNG because it imperils critical national goals of abundant and affordable energy, reduced dependence on foreign oil and the opportunity for cleaner air by using natural gas for electric generation. Andrew Liveras of Dow Chemical wants to limit the amount of gas exported, believing low feedstock costs benefit American business. Despite those protests, I believe LNG export will happen, as there are more parties interested in making it happen than opposed to it, and the export momentum is building. I could see a cap on the amount of gas being exported receiving support, but do not believe exporting will be banned.

#### Solar and Wind massively increases natural gas demand

Milner 2013

[John Milner, Energy Consultant and Professional Engineer. 35 years experience in petroleum & clean energy businesses. January 29, 2013, Why Expanded Alternative Energy Increases the Need for Natural Gas, <http://theenergycollective.com/jemillerep/178096/expanded-wind-and-solar-power-increase-need-natural-gas>, uwyo//amp]

In conclusion – Renewable wind and solar power are clearly among the strongest options to replacing fossil fuels power generation. The penetration of these variable power generation technologies is constrained by costs and the available backup peaking power sources such as natural gas. Until reliable backup-peaking power options including adequate industrial scale power storage is developed or substantially increased levels of interruptable power demand is made available, up to 100% backup power from reliable sources such as natural gas peaking plants will continue be required to support significant levels of variable wind and solar power in the future. Required natural gas peaking power backup will continue to increase proportionally to expanded wind and solar power capacity until cost effective alternatives are developed.

#### Exports depend on low domestic prices and demand- plan reverses both

Goho 2013

[Shaun Goho is a lecturer on law at Harvard Law School and a clinical instructor in the school’s Emmett Environmental Law and Policy Clinic, , 02 January 2013, In U.S., the Lure of Export May Further Fuel Natural Gas Boom, <http://e360.yale.edu/feature/in_us_the_lure_of_export_may_further_fuel_natural_gas_boom/2605/>, uwyo//amp]

The current rush toward export projects is being driven by a combination of low natural gas prices in North America and higher prices in Europe and Asia. There is an economic basis to export natural gas from the United The construction of LNG export terminals could lead to tens of thousands of new shale gas wells. States to Europe and Asia only so long as this price gap continues to exist. Many analysts believe that the current price gap will continue for years to come. Yet the import terminal construction boom was based on similarly confident predictions of long-term U.S. dependence on imports. That prediction proved drastically incorrect and it would be hubris to believe that the same thing could not occur with this one. In fact, it is easy to imagine several different paths to a dwindling price gap. First, U.S. domestic natural gas consumption could increase significantly. Natural gas is expected to continue to expand its share of electricity production, driven both by its low price and by regulatory impediments to coal use. A more dramatic shift would occur if natural gas achieved widespread use as a fuel for cars and trucks.

#### US exports are key to stabilize Chinese transition to shale

[Geoffrey, , managing director of GSW Strategy Group, GSW is an energy and environmental strategy consulting firm, Should Alaska Export More LNG to Asia? 12-13-12,<http://theenergycollective.com/geoffrey-styles/155936/should-alaska-export-more-lng-asia?utm_source=feedburnerandutm_medium=emailandutm_campaign=The+Energy+Collective+%28all+posts%29>]

China presents a more complex picture, with its own significant shale gas potential and an energy market expected to add as much natural gas demand by 2035 as all the world's developed countries put together. Considering the scale of eventual demand and the infrastructure necessary to bring China's shale gas to market, it seems likely that the growth of the market in the interim must depend heavily on LNG imports.

#### Chinese development of shale gas causes China to draw down African influence

Kaplan 12

[Robert, non-resident senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security in Washington, D.C., and has been a foreign correspondent for The Atlantic for over 25 years, In 2009, he was appointed to the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, which advised former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates on key issues, Kaplan served on the board through 2011, from 2006 to 2008, he was the Class of 1960 Distinguished Visiting Professor in National Security at the U.S. Naval Academy, “The Geopolitics of Shale,”]

The countries that might conceivably suffer on account of a shale gas revolution would be landlocked, politically unstable oil producers such as Chad, Sudan and South Sudan, whose hydrocarbons could become relatively less valuable as these other energy sources come online. China, especially, might in the future lose interest in the energy deposits in such low-end, high-risk countries if shale gas became plentiful in its own interior.

#### Chinese presence in Africa collapses US-Sino relations and causes confrontation

Mazza 13

[Michael, research fellow in foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, 1-3-13 , “Four Surprises That Could Rock Asia in2013,”<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/01/03/four_surprises_that_could_rock_asia_in_2012?page=full>]

China has managed simmering unrest in its Western region of Xinjiang for decades, including a major riot in July 2009 that left nearly 200 dead. Beijing has long repressed Xinjiang's roughly 20 million Muslims, most of whom belong to the Uyghur minority, denying them the right to freely practice Islam and citing counterterrorism as an excuse for silencing dissent. In the summer of 2011, authorities even outlawed fasting for Ramadan. So far, China doesn't seem to be a preferred target for al Qaeda and other jihadi organizations. Its internal policing -- Beijing spends more on domestic security than on defense -- also makes it a hard target. But as China extends its economic and military reach around the world, while continuing to repress its sizable Muslim minority, the likelihood of it being the victim of a major terrorist attack increases exponentially. While al Qaeda views the United States as its primary antagonist, it bears ill will toward China as well. According to the Jerusalem Post's translation of a November statement attributed to current al Qaeda head Ayman al-Zawahiri, China is one of "five arrogant powers ... who impose their will on the rest of the world's peoples" through the United Nations Security Council. Zawahiri excoriated the U.N. for its acquiescence in allowing non-Muslim countries to seize Muslim territories, including China's takeover of "Eastern Turkistan," the name by which Xinjiang separatists refer to their territory. Washington's longtime support for the Saudi royal family has provided terrorists with at least a rhetorical rationale for attacking the United States. Beijing's decision to pull closer to Riyadh -- driven by a desire for more flexibility in China's relationship with Iran -- will not win it any plaudits from al Qaeda. Another risk factor for China is Africa, which, aggregated together, will likely replace the European Union as the country's largest trading partner within five years. Working conditions at Chinese-owned interests in Zambia, for example, are notoriously bad. At a copper mine in 2010, two Chinese managers fired shotguns into a crowd of workers protesting over poor pay and conditions, wounding 11. Some miners in Chinese-run operations in that country must work for two years before they are provided with safety helmets. China, with its massive business interests in Nigeria, Niger, Algeria, and Sudan (all unstable nations host to large Muslim populations) -- and with a sustained naval anti-piracy mission off the coast of Somalia -- might increasingly find itself the recipient of violence that has thus far been directed elsewhere. Attacks like the April 2007 raid of a Chinese oil concern in Ethiopia by Somali separatists, which killed 74 Africans and nine Chinese workers, could become much more common. Beijing may have concluded that such is the cost of doing business in Africa. But a terrorist attack on its own territory would be a shock. Beijing would likely respond to a major internationally launched terrorist attack in China by expanding its already intrusive surveillance apparatus and further limiting civil liberties -- especially in places like Xinjiang and Tibet. (After the July 2009 riots, Beijing took the extraordinary step of shutting off most of the Internet throughout the region for 10 months.) A devastating terrorist attack could make China rethink its longstanding policy of non-interference in other country's domestic affairs, which, despite its maritime meddling, it has kept since its 1979 invasion of Vietnam. On the positive side, the United States might find common cause in combating Islamist terrorism. But if the ruthlessness of China's domestic counterterrorism is mirrored in its foreign ventures, the United States and China would find themselves at loggerheads.

#### Cause nuclear exchange-extinction

White 11

[Mr. Hugh White is professor of strategic studies at the Australian National University in Canberra and a visiting fellow at the Lowy Institute in Sydney. The Obama Doctrine WSJ, 11/25/11 http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204452104577057660524758198.html]

One risk is that escalating strategic competition will disrupt the vital economic relationship between the U.S. and China. Many hope that the two countries' deep interdependence will prevent their rivalry getting out of hand. But that will only happen if both sides are willing to forgo strategic objectives to protect their economic cooperation. With the Obama Doctrine, the President has declared that he has no intention of doing that. Why should we expect the Chinese to act any different? So it is more likely that escalating rivalry will soon start to erode economic interdependence between the two nations, at great cost to both. The other risk is the growing chance of conflict. A war with China over Taiwan or the Spratly Islands is simple to start but hard to end, and could very easily escalate. China is a nuclear-armed power capable of destroying American cities, and the threshold for nuclear exchanges in a U.S.-China clash might be dangerously unclear and disastrously low.

### 3rd Off

#### Rare earth supply and demand are stable now but supply is limited – the plan causes supply shortages and bottlenecks

Bloomberg 12

[Jim Snyder writer for Bloomberg, January 5, 2012, Five Rare Earths Crucial for Clean Energy Seen In Short Supply, http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-01-05/five-rare-earths-crucial-for-clean-energy-seen-in-short-supply.html]

Falling Prices While prices of rare earths fell in the second half of 2011, they remain volatile, leading some companies to search for ways to consider reducing reliance on the minerals, the Energy Department said. The department is also researching how to use rare-earths more efficiently, including through recycling, and to increase production in the U.S. The department’s Advanced Research Projects Agency--Energy has given about $31.6 million to 14 research projects to study ways to reduce or eliminate use of rare-earth elements. In Congress, at least a dozen bills have been introduced supporting development of a domestic rare-earth industry, including through U.S. loan guarantees, according to the Energy Department report. None of the measures has passed. “The biggest challenge is a permitting system that has historically taken multiple years to go from exploration to production,” Daniel McGroarty, president of Lonoke, Arkansas- based U.S. Rare Earths Inc. (UREE), said in an interview. The company has claims in Colorado, Montana and Idaho, he said. Worldwide Demand The five minerals most at risk of supply disruptions are used to make wind turbines, solar panels, electric car batteries and energy-efficient lights, according to the report. A 2007 law requiring the phase-out of incandescent light bulbs may increase demand for terbium, europium and yttrium, used in compact fluorescent bulbs that comply with higher efficiency standards, according to the report. “While these materials are generally used in low volumes relative to other resources, the anticipated deployment of clean-energy technologies could substantially increase worldwide demand,” the report said. Smaller mining companies have difficulty raising the $100 million to $1 billion it takes to open a rare-earth ore mine, while global mining companies are often not interested because of the relatively small size of the $3 billion market and its unpredictability, the report said. The report also recommends greater emphasis on education and job training. “Strengthening the U.S. position across the supply chain requires a capable workforce,” the report said.

#### Rare earth policy to China is basically colonialism—we let them destroy their environment for US profit

Weihua, 2012

[Chen, China Daily, 3-15-12, Rare earth case reveals US hypocrisy, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2012-03/15/content\_14838462.htm]

US President Barack Obama announced on Tuesday that the United States, joined by Japan and the European Union, has filed complaints with the World Trade Organization over China's rare earth export quotas.¶ He said this as an effort to give "American workers and American businesses a fair shot in the global economy".¶ His words, however, imply that he does not really care about the environmental degradation caused by China's disorderly and excessive mining of rare earth materials, as long as US workers and businesses can profit from China's cheap supply.¶ This is shocking for a president who likes to portray himself as pro-environment when he fights Republican presidential candidates over clean energy issues, or when he tried to restore the US' leadership role at the UN Climate Change Conference, in Copenhagen, in December 2009.¶ China's new regulations on rare earth manufacturing and exports, which were introduced a few years ago, are based on the sound rationale of sustainable growth and environmental protection.¶ With only a third of the world's rare earth deposits, China now produces over 90 percent of the global rare earth minerals, a group of 17 elements that are widely used in high-tech products such as solar panels, batteries for electric cars and cell phones.¶ The lack of strong regulations in the past has posed grave dangers to the country and its people by depleting natural resources and destroying the environment. For example, rare earth mining has polluted drinking water in regions along some waterways linked to rare earth mines.¶ Experts believe it will cost tens of billions of dollars to repair the ecosystems damaged by rampant rare earth mining over the past decades. And American, Japanese and European businesses are unlikely to foot the bill.¶ On the other hand, countries such as the US, Canada and Australia, which used to produce rare earth minerals, stopped such manufacturing a decade ago due to the environmental concerns and the higher cost compared with Chinese exports.¶ When talking about China's purchase of raw materials from Africa and Latin America, many people in the US and Europe like to use the word "grabbing resources" or even "colonialism", but none of these people use similar words to describe the West's exploitation of China's cheap rare earth minerals.

### Case

#### Scenario planning is good. In a catastrophe-ridden world—it’s vital to make predictions about the future.

Kurasawa, 2004

[Fuyuki, Professor of Sociology at York University, “Cautionary Tales: The Global Culture of Prevention

and the Work of Foresight.” 2004, Constellations, Vol. 11, No. 4]

Independently of this room for maneuver and the chances of success. Humanitarian, environmental, and techno-scientific activists have convincingly shown that we cannot afford not to engage in preventive labor. contractualist justification, global civil society actors are putting forth a number of arguments countering temporal myopia on rational grounds. They make the case that no generation, and no part of the world, is immune from catastrophe. Complacency and parochialism are deeply flawed in that even if we earn a temporary reprieve, our children and grandchildren will likely not be so fortunate unless steps are taken today. Similarly, though it might be possible to minimize or contain the risks and harms of actions to faraway places over the short-term, parrying the eventual blowback or spillover effect is improbable. In fact, as I argued in the previous section, all but the smallest and most isolated of crises are rapidly becoming globalized due to the existence of transnational circuits of ideas, images, people, and commodities. Regardless of where they live, our descendants will increasingly be subjected to the impact of environmental degradation, the spread of epidemics, gross North-South socioeconomic inequalities, refugee flows, civil wars, and genocides. What may have previously appeared to be temporally and spatially remote risks are ‘coming home to roost’ in ever faster cycles. In a word, then, procrastination makes little sense for three principal reasons: it exponentially raises the costs of eventual future action; it reduces preventive options; and it erodes their effectiveness. With the foreclosing of long-range alternatives, later generations may be left with a single course of action, namely, that of merely reacting to large-scale emergencies as they arise. We need only think of how it gradually becomes more difficult to control climate change, let alone reverse it, or to halt mass atrocities once they are underway. Preventive foresight is grounded in the opposite logic, whereby the decision to work through perils today greatly enhances both the subsequent Moreover, I would contend that farsighted cosmopolitanism is not as remote or idealistic a prospect as it appears to some, for as Falk writes, “[g]lobal justice between temporal communities, however, actually seems to be increasing, as evidenced by various expressions of greater sensitivity to past injustices and future dangers.”36 Global civil society may well be helping a new generational self-conception take root, according to which we view ourselves as the provisional caretakers of our planetary commons. Out of our sense of responsibility for the well-being of those who will follow us, we come to be more concerned about the here and now.

#### Preventing extinction is the highest ethical priority – we should take action to prevent the Other from dying FIRST, only THEN can we consider questions of value to life

Paul Wapner, associate professor and director of the Global Environmental Policy Program at American University, Winter 2003, Dissent, online: http://www.dissentmagazine.org/menutest/archives/2003/wi03/wapner.htm

All attempts to listen to nature are social constructions-except one. Even the most radical postmodernist must acknowledge the distinction between physical existence and non-existence. As I have said, postmodernists accept that there is a physical substratum to the phenomenal world even if they argue about the different meanings we ascribe to it. This acknowledgment of physical existence is crucial. We can't ascribe meaning to that which doesn't appear. What doesn't exist can manifest no character. Put differently, yes, the postmodernist should rightly worry about interpreting nature's expressions. And all of us should be wary of those who claim to speak on nature's behalf (including environmentalists who do that). But we need not doubt the simple idea that a prerequisite of expression is existence. This in turn suggests that preserving the nonhuman world-in all its diverse embodiments-must be seen by eco-critics as a fundamental good. Eco-critics must be supporters, in some fashion, of environmental preservation. Postmodernists reject the idea of a universal good. They rightly acknowledge the difficulty of identifying a common value given the multiple contexts of our value-producing activity. In fact, if there is one thing they vehemently scorn, it is the idea that there can be a value that stands above the individual contexts of human experience. Such a value would present itself as a metanarrative and, as Jean-François Lyotard has explained, postmodernism is characterized fundamentally by its "incredulity toward meta-narratives." Nonetheless, I can't see how postmodern critics can do otherwise than accept the value of preserving the nonhuman world. The nonhuman is the extreme "other"; it stands in contradistinction to humans as a species. In understanding the constructed quality of human experience and the dangers of reification, postmodernism inherently advances an ethic of respecting the "other." At the very least, respect must involve ensuring that the "other" actually continues to exist. In our day and age, this requires us to take responsibility for protecting the actuality of the nonhuman. Instead, however, we are running roughshod over the earth's diversity of plants, animals, and ecosystems. Postmodern critics should find this particularly disturbing. If they don't, they deny their own intellectual insights and compromise their fundamental moral commitment.

#### Extinction is the worst impact—prioritizing anything else puts the cart before the horse

Schell 1982

(Jonathan, Professor at Wesleyan University, The Fate of the Earth, pages 136-137 uw//wej)

Implicit in everything that I have said so far about the nuclear predicament there has been a perplexity that I would now like to take up explicitly, for it leads, I believe, into the very heart of our response-or, rather, our lack of response-to the predicament. I have pointed out that our species is the most important of all the things that, as inhabitants of a common world, we inherit from the past generations, but it does not go far enough to point out this superior importance, as though in making our decision about ex- tinction we were being asked to choose between, say, liberty, on the one hand, and the survival of the species, on the other. For the species not only overarches but contains all the benefits of life in the common world, and to speak of sacrificing the species for the sake of one of these benefits involves one in the absurdity of wanting to de- stroy something in order to preserve one of its parts, as if one were to burn down a house in an attempt to redecorate the living room, or to kill someone to improve his character. ,but even to point out this absurdity fails to take the full measure of the peril of extinction, for mankind is not some invaluable object that lies outside us and that we must protect so that we can go on benefiting from it; rather, it is we ourselves, without whom everything there is loses its value. To say this is another way of saying that extinction is unique not because it destroys mankind as an object but because it destroys mankind as the source of all possible human subjects, and this, in turn, is another way of saying that extinction is a second death, for one's own individual death is the end not of any object in life but of the subject that experiences all objects. Death, how- ever, places the mind in a quandary. One of-the confounding char- acteristics of death-"tomorrow's zero," in Dostoevski's phrase-is that, precisely because it removes the person himself rather than something in his life, it seems to offer the mind nothing to take hold of. One even feels it inappropriate, in a way, to try to speak "about" death at all, as. though death were a thing situated some- where outside us and available for objective inspection, when the fact is that it is within us-is, indeed, an essential part of what we are. It would be more appropriate, perhaps, to say that death, as a fundamental element of our being, "thinks" in us and through us about whatever we think about, coloring our thoughts and moods with its presence throughout our lives.

#### Consequentialism is key to ethical decision making, because it ensures beings are treated as equal—any other approach to ethics is arbitrary because it considers one’s preferences as more important than others

Lillehammer, 2011

[Hallvard, Faculty of Philosophy Cambridge University, “Consequentialism and global ethics.” Forthcoming in M. Boylan, Ed., Global Morality and Justice: A Reader, Westview Press, Online, <http://www.phil.cam.ac.uk/teaching_staff/lillehammer/Consequentialism_and_Global_Ethics-1-2.pdf>] /Wyo-MB

Contemporary discussions of consequentialism and global ethics have been marked by a focus on examples such as that of the shallow pond. In this literature, distinctions are drawn and analogies made between different cases about which both the consequentialist and his or her interlocutor are assumed to have a more or less firm view. One assumption in this literature is that progress can be made by making judgements about simple actual or counterfactual examples, and then employing a principle of equity to the effect that like cases be treated alike, in order to work out what to think about more complex actual cases. It is only fair to say that in practice such attempts to rely only on judgements about simple cases have a tendency to produce trenchant stand-offs. It is important to remember, therefore, that for some consequentialists the appeal to simple cases is neither the only, nor the most basic, ground for their criticism of the ethical status quo. For some of the historically most prominent consequentialists the evidential status of judgements about simple cases depends on their derivability from basic ethical principles (plus knowledge of the relevant facts). Thus, in The Methods of Ethics, Henry Sidgwick argues that ethical thought is grounded in a small number of self-evident axioms of practical reason. The first of these is that we ought to promote our own good. The second is that the good of any one individual is objectively of no more importance than the good of any other (or, in Sidgwick’s notorious metaphor, no individual’s good is more important ‘from the point of view of the Universe’ than that of any other). The third is that we ought to treat like cases alike. Taken together, Sidgwick takes these axioms to imply a form of consequentialism. We ought to promote our own good. Yet since our own good is objectively no more important than the good of anyone else, we ought to promote the good of others as well. And in order to treat like cases alike, we have to weigh our own good against the good of others impartially, all other things being equal. iv It follows that the rightness of our actions is fixed by what is best for the entire universe of ethically relevant beings. To claim otherwise is to claim for oneself and one’s preferences a special status they do not possess. When understood along these lines, consequentialism is by definition a global ethics: the good of everyone should count for everyone, no matter their identity, location, or personal and social attachments, now or hereafter. v Some version of this view is also accepted by a number of contemporary consequentialists, including Peter Singer, who writes that it is ‘preferable to proceed as Sidgwick did: search for undeniable fundamental axioms, [and] build up a moral theory from them’ (Singer 1974, 517; Singer 1981). For these philosophers the question of our ethical duties to others is not only a matter of our responses to cases like the shallow pond. It is also a matter of whether these responses cohere with an ethics based on first principles. If you are to reject the consequentialist challenge, therefore, you will have to show what is wrong with those principles.

#### Violence is declining

Steven **Pinker 11**, professor of psychology at Harvard, The Better Angels of our Nature, October, googlebooks

This book is about what may be the most important thing that has ever happened in human history. Believe it or not—and I know that most people do not—**violence has declined over long stretches of time, and today we may be living in the most peaceable era in our species’ existence**. **The decline**, to be sure, **has not been smooth; it has not brought violence down to zero; and it is not guaranteed to continue. But it is an unmistakable development**, **visible on scales from millennia to years**, from the waging of wars to the spanking of children. **No aspect of life is untouched by the retreat from violence**. Daily existence is very different if you always have to worry about being abducted, raped, or killed, and it’s hard to develop sophisticated arts, learning, or commerce if the institutions that support them are looted and burned as quickly as they are built. The historical trajectory of violence affects not only how life is lived but how it is understood. What could be more fundamental to our sense of meaning and purpose than a conception of whether the strivings of the human race over long stretches of time have left us better or worse off? **How**, in particular, **are we to make sense of modernity**—of the erosion of family, tribe, tradition, and religion by the forces of individualism, cosmopolitanism, reason, and science? So **much depends on how we understand the legacy of this transition: whether we see our world as a nightmare** of crime, terrorism, genocide, and war, **or as a period that, by the standards of history, is blessed by unprecedented levels of peaceful coexistence**. **The question of whether the arithmetic sign of trends in violence is positive or negative also bears on our conception of human nature**. Though theories of human nature rooted in biology are often associated with fatalism about violence, and the theory that the mind is a blank slate is associated with progress, in my view it is the other way around. How are we to understand the natural state of life when our species first emerged and the processes of history began? The belief that violence has increased suggests that the world we made has contaminated us, perhaps irretrievably. The belief that it has decreased suggests that we started off nasty and that the artifices of civilization have moved us in a noble direction, one in which we can hope to continue. This is a big book, but it has to be. First I have to convince you that **violence really has gone down over the course of history**, knowing that **the very idea invites skepticism, incredulity, and** sometimes **anger**. **Our cognitive faculties predispose us to believe that we live in violent times**, **especially when they are stoked by media** that follow the watchword “If it bleeds, it leads.” **The human mind tends to estimate the probability of an event from the ease with which it can recall examples, and scenes of carnage are more likely to be beamed into our homes and burned into our memories than footage of people dying of old age**.1 **No matter how small the percentage of violent deaths may be, in absolute numbers there will always be enough of them to fill the evening news, so people’s impressions of violence will be disconnected from the actual proportions**. Also distorting our sense of danger is our moral psychology. **No one has ever recruited activists to a cause by announcing that things are getting better, and bearers of good news are often advised to keep their mouths shut lest they lull people into complacency**. Also, **a large swath of our intellectual culture is loath to admit that there could be anything good about civilization, modernity, and Western society**. But perhaps the main cause of the illusion of ever-present violence springs from one of the forces that drove violence down in the first place. **The decline of violent behavior has been paralleled by a decline in attitudes that tolerate or glorify violence, and often the attitudes are in the lead**. By the standards of the mass atrocities of human history, the lethal injection of a murderer in Texas, or an occasional hate crime in which a member of an ethnic minority is intimidated by hooligans, is pretty mild stuff. But from a contemporary vantage point, we see them as signs of how low our behavior can sink, not of how high our standards have risen. In the teeth of these preconceptions, I will have to persuade you with numbers, which I will glean from datasets and depict in graphs. In each case I’ll explain where the numbers came from and do my best to interpret the ways they fall into place. The problem I have set out to understand is the reduction in violence at many scales—in the family, in the neighborhood, between tribes and other armed factions, and among major nations and states. If the history of violence at each level of granularity had an idiosyncratic trajectory, each would belong in a separate book. But to my repeated astonishment, **the global trends** in almost all of them, **viewed from the vantage point of the present, point downward**. That calls for documenting the various trends between a single pair of covers, and seeking commonalities in when, how, and why they have occurred. **Too many kinds of violence**, I hope to convince you, **have moved in the same direction for it all to be a coincidence**, and that calls for an explanation. It is natural to recount the history of violence as a moral saga—a heroic struggle of justice against evil—but that is not my starting point. My approach is scientific in the broad sense of seeking explanations for why things happen. We may discover that a particular advance in peacefulness was brought about by moral entrepreneurs and their movements. But we may also discover that the explanation is more prosaic, like a change in technology, governance, commerce, or knowledge. **Nor can we understand the decline of violence as an unstoppable force for progress that is carrying us toward an omega point of perfect peace. It is a collection of statistical trends** in the behavior of groups of humans in various epochs, and as such it calls for an explanation in terms of psychology and history: how human minds deal with changing circumstances.

#### war causes oppression, but the aff can’t solve war.

**Goldstein, ‘1**(Professor in School of International Service @ American University, War & Gender, pg. 412)

First, peace activists face a dilemma in thinking about causes of war and working for peace. Many peace scholars and activists support the approach, "if you want peace, work for justice." Then if one believes that sexism contributes to war, one can work for gender justice specifically (perhaps among others) in order to pursue peace. This approach brings strategic allies to the peace movement (women, labor, minorities), but rests on the assumption that injustices cause war. The evidence in this book **suggests that causality runs** at least as strongly **the other way**. War is not a product of capitalism, imperialism, gender, innate aggression or any other single cause, although all of these influence wars' outbreak and outcomes. Rather, war has in part **fueled and sustained these and other injustices.**So, "if you want peace, work for peace." Indeed, if you want justice (gender and others), work for peace. Causality does not run just upward through the levels of analysis, from types of individuals, societies, and governments up to war. It runs downwards too. Enloe suggests that changes in attitudes towards war and the military may be the most important way to "reverse women's oppression." The dilemma is that peace work focused on justice bring to the peace movement energy, allies, and moral grounding, yet, in light of this book's evidence, the emphasis on injustice as the main cause of war seems to be **empirically inadequate**.

#### No long term solvency

Jane I. **Dawson**, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Oregon, **2000**, “The two faces of environmental justice: Lessons from the eco-nationalist phenomenon”, Environmental Politics, 9:2, 22 — 60

Whether or not the alliance between environmentalism and social justice will be stable over the long term, however, is a question that has not yet been addressed. While during the early mobilisational stages, focusing on environmental threats to a particular population may provide an excellent tool for awakening a sub-group to injustices and recruiting people into the social justice crusade, it is possible that this tactic may be simply instrumental, rather than a reflection of the long-term convergence of interests and objectives of the two movements. Conversely, the environmental crusade may find the social justice tactic extremely useful in recruiting an entire social bloc into their movement. Again, however, this suggests that the environment-social justice alliance may be inherently unstable and unlikely to last past the early mobilisational stages.

#### The reductiveness and intersectionality of the environmental justice movement cause it to deny the agency of distinct minority groups and threaten their survival.

Yamamoto and Lyman 1 (Eric K, Hawaii Law School law prof., and Jen-L W, UC Berkeley visiting law prof., University of Colorado Law Review, 72 U. Colo. L. Rev. 311, Spring, p. 311-313, ln)

"Racial communities are not all created equal." 1 Yet, the established environmental justice framework tends to treat racial minorities as interchangeable and to assume for all communities of color that health and distribution of environmental burdens are main concerns. For some racialized communities, 2 however, environmental justice is not only, or even primarily, about immediate health concerns or burden distribution. Rather, for them, and particularly for some indigenous peoples, environmental justice is mainly about cultural and economic self-determination and belief systems that connect their history, spirituality, and livelihood to the natural environment. 3 This article explores the meaning of "environmental justice," focusing on race as it merges with the environment. The word "environment" triggers images of the physical surroundings - water, [\*312] trees, ecosystems. 4 Society tends to separate physical environment from social environment - the latter including people, culture, and social structures. 5 But the "race" in "environmental racism" suggests that the physical and the social are integrally connected. Indeed, understanding "our environment" is impossible without understanding both its physical and social aspects, and § Marked 08:24 § their interplay. 6 Much of the scholarly writing on environmental justice does not address with adequate complexity or depth the interplay between the natural and the racial. Rather, many articles make unexplored assumptions about racialized environments, failing to inquire into distinct cultural and power differences among communities of color and their relationships to "the environment." For instance, while some might describe the siting of a waste disposal plan near an indigenous American community as environmental racism, that community might say that the wrong is not racial discrimination or unequal treatment; it is the denial of group sovereignty - the control over land and resources for the cultural and spiritual well-being of a people. Alternatively, the community might say that the siting is, on balance, desirable because it provides needed jobs in the area and is an aspect of group economic survival.

## 2NC

#### Their understanding is flawed and can never solve without institutional reform: reducing racism to a particular standpoint de-emphasizes the importance of how racist assumptions exist in different dimensions. Undoing racism requires large-scale societal change.

Kerner 07

(Ina, presented at De/Konstruktionen von Okzidentalismus, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, “Challenges of Critical Whiteness Studies,” June 2007, <http://translate.eipcp.net/strands/03/kerner-strands01en/print>) /Wyo-MM

**When reading Critical Whiteness scholarship, it** sometimes **seems that critical self-positioning on the part of whites was more or less the solution to problems** of white/black-racism in Germany. I hold that **this overestimates the personal dimension – and de-emphasizes** that **there might be much more to be done, things that** by far **transcend** the **possibilities of individual acts and individual change. Because if** we assume that **racism has the three dimensions** that I have suggested, then **undoing racism requires much more than personal attempts to give away or share one’s privileges.** **It includes reworking racist assumptions, images, stereotypes and ascriptions on a societal level**, in other words **replacing racist knowledge by non-racist knowledge**; it **also includes undoing institutionalized forms of racism and their effects, like exclusive immigration and citizenship laws, or structural forms of discrimination;** and finally, it includes the need for subjects who don’t reproduce the above. So in fact, when employing such a more-dimensional account of racism, a whole new, and actually broadened concept of white privilege suggests itself. In the light of the three dimensions that I have mentioned, **white privilege cannot be reduced to a resource**, something that individuals have or don’t have, like a weightless, invisible knapsack full of maps, codebooks, visas, clothes and blank checks (cf. McIntosh 1989) that they carry with them on their way through life – even though such resources can surely be part of it.[7] Rather, **white privilege entails two** more **aspects**. First, and **this refers to the institutional dimension of racism, the structuring of parts of the way through live itself**, like elevators for some where others have to climb the steps, or like tunnels and bridges with restricted access based on group membership. Second, **referring to the epistemic dimension, a reformulated notion of white privilege entails the structuring of societal perceptions about who will make it far on this way through life and who won’t**, perceptions of who is supposed to get ahead, and who is supposed to stay behind. In general, I hold that such perceptions aren’t necessarily mirrored in people’s self-perceptions and identities – but they nevertheless influence the elements, the range of possibilities that each of us has for constructing our identities or our relations to ourselves.[8] Therefore, they can have great influence on the ways in which we want to and can live our lives.

## 1NR

#### Nuclear war worse for environment-

Duncan Clark 9, editorial environmental consultant to the London Guardian, co-director of GreenProfile, January 2, 2009, “The carbon footprint of nuclear war,” online: http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/blog/2009/jan/02/nuclear-war-emissions

Almost 700m [million] tonnes of CO2 would be released into the Earth's atmosphere by even the smallest nuclear conflict, according to a US study that compares the environmental costs of developing various power sources Just when you might have thought it was ethically sound to unleash a nuclear attack on a nearby city, along comes a pesky scientist and points out that atomic warfare is bad for the climate. According to a new paper in the journal Energy & Environmental Science, even a very limited nuclear exchange, using just a thousandth of the weaponry of a full-scale nuclear war, would cause up to 690m tonnes of CO2 to enter the atmosphere – more than UK's annual total. The upside (kind of) is that the conflict would also generate as much as 313m tonnes of soot. This would stop a great deal of sunlight reaching the earth, creating a significant regional cooling effect in the short and medium terms – just like when a major volcano erupts. Ultimately, though, the CO2 would win out and crank up global temperatures an extra few notches. The paper's author, Mark Z Jacobson, a professor of civil and environmental engineering at Stanford University, calculated the emissions of such a conflict by totting up the burn rate and carbon content of the fabric of our cities. "Materials have the following carbon contents: plastics, 38–92%; tyres and other rubbers, 59–91%; synthetic fibres, 63–86%; woody biomass, 41–45%; charcoal, 71%; asphalt, 80%; steel, 0.05–2%. We approximate roughly the carbon content of all combustible material in a city as 40–60%." But why would a Stanford engineer bother calculating such a thing? Given that the nuclear exchange would also kill up to 17 million people, who's going to be thinking about the impact on global warming? The purpose of the paper is to compare the total human and environmental costs of a wide range of different power sources, from solar and wind to nuclear and biofuels. One of the side-effects of nuclear power, the report argues, is an increased risk of nuclear war: "Because the production of nuclear weapons material is occurring only in countries that have developed civilian nuclear energy programs, the risk of a limited nuclear exchange between countries or the detonation of a nuclear device by terrorists has increased due to the dissemination of nuclear energy facilities worldwide." "As such," Jacobson continues, "it is a valid exercise to estimate the potential number of immediate deaths and carbon emissions due to the burning of buildings and infrastructure associated with the proliferation of nuclear energy facilities and the resulting proliferation of nuclear weapons … Although concern at the time of an explosion will be the deaths and not carbon emissions, policy makers today must weigh all the potential future risks of mortality and carbon emissions when comparing energy sources."

#### Exports help manufacturing and other economic benefits outweigh

Santa 13

[Don Santa, president of the interstate natural gas association of America, 1-14-2013, “ Keeping Shale Gas Boom Alive with Exports,” National Journal, <http://energy.nationaljournal.com/2013/01/should-america-exploit-energy.php>]

The U.S. natural gas resource base is proving to be enormous. A National Petroleum Council report released in autumn 2011 showed that even if natural gas demand were to grow at the highest potential levels – which would include vehicle conversions to natural gas, exports to Mexico and LNG exports on top of dynamic gas growth in the power-generation and industrial sectors –supply would be plentiful to meet that demand. While some American consumers and businesses are understandably concerned that LNG exports might increase U.S. natural gas prices, a recent study for the Department of Energy found the price impact would be very modest. Moreover, the study concluded that: “Scenarios with unlimited exports always had higher net economic benefits than corresponding cases with limited exports.” Limiting or restricting LNG exports might initially trim domestic natural gas prices, but in the long-term this policy could backfire. If prices drop further – they already are at near historic lows – producers might be compelled to slow or stop their U.S. drilling activities. U.S. natural gas and oil development has been one of the very few economic high points – and job creators – during this tepid economic recovery. Having a dynamic and diverse market, which includes LNG exports, gives producers the confidence they need to invest in domestic exploration and production. U.S. natural gas development provides enormous benefits by creating American jobs, generating federal, state and local tax revenues, and helping provide the fuel we need to heat our homes, run our business and the feedstock to many of our everyday goods, such as plastics. The incentives to maintain robust investment in exploration and production will be diminished if the market for U.S. gas production is artificially constrained. Congress and the administration should maintain the current legal and regulatory framework for LNG exports, which will contribute to the ongoing development of domestic energy resources, as well as stable natural gas prices. Markets, governed by existing law, should guide the expansion of U.S. natural gas exports. Current law already provides for a thorough review of natural gas exports to determine if such exports are in the “national interest.” While the U.S. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission is the lead federal agency that evaluates the environmental and socioeconomic impacts of LNG projects, the DOE must review the proposed export transaction. While free trade agreements govern most of the existing North American trade, the Natural Gas Act requires a “national interest” determination for any exports not covered under a free trade agreement. Thus, current law provides an additional layer of government review not in place for exports of many other energy products, including coal and refined petroleum products. This is a good system that works. Continuing to permit a broad range of uses for U.S. natural gas, including exports, will contribute to U.S. economic growth, job creation and energy security. In addition, the construction, operation and maintenance of energy infrastructure supports thousands of professional jobs in construction, and thousands of additional jobs in the manufacturing sector. Exports, governed by existing law, can make a significant positive contribution to the U.S. economy.

**Manufacturing is key to the US economy**

**Ettlinger and Gordon, 2011**

[Michael Ettlinger is the Vice President for Economic Policy and Kate Gordon is the Vice President for Energy Policy at the Center for American Progress, “The Importance and Promise of American Manufacturing.” 4-7-2011, Online, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/labor/report/2011/04/07/9427/the-importance-and-promise-of-american-manufacturing/] /Wyo-MB

**Manufacturing is critically important to the American economy**. For generations, **the strength of our country rested on the power of our factory floors**—both the machines and the men and women who worked them. **We need manufacturing to continue to be a bedrock of strength for generations to come**. **Manufacturing is woven into the structure of our economy**: Its importance goes far beyond what happens behind the factory gates. **The strength or weakness of American manufacturing carries implications for the entire economy, our national security, and the well-being of all Americans.**

#### The US is key to the global economy

Caploe 9 David is the Chief Political Economist at Economy Watch and holds a PhD in International Political Economy from Princeton. April 7, 2009, The Straits Times, “Focus still on America to lead global recovery,” http://acalaha.com/STarticle07Apr09.pdf

IN THE aftermath of the G-20 summit, most observers seem to have missed perhaps the most crucial statement of the entire event, made by United States President Barack Obama at his pre-conference meeting with British Prime Minister Gordon Brown: 'The world has become accustomed to the US being a voracious consumer market, the engine that drives a lot of economic growth worldwide,' he said. 'If there is going to be renewed growth, it just can't be the US as the engine.' ¶ While superficially sensible, this view is deeply problematic. To begin with, it ignores the fact that the global economy has in fact been 'America-centred' for more than 60 years. Countries - China, Japan, Canada, Brazil, Korea, Mexico and so on - either sell to the US or they sell to countries that sell to the US. To put it simply, Mr Obama doesn't seem to understand that there is no other engine for the world economy - and hasn't been for the last six decades. **If the US does not drive global economic growth, growth is not going to happen**. Thus, US policies to deal with the current crisis are critical not just domestically, but also to the entire world. ¶ This system has generally been advantageous for all concerned. America gained certain historically unprecedented benefits, but the system also enabled participating countries - first in Western Europe and Japan, and later, many in the Third World - to achieve undreamt-of prosperity. ¶ At the same time, this deep inter-connection between the US and the rest of the world also explains how the collapse of a relatively small sector of the US economy - 'sub-prime' housing, logarithmically exponentialised by Wall Street's ingenious chicanery - has cascaded into the worst global economic crisis since the Great Depression.

**There is a strong historical correlation between economic decline and war.**

**Mead 9** — Henry Kissinger Senior Fellow at the CFR, Professor at Yale (Walter Russel, "What Doesn't Kill You Makes You Stronger," The New Republic)

So far, such half-hearted experiments not only have failed to work; they have left the societies that have tried them in a progressively worse position, farther behind the front-runners as time goes by. Argentina has lost ground to Chile; Russian development has fallen farther behind that of the Baltic states and Central Europe. Frequently, the crisis has weakened the power of the merchants, industrialists, financiers, and professionals who want to develop a liberal capitalist society integrated into the world. **Crisis can also strengthen the hand of religious extremists, populist radicals, or authoritarian traditionalists** who are determined to resist liberal capitalist society for a variety of reasons. Meanwhile, **the companies and banks based in these societies are often less established and more vulnerable to the consequences of a financial crisis than more established firms in wealthier societies.** As a result, **developing countries** and countries where capitalism has relatively recent and shallow roots **tend to suffer greater economic and political damage when crisis strikes**--as, inevitably, it does. And, consequently, **financial crises often reinforce rather than challenge the global distribution of power and wealth.** This may be happening yet again. **None of which means that we can just sit back and enjoy the recession.** History may suggest that financial crises actually help capitalist great powers maintain their leads--but it has other, less reassuring messages as well. **If financial crises have been a normal part of life** during the 300-year rise of the liberal capitalist system under the Anglophone powers, **so has war**. The wars of the League of Augsburg and the Spanish Succession; the Seven Years War; the American Revolution; the Napoleonic Wars; the two World Wars; the cold war: **The list of wars is almost as long as the list of financial crises. Bad economic times can breed wars.** Europe was a pretty peaceful place in 1928, but **the Depression poisoned German public opinion and helped bring** Adolf **Hitler to power. If the current crisis turns into a depression, what rough beasts might** start slouching toward Moscow, Karachi, Beijing, or New Delhi to **be born**? The United States may not, yet, decline, but, **if we can't get the world economy back on track, we may still have to fight.**

#### Slower growth in the US provides the worst treatment of racial others throughout history.

Friedman 5 (Benjamin, Prof of Political Econ @ Harvard, “Meltdown: A Case Study” The Atlantic, August 5, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/07/meltdown-a-case-study/4049/)

When slow growth together with widening inequality halted improvements in living standards for many Americans in the 1920s, the upshot was the revival of the Ku Klux Klan (not just in the South—at the Klan's peak perhaps one in ten white Protestant U.S. men was a member), the tightest and most discriminatory immigration restrictions in the nation's history, and the elimination of both federal and state laws designed to protect women and children. Similar economic conditions in the 1970s and 1980s provided the backdrop for another round of anti-immigrant agitation, the rise of the right-wing militia movement, and incidents of politically motivated domestic terrorism.

### Case

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It is a collection of statistical trends** in the behavior of groups of humans in various epochs, and as such it calls for an explanation in terms of psychology and history: how human minds deal with changing circumstances.

#### We should compare different theoretical approaches to the environment using cost benefit analysis

Alonsob et al, 2008

[Enrique Alonsob, Biodiversity UNESCO Chair, ESCET-Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid, Spain, and Pablo Martínez de Anguitaa, Department of Environmental Technology, ESCET-Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid, Spain, and María Ángeles Martínc, Department of Natural Resources, University San Pablo CEU, Madrid, Spain, “Environmental economic, political and ethical integration in a common decision-making framework.” Journal of Environmental Management, Volume 88, Issue 1, July 2008, Pages 154–164, Accessed online via science direct] /Wyo-MB

A value is an enduring conception of the preferable which influences choice and action (Brown, 1984). Traditionally, neoclassical utility theory has assumed a value monism, i.e., all values are commensurable and ultimately reducible to a single measure: some form of implicit or explicit cost-benefit analysis or calculation lies behind almost every human action, object and behaviour (Frank, 1997). Based on this metric, we should be able to measure people's preferences and values for environmental goods.

# RND 7 v. OU CL

### 1NC

See f/w cites, RND 5 + 2

#### First, our historical artifact: The history of race is the history of a classed division- the need to extract surplus value for the owning class created the super-structure of racist ideology in order to divide and categorize the working class

San Juan 3

[E., Fulbright Lecturer @ Univ. of Leuven, Belgium , “Marxism and the Race/Class Problematic: A Re-Articulation”, p. online: <http://clogic.eserver.org/2003/sanjuan.html> ]

It seems obvious that racism cannot be dissolved by instances of status mobility when sociohistorical circumstances change gradually or are transformed by unforeseen interventions. The black bourgeoisie continues to be harassed and stigmatized by liberal or multiculturalist practices of racism, not because they drive Porsches or conspicuously flaunt all the indices of wealth. Class exploitation cannot replace or stand for racism because it is the condition of possibility for it. It is what enables the racializing of selected markers, whether physiological or cultural, to maintain, deepen and reinforce alienation, mystifying reality by modes of commodification, fetishism, and reification characterizing the routine of quotidian life. Race and class are dialectically conjoined in the reproduction of capitalist relations of exploitation and domination. 30. We might take a passage from Marx as a source of guidelines for developing a historical-materialist theory of racism which is not empiricist but dialectical in aiming for theorizing conceptual concreteness as a multiplicity of historically informed and configured determinations. This passage comes from a letter dated 9 April 1870 to Meyer and Vogt in which Marx explains why the Irish struggle for autonomy was of crucial significance for the British proletariat: . . . Every industrial and commercial center in England possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the 'poor whites' to the 'niggers' in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland. This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it (quoted in Callinicos 1993). Here Marx sketches three parameters for the sustained viability of racism in modern capitalist society. First, the economic competition among workers is dictated by the distribution of labor power in the labor-market via differential wage rates. The distinction between skilled and unskilled labor is contextualized in differing national origins, languages and traditions of workers, which can be manipulated into racial antagonisms. Second, the appeal of racist ideology to white workers, with their identification as members of the "ruling nation" affording--in W.E.B. DuBois's words--"public and psychological wage" or compensation. Like religion, white-supremacist nationalism provides the illusory resolution to the real contradictions of life for the working majority of citizens. Third, the ruling class reinforces and maintains these racial divisions for the sake of capital accumulation within the framework of its ideological/political hegemony in the metropolis and worldwide. 31. Racism and nationalism are thus modalities in which class struggles articulate themselves at strategic points in history. No doubt social conflicts in recent times have involved not only classes but also national, ethnic, and religious groups, as well as feminist, ecological, antinuclear social movements (Bottomore 1983). The concept of "internal colonialism" (popular in the seventies) that subjugates national minorities, as well as the principle of self-determination for oppressed or "submerged" nations espoused by Lenin, exemplify dialectical attempts to historicize the collective agency for socialist transformation. Within the framework of the global division of labor between metropolitan center and colonized periphery, a Marxist program of national liberation is meant to take into account the extraction of surplus value from colonized peoples through unequal exchange as well as through direct colonial exploitation in "Free Trade Zones," illegal traffic in prostitution, mail-order brides, and contractual domestics (at present, the Philippines provides the bulk of the latter, about ten million persons and growing). National oppression has a concrete reality not entirely reducible to class exploitation but incomprehensible apart from it; that is, it cannot be adequately understood without the domination of the racialized peoples in the dependent formations by the colonizing/imperialist power, with the imperial nation-state acting as the exploiting class, as it were (see San Juan 1998; 2002). 32. Racism arose with the creation and expansion of the capitalist world economy (Wolf 1982; Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991). Solidarities conceived as racial or ethnic groups acquire meaning and value in terms of their place within the social organization of production and reproduction of the ideological-political order; ideologies of racism as collective social evaluation of solidarities arise to reinforce structural constraints which preserve the exploited and oppressed position of these "racial" solidarities. Such patterns of economic and political segmentation mutate in response to the impact of changing economic and political relationships (Geshwender and Levine 1994). Overall, there is no denying the fact that national-liberation movements and indigenous groups fighting for sovereignty, together with heterogeneous alliances and coalitions, cannot be fully understood without a critical analysis of the production of surplus value and its expropriation by the propertied class--that is, capital accumulation. As John Rex noted, different ethnic groups are placed in relations of cooperation, symbiosis or conflict by the fact that as groups they have different economic and political functions.Within this changing class order of [colonial societies], the language of racial difference frequently becomes the means whereby men allocate each other to different social and economic positions. What the type of analysis used here suggests is that the exploitation of clearly marked groups in a variety of different ways is integral to capitalism and that ethnic groups unite and act together because they have been subjected to distinct and differentiated types of exploitation. Race relations and racial conflict are necessarily structured by political and economic factors of a more generalized sort (1983, 403-05, 407). Hence race relations and race conflict are necessarily structured by the larger totality of the political economy of a given society, as well as by modifications in the structure of the world economy. Corporate profit-making via class exploitation on an international/globalized scale, at bottom, still remains the logic of the world system of finance capitalism based on historically changing structures and retooled practices of domination and subordination.

#### Second, the affirmative is a performance of desire- this focus ignores the way that discursive performances do not CREATE a FREE subjectivity, but rather DISCIPLINE BODIES in order to make them docile for capitalism- the aff is merely an attempt to say ‘me too’ and partake in the paradox of liberalism

BROWN (Professor & Genius) 1993

[Wendy, “Wounded Attachments”, Political Theory, Aug. p. 392-394//wyo-tjc]

Although this détente between universal and particular within liberalism is potted with volatile conceits, it is rather thoroughly unraveled by two features of late modernity, spurred by developments in what Marx and Foucault, respectively, reveal as liberalism's companion powers: capitalism and disciplinarity. On one side, the state loses even its guise of universality as it becomes ever more transparently invested in particular economic interests, political ends, and social formations. This occurs as it shifts from a relatively minimalist "night watchman" state to a heavily bureaucratized, managerial, fiscally complex, and highly interventionist welfare-warfare state, a transmogrification occasioned by the combined imperatives of capital and the autoproliferating characteristics of bureaucracy.6 On the other side, a range of economic and political forces increasingly disinter the liberal subject from substantive nation-state identification: deterritorializing demo- graphic flows; disintegration from within and invasion from without of family and community as (relatively) autonomous sites of social production and identification; consumer capitalism's marketing discourse in which individual (and subindividual) desires are produced, commodified, and mo- bilized as identities; and disciplinary productions of a fantastic array of behavior-based identities ranging from recovering alcoholic professionals to unrepentant crack mothers. These disciplinary productions work to conjure and regulate subjects through classificatory schemes, naming and normaliz- ing social behaviors as social positions. Operating through what Foucault calls "an anatomy of detail," "disciplinary power" produces social identifies (available for politicization because they are deployed for purposes of political regulation) that crosscut juridical identities based on abstract right. Thus, for example, the welfare state's production of welfare subjects-themselves subdi- vided through the socially regulated categories of motherhood, disability, race, age, and so forth-potentially produce political identity through these categories, produce identities as these categories. In this story, the always imminent but increasingly politically manifest failure of liberal universalism to be universal-the transparent fiction of state universality-combines with the increasing individuation of social subjects through capitalist disinternments and disciplinary productions. Together, they breed the emergence of politicized identity rooted in disciplinary pro- ductions but oriented by liberal discourse toward protest against exclusion from a discursive formation of universal justice. This production, however, is not linear or even but highly contradictory: although the terms of liberalism are part of the ground of production of a politicized identity that reiterates yet exceeds these terms, liberal discourse itself also continuously recolonizes political identity as political interest-a conversion that recasts politicized identity's substantive and often deconstructive cultural claims and critiques as generic claims of particularism endemic to universalist political culture. Similarly, disciplinary power manages liberalism's production of politicized subjectivity by neutralizing (re-depoliticizing) identity through normalizing practices.

As liberal discourse converts political identity into essentialized private interest, disciplinary power converts interest into normativized social identity manageable by regulatory regimes. Thus disciplinary power politi- cally neutralizes entitlement claims generated by liberal individuation, whereas liberalism politically neutralizes rights claims generated by disciplinary identities. In addition to the formations of identity that may be the complex effects of disciplinary and liberal modalities of power, I want to suggest one other historical strand relevant to the production of politicized identity, this one hewn more specifically to recent developments in political culture. Although sanguine to varying degrees about the phenomenon they are describing, many on the European and North American Left have argued that identity politics emerges from the demise of class politics consequent to post-Fordism or pursuant to May 1968. Without adjudicating the precise relationship between the breakup of class politics and the proliferation of other sites of political identification, I want to refigure this claim by suggesting that what we have come to call identity politics is partly dependent on the demise of a critique of capitalism and of bourgeois cultural and economic values. In a reading that links the new identity claims to a certain relegitimation of capitalism, identity politics concerned with race, sexuality, and gender will appear not as a supplement to class politics, not as an expansion of Left categories of oppression and emancipation, not as an enriching complexification of pro- gressive formulations of power and persons-all of which they also are-but as tethered to a formulation of justice which, ironically, reinscribes a bour- geois ideal as its measure. If it is this ideal that signifies educational and vocational opportunity, upward mobility, relative protection against arbitrary violence, and reward in proportion to effort, and if it is this ideal against which many of the exclusions and privations of people of color, gays and lesbians, and women are articulated, then the political purchase of contemporary American identity politics would seem to be achieved in part through a certain discursive renaturalization of capitalism that can be said to have marked progressive discourse since the 1970s. What this suggests is that identity politics may be partly configured by a peculiarly shaped and peculiarly disguised form of resentment-class resent- ment without class consciousness or class analysis. This resentment is displaced onto discourses of injustice other than class but, like all resent- ments, retains the real or imagined holdings of its reviled subject-in this case, bourgeois male privileges-as objects of desire. From this perspective, it would appear that the articulation of politicized identities through race, gender, and sexuality require, rather than incidentally produce, a relatively limited identification through class. They necessarily rather than incidentally abjure a critique of class power and class norms precisely because the injuries suffered by these identities are measured by bourgeois norms of social acceptance, legal protection, relative material comfort, and social indepen- dence. The problem is that when not only economic stratification but other injuries to body and psyche enacted by capitalism (alienation, cornmodifica- tion, exploitation, displacement, disintegration of sustaining, albeit contra- dictory, social forms such as families and neighborhoods) are discursively normalized and thus depoliticized, other markers of social difference may come to bear an inordinate weight. Absent an articulation of capitalism in the political discourse of identity, the marked identity bears all the weight of the sufferings produced by capitalism in addition to that bound to the explicitly politicized marking.

#### Third, our politics: In the face of history, we must take the lesson of MLK, who found that emancipation lies in revolution and freedom from necessity. Their concern for the effects of class oppression may be appealing but above all else we must remember that the fundamental point is to CHANGE it.

Cole 9

[Mike, Research Professor in Education and Equality, Head of Research and Director of the Centre for Education for Social Justice at Bishop Grosseteste University College Lincoln, Critical Race Theory in Education: A Marxist Response, 2009, Palgrave-McMillan, p. 49-52 //wyo-tjc]

Like Weberianism, post-structuralism, postmodernism, and transmodernism, CRT appears to me to be ultimately lacking in a direction for moving humankind forward progressively. As far as Weber is concerned, he believed that socialism would be even more rationalized, and bureaucratic than capitalism and thus more alienating. A common criticism of post-structuralism and postmodernism is that, in focusing on deconstruction, they have no solutions, while for transmodernist, Enrique Dussel, as noted in the Introduction to this volume, the solution is an ‘ex nihilo utopia’. CRT and Human Liberation Darder and Torres (2004, p. 98) observe, in the CRT view of education: ‘ “racial” liberation [is] embraced as not only the primary but as the most significant objective of any emancipatory vision of education in the larger society’ (ibid.). According to Krenshaw et al. (1995b, p. xiii) Critical Race Theorists also share ‘an ethical commitment to human liberation’ but ‘often disagree among [themselves], over its specific direction’ (ibid.). Thus often in CRT the solution is vague. To take an example, introducing their edited collection, Critical Race Theory in Education, Dixson and Rousseau (2006b) talk about ‘the struggle’ (pp. 2–3); ‘a vision of hope for the future’ (p. 3); ‘social action toward liberation and the end of oppression’ (p. 3); ‘the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression’ (p. 4); and ‘the ultimate goal of CRT— social transformation’ (p. 7). To take another example, Dixson and Rousseau (2006, pp. 2–3) argue that ‘CRT scholars acknowledge the permanence of racism’ but that this should lead to ‘greater resolve in the struggle’. They also refer to a CRT focus on ‘praxis’, which incorporates ‘a commitment not only to scholarship but also to social action toward liberation and the end of oppression’ (p. 3). They talk of ‘eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression’ (p. 4), and state that the ‘ultimate goal of CRT [is] social transformation’. However, no indication is given of what they are struggling towards, what liberation means to them, or what is envisioned by social transformation and the end of all forms of oppression. Mills is somewhat clearer. As we saw in chapter 2 of this volume, for him (1997, p. 111) ‘[w]hite Marxism [is] predicated on colorless classes in struggle’. He argues that if socialism is to come then ‘white supremacy/ majoritarian domination’ must be overthrown first in ‘the struggle for social democracy’. Only after ‘white supremacy’ has been overthrown, and ‘social democracy’ established is the next stage—socialism—possible. This seems to be in line with Mills’ argument that ‘a non-white-supremacist capitalism is morally and politically preferable to . . . white-supremacist capitalism’ (reiterated in Pateman and Mills, 2007, p. 31 and Mills, 2007, p. 243), something with which I would totally concur. However, given the massive advantages to capitalism of racialized capitalism, capitalism without racism (or sexism) is almost inconceivable. Whether, in the light of the current ‘credit crunch’ (a euphemism for the inherent contradictions in capitalism) capitalist politicians globally will adopt long-term a more ‘social democratic’ as opposed to ‘neoliberal’ form (they have already adopted interventionist measures in the short-term) remains to be seen. Certainly a number of commentators are urging this (e.g., Elliott, 2008; Irvin, 2008). Whatever happens, it is Marxism, I believe, that provides the possibility of a viable equitable future. In chapter 7, I posited developments in South America, specifically Venezuela, as providing one possible future direction for twenty-first-century socialism. Though currently a capitalist state, with a government enacting social democratic measures, Chávez is promoting socialist values and forms of organization. In the barrios of Caracas, and everywhere else where the poor live, and the spark of socialism has been lit, people are not celebrating Max Weber or post-structuralism; they are not embracing postmodernism, transmodernism or Critical Race Theory (for these are largely academic pursuits). Instead they are engaging with the possibility of a practical democratic socialism, a socialism that is truly inclusive, with respect to ‘race’, but also with respect to gender, sexual orientation, disability, age and other forms of exploitation and oppression. It is worth recalling that, at the beginning of this volume, I recounted that one of the people cited by Delgado and Stefancic (2001, p. 4) as being influential in the genesis of CRT was that tireless and irrepressible campaigner against racism, Martin Luther King Jr. At the time of writing (Summer 2008), it is the fortieth anniversary of King’s assassination. King, a reformer, pacifist and Baptist minister rather than a revolutionary socialist (Martin, 2008a), is quite accurately known for his gradualism and his reformism. However, it is significant that in the year preceding his death King became notably radicalized. Charles Steele, 2008 president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (King was the first president) has emphasized that, towards the end of his life, King had moved on from purely ‘racial’ issues, and that his final campaigns were focused on fighting poverty and on labor disputes (cited in Harris, 2008).1 Steele believes that King, who came to Memphis in 1968 in support of striking workers (Harris, 2008), ‘was killed [there] because he had started to focus on poor folks, regardless of their colour’ (cited in ibid.). As Jerald Podair puts it, ‘[i]f you thought having a talk about race was difficult in America, then having one about class is even harder’ (cited in ibid.). Paul Harris (2008) concludes that ‘40 years ago King tried to start that debate as well. A bullet cut short his ambitions’ (Harris, 2008).2 The implications for the subject matter of this book are clear. As long as CRT centralizes ‘race’ rather than class, and as long as it voices no serious challenge to United States and world capitalism, it will be tolerated. As Roland Sheppard (2006, p. 7) notes, Martin Luther King had a different perspective at the time of his death to the 1963 ‘I have a dream’ speech: ‘he had begun to view the struggle for equality as an economic struggle and the capitalist economic system as the problem’. As King, who by 1967 believed that the total elimination of poverty was now a practical responsibility (Sheppard, 2006, p. 8), put it in a speech to the SCLC in August, 1967: We’ve got to begin to ask questions about the whole society. We are called upon to help the discouraged beggars in life’s marketplace. But one day we must come to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. It means that questions must be raised. ‘Who owns this oil? . . . Who owns the iron ore? . . . Why is it that people have to pay water bills in a world that is twothirds water?’ (cited in Sheppard, 2006, p. 8) However, perhaps Martin Luther King’s most unequivocal declaration of a firm change of direction came earlier, in remarks to his staff at the SCLC on November 14, 1966. King proclaimed that the civil rights reforms of the early 1960s ‘were at best surface changes’ that were ‘limited mainly to the Negro middle class’. He went on to add that demands must now be raised to abolish poverty (cited in Martin, 2008a): You can’t talk about solving the economic problem of the Negro without talking about billions of dollars. You can’t talk about ending the slums without first saying profit must be taken out of slums. You’re really tampering and getting on dangerous ground because you are messing with folk then. You are messing with captains of industry . . . . Now this means that we are treading in difficult water, because it really means that we are saying that something is wrong . . . with capitalism . . . . There must be a better distribution of wealth and maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism. (cited in The Democratic Socialists of Central Ohio, 2008)3 Classism or Marxism and Democratic Socialism? David Gillborn (2008, p. 13) may be right when he asserts that ‘the best critical race theorists are passionate about . . . classism’. But while challenging the oppression of people that is based on their social class (classism) is extremely important, and is championed by Marxists, *the fundamental point is to also challenge the exploitation of workers at the point of production, for therein lies the economic relationship that sustains and nurtures the capitalist system*.

#### Fourth, reject the next level in favor of taking debate back to school. Endorse our method of historical materialism. The role of the ballot is to vote for the team with a superior methodology for understanding forces of social oppression.

#### THE EXPERIENTIAL METHOD MISTAKES THE REAL FOR THE TRUTH—ONLY A STRUCTURAL THEORY CAN MAKE SENSE OF THE SUBJECTIVE AND MOVE IT BEYOND EXPERIENCE THAT IS HIGHLY MEDIATED BY THE DOMINANT IDEOLOGY

Young in 6

[Robert, Prof. Critical Studies at Oxford, “Putting Materialism Back Into Race Theory”, Red Critique, Spring, p. online//wyo-tjc]

However, the experiential, the "real", does not adequate the "truth", as Collins implies. Collins rejects the "Eurocentric Masculinist Knowlege Validation Process" for its positivism but, in turn, she offers empiricism as the grounds for validating experience. Hence, the validity of experiential claims is adjudicated by reference to the experience. Not only is her argument circular, but it also undermines one of her key claims. If race, class, gender, and the accompanying ideological apparatuses are interlocking systems of oppression, as Collins suggest, then the experiential is not the site for the "true" but rather the site for the articulation of dominant ideology. On what basis then, could the experiential provide grounds for an historical understanding of the structures that make experience itself possible as experience? Asante and Collins assume that experience is self-intelligible and in their discourse it functions as the limit text of the real. However, I believe experience is a highly mediated frame of understanding. Though it is true that a person of color experiences oppression, this experience is not self-explanatory and, therefore, it needs to be situated in relation to other social practices. Experience seems local but it is, like all cultural and political practices, interrelated to other practices and experiences. Thus its explanation come from its "outside". Theory, specifically Marxist theory, provides an explanation of this outside by reading the meaning of all experiences as determined by the economic realities of class. While Asante's and Collins' humanism reads the experience of race as a site of "self-presence", the history of race in the United States—from slavery to Jim Crow to Katrina—is written in the fundamental difference of class. In other words, experience does not speak the real, but rather it is the site of contradictions and, hence, in need of conceptual elaboration to break from cultural common sense, a conduit for dominant ideology. It is this outside that has come under attack by black (humanist) scholars through the invocation of the black (transcendental) subject.

## 2NC

No cards

## 1NR

#### Only a Marxist pedagogical method can create the intellectual pathways connecting local and global networks of material oppression—starting from the point of ‘white supremacy’ is fundamentally unable to resist and challenge structures of oppression

Cole 9

[Mike, Research Professor in Education and Equality, Head of Research and Director of the Centre for Education for Social Justice at Bishop Grosseteste University College Lincoln, ETHNICITIES, “Critical Race Theory Comes to the UK: A Marxist Response”, 9:246//wyo-tjc]

I am not arguing that CRT cannot provide insights into racism in capitalist societies; for example, its emphasis that ‘people of colour’ need to be heard to provide meaningful analyses of racism is useful and particularly illuminating for those whose life experiences are restricted to monocultural settings in multicultural societies (Delgado, 1995). (Xeno-) racism and the process of (xeno-)racialization can best be understood, however, by a combination of listening to and learning about the life histories and experiences of those at the receiving end of racism, and by objective Marxist analysis. There is a richness to be gained from this theoretical technique, which facilitates a synthesis of lived experience through the lens of Marxist theory and traces the ‘how’ of life experience back to the ‘why’ of capitalist class practices. This is always rooted in shifts in the relations of production aimed at more and more profit for the few, and which results in more and more immiseration for the many. There is thus considerable purchase in Zeus Leonardo’s (2004) attempt to ‘integrate Marxist objectivism and race theory’s focus on subjectivity’, a move that works to ensure that the CRT concept of ‘voice’ does not drift into postmodern ‘multivocality’ (multiple voices) where everyone’s opinion has equal worth and therefore ‘voice’ becomes thoroughly depoliticized (Maisuria, 2006). In summary, I must reject the insistence of CRT to valorize ‘race’ over class. Marxism has the crucial benefit of contextualizing practices in capitalist relations of production. It gives priority to the abolition of class society because without its demise, racism (as well as other forms of discrimination) is likely to continue it in its various guises. In contemporary societies, we are in many ways being globally miseducated. The Bush and Blair administrations’ propaganda war about ‘weapons of mass destruction’, aimed at masking new imperialist designs and capital’s global quest for imperial hegemony and oil, was a key example. Conditioning the discourse is only half the story. ‘Education’ has become a key component in the profit-making process itself. Tied to the needs of global, corporate capital, ‘education’ worldwide has been reduced to the creation of a flexible workforce, the openly acknowledged, indeed lauded (by both capitalists and politicians) requirement of today’s global markets. Corporate global capital is in schools, in the sense of both determining the curriculum and exercising burgeoning control of schools as businesses. An alternative vision of education is provided by Peter McLaren. Education should, McLaren argues, following Paulo Freire, put ‘social and political analysis of everyday life at the centre of the curriculum’ (McLaren, 2003: xxix). Racism should be a key component in such an analysis. Following through the thrust of this article, I would argue that, in order for racism to be understood, and, in order for strategies to be developed to undermine it, there is a need first to reintroduce the topic of imperialism in schools; second to initiate in schools a thorough analysis of the manifestations of xeno-racism and xeno-racialization. I deal with each in turn. The reintroduction of the teaching of imperialism in schools Anti-imperialism is one of Chávez’s main platforms. As he remarked in 2003: In Venezuela, we are developing a model of struggle against neoliberalism and imperialism. For this reason, we find we have millions of friends in this world, although we also have many enemies. (cited in Contreras Baspineiro, 2003)13 I have dealt with the teaching of imperialism in schools at length elsewhere (e.g. Cole, 2004c, 2008a). Here I make a few general points. Reintroducing the teaching of imperialism in schools, I believe, would be far more effective than CRT in increasing awareness of racism, and crucially linking racism to capitalist modes of production. Students will need skills to evaluate the New Imperialism and ‘the permanent war’ being waged by the US with the acquiescence of Britain. Boulangé (2004) has argued that it is essential, with the Bush and Blair ‘war on terror’, and Islamophobia worldwide reaching new heights, for teachers to show solidarity with Muslims, for ‘this will strengthen the unity of all workers, whatever their religion’ (Boulangé, (2004: 24), and this will have a powerful impact on the struggle against racism in all spheres of society, and education in particular. In turn, this will strengthen the confidence of workers and students to fight on other issues. According to the neoconservative, Niall Ferguson (2003): Empire is as ‘cutting edge’ as you could wish . . . [It] has got everything: economic history, social history, cultural history, political history, military history and international history – not to mention contemporary politics (just turn on the latest news from Kabul). Yet it knits all these things together with . . . a ‘metanarrative’. For Marxists, an understanding of the metanarrative of imperialism, past and present, does much more than this. Indeed, it encompasses but goes beyond the centrality of ‘racial’ liberation in CRT theory. It takes us to the crux of the trajectory of capitalism from its inception right up to the 21st century; and this is why Marxists should endorse the teaching of imperialism old and new. Of course, the role of education in general, and teaching about imperialism in schools in particular, has its limitations and young people are deeply affected by other influences and socialized by the media, parents/carers and by peer culture (hence the need for media awareness Unlike Marxism, CRT does not explain why Islamophobia, the ‘war on terror’ and other forms of racism are necessary to keep the populace on task for ‘permanent war’ and the accumulation of global profits. Teaching against xeno-racism and xeno-racialization Marxism most clearly connects old and new imperialisms with capitalism. It also provides an explanation for xeno-racism and xeno-racialization. While CRT certainly reminds us that racism is central in sustaining the current world order, and that we must listen to the voices of people oppressed on grounds of racism, it does not and cannot make the necessary connections to understand and challenge this racism. Indeed, as I have argued, its advocacy of ‘white supremacy’ as an explanatory factor is counterproductive, particularly, as I have argued, in the school and university context, in the struggle against racism. Xeno-racism and xeno-racialization in the UK and the rest of Europe need to be understood in the context of the origins of the EU, and globalization generally. With respect to the EU’s current enlargement, connections need to be made between the respective roles of (ex-)imperial citizens in the immediate post-Second World War period, and migrant workers from Eastern Europe today (both sources of cheap labour). An analysis of the way in which the media portrays asylum seekers and refugees, on the one hand, and migrant workers, on the other, would also foster an awareness of the processes of xeno-racism and xeno-racialization. Alternatives to neoliberal global capitalism Chávez devoted a call-in television programme on 15 May 2005 to education. In direct contrast to the US and the UK view that we should teach the entrepreneurial culture in schools, for Chávez there is a new educational model: competition and individualism in schools must give way to unity and solidarity: ‘We are all a team, going along eliminating little by little the values or the anti-values that capitalism has planted in us from childhood’ (Chávez, cited in Whitney, 2005). No space in the education systems of the US or the UK is provided for a discussion of alternatives to neoliberal global capitalism, such as world democratic socialism. Marxists should agitate for the (totally democratic) suggestion that such discussions should take place in schools, colleges and universities. CONCLUSION In this debate article, I have argued that CRT is theoretically inadequate, both in its advocacy of ‘white supremacy’ and in its prioritizing of ‘race’ over class as the primary contradiction in capitalist society, to explain everyday racist and xeno-racist occurrences in capitalist societies. I have suggested that CRT’s promotion of the ‘abolition of whiteness’ is extremely problematic, particularly in the context of education in schools. I have further tried to demonstrate that an anti-racist/anti-imperialist Marxism is possible, and have commended 21st-century Venezuela as a way forward to an anti-racist socialist world. I have finally made some suggestions for practice in educational institutions. My intention has not been to question the ideological or political integrity of Critical Race Theorists, but to open up comradely discussion in the light of the recent entry of CRT into British academia. I welcome responses from Critical Race Theorists as to how we might move the debate forward in a productive anti-racist manner.

# Triples

## 1NC

### 1st Off

#### [A.] Uniqueness – US regulatory climate causing shift to China to develop next generation reactors

Hall-Energy Digital-1/23/12

US to Explore Small Nuclear Reactor Designs

<http://www.energydigital.com/green_technology/us-to-explore-small-nuclear-reactor-designs>

In the wake of the Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster last year, technology companies are stepping up to develop safer, more economical nuclear reactors in an attempt to wean dependence on conventional, large-scale nuclear used all over the world today. After Bill Gates took his concepts to China—where regulations on nuclear plants are less stringent and innovations gain support—the DOE's announcement is a positive step in spurring more US manufacturing. “America’s choice is clear - we can either develop the next generation of clean energy technologies, which will help create thousands of new jobs and export opportunities here in America, or we can wait for other countries to take the lead,” said Energy Secretary Steven Chu. “The funding opportunity announced today is a significant step forward in designing, manufacturing, and exporting U.S. small modular reactors, advancing our competitive edge in the global clean energy race.”

#### [B.] Link – The plans revitalizing of the US industry undermines Chinese export markets

Ferguson 10—President of the Federation of American Scientists. Adjunct Professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University and an Adjunct Lecturer in the National Security Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University. (Charles, Nuclear Energy and Nonproliferation: The Implications of Expanded Nuclear Energy in Asia, in Asia’s Rising Power and America’s Continued Purpose, Ed Tellis, Marble and Tanner, 146)

Although China began to develop commercial nuclear energy a decade or two after Japan and South Korea, Beijing is emulating the course charted by Tokyo and Seoul. If China achieves its ambitious goal of more than one hundred operating commercial reactors by 2030, it will likely become the state with the most nuclear power plants in the world unless a major surge in construction occurs in the United States. China may also emerge by then as a major supplier of nuclear technologies and may garner clients in Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

#### [C.] Impact – Chinese soft power

#### [1.] Chinese nuclear exports key to soft power

Blank 10

(-prof strategic studies institute, Army War College-6/16/10

China puts down marker in nuclear power race<http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China_Business/LF16Cb01.html>)

Therefore, China's recent nuclear exports to Pakistan and the future of its nuclear exports in general need to be examined in these three contexts. The first context is that of the overall growth of the assertiveness of China's diplomacy in general and efforts to use nuclear power and military instruments like missiles as sources of influence abroad. In the case of exports to Pakistan, a second context is the long-standing geopolitical rivalry among India, China and Pakistan in which China's "all-weather" friendship with Pakistan has been a deliberate and conscious Chinese strategy to inhibit the growth of Indian power. Finally, we must keep in mind that China is not only an exporter of nuclear energy, it also is a consumer of that energy and so it will be a key market for other exports from the likes of Russia, the United States, France, South Korea, and Japan. As an importer, it obviously will welcome the rivalry of exporters who wish to sell to it so that it can obtain more favorable terms. However, as an exporter of nuclear energy and a power that wants to export more of it for both economic and political gain, it cannot afford to let either its rivals outpace it in Asia or in other areas that China deems as essential to the pursuit of its larger strategic goals.

#### [2.] Chinese soft power key to international security and resolving all global problems

Zhang-professor at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations-9/4/12

http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-09/04/content\_26421330.htm

The rise of China's political soft power

As China plays an increasingly significant role in the world, its soft power must be attractive both domestically as well as internationally. The world faces many difficulties, including widespread poverty, international conflict, the clash of civilizations and environmental protection. Thus far, the Western model has not been able to decisively address these issues; the China model therefore brings hope that we can make progress in conquering these dilemmas. Poverty and development The Western-dominated global economic order has worsened poverty in developing countries. Per-capita consumption of resources in developed countries is 32 times as large as that in developing countries. Almost half of the population in the world still lives in poverty. Western countries nevertheless still are striving to consolidate their wealth using any and all necessary means. In contrast, China forged a new path of development for its citizens in spite of this unfair international order which enabled it to virtually eliminate extreme poverty at home. This extensive experience would indeed be helpful in the fight against global poverty. War and peace In the past few years, the American model of "exporting democracy'" has produced a more turbulent world, as the increased risk of terrorism threatens global security. In contrast, China insists that "harmony is most precious". It is more practical, the Chinese system argues, to strengthen international cooperation while addressing both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism. The clash of civilizations Conflict between Western countries and the Islamic world is intensifying. "In a world, which is diversified and where multiple civilizations coexist, the obligation of Western countries is to protect their own benefits yet promote benefits of other nations," wrote Harvard University professor Samuel P. Huntington in his seminal 1993 essay "The Clash of Civilizations?". China strives for "being harmonious yet remaining different", which means to respect other nations, and learn from each other. This philosophy is, in fact, wiser than that of Huntington, and it's also the reason why few religious conflicts have broken out in China. China's stance in regards to reconciling cultural conflicts, therefore, is more preferable than its "self-centered" Western counterargument. Environmental protection Poorer countries and their people are the most obvious victims of global warming, yet they are the least responsible for the emission of greenhouse gases. Although Europeans and Americans have a strong awareness of environmental protection, it is still hard to change their extravagant lifestyles. Chinese environmental protection standards are not yet ideal, but some effective environmental ideas can be extracted from the China model. Perfecting the China model The China model is still being perfected, but its unique influence in dealing with the above four issues grows as China becomes stronger. China's experiences in eliminating poverty, prioritizing modernization while maintaining traditional values, and creating core values for its citizens demonstrate our insight and sense of human consciousness. Indeed, the success of the China model has not only brought about China's rise, but also a new trend that can't be explained by Western theory. In essence, the rise of China is the rise of China's political soft power, which has significantly helped China deal with challenges, assist developing countries in reducing poverty, and manage global issues. As the China model improves, it will continue to surprise the world.

### 2nd Off

#### TPA will pass

Fatka 3/20

[Jacqui Fatka, 3/20/2013, USTR voices support for Trade Promotion Authority, <http://feedstuffs.com/story-ustr-voices-support-trade-promotion-authority-45-96288>, uwyo//amp]

Committee chairman Sen. Max Baucus (D., Mont.) said given the ambitious trade agenda including the TPP and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership in Europe the need for TPA is clear. "TPA is a key negotiating tool and will help bring these trade agreements to a successful conclusion," he said, adding that it's been more than a decade since the last TPA was renewed. Since then exports have more than doubled, which means a new TPA should reflect new realities that come with economic priorities and challenges. "I’m pleased that the Administration has indicated its interest in working with Congress to get TPA done. Working together, we will pass this important trade legislation," Baucus said.

#### Obama pc key to Democrats

Palmer 3/1

[Doug Palmer, reuters, 3/1/2013, White House says it will seek "fast-track" trade authority, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/03/01/us-obama-trade-idUSBRE9200PK20130301>, uwyo//amp]

Trade promotion authority, also known as TPA or "fast track," allows the White House to submit deals to Congress for straight up-or-down votes without any amendments. It is considered essential to assuring other countries that any deal they reach with the United States will not be picked apart by U.S. lawmakers during the approval process. Both Camp and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Max Baucus, a Democrat from Montana, have announced plans to pursue TPA legislation. But many lawmakers believe a strong push from Obama is needed because trade bills are unpopular with many Democrats. After four years of telling Congress they would seek TPA at "the appropriate time," the annual trade agenda released on Friday by the U.S. trade representative's office contained the administration's most forward-leaning language yet. "To facilitate the conclusion, approval, and implementation of market-opening negotiating efforts, we will also work with Congress on Trade Promotion Authority. Such authority will guide current and future negotiations, and will thus support a jobs-focused trade agenda moving forward," the report said.

#### Nuclear power has significant opposition – public and congressional

Andrew Freedman, Editor and Senior Science writer for Climate Central, “Feds Approve First Nuclear Reactors Since 1970s”, Climatecentral.org, February 9th, 2012.

By a v ote of 4 to 1 , the Nuclear Regulatory Commission approv ed the construction of the first new nuclear reactors to be built in the United States since 1 97 8. The reactors would be built at the Vogtle power plant near Way nesboro, Ga., which is a nuclear power plant operated by the Southern Company . As The Hill's E-2 Wire blog noted, the lone dissenting v ote was cast by NRC Chairman Gregory Jaczko. The nuclear industry has faced numerous obstacles, most recently the backlash following the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan, in its efforts to build new nuclear plants in the U.S., and the Commission has issued recommendations on how to better protect U.S. reactors from earthquakes and floods. The country currently operates 1 04 nuclear reactors, but all were approv ed at least three decades ago. “This is a historic day ,” said Marv in Fertel, president of the Nuclear Energy Institute, the industry ’s trade group in a statement. “Today ’s licensing action sounds a clarion call to the world that the United States recognizes the importance of expanding nuclear energy as a key component of a low-carbon energy future that is central to job creation, div ersity of electricity supply and energy security .” Andrew Restuccia, writing for The Hill, noted the project still needs to ov ercome public opposition to nuclear power that may result in a lawsuit against the project, and congressional opposition to a hefty $8.3 billion federal conditional loan guarantee for reactor construction. "Some Democrats in Congress — noting that the loan guarantee is more than 1 5 times the size of the one granted to the failed solar firm Soly ndra — hav e called on Obama not to finalize the loan." “Ithink we are putting our taxpay er money at unnecessary risk giv en the unresolv ed safety issues and the lessons that hav e been learned from Fukushima,” Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.), a senior Democrat on the House Energy and Commerce Committee and a v ocal critic of nuclear power, told The Hill Wednesday . The Obama administration has supported the dev elopment of new nuclear power plants as a way to reduce greenhouse gas emissons and cut the use of fossil fuels.

#### TPA is key successful free trade

Needham 3/1

[Vicki Needham, March 01, 2013, White House calls for renewal of fast-track authority,http://thehill.com/blogs/on-the-money/1005-trade/285721-white-house-calls-for-renewal-of-fast-track-authority, uwyo//amp]

Trade supporters say new free-trade agreements are needed to create jobs here and boost the economy. "Once a global leader on trade, the United States is now falling behind," Hatch said. "Our stagnant economy needs the boost that trade can provide. I hope the President recognizes this reality and begins to work with Congress immediately on legislation to renew TPA.” With global competition growing and 95 percent of the world’s consumers outside of U.S. borders, trade agreements are a way to boost exports for manufacturers. "As part of an aggressive trade agenda, the administration and Congress must work together now to restore the executive–congressional trade-negotiating pact known as trade promotion authority," said David Hoover, NAM's chairman of its international economic policy committee. "This is vital to accelerating and implementing comprehensive market-opening negotiations. Implementing the right trade policies will make us more competitive globally and create manufacturing jobs right here at home," he said. The White House said it is committed to completing the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) deal, which is expected this year, and launching negotiations with the European Union, which could take upward of two years, according to the report sent to Congress. Other initiatives include working on an international services agreement and expanding the Information Technology Agreement. "President Obama’s trade strategy for 2013 calls for continued progress and bold steps that will build on last year’s record-setting U.S. export performance in support of greater economic growth and jobs for more Americans,” said U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk.

#### Trade solves terrorism

Gries and Meierrieks 11

(Thomas and Daniel, University of Paderborn [Department of Economics], University of Paderborn [Department of Economics], “Forces of Good and Evil: U.S. Economic and Politico‐Military Power,

Globalization, and Anti‐American Terrorism,” September 2011, [http://www.pubchoicesoc.org/papers\_2012/Meierrieks\_Gries.pdf//wyo-mm](http://www.pubchoicesoc.org/papers_2012/Meierrieks_Gries.pdf/wyo-mm))

There are, however, some studies showing that globalization may produce favorable economic outcomes. For instance, Dreher (2006) finds that economic globalization spurs economic growth, while Dollar (2005) argues that economic globalization has contributed to global growth, poverty reduction, and a modest decline in global inequality. If these studies are correct, we ought to expect a diminishing effect of economic globalization on terrorism. When socioeconomic conditions improve as a consequence of economic globalization, (potential) terrorists have fewer incentives to attack (e.g., Li and Schaub 2004). In particular, they ought to have little incentives to attack the U.S. as a prime “globalizer”, given that terrorist activity may cut them off from the benefits of globalization. Economically speaking, if the benefits of economic integration exceed its costs, the opportunity costs of terrorism are expected to increase (e.g., due to additional economic alternatives to violence), meaning that terrorist recruitment is likely to be aggravated and popular support for terrorism likely to decrease (e.g., Freytag et al. 2011). Following this discussion, our alternative hypothesis (H3b) concerning the relationship between economic integration and anti‐U.S. terrorism is: Hypothesis 3b: Economic globalization (an increasing economic influence of the United States) is associated with fewer attacks against U.S. interests.

#### Nuclear terrorism is an existential threat—it escalates to nuclear war with Russia and China.

Ayson 10

Professor of Strategic Studies and Director of the Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand at the Victoria University of Wellington (Robert, “After a Terrorist Nuclear Attack: Envisaging Catalytic Effects,” Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, Volume 33, Issue 7, July, Available Online to Subscribing Institutions via InformaWorld)

A terrorist nuclear attack, and even the use of nuclear weapons in response by the country attacked in the first place, would not necessarily represent the worst of the nuclear worlds imaginable. Indeed, there are reasons to wonder whether nuclear terrorism should ever be regarded as belonging in the category of truly existential threats. A contrast can be drawn here with the global catastrophe that would come from a massive nuclear exchange between two or more of the sovereign states that possess these weapons in significant numbers. Even the worst terrorism that the twenty-first century might bring would fade into insignificance alongside considerations of what a general nuclear war would have wrought in the Cold War period. And it must be admitted that as long as the major nuclear weapons states have hundreds and even thousands of nuclear weapons at their disposal, there is always the possibility of a truly awful nuclear exchange taking place precipitated entirely by state possessors themselves. But these two nuclear worlds—a non-state actor nuclear attack and a catastrophic interstate nuclear exchange—are not necessarily separable. It is just possible that some sort of terrorist attack, and especially an act of nuclear terrorism, could precipitate a chain of events leading to a massive exchange of nuclear weapons between two or more of the states that possess them. In this context, today’s and tomorrow’s terrorist groups might assume the place allotted during the early Cold War years to new state possessors of small nuclear arsenals who were seen as raising the risks of a catalytic nuclear war between the superpowers started by third parties. These risks were considered in the late 1950s and early 1960s as concerns grew about nuclear proliferation, the so-called n+1 problem. It may require a considerable amount of imagination to depict an especially plausible situation where an act of nuclear terrorism could lead to such a massive inter-state nuclear war. For example, in the event of a terrorist nuclear attack on the United States, it might well be wondered just how Russia and/or China could plausibly be brought into the picture, not least because they seem unlikely to be fingered as the most obvious state sponsors or encouragers of terrorist groups. They would seem far too responsible to be involved in supporting that sort of terrorist behavior that could just as easily threaten them as well. Some possibilities, however remote, do suggest themselves. For example, how might the United States react if it was thought or discovered that the fissile material used in the act of nuclear terrorism had come from Russian stocks,40 and if for some reason Moscow denied any responsibility for nuclear laxity? The correct attribution of that nuclear material to a particular country might not be a case of science fiction given the observation by Michael May et al. that while the debris resulting from a nuclear explosion would be “spread over a wide area in tiny fragments, its radioactivity makes it detectable, identifiable and collectable, and a wealth of information can be obtained from its analysis: the efficiency of the explosion, the materials used and, most important … some indication of where the nuclear material came from.”41 Alternatively, if the act of nuclear terrorism came as a complete surprise, and American officials refused to believe that a terrorist group was fully responsible (or responsible at all) suspicion would shift immediately to state possessors. Ruling out Western ally countries like the United Kingdom and France, and probably Israel and India as well, authorities in Washington would be left with a very short list consisting of North Korea, perhaps Iran if its program continues, and possibly Pakistan. But at what stage would Russia and China be definitely ruled out in this high stakes game of nuclear Cluedo? In particular, if the act of nuclear terrorism occurred against a backdrop of existing tension in Washington’s relations with Russia and/or China, and at a time when threats had already been traded between these major powers, would officials and political leaders not be tempted to assume the worst? Of course, the chances of this occurring would only seem to increase if the United States was already involved in some sort of limited armed conflict with Russia and/or China, or if they were confronting each other from a distance in a proxy war, as unlikely as these developments may seem at the present time. The reverse might well apply too: should a nuclear terrorist attack occur in Russia or China during a period of heightened tension or even limited conflict with the United States, could Moscow and Beijing resist the pressures that might rise domestically to consider the United States as a possible perpetrator or encourager of the attack? Washington’s early response to a terrorist nuclear attack on its own soil might also raise the possibility of an unwanted (and nuclear aided) confrontation with Russia and/or China. For example, in the noise and confusion during the immediate aftermath of the terrorist nuclear attack, the U.S. president might be expected to place the country’s armed forces, including its nuclear arsenal, on a higher stage of alert. In such a tense environment, when careful planning runs up against the friction of reality, it is just possible that Moscow and/or China might mistakenly read this as a sign of U.S. intentions to use force (and possibly nuclear force) against them. In that situation, the temptations to preempt such actions might grow, although it must be admitted that any preemption would probably still meet with a devastating response.

### 3rd Off

#### No exports-mass congressional and manufacturing division

Rascoe 2013

[Ayesha Rascoe, Reuters, February 12, 2013, U.S. senate panel mulls future of natural gas policy, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/12/us-usa-congress-natural-gas-idUSBRE91B15Q20130212>, uwyo//amp]

The issue has divided lawmakers and manufacturers however, with some raising concerns that copious exports will hurt certain energy intensive domestic industries that recently have used low gas prices to gain a competitive advantage. "Unchecked LNG export licensing can cause demand shocks, and the resulting price volatility can have substantial adverse impacts on U.S. manufacturing and competitiveness," Andrew Liveris, chief executive of Dow Chemical, said in prepared testimony. Dow, one of the most vocal critics of unfettered exports, left the National Association of Manufacturers over its opposition to any bans on gas exports.

#### Plan causes exports-puts downward pressure on prices and trades off

Perry 12 (Mark J., Scholar – AEI, Professor of Economics and Finance – University of Michigan, “Natural gas and nuclear power need to share the lead in power generation for the future,” American Enterprise Institute, 9-26, http://www.aei.org/article/natural-gas-and-nuclear-power-need-to-share-the-lead-in-power-generation-for-the-future/)

Recent advances in drilling technologies have unleashed a boom in domestic natural gas production. The United States may have more than 100 years' worth of gas reserves, and perhaps much more, including large untapped resources in Michigan. Policy makers are increasingly looking to natural gas as the locomotive of economic growth. A striking example is the increasing use of gas in electricity production. For the last several years, natural gas has accounted for more than 80% of new electric generating capacity in the United States. It now provides 32% of total electricity generation, up from 25% just two years ago, and its share could reach 50% by 2030. Natural gas, of course, has many virtues as a fuel. Its carbon content is less than half that of coal and it emits no mercury or other toxic particulates. But natural gas is needed for much more than electricity generation. In addition to residential and commercial heating, gas accounts for the bulk of the fuel used by the petrochemical industry. Manufacturing relies on the availability of cheap gas, and its use in transportation is increasing. Additionally, gas producers are gearing up to export some of the gas to markets in Europe and Asia, where gas costs up to five times more than it does in the United States. A dozen or more U.S. companies have applied for licenses to export liquefied natural gas from terminals, mainly on the Gulf of Mexico. Because of its multiple uses and rising popularity, the demand for natural gas is starting to increase, and its price could rise significantly. That is a real possibility, and would be consistent with its long history of price volatility. If we hope to maintain the security of our energy supply, we will need to expand the use of other energy sources, including nuclear power, which is also environmentally attractive and affordable. Although the capital cost of building a nuclear plant is high, the average price of nuclear-generated electricity is lower than power produced from natural gas. In 2011, the production cost of nuclear power was 2.19 cents per kilowatt-hour, compared to 4.51 cents for natural gas and 3.23 cents for coal. Today about 20% of America’s electricity comes from nuclear power. But demand for electricity is growing steadily and that trend will continue in the future. Without building new nuclear plants, pressure will build to use even more natural gas for electricity generation, making less available for manufacturing and transportation.

#### Low prices bring chemical innovation back to the US

Brady 12 – Jeff Brady, writer for NPR, February 13, 2012, "Natural Gas Boom Energizing The Chemical Industry" [www.npr.org/2012/02/13/146803953/natural-gas-boom-energizing-the-chemical-industry](http://www.npr.org/2012/02/13/146803953/natural-gas-boom-energizing-the-chemical-industry)

Just outside of West Virginia's capital city, Charleston, on the banks of the Kanawha River, sits the Institute Industrial Park. Chemical plants have operated here continuously since World War II, when the local factories cranked out synthetic rubber. Today there are industrial pipes, tanks and buildings stretching in just about every direction.¶ Soon, there could be more.¶ U.S. chemical companies are the latest beneficiaries of the nation's natural gas drilling boom. Long focused on cheap gas sources elsewhere in the world, companies are now looking to expand here. **A surplus of natural gas has pushed down prices, making it more attractive for chemical companies** that use lots of gas to reopen shuttered plants and build new ones.¶ Sleepy rural communities across the country are turning into industrial zones — and that worries people who live nearby. But the boom is good news for manufacturers that need cheap, plentiful supplies of natural gas.¶ The natural gas drilling boom near Charleston has local business boosters lobbying for a huge new chemical plant, called an ethane cracker, which could bring jobs to the state.¶ "It will take approximately 2,000 construction workers two years just to build the facility," says Matthew Ballard, president and chief executive officer of the Charleston Area Alliance. "Once up and running, there will be several hundred jobs at that cracking facility."¶ The plant would "crack" ethane — break it down at the molecular level — and turn it into ethylene. Kevin DiGregorio, executive director of the Chemical Alliance Zone in Charleston, says ethylene is used to produce all sorts of things, from the cushions we sit on to the clothes we wear.¶ "Everything that's not wood, or maybe brick, is made with chemicals, certainly. But probably 40 to 60 percent of it is made from ethylene," DiGregorio says. "It's very, very important to our daily lives."¶ States Compete For Plants, Jobs¶ The Marcellus Shale, from which nearby drillers are pulling natural gas, is particularly ethane-rich. Most natural gas contains anywhere from 2 to 8 percent of ethane, DiGregorio says, but "Marcellus natural gas contains as much as 14 to 16 percent" of ethane.¶ Bayer CropScience, the company that operates the industrial park near Charleston, is talking with companies interested in building ethane crackers in the region. No official announcement has been made, but business leaders here are keeping their fingers crossed.¶ The same is true elsewhere around northern Appalachia. Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia are competing to lure a new ethane cracker that the oil company Shell plans to build. Firms in Canada also see opportunity in the Marcellus Shale.¶ Economy¶ Project's Promise Of Jobs Has Appalachia Seeing Stars¶ "We wouldn't have to go back very far — literally just seven or eight years — and the picture for the industry here in North America was pretty uncertain," says Randy Woelfel, CEO of NOVA Chemicals in Calgary, Alberta.¶ He says high oil prices sent a lot of petrochemical manufacturing overseas to the Middle East and Asia. But now, low natural gas prices and the ethane-rich Marcellus Shale have changed everything.¶ "That means ... that we'll be back in the hiring business, rather than the consolidation and survival/cost-cutting mode that NOVA was clearly in for much of the last decade," Woelfel says.

#### A competitive chemical industry is key to sustainability, and solves extinction

ICCA 2 – ICCA (International Council of Chemical Associations), June 20, 2002, “SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY,” online: http://www.cefic.be/position/icca/pp\_ic010.htm

Sustainability in economic terms means the efficient management of scarce resources as well as a prospering industry and economy. Sustainability in the environmental sense means not placing an intolerable load on the ecosphere and maintaining the natural basis for life. Seen from society's viewpoint, sustainability means that human beings are the centre of concern. In view, particularly, of the population increase worldwide, there needs to be provided as large a measure of equal opportunities, freedom, social justice and security as possible. ¶ The chemical industry views Sustainable Development as a challenge put before all parts of society. In the advances made in its own operations, its improved performance and in the improvements to the human condition made through its products, the chemical industry sees cause for optimism and believes that Sustainable Development can be the intellectual framework around which the chemical industry, other industries and other sectors of society can reach consensus on how to improve living standards and the environment. ¶ The main challenges facing the world include:- ¶ \* Optimizing the benefits obtained from depleting resources¶ \* Assuring against excessive strains placed on the eco-system¶ \* The dynamic growth of the world population¶ \* Remedying social and economic inequalities¶ These are challenges on a global scale. It follows, therefore, that the attainment of Sustainable Development will call for action on the part of the people, governments, businesses and organisations around the world. The global chemical industry has realized this challenge. ¶ CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT¶ The chemical industry is a key industry. Its products and services are instrumental in meeting the needs of mankind. It is present in all areas of life, from food and clothing, housing, communications, transport - right through to leisure activities. In addition, it helps to solve the problems of other sectors of industry, such as the energy sector, information technologies, environmental industries and the waste disposal sector, as examples.¶ Due to its size, the chemical industry is an important supplier to a broad range of downstream industries and is, as well, a customer of a broad range of products and services from other industries. It follows, therefore, that the chemical industry plays a major role in providing/ supporting performance improvements, research and development progress and, last but not least, employment in other industries.¶ In itself, it is a large-scale provider of jobs and makes a significant contribution to wealth creation and, hence, to the financing of both public works and the exercise of public responsibilities. Since living standards are determined to a large degree by material considerations, it is clear that the chemical industry with its unique capabilities is in a position to make a decisive contribution to Sustainable Development.¶ Commitment by the world chemical industry to the concept of Sustainable Development requires words to be transposed into company-specific action programmes in order to provide a framework for all those working in the sector. Its "Responsible Care" initiative, self-monitoring systems and other voluntary programmes such as Sustainable Technology (SUSTECH), Education-Industry Partnerships, Energy Efficiency Programmes are also part of this framework. Thereby, companies are also confronted with new challenges and must act responsibly. They must take account of the consequences of their actions upon society and future generations.¶ The global chemical industry believes that the key to improving the performance of the industry is both its commitment to achieving environmentally sound Sustainable Development and improved performance and transparency. Under the concept ¶ environment, to seek continuous improvement in performance, to educate all staff and work with customers and communities regarding product use and overall operation. Through these efforts the industry is improving its efficiency, reducing risks to health and the environment and making better products which, in turn, help individual and industry customers.¶ THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY's LEADERSHIP IN INNOVATION¶ The very notion of Sustainable Development will require new approaches in a number of areas. Innovation at all levels and in all fields of activity is the most effective instrument for ensuring that the economic, and environmental goals, as well as those of society, are being advanced.¶ The chemical industry's contribution is to continue innovation of new products that meet customer needs and manufacturing processes that reduce risks to health and the environment. This contribution is based upon the knowledge and experience the industry has acquired from applying innovation not only to making, handling and use of chemical compounds, but also to reprocessing, recycling and solving environmental problems. The challenge facing the chemical industry is to maximize innovation, which can contribute to society meeting its goals for Sustainable Development. ¶ The chemical industry is firmly convinced that leadership in innovation represents the best way of attaining Sustainable Development. For the individual company, this means:- ¶ \* a consistent orientation towards products, technologies and solutions which offer the greatest promise for the future¶ \* development of new integrated environmental technologies¶ \* a close cooperation with the customers of the chemical industry¶ \* adaptation to the conditions of global competition¶ \* bringing the most promising products quickly on the market¶ \* strengthening the R&D effort which requires resources which can only be financed from profitable earnings¶ \* actively contributing ideas and suggestions to the policy debates taking place in society¶ \* improving process yield (efficiency).¶ APPROACH TO THE ECONOMIC GOAL OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT¶ The internationalization of the economy at large, in conjunction with a growing trend towards global competition, is becoming more and more apparent. This is being manifested by:- ¶ \* an increase of imports and exports of goods as well as services¶ \* growing outward and inward flows of direct investment¶ \* an ever increasing exchange of technology transfers¶ \* globalization of monetary and financial schemes. ¶ The inter-relation of economic systems is complex, with a variety of relationships among countries. Multi-national chemical companies apply common standards in spreading investment capital and stimulating markets around the globe, thus setting the scene for the world market. What they need, in order to play a constructive role in Sustainable Development, is, first and foremost, freedom and fairness in international trade. Trade as an engine of economic growth is essential for Sustainable Development. A climate needs to be fostered within which such growth may take place on the basis of a clear set of rules with predictable consequences, by which investors may be guided in their long-term decision-making process. This includes bringing to a halt the growing intervention by governments in industry and their ever increasing demands to raise income by taxation, thus imposing a disproportionate load on the business community.¶ Wealth creation and **profits are fundamental to Sustainable Development**. They sustain economies (not just the chemical industry), and contribute, via re-investment and R&D, to new technologies and environmental improvements. Profits are needed to create flexible company structures oriented towards economic, environmental and society-related requirements.¶ The chemical industry is a major industrial sector and an essential contributor to welfare and employment on a global scale. In order to maintain this position under the imperative of Sustainable Development, the long-term future of the industry must be rooted in a dynamic policy, whereby continual innovation and re-engineering of companies result in an increase of productivity and, thus, keeping up international competitiveness as a pre-requisite of sustainable job creation.

**4th Off**

**The 50 states, Washington D.C., and relevant territories should reduce restrictions on new nuclear plant construction for small modular nuclear reactors.**

#### The counterplan solves- their Spencer evidence cites the barrier as being state opposition to waste policies- CP just ends the opposition.

Aff author- Spencer 7

Jack Spencer is Research Fellow in Nuclear Energy in the Thomas A. Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation. Competitive Nuclear Energy Investment: Avoiding Past Policy Mistakes, Heritage Foundation. November 15, 2007 http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2007/11/competitive-nuclear-energy-investment-avoiding-past-policy-mistakes#\_ftnref16

Today, many states exercise significant authority over the location and construction of nuclear reac­tors. Some jurisdictions have outright moratoria on new nuclear construction. For example, California prevents further construction of nuclear power plants until both the California Energy Commission and the federal government approve a method of disposing of nuclear waste. Most states that limit construction of nuclear plants use some variation of this theme.[14] Public commissions and referenda can impose additional restrictions.

**States can take the lead in SMR development – South Carolina proves**

**Chourey 6/23**/12 (Sarita, Savannah Morning News, “S.C. hopes to lead in small modular nuclear reactors,” <http://savannahnow.com/hardeeville/2012-06-23/sc-hopes-lead-small-modular-nuclear-reactors#.UB1RxshWpJU>, TGA)

COLUMBIA — Thousands of jobs could be coming to South Carolina, if federal funding helps develop **small modular reactors** in the state, a prospect that drew a challenge from a nuclear safety group during a news conference Tuesday. Government and industry leaders gathered outside the S.C. Statehouse to lay out how a grant program from the U.S. Department of Energy **could strengthen the state’s economy and plug it into the potential $100 billion market.** During Tuesday’s event, nuclear-safety activist Tom Clements tried to ask Republican Gov. Nikki Haley how the Palmetto State would address the risk that South Carolina could be stuck with spent fuel as a result of the new small modular reactors (SMR). “It’s logical that the spent reactors and all the spent nuclear fuel would come back here to South Carolina. Are you advocating that we become some kind of holding ground?” said Clements, addressing Haley. “That’s a different conversation altogether,” she responded. “This is about new technology and the new way that we look at nuclear. And so this is not a side conversation that we’re going to have ... .” Clements was then confronted by a Haley staff member, who sought to curtail his questions. Holtec International, whose corporate headquarters are in Jupiter, Fla., is among those competing for federal energy funding to design, license, manufacture and commercialize SMR technology. Representatives from Holtec, SCE&G and Areva, as well as Columbia Mayor Steve Benjamin, others, also convened around the podium at Tuesday’s news conference. **SCE&G has offered to operate the reactor if Holtec builds it at the Savannah River Site. “Not only do we have the incredible regulatory environment, we have great support at** the federal level, at **the state level, and** certainly at **the local level** ... which is, I must say, rare,” said Benjamin. Haley said landing **the new industry would benefit generations**. “We want the country to see **South Carolina is stepping forward not backward**,” she said.

### 5th Off

#### Nuclearism fuels the power of the state and enables social repression and control through hierarchal social relationships and technology

Plumwood, 1984

[Val, Presenting to the social control conference @ Sydney, “The state and the expansion of nuclear technology.” Online, http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/radicalideas/files/2010/11/Plumwood-1984-The-state-and-the-explanation-of-nuclear-technology-1.PDF] /Wyo-MB

The nuclear industry then has been largely state-developed, owned and promoted. We can't explain the phenomenon of its development, in the face of apparently major problems, risks and disadvantages, without seeing the state as having a crucial and largely independent role, independent that is of its more conventionally attributed role of protecting long-term capitalist interests.¶ Nuclear technology is not obviously in the interests of capital, although it does have numerous features which make it attractive for profit-making e.g. it is capital- intensive, large-scale, centralised and suitable for monopolisation. So of course are many other possible energy sources. But capital has required constant coaxing and reassurance to continue to participate, and the industry would apparently have become defunct some time ago if those mythical ft market forces had been allowed to prevail. Thus there have been no new orders for reactors in the U.S. since 1977, and the industry is in a financial mess even with the highly favourable conditions provided by the state. [2]¶ The industry does however seem to be highly suited to increasing the power of the state itself, both through its military connection, and through its contribution to overall technological, social and bureaucratic centralisation.¶ This seems to present a fairly clear case then where the state has operated with some relative autonomy in promoting a technology which appears to be in its own interests rather than primarily that of capital, and to be the chief promoter and beneficiary of the industry which capitalism has to be coaxed to support.¶ So far the data I have presented is consistent both with a sophisticated Marxist theory which allows some relative autonomy [3] to institutions such as the state, and with more traditional anarchist theories which see the state as the central organ of social repression and the production of hierarchical social relationships and associated technologies (this last a modern addition). There are however other factors which have to be taken into account to understand the kind of social control being exercised here, and which show that the state reduction model - the reduction of all significant factors to the state (or to some combination of state and capital) is too simple and has other defects as well. These factors show the need to press on beyond purely state or other reductive models and to develop a more pluralistic model of the operation of power which sees power as " a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression". [4]

#### Technological control through nuclear power makes nuclear apocalypse inevitable- the tools the state uses lead to destruction of life

Hubbard, 1997

[Bryan, MA Thesis at Arizona state University, Nuclear criticism after the cold war: a rhetorical analysis of two contemporary atomic campaigns, 8-1-1997, http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA327948] /Wyo-MB

Brummett (1989) notes the entelechial drive toward perfection at work in the rhetoric of nuclear weapons strategy. Hirschbein (1989) also saw the eventual progress of nuclear science enabling an "ersatz immortality -- immortalization through making a lasting monumental impact on history" (p. 167). This impulse to power is not new. Humanity has always feared death, seized the greatest power available to avoid death and then created rationalizations to romanticize death. Like other continuities flowing into the nuclear age, the drive toward perfection accelerates with nuclear knowledge and its accompanying industrial capacity. The drive toward perfection informs the other two continuities present in the nuclear age -- the desire to cut and control and a shared fascination with the apocalypse.¶ Since humanity became a problem-solving organism, it has strived to cut and control its environment in hopes of improving its strategic situation. Harris (1991) claimed the drive to control the environment involves an attempt to master energy. He¶ traced the search for energy through ancient times noting that the control of energy enabled the control not only of the environment but of its inhabiting organisms. As people became more organized and specialized, the control of energy became centralized. The modem experience of nuclear energy enables an acceleration of this process placing virtually unlimited power (energy) in the hands of an unprecedented few (Mumford, 1980). The tendency Harris observed is one continuity flowing through our current nuclear experiences. J. Burke and Omstein (1995) call this continuity the drive to cut and control.¶ This desire to cut and control nature makes human beings human and links our creativity and destructive capacities, our tool-using nature, and our problem-solving inclinations (J. Burke & Omstein, 1995). In The Chalice and The Blade: Our History, Our Future, Eisler (1988) sees the modem nuclear predicament as the logical perfection of ancient traditions which claim authority and legitimacy through the "power of the lethal Blade" (p. 184). She sees the current path of society set along a grim trajectory and says, "[a] dominator future is therefore, sooner or later, almost certainly also a future of global nuclear war -- and the end of all of humanity's problems and aspirations" (Eisler, p. 184). This trajectory for her originates thousands of years prior to the discovery of the atom. The cult of the blade originated in the "Initial Kurganization" of Old Europe from 4000-3500 B.C.E. according to Eisler (p. 250). The impulse to cut and control (J. Burke & Omstein, 1995) guides the development of humanity from its earliest tool-making days. The potential destructive power parallels the productive capacity of humanity's tools. This trajectory accelerates into the twentieth century creating a situation where,¶ according to Eisler, would-be totalitarians and their "faith in the power of the lethal Blade as the instrument of deliverance" (p. 184) become one source of today's nuclearism.

#### The alternative is to refuse nuclear power production in favor of the 1NC criticism.

#### And the alt solves—need analysis of power relationships embedded in nuclear knowledge and structures—key to resist centralized development of knowledge and power (green highlighting)

Plumwood, 1984

[Val, Presenting to the social control conference @ Sydney, “The state and the expansion of nuclear technology.” Online, http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/radicalideas/files/2010/11/Plumwood-1984-The-state-and-the-explanation-of-nuclear-technology-1.PDF] /Wyo-MB

What is clear from recent events in Australia is the importance of moving beyond a narrow, 'political' approach to the nuclear issue to one which is based on an analysis of the power structures embedded in it. This is important for the survival of the anti-nuclear movement as an important social force in Australia. The anti-nuclear movement in Australia has had great strength and by some criteria, great success. But the recent treatment of the issue at the hands of politicians illustrates vividly the ultimate bankruptcy of elite-oriented strategies for change based on appeals to decision-makers and working within a state and electoral framework. An inability to focus on alternative strategies will probably cause the death or serious weakening of the movement in the coming period of political confrontation, yet its demise as a widespread activist issue would be a serious loss. An alternative approach, stressing long-term strategies and institutional analysis, has great promise because the multiplicity of factors, critiques and sites of resistance to nuclear power gives the issue great potential. And such a social movement also has the ability to bring about or reinforce social awareness of the undemocratic character of social life and of the need for other sorts of fundamental changes in social relations, provided of course that the means adopted, for example, for working in groups, are themselves appropriate to these multiple goals and sufficiently challenging to day-to-day hierarchical social relationships and power structures e.g. sexist and racist ones. [9]¶ In this strategy then the critique of the role of the state is critical, but it must be combined with a critique of the wider power structure involved. What implications does this analysis have for anarchism itself? Does anarchism emerge as just another form of activism and critique, and anarchists as anti-state activists along with feminists as anti-patriarchy activists for example? This may seem quite threatening to many anarchists, since it threatens the claim to a more central or 'purer' position.¶ Such a view however ignores the relation between the different critiques - it assumes that they just coexist peacefully side-by-side as separate pieces of an overall puzzle, needing only to be assembled in their separate purity to providing a critique, not only of general power structures, but of the means and strategies adopted by other social movements. This concern with means and the stress on appropriate ways of pursuing other political goals, has been traditionally important in anarchist thought.¶ If anarchism is conceived, to a large extent at least, as involving another way of doing something else, of pursuing other social and political goals and effecting social changes in appropriate ways, rather than just as a utopian and unrealizable goal, disconnected from strategies and from other movements for social change, then there is an important relationship between anarchism and other social movements for change. Links with other activist groups become crucial, as does attention to the means by which particular resistances to particular forms of power are conducted. Stress on purity of anarchist doctrine, on 'keeping the hands clean' by not mixing it with less idealistic or utopian social movements must then be seen as sterile and self-defeating, and as removing this fertile area for achieving change. The real challenge to contemporary anarchism, conceived of as a general resistance to hierarchical and centralising structures, would then be in the struggle within movements for social change for appropriate non-hierarchical processes and to achieve alternative social relations, as well as for the adoption of non-centralising means for achieving particular social goals.¶ Anarchism in this picture has a crucial role to play for other social movements in maintaining the means/ends critique, and in promoting non-centralising and non state-strengthening strategies for other activist movements. Other social movements such as the anti-nuclear movement then provide a crucial 'field' for anarchism, which, to the extent that it is a general critique of power and of processes for achieving change, may still have some claim to a central (if not centralising or reductive) role.

### Case

Kills ecosystems, crops, people

K to stop extn

No redundancy

Real, emission cuts k

Coal biggest link

Tipping points

Cooling doesn’t prove

Adaptation fails

Not inevitable

Now and ocean can’t self correct

Ocean health k2 surv

No wars

Att shift

Nuclear war doesn’t escalate

#### 3. Coal industry declining now, multiple reasons.

Lacey, 12

(“[U.S. Coal Generation Drops 19 Percent In One Year, Leaving Coal With 36 Percent Share Of Electricity](http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/)” By [Stephen Lacey](http://thinkprogress.org/author/stephen/) reporter/blogger for Climate Progress, where he writes on clean energy policy, technologies, and finance. Before joining CP, he was an editor/producer with RenewableEnergyWorld.com. He received his B.A. in journalism from Franklin Pierce University, 14, 2012 <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/>) KH

The U.S. coal industry is facing major headwinds. The current drop in generation is mostly due to competition from natural gas. But there are other factors that will assist in pushing coal out of the electricity mix: An aging fleet of plants, cost-competitive renewables, new clean air regulations, and a strong anti-coal movement are working together to reduce the attractiveness of coal. Since 2010, plant operators [have announced 106 retirements](http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/02/29/435012/dirty-aging-coal-plants-set-to-close/) of coal facilities — representing 13 percent of the U.S. fleet, according to the Sierra Club.

#### 4. Natural Gas directly trades off with coal.

Lacey, 12

(“[U.S. Coal Generation Drops 19 Percent In One Year, Leaving Coal With 36 Percent Share Of Electricity](http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/)” By [Stephen Lacey](http://thinkprogress.org/author/stephen/) reporter/blogger for Climate Progress, where he writes on clean energy policy, technologies, and finance. Before joining CP, he was an editor/producer with RenewableEnergyWorld.com. He received his B.A. in journalism from Franklin Pierce University, 14, 2012 <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2012/05/14/483432/us-coal-generation-drops-19-percent-in-one-year-leaving-coal-with-36-percent-share-of-electricity/>) KH

Power generation from coal is falling quickly. According to [new figures](http://www.eia.gov/forecasts/steo/) from the U.S. Energy Information Administration, coal made up 36 percent of U.S. electricity in the first quarter of 2012 — down from 44.6 percent in the first quarter of 2011. That stunning drop, which represented almost a 20 percent decline in coal generation over the last year, was primarily due to low natural gas prices. As EIA explains, natural gas generation will climb steadily this year, while coal will see a double-digit drop by the end of 2012: Natural‐gas‐fired generation continues to expand its share of total generation at the expense of coal‐fired generation. During the first quarter of 2012, natural gas accounted for 28.7 percent of total generation compared with 20.7 percent during the same quarter last year. In contrast, coal’s share of total generation declined from 44.6 percent to 36.0 percent over the same period. Prices for natural gas delivered to the electric power industry fell by 7.5 percent in 2011, which contributed to a significant increase in the share of natural‐gas‐fired generation. EIA expects this trend to continue in 2012, with electric power sector coal consumption falling by 14 percent. Natural gas in the electric power sector grows by almost 21 percent in 2012, primarily driven by the increasing relative cost advantages of natural gas over coal for power generation in some regions. EIA also projects that coal production at mines will fall by more than 10 percent this year. However, with prices falling due to an increase in secondary inventories, the agency predicts that domestic consumption may rise by just over 1 percent next year.

### AT Biod

**No impact to biodiversity**

**Sagoff et al 97**  Mark, Senior Research Scholar – Institute for Philosophy and Public policy in School of Public Affairs – U. Maryland, William and Mary Law Review, “INSTITUTE OF BILL OF RIGHTS LAW SYMPOSIUM DEFINING TAKINGS: PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION: MUDDLE OR MUDDLE THROUGH? TAKINGS JURISPRUDENCE MEETS THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT”, 38 Wm and Mary L. Rev. 825, March, L/N

Note – Colin Tudge - Research Fellow at the Centre for Philosophy at the London School of Economics. Frmr Zoological Society of London: Scientific Fellow and tons of other positions. PhD. Read zoology at Cambridge.

Simon Levin = Moffet Professor of Biology, Princeton. 2007 American Institute of Biological Sciences Distinguished Scientist Award 2008 Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti 2009 Honorary Doctorate of Science, Michigan State University 2010 Eminent Ecologist Award, Ecological Society of America 2010 Margalef Prize in Ecology, etc… PhD

Although one may agree with ecologists such as Ehrlich and Raven that the earth stands on **the brink of** an episode of **massive extinction, it may not follow** from this grim fact **that human** being**s will suffer** as a result. On the contrary, skeptics such as science writer Colin Tudge have challenged biologists to explain **why we need more than a tenth of the 10 to 100 million species that grace the earth**. Noting that "cultivated systems often out-produce wild systems by 100-fold or more," Tudge declared that "the argument that humans need the variety of other species is, when you think about it, a theological one." n343 Tudge observed that "the **elimination of all but a tiny minorityof our fellow creatures does not affect the material well-being of humans one iota."**n344 This skeptic challenged ecologists to list more than 10,000 species (other than unthreatened microbes) that are essential to ecosystem productivity or functioning. n345 "**The human species could survive just as well if 99.9% of our fellow creatures went extinct,** provided only that we retained the appropriate 0.1% that we need." n346   [\*906]   The monumental Global Biodiversity Assessment ("the Assessment") identified two positions with respect to redundancy of species. "At one extreme is the idea that each species is unique and important, such that its removal or loss will have demonstrable consequences to the functioning of the community or ecosystem." n347 The authors of the Assessment, a panel of eminent ecologists, endorsed this position, saying it is "unlikely that there is much, if any, ecological redundancy in communities over time scales of decades to centuries, the time period over which environmental policy should operate." n348 These eminent ecologists rejected the opposing view, "the notion that species overlap in function to a sufficient degree that removal or loss of a species will be compensated by others, with negligible overall consequences to the community or ecosystem." n349  Other biologists believe, however, that species are so fabulously redundant in the ecological functions they perform that the life-support systems and processes of the planet and ecological processesin general will function perfectly well with fewer of them, certainly fewer than the millions and millions we can expect to remain **even ifevery threatened organism becomes extinct**. n350 Even the kind of sparse and miserable world depicted in the movie Blade Runner could provide a "sustainable" context for the human economy as long as people forgot their aesthetic and moral commitment to the glory and beauty of the natural world. n351 The Assessment makes this point. "Although any ecosystem contains hundreds to thousands of species interacting among themselves and their physical environment, the emerging consensus is that the system is driven by a small number of . . . biotic variables on whose interactions the balance of species are, in a sense, carried along." n352   [\*907]   To make up your mind on the question of the functional redundancy of species, consider an endangered species of bird, plant, or insect and ask how the ecosystem would fare in its absence. The fact that the creature is endangered suggests an answer: it is already in limbo as far as ecosystem processes are concerned. What crucial ecological services does the black-capped vireo, for example, serve? Are any of the species threatened with extinction necessary to the provision of any ecosystem service on which humans depend? If so, which ones are they?  Ecosystems and the species that compose them have changed, dramatically, continually, and totally in virtually every part of the United States. There is little ecological similarity, for example, between New England today and the land where the Pilgrims died. n353 In view of the constant reconfiguration of the biota, **one may wonder why Americans have not suffered more as a result of ecological catastrophes**. The cast of species in nearly every environment changes constantly-local extinction is commonplace in nature-but the crops still grow. Somehow, it seems, property values keep going up on Martha's Vineyard in spite of the tragic disappearance of the heath hen.  One might argue thatthe sheer number and variety of creatures available to any ecosystem buffers that system against stress. Accordingly, we should be concerned if the "library" of creatures ready, willing, and able to colonize ecosystems gets too small. (Advances in genetic engineering may well permit us to write a large number of additions to that "library.") In the United States as in many other parts of the world, however, **the number of species has been increasing dramatically**, not decreasing, as a result of human activity. This is because the hordes of exotic species coming into ecosystems in the United States far exceed the number of species that are becoming extinct. Indeed, introductions may outnumber extinctions by more than ten to one, so that the United States is becoming more and more species-rich all the time largely as a result of human action. n354 [\*908] Peter Vitousek and colleagues estimate that over 1000 non-native plants grow in California alone; in Hawaii there are 861; in Florida, 1210. n355 In Florida more than 1000 non-native insects, 23 species of mammals, and about 11 exotic birds have established themselves. n356 Anyone who waters a lawn or hoes a garden knows how many weeds desire to grow there, how many birds and bugs visit the yard, and how many fungi, creepy-crawlies, and other odd life forms show forth when it rains. All belong to nature, from wherever they might hail, but not many homeowners would claim that there are too few of them. Now, not all exotic species provide ecosystem services; indeed, some may be disruptive or have no instrumental value. n357 This also may be true, of course, of native species as well, especially because all exotics are native somewhere. Certain exotic species, however, such as Kentucky blue grass, establish an area's sense of identity and place; others, such as the green crabs showing up around Martha's Vineyard, are nuisances. n358 Consider an analogy [\*909] with human migration. Everyone knows that after a generation or two, immigrants to this country are hard to distinguish from everyone else. The vast majority of Americans did not evolve here, as it were, from hominids; most of us "came over" at one time or another. This is true of many of our fellow species as well, and they may fit in here just as well as we do. It is possible to distinguish exotic species from native ones for a period of time, just as we can distinguish immigrants from native-born Americans, but as the centuries roll by, species, like people, fit into the landscape or the society, changing and often enriching it. Shall we have a rule that a species had to come over on the Mayflower, as so many did, to count as "truly" American? Plainly not. When, then, is the cutoff date? Insofar as we are concerned with the absolute numbers of "rivets" holding ecosystems together, extinction seems not to pose a general problem because a far greater number of kinds of mammals, insects, fish, plants, and other creatures thrive on land and in water in America today than in prelapsarian times. n359 The Ecological Society of America has urged managers to maintain biological diversity as a critical component in strengthening ecosystems against disturbance. n360 Yet as Simon Levin observed, "much of the detail about species composition will be irrelevant in terms of influences on ecosystem properties." n361 [\*910] He added: "For net primary productivity, as is likely to be the case for any system property, **biodiversity matters only up to a point**; above a certain level, increasing biodiversity is likely to make **little difference**." n362 What about the use of plants and animals in agriculture? There is no scarcity foreseeable. "Of an estimated 80,000 types of plants [we] know to be edible," a U.S. Department of the Interior document says, "only about 150 are extensively cultivated." n363 About twenty species, not one of which is endangered, provide ninety percent of the food the world takes from plants. n364 Any new food has to take "shelf space" or "market share" from one that is now produced. Corporations also find it difficult to create demand for a new product; for example, people are not inclined to eat paw-paws, even though they are delicious. It is hard enough to get people to eat their broccoli and lima beans. It is harder still to develop consumer demand for new foods. This may be the reason the Kraft Corporation does not prospect in remote places for rare and unusual plants and animals to add to the world's diet. Of the roughly 235,000 flowering plants and 325,000 nonflowering plants (including mosses, lichens, and seaweeds) available, farmers ignore virtually all of them in favor of a very few that are profitable. n365 To be sure, any of the more than 600,000 species of plants could have an application in agriculture, but would they be preferable to the species that are now dominant? Has anyone found any consumer demand for any of these half-million or more plants to replace rice or wheat in the human diet? There are reasons that farmers cultivate rice, wheat, and corn rather than, say, Furbish's lousewort. There are many kinds of louseworts, so named because these weeds were thought to cause lice in sheep. How many does agriculture really require? [\*911] The species on which agriculture relies are domesticated, not naturally occurring; they are developed by artificial not natural selection; they might not be able to survive in the wild. n366 This argument is not intended to deny the religious, aesthetic, cultural, and moral reasons that command us to respect and protect the natural world. These spiritual and ethical values should evoke action, of course, but we should also recognize that they are spiritual and ethical values. We should recognize that ecosystems and all that dwell therein compel our moral respect, our aesthetic appreciation, and our spiritual veneration; we should clearly seek to achieve the goals of the ESA. There is no reason to assume, however, that these goals have anything to do with human well-being or welfare as economists understand that term. These are ethical goals, in other words, not economic ones. Protecting the marsh may be the right thing to do for moral, cultural, and spiritual reasons. We should do it-but someone will have to pay the costs. In the narrow sense of promoting human welfare, protecting nature often represents a net "cost," not a net "benefit." It is largely for moral, not economic, reasons-ethical, not prudential, reasons- that we care about all our fellow creatures. They are valuable as objects of love not as objects of use. What is good for   [\*912]  the marsh may be good in itself even if it is not, in the economic sense, good for mankind. **The most valuable things are quite useless**.

#### Deforestation makes biodiversity loss inevitable

**Cardillo, 06** (Marcel, Division of Biology, Imperial College London, 2006, “Disappearing forests and biodiversity loss: which areas should we protect?,” *International Forestry Review* Volume 8, Issue 2, http://www.tempoandmode.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/07/int-forestry-review-june-2006-cardillo.pdf,)

**The destruction of forests and other habitats is the single most important cause of biodiversity loss** (IUCN 2004), and it is inevitable that the massive loss of forests that will occur over the next few decades will result in widespread extinctions. The magnitude of this impending extinction event can be estimated, roughly, using the species-area relationship. The species-area relationship describes the increase in species richness (S) with area of habitat (A), which can usually be modelled as a power function of the form S = cAz, the value of z indicating the slope of the increase. The expected loss of species from time t to t+1 can therefore be estimated as a function of habitat loss, using the equation St+1/St = (At+1/At)z. Using this method it has been predicted, for example, that endemic mammal species richness in the Brazilian Amazon could be reduced by 518% under different modelled scenarios of forest loss to 2020 (Grelle 2005).

**Species adapt and migrate**

Ian **Thompson et al.**, Canadian Forest Service, Brendan Mackey, The Australian National University, The Fenner School of Environment and Society, College of Medicine, Biology and Environment, Steven McNulty, USDA Forest Service, Alex Mosseler, Canadian Forest Service, 20**09**, Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity “Forest Resilience, Biodiversity, and Climate Change” Convention on Biological Diversity

While resilience can be attributed to many levels of organization of biodiversity, the genetic composition of species is the most fundamental. Molecular genetic diversity within a species, species diversity within a forested community, and community or ecosystem diversity across a landscape and bioregion represent expressions of biological diversity at different scales. The basis of all expressions of biological diversity is the genotypic variation found in populations. The individuals that comprise populations at each level of ecological organization are subject to natural se- lection and contribute to the adaptive capacityor re- silienceof tree species and forest ecosystems (Mull- er-Starck et al. 2005). Diversity at each of these levels has fostered natural (and artificial) regeneration of forest ecosystems and facilitated their adaptation to dramatic climate changes that occurred during the quaternary period (review by: DeHayes et al. 2000); this diversity must be maintained in the face of antici- pated changes from anthropogenic climate warming. Genetic diversity (e.g., additive genetic variance) within a species is important because it is the basis for the natural selection of genotypes within popu- lations and species as they respond or adapt to en- vironmental changes (Fisher 1930, Pitelka 1988, Pease et al. 1989, Burger and Lynch 1995, Burdon and Thrall, 2001, Etterson 2004, Reusch et al. 2005, Schaberg et al. 2008). The potential for evolutionary change has been demonstrated in numerous long- term programmes based on artificial selection (Fal- coner 1989),and genetic strategies for reforestation in the presence of rapid climate change must focus on maintaining species diversity and genetic diversi- ty within species (Ledig and Kitzmiller 1992). In the face of rapid environmental change, it is important to understand that the genetic diversity and adap- tive capacity of forested ecosystems depends largely on in situ genetic variation within each population of a species (Bradshaw 1991). Populations exposed to a rate of environmental change exceeding the rate at which populations can adapt, or disperse, may be doomed to extinction (Lynch and Lande 1993, Burger and Lynch 1995). Genetic diversity deter- mines the range of fundamental eco-physiological tolerances of a species. It governs inter-specific competitive interactions, which, together with dispersal mechanisms, constitute the fundamental de- terminants of potential species responses to change (Pease et al. 1989, Halpin 1997). In the past, plants have responded to dramatic changes in climate both through adaptation and migration (Davis and Shaw 2001). The capacity for long-distance migration of plants by seed dispersal is particularly important in the event of rapid environmental change. Most, and probably all, species are capable of long-distance seed disper- sal, despite morphological dispersal syndromes that would indicate morphological adaptations primarily for short-distance dispersal (Cwyner and MacDon- ald 1986, Higgins et al. 2003). Assessments of mean migration rates found no significant differences be- tween wind and animal dispersed plants (Wilkinson 1997, Higgins et al. 2003). Long-distance migration can also be strongly influenced by habitat suitabil- ity (Higgins and Richardson 1999) suggesting that rapid migration may become more frequent and vis- ible with rapid changes in habitat suitability under scenarios of rapid climate change. The discrepancy between estimated and observed migration rates during re-colonization of northern temperate forests following the retreat of glaciers can be accounted for by the underestimation of long-distance disper- sal rates and events (Brunet and von Oheimb 1998, Clark 1998, Cain et al. 1998, 2000). Nevertheless, concerns persist that potential migration and ad- aptation rates of many tree species may not be able to keep pace with projected global warming (Davis 1989, Huntley 1991, Dyer 1995, Collingham et al. 1996, Malcolm et al. 2002). However, these models refer to fundamental niches and generally ignore the ecological interactions that also govern species dis- tributions.

### AT: Warming

#### No impact to Warming- Mitigation and adaptation will solve

Robert O. Mendelsohn 9, the Edwin Weyerhaeuser Davis Professor, Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University, June 2009, “Climate Change and Economic Growth,” online: http://www.growthcommission.org/storage/cgdev/documents/gcwp060web.pdf

These statements are largely alarmist and misleading. Although climate change is a serious problem that deserves attention, society’s immediate behavior has an extremely low probability of leading to catastrophic consequences. The science and economics of climate change is quite clear that emissions over the next few decades will lead to only mild consequences. The severe impacts predicted by alarmists require a century (or two in the case of Stern 2006) of no mitigation. Many of the predicted impacts assume there will be no or little adaptation. The net economic impacts from climate change over the next 50 years will be small regardless. Most of the more severe impacts will take more than a century or even a millennium to unfold and many of these “potential” impacts will never occur because people will adapt. It is not at all apparent that immediate and dramatic policies need to be developed to thwart long‐range climate risks. What is needed are long‐run balanced responses.

#### No impact to warming – new NASA data

Taylor,11

Senior fellow for environment policy at the Heartland Institute, 7-27-11

(James, “New NASA Data Blow Gaping Hole in Global Warming Alarmism,” <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jamestaylor/2011/07/27/new-nasa-data-blow-gaping-hold-in-global-warming-alarmism/>) JDB

NASA satellite data from the years 2000 through 2011 show the Earth’s atmosphere is allowing far more heat to be released into space than alarmist computer models have predicted, reports a new study in the peer-reviewed science journal [Remote Sensing](http://www.mdpi.com/2072-4292/3/8/1603/pdf). The study indicates far less future global warming will occur than United Nations computer models have predicted, and supports prior studies indicating increases in atmospheric carbon dioxide trap far less heat than alarmists have claimed. Study co-author Dr. Roy Spencer, a principal research scientist at the University of Alabama in Huntsville and U.S. Science Team Leader for the Advanced Microwave Scanning Radiometer flying on NASA’s Aqua satellite, reports that real-world data from NASA’s Terra satellite contradict multiple assumptions fed into alarmist computer models. “The satellite observations suggest there is much more energy lost to space during and after warming than the climate models show,” Spencer said in a July 26 University of Alabama [press release](http://pielkeclimatesci.wordpress.com/2011/07/26/new-paper-on-the-misdiagnosis-of-surface-temperature-feedbacks-from-variations-in-earth%E2%80%99s-radiant-energy-balance-by-spencer-and-braswell-2011/). “There is a huge discrepancy between the data and the forecasts that is especially big over the oceans.” In addition to finding that far less heat is being trapped than alarmist computer models have predicted, the NASA satellite data show the atmosphere begins shedding heat into space long before United Nations computer models predicted. The new findings are extremely important and should dramatically alter the global warming debate. Scientists on all sides of the global warming debate are in general agreement about how much heat is being directly trapped by human emissions of carbon dioxide (the answer is “not much”). However, the single most important issue in the global warming debate is whether carbon dioxide emissions will indirectly trap far more heat by causing large increases in atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds. Alarmist computer models assume human carbon dioxide emissions indirectly cause substantial increases in atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds (each of which are very effective at trapping heat), but real-world data have long shown that carbon dioxide emissions are not causing as much atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds as the alarmist computer models have predicted. The new NASA Terra satellite data are consistent with long-term NOAA and NASA data indicating atmospheric humidity and cirrus clouds are not increasing in the manner predicted by alarmist computer models. The Terra satellite data also support data collected by NASA’s ERBS satellite showing far more longwave radiation (and thus, heat) escaped into space between 1985 and 1999 than alarmist computer models [had predicted](http://wattsupwiththat.com/2009/03/30/lindzen-on-negative-climate-feedback/). Together, the NASA ERBS and Terra satellite data show that for 25 years and counting, carbon dioxide emissions have directly and indirectly trapped far less heat than alarmist computer models have predicted. In short, the central premise of alarmist global warming theory is that carbon dioxide emissions should be directly and indirectly trapping a certain amount of heat in the earth’s atmosphere and preventing it from escaping into space. Real-world measurements, however, show far less heat is being trapped in the earth’s atmosphere than the alarmist computer models predict, and far more heat is escaping into space than the alarmist computer models predict. When objective NASA satellite data, reported in a peer-reviewed scientific journal, show a “huge discrepancy” between alarmist climate models and real-world facts, climate scientists, the media and our elected officials would be wise to take notice. Whether or not they do so will tell us a great deal about how honest the purveyors of global warming alarmism truly are.

#### China outweighs and won’t be influenced by the plan

Harvey, environment reporter – the Guardian, 11/9/’11

(Fiona, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/nov/09/fossil-fuel-infrastructure-climate-change>)

Birol also warned that China – the world's biggest emitter – would have to take on a much greater role in combating climate change. For years, Chinese officials have argued that the country's emissions per capita were much lower than those of developed countries, it was not required to take such stringent action on emissions. But the IEA's analysis found that within about four years, China's per capita emissions were likely to exceed those of the EU. In addition, by 2035 at the latest, China's cumulative emissions since 1900 are likely to exceed those of the EU, which will further weaken Beijing's argument that developed countries should take on more of the burden of emissions reduction as they carry more of the responsibility for past emissions. In a recent interview with the Guardian recently, China's top climate change official, Xie Zhenhua, called on developing countries to take a greater part in the talks, while insisting that developed countries must sign up to a continuation of the Kyoto protocol – something only the European Union is willing to do. His words were greeted cautiously by other participants in the talks. Continuing its gloomy outlook, the IEA report said: "There are few signs that the urgently needed change in direction in global energy trends is under way. Although the recovery in the world economy since 2009 has been uneven, and future economic prospects remain uncertain, global primary energy demand rebounded by a remarkable 5% in 2010, pushing CO2 emissions to a new high. Subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption of fossil fuels jumped to over $400bn (£250.7bn)."Meanwhile, an "unacceptably high" number of people – about 1.3bn – still lack access to electricity. If people are to be lifted out of poverty, this must be solved – but providing people with renewable forms of energy generation is still expensive. Charlie Kronick of Greenpeace said: "The decisions being made by politicians today risk passing a monumental carbon debt to the next generation, one for which they will pay a very heavy price. What's seriously lacking is a global plan and the political leverage to enact it. Governments have a chance to begin to turn this around when they meet in Durban later this month for the next round of global climate talks." One close observer of the climate talks said the $400bn subsidies devoted to fossil fuels, uncovered by the IEA, were "staggering", and the way in which these subsidies distort the market presented a massive problem in encouraging the move to renewables. He added that Birol's comments, though urgent and timely, were unlikely to galvanise China and the US – the world's two biggest emittters – into action on the international stage. "The US can't move (owing to Republican opposition) and there's no upside for China domestically in doing so. At least China is moving up the learning curve with its deployment of renewables, but it's doing so in parallel to the hugely damaging coal-fired assets that it is unlikely to ever want (to turn off in order to) to meet climate targets in years to come."

### High Threshold

#### They have an incredibly high threshold for winning impact uniqueness—catastrophic harm is inevitable and stopping global climate change would require insane emissions cuts: 50% below 1990 levels by 2050

Barnett 10

[Jon, Australian Research Council Fellow in the School of Social and Environmental Enquiry at the University of Melbourne, POLICY RESEARCH WORKING PAPER, “Accommodating Migration to Promote Adaptation to Climate Change”, April 2010, p. online//wyo-tjc]

There are a number of things that governments can do to minimize the costs and maximize the benefits of migration exacerbated by climate change. Principal among them is to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. **Stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions to avoid 2oC of warming above pre-industrial levels may now be all but impossible, and therefore ‘dangerous’ climate change is almost certain** to occur. However, deep cuts in emissions can minimize the danger, and in terms of this report, minimize the number of people whose movements would constitute an impact of climate change, and maximize the scope for more voluntary migrations to contribute to adaptation. **Stern** (2008) **suggests stabilizing concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere at 500ppm CO2 e is not impossible, even though this would mean global emissions need to fall by at least 50% relative to 1990 levels by 2050**.

### AT: Ocean Acidification

**No impact to ocean acidification -- alarmists are empirically denied**

**Taylor 10** [James M. Taylor is a senior fellow of The Heartland Institute and managing editor of Environment & Climate News., “Ocean Acidification Scare Pushed at Copenhagen,” Feb 10 http://www.heartland.org/publications/environment%20climate/article/26815/Ocean\_Acidification\_Scare\_Pushed\_at\_Copenhagen.html]

With global temperatures continuing their decade-long decline and United Nations-sponsored global warming talks falling apart in Copenhagen, **alarmists** at the U.N. talks **spent considerable time claiming carbon dioxide** emissions **will cause catastrophic ocean acidification**, regardless of whether temperatures rise. **The latest scientific data, however, show no such catastrophe is likely to occur**. Food Supply Risk Claimed The United Kingdom’s environment secretary, Hilary Benn, initiated the Copenhagen ocean scare with a high-profile speech and numerous media interviews claiming ocean acidification threatens the world’s food supply. “**The fact is our seas absorb CO2**. They absorb about a quarter of the total that we produce, but it is making our seas more acidic,” said Benn in his speech. “If this continues as a problem, then it can affect the one billion people who depend on fish as their principle source of protein, and we have to feed another 2½ to 3 billion people over the next 40 to 50 years.” **Benn’s claim of oceans becoming “more acidic” is misleading**, however. **Water with a pH of 7.0 is considered neutral. pH values lower than 7.0 are considered acidic**, while those higher than 7.0 are considered alkaline. **The world’s oceans have a pH of 8.1, making them alkaline, not acidic. Increasing carbon dioxide** concentrations **would make the oceans less alkaline but not acidic**. **Since human industrial activity first began** emitting carbon dioxide into the atmosphere a little more than 200 years ago, **the pH of the oceans has fallen merely 0.1**, from 8.2 to 8.1. Following Benn’s December 14 speech and public relations efforts, most of the world’s major media outlets produced stories claiming ocean acidification is threatening the world’s marine life. An Associated Press headline, for example, went so far as to call ocean acidification the “evil twin” of climate change. Studies Show CO2 Benefits Numerous recent scientific studies show **higher carbon dioxide levels in the** world’s **oceans have the same beneficial effect on marine life as higher levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide have on terrestrial plant life**. **In a 2005 study published in the Journal of Geophysical Research, scientists examined trends in chlorophyll concentrations**, critical building blocks in the oceanic food chain. The French and American scientists reported “an overall increase of the world ocean average chlorophyll concentration by about 22 percent” during the prior two decades of increasing carbon dioxide concentrations. In a 2006 study published in Global Change Biology, scientists observed higher CO2 levels are correlated with better growth conditions for oceanic life. **The highest CO2 concentrations produced “higher growth rates and biomass yields” than the lower CO2 conditions**. **Higher CO2 levels may well fuel “subsequent primary production, phytoplankton blooms, and sustaining oceanic food-webs**,” the study concluded. Ocean Life ‘Surprisingly Resilient’ **In a 2008 study published in Biogeosciences, scientists subjected marine organisms to varying concentrations of CO2, including abrupt changes of CO2 concentration. The ecosystems were “surprisingly resilient” to changes** in atmospheric CO2, and “the ecosystem composition, bacterial and phytoplankton abundances and productivity, grazing rates and total grazer abundance and reproduction were not significantly affected by CO2-induced effects.” In a 2009 study published in Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, scientists reported, “Sea star growth and feeding rates increased with water temperature from 5ºC to 21ºC. A doubling of current [CO2] also increased growth rates both with and without a concurrent temperature increase from 12ºC to 15ºC.” Another False CO2 Scare “**Far too many predictions of CO2-induced catastrophes are treated by alarmists as sure to occur, when real-world observations show these doomsday scenarios to be highly unlikely or even virtual impossibilities,**” said Craig Idso, Ph.D., author of the 2009 book CO2, Global Warming and Coral Reefs. “The phenomenon of CO2-induced ocean acidification appears to be no different.

Natural variability makes the impact inevitable and means that oceans will adapt—their studies don’t assume this

Hofmann, Professor of Ecology, Evolution and Marine Biology – University of California Santa Barbara et al., ‘11

(Gretchen E., “High-Frequency Dynamics of Ocean pH: A Multi-Ecosystem Comparison,” *PLoS ONE* Vol. 6, No. 12)

Since the publication of two reports in 2005–2006 [1], [2], the drive to forecast the effects of anthropogenic ocean acidification (OA) on marine ecosystems and their resident calcifying marine organisms has resulted in a growing body of research. Numerous laboratory studies testing the effects of altered seawater chemistry (low pH, altered pCO2, and undersaturation states - Ω - for calcium carbonate polymorphs) on biogenic calcification, growth, metabolism, and development have demonstrated a range of responses in marine organisms (for reviews see [3]–[8]). However, the emerging picture of biological consequences of OA – from data gathered largely from laboratory experiments – is not currently matched by equally available environmental data that describe present-day pH exposures or the natural variation in the carbonate system experienced by most marine organisms. Although researchers have documented variability in seawater carbonate chemistry on several occasions in different marine ecosystems (e.g., [9]–[15]), this variation has been under-appreciated in these early stages of OA research.Recently, a deeper consideration of ecosystem-specific variation in seawater chemistry has emerged (e.g., [16]–[18]), one that is pertinent to the study of biological consequences of OA. Specifically, assessments of environmental heterogeneity present a nuanced complement to current laboratory experiments. The dynamics of specific natural carbonate chemistry on local scales provide critical context because outcomes of experiments on single species are used in meta-analyses to project the overall biological consequences of OA [7], [19], to forecast ecosystem-level outcomes [20], and ultimately to contribute to policy decisions [21] and the management of fisheries [22], [23]. As noted earlier [24], natural variability in pH is seldom considered when effects of ocean acidification are considered. Natural variability may occur at rates much higher than the rate at which carbon dioxide is decreasing ocean pH, about −0.0017 pH/year [25], [26]. This ambient fluctuation in pH may have a large impact on the development of resilience in marine populations, or it may combine with the steady effects of acidification to produce extreme events with large impacts [24]. In either case, understanding the environmental variability in ocean pH is essential. Although data on the natural variation in the seawater CO2 system are emerging, nearly all high-resolution (e.g. hourly) time series are based on pCO2 sensors, with comparatively few pH time series found in the literature. From a research perspective, the absence of information regarding natural pH dynamics is a critical data gap for the biological and ecological arm of the multidisciplinary investigation of OA. Our ability to understand processes ranging from physiological tolerances to local adaptation is compromised. Specifically, laboratory experiments to test tolerances are often not designed to encompass the actual habitat exposure of the organisms under study, a critical design criterion in organismal physiology that also applies to global change biology [27]–[29]. It is noted that neither pH nor pCO2 alone provide the information sufficient to fully constrain the CO2 system, and while it is preferred to measure both, the preference for measuring one over the other is evaluated on a case-by-case basis and is often dictated by the equipment available. Discussion Collected by 15 individual SeaFET sensors in seven types of marine habitats, data presented here highlight natural variability in seawater pH. Based on Figure 3, it is evident that regions of the ocean exhibit a continuum of pH variability. At sites in the open ocean (CCE-1), Antarctica, and Kingman reef (a coastal region in the permanently stratified open Pacific Ocean with very low residence times, and thus representative of the surrounding open ocean water), pH was very stable (SD<0.01 pH over 30 days). Elsewhere, pH was highly variable across a range of ecosystems where sensors were deployed. The salient conclusions from this comparative dataset are two-fold: (1) most non-open ocean sites are indeed characterized by natural variation in seawater chemistry that can now be revealed through continuous monitoring by autonomous instrumentation, and (2) in some cases, seawater in these sites reaches extremes in pH, sometimes daily, that are often considered to only occur in open ocean systems well into the future [46]. Admittedly, pH is only part of the story with regard to the biological impacts of OA on marine organisms. However, continuous long-term observations provided by sensors such as the SeaFET are a great first step in elucidating the biophysical link between natural variation and physiological capacity in resident marine organisms. In the end, knowledge of spatial and temporal variation in seawater chemistry is a critical resource for biological research, for aquaculture, and for management efforts. From a biological perspective, the evolutionary history of the resident organisms will greatly influence the adaptation potential of organisms in marine populations. Thus, present-day natural variation will likely shape capacity for adaptation of resident organisms, influencing the resilience of critical marine ecosystems to future anthropogenic acidification. Below we discuss the comparative SeaFET-collected data and, where applicable, the biological consequences of the temporal heterogeneity that we found in each of the marine ecosystems where sensors were deployed. As the most stable area, the open ocean behaves in a predictable way and generally adheres to global models attempting to predict future CO2 conditions based on equilibration of the surface ocean with a given atmospheric pCO2 (e.g. [47]). This can be shown with longer-term pH records obtained with SeaFET sensors, which are available at the CCE-1 mooring (Fig. 4). The ambient pH values for this open ocean location can be predicted to better than ±0.02 from the CO2-corrected climatology mentioned above; pH has dropped by about 0.015 units since 2000. At CCE-1, the annual carbonate cycle followed the sea surface temperature cycle, and pH was driven mostly by changes in the temperature dependence of CO2 system thermodynamics (Figure 4). SeaFET observations at CCE-1 agree with the climatology to +0.017±0.014 pH units, with episodic excursions from the climatology but a general return to the climatological mean. Although the annual cycle in the open ocean is somewhat predictable, it is notable that even at these seemingly stable locations, climatology-based forecasts consistently underestimate natural variability. Our observations confirm an annual mean variability in pH at CCE-1 of nearly 0.1, suggest an inter-annual variability of ~0.02 pH, and capture episodic changes that deviate from the climatology (Figure 4). Similar underestimates of CO2 variability were observed at nine other open ocean locations, where the Takahashi pCO2 climatology overlaps PMEL moorings with pCO2 sensors (not shown). Thus, on both a monthly (Fig. 2) and annual scale (Fig. 4), even the most stable open ocean sites see pH changes many times larger than the annual rate of acidification. This natural variability has prompted the suggestion that “an appropriate null hypothesis may be, until evidence is obtained to the contrary, that major biogeochemical processes in the oceans other than calcification will not be fundamentally different under future higher CO2/lower pH conditions” [24]. Similarly, the sensors deployed on the benthos in the Antarctic (Cindercones and Cape Evans, Figure 2B) recorded relatively stable pH conditions when compared to other sites in the study. Very few data exist for the Southern Ocean; however, open-water areas in this region experience a strong seasonal shift in seawater pH (~0.3–0.5 units) between austral summer and winter [48], [49] due to a decline in photosynthesis during winter and a disequilibrium of air-sea CO2 exchange due to annual surface sea ice and deep water entrainment [50]. Given the timing of deployment of our sensor in McMurdo Sound (austral spring: October–November), the sensor did not capture the change in seawater chemistry that might have occurred in the austral winter [49]. In general, due to sea ice conditions, observations from the Southern Ocean are limited, with water chemistry data falling into two categories: (1) discrete sampling events during oceanographic cruises (e.g. US Joint Global Ocean Flux Study, http://www1.whoi.edu/) and (2) single-point measurements from locations under sea ice [49], [51], [52]. Biologically speaking, the Southern Ocean is a region expected to experience acidification and undersaturated conditions earlier in time than other parts of the ocean [47], and calcifying Antarctic organisms are thought to be quite vulnerable to anthropogenic OA given the already challenging saturation states that are characteristic of cold polar waters [53]–[56]. Short-term CO2 perturbation experiments have shown that Antarctic calcifying marine invertebrates are sensitive to decreased saturation states [51], [57], although the number of species-level studies and community-level studies are very limited. The Western Antarctic Peninsula and the sub-Antarctic islands will experience pronounced increases in temperature [54] and could consequently undergo more variation and/or undersaturation given the increased potential for biological activity. Importantly, depending on the patterns of seasonally-dependent saturation state that will be revealed with improved observations [58], Antarctic organisms may experience more variation than might be expected, a situation that will influence their resilience to future acidification. Three other types of study sites – the coastal upwelling, kelp forest and estuarine/near-shore sites – all exhibited variability due to a combination of mixing, tidal excursions, biological activity, and variable residence time (Fig. 2). Although these sites are all united by fairly obvious heterogeneity in pH, organisms living in these areas encounter unique complexities in seawater chemistry that will influence their physiological response, resilience, and potential for adaptation. Typically, estuarine environments have riverine input that naturally creates very low saturation states [59]–[61]. Seawater chemistry conditions in these areas often shift dramatically, challenging biogenic calcification by resident organisms. Additionally, these species must also tolerate abiotic factors that interact with pH, such as temperature [62]. Two sensors in the Monterey Bay region, L1 (at the mouth of Elkhorn Slough) and L20 (~2 km seaward and north of L1), recorded rapid changes in pH. However, as opposed to riverine input, the low pH fluctuations observed here are likely due to isopycnal shoaling or low CO2 water that is pulsing up to the near shore on internal tides. These locations may also experience high river run-off in the rainy season, but such conditions were not reflected in the time series shown in Fig. 2. Organisms living in upwelling regions may be acclimatized and adapted to extremes in seawater chemistry; here, deep CO2-enriched waters reach the surface and may shoal onto the benthos on the continental shelf [31], [32]. Data collected from our upwelling sites support the patterns found by cruise-based investigations; pH fluctuations were often sharp, and large transitions of up to ~0.35 pH units occurred over the course of days (Fig. 2). Laboratory studies on calcifying marine invertebrates living in upwelling regions suggest that these organisms maintain function under such stochastic conditions. However, overall performance may be reduced, suggesting that these species are indeed threatened by future acidification [17], [18], [63]. For kelp forests, although there is less influence from riverine inputs, pH variation is quite dynamic at these sites in the coastal California region (Fig 2; [18]). Patterns here are likely driven by fluctuations in coastal upwelling, biological activity, currents, internal tides, seasonally shoaling isopleths, as well as the size of the kelp forest, which may influence residence times via reduced flow. Kelps may respond positively to increased availability of CO2 and HCO3−, which may allow for reduced metabolic costs and increased productivity [64]. Increased kelp production may elevate pH within the forest during periods of photosynthesis, causing wider daily fluctuations in pH, though this is speculative at this time. As a result, kelp forests, particularly those of surface canopy forming species such as Macrocystis pyrifera, may contain a greater level of spatial heterogeneity in terms of the pH environment; vertical gradients in pH may form due to enhanced levels of photosynthesis at shallower depths. Such gradients may increase the risk of low pH exposure for benthic species while buffering those found within the surface canopy. Kelp forests provide habitat to a rich diversity of organisms from a wide range of calcifying and non-calcifying taxa [65]. As with organisms from the other coastal locations (estuarine and upwelling), the biota living within kelp forest environments are most likely acclimatized to this degree of natural variation. However, continued declines in oxygenation and shoaling of hypoxic boundaries observed in recent decades in the southern California bight [66], [67] are likely accompanied by a reduction in pH and saturation state. Thus, pH exposure regimes for the coastal California region's kelp forest biota may be changing over relatively short time scales. Over longer temporal scales as pH and carbonate saturation levels decrease, the relative abundances of these species may change, with community shifts favoring non-calcified species, as exemplified by long-term studies in intertidal communities by Wootton et al. [15]. For all the marine habitats described above, one very important consideration is that the extreme range of environmental variability does not necessarily translate to extreme resistance to future OA. Instead, such a range of variation may mean that the organisms resident in tidal, estuarine, and upwelling regions are already operating at the limits of their physiological tolerances (a la the classic tolerance windows of Fox – see [68]). Thus, future acidification, whether it be atmospheric or from other sources, may drive the physiology of these organisms closer to the edges of their tolerance windows. When environmental change is layered upon their present-day range of environmental exposures, they may thereby be pushed to the “guardrails” of their tolerance [20], [68]. In contrast to more stochastic changes in pH that were observed in some sites, our coral reef locations displayed a strikingly consistent pattern of diel fluctuations over the 30-day recording period. Similar short-term pH time series with lower daily resolution [69], [70] have reported regular diel pH fluctuation correlated to changes in total alkalinity and oxygen levels. These environmental patterns of pH suggest that reef organisms may be acclimatized to consistent but moderate changes in the carbonate system. Coral reefs have been at the center of research regarding the effects of OA on marine ecosystems [71]–[73]. Along with the calcification biology of the dominant scleractinian corals and coralline algae, the biodiversity on coral reefs includes many other calcifying species that will likely be affected [74]–[77]. Across the existing datasets in tropical reef ecosystems, the biological response of calcifying species to variation in seawater chemistry is complex (see [78]) –all corals or calcifying algal species will not respond similarly, in part because these calcifying reef-builders are photo-autotrophs (or mixotrophs), with algal symbionts that complicate the physiological response of the animal to changes in seawater chemistry. Finally, the “Extreme” sites in our comparative dataset are of interest in that the low pH levels observed here represent a natural analogue to OA conditions in the future, demonstrating how the abundance and distribution of calcifying benthic organisms, as well as multi-species assemblages, can vary as a function of seawater chemistry [16], [35], [36], [79]. The variability in seawater pH was higher at both the groundwater springs off the coast of Mexico and the natural CO2 vents off the coast of Italy than at any of the other sensor locations. Offshore of Puerto Morelos, Mexico (and at other sites along the Mesoamerican Reef), natural low-saturation (Ω~0.5, pH 6.70–7.30, due to non-ventilated, high CO2, high alkalinity groundwater) submarine springs have been discharging for millennia. Here, variability in pH is due to long-term respiration driving a low ratio of alkalinity to dissolved inorganic carbon in effluent ground water. These sites provide insight into potential long-term responses of coral backreef ecosystems to low saturation conditions [79]. Unlike Puerto Morelos, the variability of pH at volcanic CO2 vents at Ischia, Italy is almost purely abiotically derived, due entirely to CO2 venting and subsequent mixing. This site in the Mediterranean Sea hosts a benthic assemblage that reflects the impacts of OA on rocky reef communities [16], [36]. Overall, the ‘extreme’ systems provide an opportunity to examine how variability in pH and extreme events (sensu [80]) affects ecological processes. Knowledge of this biophysical link is essential for forecasting ecological responses to acidification in ecosystems with sharp fluctuations in pH, such as upwelling or estuarine environments. Despite reductions in species richness, several calcifying organisms are found in low pH conditions close to the vents [16] and the springs [79]. The persistence of calcifying organisms at these extreme sites, where mean pH values are comparable to those that have reduced organism performance in laboratory experiments (i.e., pHT 7.8; reviewed in [16]), suggest that long exposures to such variability in pH, versus a consistently low-pH environment, could play an important role in regulating organism performance. Variability in pH could potentially promote acclimatization or adaptation to acidification through repeated exposure to low pH conditions [24]; alternatively, transient exposures to high pH conditions could buffer the effects of acidification by relieving physiological stress. Thus, the ecological patterns coupled with the high fluctuations in pH at the extreme sites highlight the need to consider carbonate chemistry variability in experiments and models aimed at understanding the impacts of acidification.

#### Great power conflict is possible – resource conflicts, environmental crises and rising powers could spark global war

Dyer, 6

Gwynne Dyer is a London-based independent journalist, 'Has the world really changed since 9/11?,' September 7, http://www.straight.com/has-the-world-really-changed-since-9-11

Without 9/11 there would still be a “terrorist threat”, of course, because there is always some terrorism. It's rarely a big enough threat to justify expanding police powers, let alone launching a “global war” against it, but the fluke success of the 9/11 attacks (which has not been duplicated once in the subsequent five years) created the illusion that terrorism was a major problem. Various special interests climbed aboard the bandwagon, and off we all went. That is a pity, because without 9/11 there would have been no governments justifying torture in the name of fighting terrorism, no “special renditions”, no camps like GuantÃ¡namo. Tens of thousands of people killed in the various invasions of the past five years would still be alive, and western countries with large Muslim minorities would not now face a potential terrorist backlash at home from their own disaffected young Muslims. The United States would not be seen by most of the world as a rogue state. But that's as far as the damage goes. Current U.S. policy and the hostility it arouses elsewhere in the world are both transient things. The Sunni Muslim extremists””they would call themselves Salafis””who were responsible for 9/11 have not seized power in a single country since then, despite the boost they were given by the flailing U.S. response to that attack. The world is actually much the same as it would have been if 9/11 had never happened. Economically, 9/11 and its aftermath have had almost no discernible long-term impact: even the soaring price of oil is mostly due to rising demand in Asia, not to military events in the Middle East. The lack of decisive action on climate change is largely due to Bush policies that were already in place before 9/11. And, strategically, the relations between the great powers have not yet been gravely damaged by the U.S. response to 9/11. There may even be a hidden benefit in the concept of a “war on terror”. It is a profoundly dishonest concept, since it is actually directed mainly against Muslim groups that have grievances against the great powers: Chechens against Russia, Uyghurs against China, Kashmiri Muslims and their Pakistani cousins against India, and practically everybody in the Arab world against the U.S. and Britain. The terrorists' methods are reprehensible but their grievances are often real. However, the determination of the great powers to oppose not only their methods but their goals is also real. That gives them a common enemy and a shared strategy. The main risk at this point in history is that the great powers will drift back into some kind of alliance confrontation. Key resources are getting scarcer, the climate is changing, and the rise of China and India means that the pecking order of the great powers is due to change again in the relatively near future. Any strategic analyst worth his salt, given those preconditions, could draw you up a dozen different scenarios of disaster by lunchtime.

#### Great power conflict is possible – terrorism and regional conflicts

Dibb, 2

Paul, 'The Future of International Coalitions,' *The Washington Quarterly* 25.2 (2002) 131-144, pg. project muse

The assertion that the events of September 11 initiated a fundamentally new era in world politics has become commonplace. The spectacular building of the coalition against terrorism is cited as evidence, as is the almost universal condemnation of the terrorist attacks. On September 12, the prominent French newspaper Le Monde proclaimed, "We are all Americans now." Attendees at the International Institute for Strategic Studies' annual conference, held in Geneva, coincidentally the day after the attacks, came to the conclusion that the world had passed through a defining moment. A war on terrorism had to be waged, a broad coalition needed to be established for this purpose, and the war would have to be conducted with both [End Page 132] diplomatic and military means. The will to fight this war would need to be sustained over a very long haul, and risks would have to be taken to ensure a chance for success. Building a coalition would not be easy and would involve unprecedented cooperation. Conference attendees also believed that, if the United States fails in its taskof freeing the world from the scourge of terrorism, the concept of world order would be relegated to the realm of imaginative literature. The task for the United States, as the custodial power in the international system, is immense. The United States will have an enormous challenge before it to keep its allies and newfound friends focused on a war that may appear to conform to a purely U.S. agenda. Maintaining a coalition against a virtual and hidden enemy will be difficult. New coalition building that has no institutional base such as NATO is a huge task. The United States will have to work hard to keep just NATO behind the effort; a wider coalition will require an intensity of diplomacy and degree of cooperation with culturally different countries that is without precedent. The coexistence of a broad political coalition and a narrow military one will strain diplomatic support for the overall campaign. Maintaining the strength of the coalition will be difficult when disagreements over other elements of U.S. foreign policy intrude. The coalition has an awesome agenda, offering as much scope for disagreement as for cooperation. As Avery Goldstein has observed, believing that the terrorist attacks of September 11 so transformed the post-Cold War world that they have heralded the beginning of an age whose only defining feature will be the global struggle against terrorism would be a mistake. For this realignment to occur, the international community would need to present a united front among almost all statesand mute their disagreements on less pressing matters.

## 2NC

### K

Tech neutral k-

### Frontline

#### No impact—too improbable and insignificant to require preparation

Bennett 10 [James, Eminent Scholar and William P. Snavely Professor of Political Economy and Public Policy at George Mason University, and Director of The John M. Olin Institute for Employment Practice and Policy, “The Chicken Littles of Big Science; or, Here Come the Killer Asteroids!” THE DOOMSDAY LOBBY 2010, 139-185, DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4419-6685-8\_6]

The smallest falling bodies, those with diameters under a few meters, are of “no practical concern,” says Chapman, and in fact they are to be desired, at least by those who keep their eyes on the skies watching for brilliant fireballs whose burning up in the atmosphere provides a show far more spectacular than the most lavish Fourth of July fireworks. Even bodies with diameters of 10–30 meters, of which Chapman estimates six may fall to earth in a century, cause little more than broken windows. They explode too high in the atmosphere to cause serious harm. The next largest potential strikers of Earth are those in the Tunguska range of 30 meters–100 meters. The shock waves from the atmospheric explosion would “topple trees, wooden structures and ignit[e] fires within 10 kilometers,” writes Chapman. Human deaths could result if the explosion took place over a populated area. Though Chapman estimates the likelihood of a Tunguska occurring in any given century at four in ten, it is worth noting that there is no evidence that such an explosion has killed a single human being in all of recorded history. Either we’re overdue or that 40 percent is high. Moreover, given that the location of such an explosion is utterly unpredictable, it would be far more likely to happen over an ocean or a desert than over, say, Tokyo or Manhattan. The after effects would be minimal, and Chapman says that “nothing practical can be done about this modest hazard other than to clean up after the event.” In fact, “It makes no sense to plan ahead for such a modest disaster… other than educating the public about the possibility.” The cost of a telescopic survey capable of picking up bodies of such diminutive size would be prohibitive. It would be the ultimate Astronomers Full Employment Act. A body of 100 meters–300 meters in diameter would either explode at low altitude or upon impact with the ground; it would be “regionally devastating,” but Chapman pegs the chances of such a catastrophe at 1 percent per century. A small nation could be destroyed by the impact of a body of 300 meters—1 km in diameter, or a “flying mountain” of sorts, which would explode with energy yield ten times more than “the largest thermonuclear bomb ever tested.” If striking land, it would carve out a crater deeper than the Grand Canyon. If it hit a populated area, the death toll could be in the hundreds of thousands. The likelihood of such a collision Chapman estimates at 0.2 percent per century. An asteroid or comet of 1–3 kilometers in diameter would cause “major regional destruction,” possibly verging on “civilization-destruction level.” Chapman puts the chances of this at 0.02 percent per century. The impact of a body more than 3 kilometers in diameter might plunge the Earth into a new Dark Age, killing most of its inhabitants, though the chances of this are “extremely remote” — less than one in 50,000 per century. Finally, mass extinction would likely occur should a body greater than 10 kilometers pay us a visit, though the chances of this are less than one in a million every century, or so infinitesimal that even the most worry-wracked hypochondriac will not lose sleep over the possibility. In fact, for any impact with a Chapman-calculated likelihood of less than one in a thousand per century, he concedes that there is “little justification for mounting asteroid-specific mitigation measures.” The chance of a civilization-ender is so remote that he counsels no “advance preparations” — or almost none. For Chapman recommends further study of NEOs, as well as investigation into methods of their diversion. 82 This is exactly what the NEO lobby wants.

#### WE’LL ALL DIE FROM ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF HUMAN CONSUMPTION BEFORE AN ASTEROID IMPACT

Herald Sun 10

[“Earth 'facing mass extinction'” online @ http://www.heraldsun.com.au/lifestyle/the-other-side/world-facing-mass-extinction/story-e6frfhk6-1225913659680, loghry]

The last mass extinction was an estimated 65 million years ago when an asteroid smashed into Mexico and wiped out the dinosaurs, making room for mammals to thrive. Dr Alroy said a new mass extinction wouldn't be the result of a single horrific event such as an asteroid hitting Earth. Instead, it would be the result of a factors from introduced foreign species, run-offs from fertilisers and pesticides, pollution and deforestation, he said. Climate change and an accelerated growth in the worldwide population were also playing a part. But Dr Alroy said the current situation was not yet as bad as the worst mass extinction 250 million years ago, known as Permian-Triassic extinction or The Great Dying. "It's safe to say that we have not yet lost nearly as much as what was lost during that event but it's also reasonable to say that we could end up losing as much as was lost in that event," he said. **"**We're currently playing games with evolution on a epic scale. "Really, really big mass extinctions happen very, very rarely and they have very important long-term consequences."

### No Impact ext.

#### [1] Zero risk of extinction, asteroids have empirically only caused structural damage and minor injuries. Large scale asteroid explostions are more likely to hit the ocean or unpopulated areas. –That’s Bennet, prefer our evidence, it is from scientific studies while theirs is meida hype.

#### [2] Even a large asteroid wouldn’t cause extinction- detection and mitigation.

IAA 9 (International Academy of Astronautics, Dealing with the THREAT TO EARTH From ASTEROIDS and COMETS, Available Online at <http://iaaweb.org/iaa/Scientific%20Activity/Study%20Groups/> SG%20Commission%203/sg35/sg35finalreport.pdf)

As discussed earlier, few NEAs >2 km remain undiscovered, so the chances of such an event are probably <1-in-100,000 during the next century. The warning time would almost certainly be long, in the case of an NEA, but with current technology telescopes might be only months in the case of a comet. With years or decades of advance warning, a technological mission might be mounted to deflect an NEA so that it would miss the Earth (and also possibly a comet should new technologies enable similar warning times for them). Moving such a massive NEA would be very challenging. In any case, given sufficient warning, many immediate fatalities could be avoided by evacuating ground zero and longer-term casualties could be minimized by storing food supplies to survive the agricultural catastrophe. Susceptible infrastructure (transportation, communications, medical services) could be strengthened in the years before impact. However, no preparation for mitigation is warranted for such a rare possibility until a specific impact prediction is made and certified. The only advance preparations that might make sense would be at the margins of disaster planning developed for other, “all-hazards” purposes: considering such an NEA apocalypse might foster "out-of-the-box" thinking about how to define the outer envelope of disaster contingencies, and thus prove serendipitously useful as humankind faces an uncertain future.

#### [3] Extinction-level collisions happen less than once in 500,000 years.

Bostrom 2006

(Nick, director of the Future of Humanity Institute at the University of Oxford, Global Agenda, www.globalagendamagazine.com/2006/Bostrom.asp)

It is sad that humanity as a whole has not invested even a few million dollars to improve its thinking about how it may best ensure its own survival. Some existential risks are difficult to study in a rigorous way but we will not know what insights we might develop until we do the research. There are also some sub-species of existential risk that can be measured, such as the risk of a species-destroying meteor or asteroid impact. This particular risk turns out to be very small. A meteor or an asteroid would have to be considerably larger than 1km in diameter to pose an existential risk. Fortunately, such objects hit the Earth less than once in 500,000 years on average.

### DA

#### That kills Russia’s economy

Mead 12

Walter Russell Mead, April 25, 2012 (Professor of Foreign Affairs and Humanities at Bard College, Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and Editor-at-Large of The American Interest magazine), , The American Interest, North American Shale Gas Gives Russia Serious Headache, <http://blogs.the-american-interest.com/wrm/2012/04/25/north-american-shale-gas-gives-russia-serious-headache/>

North America’s shale gas boom is chipping away at the market for gas producers like Russia. What’s more, if the United States becomes a gas exporter, Russia’s customers (especially in Europe) could decide to cancel expensive contracts with Gazprom in favor of cheaper American natural gas. “If the US starts exporting LNG to Europe and Asia, it gives [customers there] an argument to renegotiate their prices with Gazprom and Qatar, and they will do it,” says Jean Abiteboul, head of Cheniere supply & marketing. Gazprom supplied 27 percent of Europe’s natural gas in 2011. While American gas is trading below $2 per MMBTU (million British thermal units), Gazprom’s prices are tied to crude oil markets, and its long-term contracts charge customers roughly $13 per MMBTU, says the *FT*. European customers would love to reduce their dependence on Gazprom and start to import American gas. Already Gazprom has had to make concessions to its three biggest customers, and others are increasingly dissatisfied with their contracts. Worse, from Russia’s point of view: evidence that western and central Europe contain substantial shale gas reserves of their own. Fracking is unpopular in thickly populated, eco-friendly Europe, but so are high gas prices. All this ought to give Russia serious heartburn. Eroding Gazprom’s dominance of the European energy market would be a major check on Russian economic growth and political influence.

**Goes nuclear**

**Filger 9** (Sheldon, Columnist and Founder – Global EconomicCrisis.com, “Russian Economy Faces Disasterous Free Fall Contraction”, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sheldon-filger/russian-economy-faces-dis_b_201147.html>)

In Russia, historically, economic health and political stability are intertwined to a degree that is rarely encountered in other major industrialized economies. It was the economic stagnation of the former Soviet Union that led to its political downfall. Similarly, Medvedev and Putin, both intimately acquainted with their nation's history, are unquestionably alarmed at the prospect that Russia's economic crisis will endanger the nation's political stability, achieved at great cost after years of chaos following the demise of the Soviet Union. Already, strikes and protests are occurring among rank and file workers facing unemployment or non-payment of their salaries. Recent polling demonstrates that the once supreme popularity ratings of Putin and Medvedev are eroding rapidly. Beyond the political elites are the financial oligarchs, who have been forced to deleverage, even unloading their yachts and executive jets in a desperate attempt to raise cash. Should the Russian economy deteriorate to the point where economic collapse is not out of the question, the impact will go far beyond the obvious accelerant such an outcome would be for the Global Economic Crisis. There is a geopolitical dimension that is even more relevant then the economic context. Despite its economic vulnerabilities and perceived decline from superpower status, Russia remains one of only two nations on earth with a nuclear arsenal of sufficient scope and capability to destroy the world as we know it. For that reason, it is not only President Medvedev and Prime Minister Putin who will be lying awake at nights over the prospect that a national economic crisis can transform itself into a virulent and destabilizing social and political upheaval. It just may be possible that U.S. President Barack Obama's national security team has already briefed him about the consequences of a major economic meltdown in Russia for the peace of the world. After all, the most recent national intelligence estimates put out by the U.S. intelligence community have already concluded that the Global Economic Crisis represents the greatest national security threat to the United States, due to its facilitating political instability in the world. During the years Boris Yeltsin ruled Russia, security forces responsible for guarding the nation's nuclear arsenal went without pay for months at a time, leading to fears that desperate personnel would illicitly sell nuclear weapons to terrorist organizations. If the current economic crisis in Russia were to deteriorate much further, how secure would the Russian nuclear arsenal remain? It may be that the financial impact of the Global Economic Crisis is its least dangerous consequence.

### 2NC: Nuclear Power

#### Nuclear power causes LNG exports – demand is rising especially from manufacturing, nuclear trades off and puts downward pressure on prices – makes exports viable – that’s Perry.

#### No turns – nuclear removes the floor under natural gas prices

ISA 12 (iStockAnalyst, “Weak Nuclear Power Output Should Support U.S. Natural Gas Prices,” 11-29, http://www.istockanalyst.com/finance/story/6165585/weak-nuclear-power-output-should-support-u-s-natural-gas-prices)

U.S. natural gas sold off sharply in recent days, driven mostly by warmer weather forecasts. Bloomberg: - Gas dropped as much as 3.8 percent as forecasters including MDA Weather Services predicted above-normal temperatures for most of the lower 48 states over the next 10 days. Unusually cold weather helped reduce a supply glut this month. The December contract expires today. "The weather is moderating so it's wearing a little bit on the market," said Tom Saal, senior vice president of energy trading at INTL Hencorp Futures LLC in Miami. "We've got an expiring contract today, that could be part of it." The declines however should be limited due to reduced nuclear power generation. A large number of nuclear plants have been down unexpectedly and it may take time to bring them online. US nuclear generation is materially below normal for this time of the year, which should provide a floor to natural gas prices.

#### Natural gas prices are rising BECAUSE nuclear power is declining – the plan reverses that

Prezioso 12 (Jeanine, “REFILE-Storm-closed US nuclear power plants may boost natgas use,” Reuters, 10-31, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/31/sandy-natgas-demand-idUSL1E8LV3UF20121031)

As the U.S. Northeast begins its recovery from Hurricane Sandy and power is slowly restored, natural gas may be one market that benefits. The much-touted cleaner-burning fuel could be a replacement for nuclear power generation, which faces the highest level of outages since spring 2011. Massive flooding and electric grid outages from the storm caused three U.S. nuclear reactors totaling 2,800 megawatts (MWs) to shut. Those reactors and others that had already been offline could face longer inspections to check equipment following the storm. The United States last year initiated closer scrutiny of U.S. nuclear plants and their safety features following the earthquake, tsunami and subsequent flooding in Japan that caused a nuclear plant meltdown there. That lost nuclear power would likely be replaced incrementally with gas-fired electricity, boosting demand for the fuel. "If you reduce that demand, you could see a significant reliance on gas, especially in the east where coal generation isn't all that profitable anymore," said Eric Bickel, commodity analyst with Summit Energy in Louisville, Kentucky. Sandy hit during a month when many nuclear reactors were offline for scheduled maintenance anyway. But since March 2011, when the massive earthquake followed by a tsunami caused flooding and a meltdown at Tokyo Electric Power Co's Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant, the world's nuclear power regulators have taken more precautions. "That's been an influential factor since that happened. You do have more stringent safety precautions now and you want to make sure everything is sound before you embark on putting them back online," said Bickel. SHORT TERM DEMAND LOSS On the flip side, Sandy has created a short-term vexing problem for an already oversupplied natural gas market: less immediate demand for the fuel and a short-term drop in prices until winter. The lack of power demand translates to a decrease in natural gas usage of about 1 billion cubic feet per day (bcfd), analysts said, which could generate about 5,000 MWs of electricity. At its peak, Sandy's fierce wind created tumultuous storm surges along the east coast that flooded power stations, caused transformers to explode and knocked out electricity to more than 8 million homes and businesses. The loss of that electricity usage may lessen demand for natural gas-generated power. Electric heat is not common in the Northeast, but gas heat for homes is. More than half of U.S. homes use gas as a heating fuel in winter, which is fast approaching, another factor that will increase demand.

#### Nuclear power crowds out natural gas demand – makes exports viable

Patel 12 (Simit – Metals and Energy Investor, “Cheap Natural Gas Won't Destroy The Nuclear Power Industry”, 4/12, http://seekingalpha.com/article/494121-cheap-natural-gas-won-t-destroy-the-nuclear-power-industry)

The other part of the equation here is nuclear power. How will nuclear power, which is also baseload and emission-free, be impacted by cheap natural gas? Certainly, I think cheap natural gas slows down the case for nuclear. It should still be noted, though, that because of the unrivalled energy density of nuclear power, it will ultimately prove to be cheaper and more scalable than any other energy source out there. Density is the primary consideration when evaluating the quality of energy sources, and nuclear remains king. Another consideration with natural gas is that while prices are currently cheap, there is no guarantee that prices will stay this way. With nuclear, prices are very predictable. The primary cost of nuclear power is an upfront fee, as the marginal fuel costs are very small. Natural gas prices have been very low before, and, in fact, they were low right after the Three Mile Island nuclear accident in 1979. The uncertainty of natural gas prices, and the fact that such prices will significantly impact energy prices derived from natural gas plants, make a strong case for diversifying into other energy sources. And with emissions regulations (for better or worse) becoming more common and with peak oil here, the case for diversification into nuclear remains strong. It should also be noted that demand for energy has been fairly constant over the past few years due to greater energy efficiency and a global depression borne out of a sovereign debt crisis - but such depressed demand is unlikely to remain. The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) released a report in September of 2011 which projects that world energy use will increase 53% from 2008 to 2035. The report, International Energy Outlook 2011, says China and India will account for half of the projected increase. In this regard it is especially important to note that both China and India remain committed to nuclear power. Indeed, I think this is a simple guideline for investors in the nuclear power sector keep an eye out for. So long as China and India are interested in nuclear power, demand can go higher. The remarkably cheap prices for natural gas may slow down the nuclear renaissance, but it won't stop it. I believe that patient investors, those willing to wait up to a decade, will be rewarded accordingly. I did once believe that the end of the Megatons to Megawatts program could lead to a sharp and imminent rise in uranium prices for nuclear fuel. I'm a little less confident in that view, as I think cheap natural gas prices could make the situation less urgent and create some other options in the short-term. But as energy demand goes back up, and as the market as a whole continues to rise due to aggressive inflationary monetary policy from the world's central banks, natural gas prices will follow - and the case for nuclear power will remain strong**.**

#### plan tradeoffs off with NG consumption – makes exports viable

Levi 12 (Michael, Senior Fellow for Energy and Environment – Council on Foreign Relations, “How to Stop Natural Gas Exports,” CFR, 8-27, http://blogs.cfr.org/levi/2012/08/27/how-to-stop-natural-gas-exports/)

I actually agree with much of the sentiment. If the United States exports as much natural gas as many currently envision, it will probably be a sign that U.S. policy has failed. But the right response is not to bar exports – it’s to directly boost other sources of natural gas demand. The underlying logic is similar across different uses for natural gas. Exports raise natural gas prices. That reduces natural gas use in other sectors. Conversely, though, boosting natural gas consumption in other sectors increases natural gas prices. That reduces exports. This applies no matter what the alternative use is for natural gas. Want to use natural gas as a more climate-friendly substitute for coal? Implement a carbon price, clean energy standard, or regulation that promotes greater use of gas. Natural gas prices will rise. As a result, the gap between U.S. and overseas natural gas prices will shrink. Some export projects will no longer be viable. Exports will thus decline. How about natural gas as a transport fuel? Same thing. Write CAFE standards in a way that boosts the use of natural gas in cars and trucks, subsidize the purchase of natural gas vehicles, or raise oil and gasoline taxes, and more people will use natural gas for transport (including through conversion of natural gas to methanol and other fuels). Natural gas prices will rise, the gap between U.S. prices and overseas ones will decline, and exports will no longer be as attractive. The same thing even holds for natural gas use in manufacturing. I happen to find arguments in favor of using policy to steer natural gas into manufacturing suspect. But perhaps you don’t. Then subsidize manufacturing, as several administrations have done (and continue to do) through the tax code. You know the routine by now: more gas use in manufacturing will boost prices, and exports will decline. We can even put some numbers on this. Recent modeling by the EIA suggests that a modest price on carbon could raise natural gas use in the power sector by as much as five billion cubic feet a day as of 2020. Using natural gas to back out a million barrels of oil a day in the transport sector could add roughly six billion cubic feet a day of demand beyond that. The EIA has recently estimated what that much new demand might do to natural gas prices (though in a different context). Assuming no surprises on the supply side, natural gas prices circa 2020 would rise from about six dollars to between seven and eight dollars for a thousand cubic feet. This would erode a decent part (if not all) of any edge that U.S. exports might have. The result would be lower (or vanishing) exports in the first place. What if U.S. shale gas resources turn out to have been overestimated? The combination of scarcer gas and a big boost in domestic demand would crank prices up quickly. It would not be surprising to see prices rise well above ten dollars for a thousand cubic feet (though demand in other sectors would probably fall to restrain that increase). Needless to say, with natural gas prices that high, exports would most likely become uneconomic. U.S. exporters would probably still do just fine – their contracts typically guarantee payment for liquefaction services regardless of whether those services are actually used. Actual exports, though, would not materialize in any meaningful quantity. None of these domestic policies, of course, would be easy to implement**.** But blocking exports isn’t an effective substitute. Barring exports would do far less than even mediocre climate policy to move natural gas into power plants. Moreover, it would actually undermine renewable energy, nuclear power, and energy efficiency. Its impact on natural gas use in transport would be negligible. People who want to see the United States make better use of its natural gas have only one option: they will need to promote those better uses directly.

#### Plan kills Russia’s economy

Mead 12

Walter Russell Mead, April 25, 2012 (Professor of Foreign Affairs and Humanities at Bard College, Henry A. Kissinger senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and Editor-at-Large of The American Interest magazine), , The American Interest, North American Shale Gas Gives Russia Serious Headache, <http://blogs.the-american-interest.com/wrm/2012/04/25/north-american-shale-gas-gives-russia-serious-headache/>

North America’s shale gas boom is chipping away at the market for gas producers like Russia. What’s more, if the United States becomes a gas exporter, Russia’s customers (especially in Europe) could decide to cancel expensive contracts with Gazprom in favor of cheaper American natural gas. “If the US starts exporting LNG to Europe and Asia, it gives [customers there] an argument to renegotiate their prices with Gazprom and Qatar, and they will do it,” says Jean Abiteboul, head of Cheniere supply & marketing. Gazprom supplied 27 percent of Europe’s natural gas in 2011. While American gas is trading below $2 per MMBTU (million British thermal units), Gazprom’s prices are tied to crude oil markets, and its long-term contracts charge customers roughly $13 per MMBTU, says the *FT*. European customers would love to reduce their dependence on Gazprom and start to import American gas. Already Gazprom has had to make concessions to its three biggest customers, and others are increasingly dissatisfied with their contracts. Worse, from Russia’s point of view: evidence that western and central Europe contain substantial shale gas reserves of their own. Fracking is unpopular in thickly populated, eco-friendly Europe, but so are high gas prices. All this ought to give Russia serious heartburn. Eroding Gazprom’s dominance of the European energy market would be a major check on Russian economic growth and political influence.

### 2NC NG k2 Chemical Industry

#### Exports ramp up natural gas prices, which hurts the chemical industry

Ryan 12

(Molly Ryan, reporter for the Houston Business Journal. “Chemical manufacturers roll the dice on shale-related investments” April 27, 2012. http://www.bizjournals.com/houston/print-edition/2012/04/27/chemical-manufacturers-roll-the-dice.html?page=all//wyoccd)

All that chemical manufacturers stand to gain from billions of dollars in Houston-area shale-related investments is in jeopardy. If local energy companies move forward with plans to export liquefied natural gas overseas, some chemical manufacturers fear the price of natural gas will rise significantly, thereby decreasing profits from proposed chemical plant expansions, which use natural gas liquids from shale formations as feedstock for chemical products. Companies including The Dow Chemical Co., Chevron Phillips Chemical Co. and LyondellBasell Industries planned to take advantage of natural gas prices being at 10-year lows by investing in new or expanded facilities in the Houston area, which are anticipated to employ thousands of workers. However, these facilities will take years to complete, so natural gas prices must stay low for them to be as profitable as planned. “An investment of this nature is a lot of money …. We need to have some certainty that we will have a return on the investment,” said Brian Ames, Dow’s global vice president for olefins, aromatics and alternatives, who is based at the company’s headquarters in Michigan. “We are placing a bet (on the value of natural gas remaining low), and we are not against exports, but with too much exports, the value of gas goes up, and we want the value of gas to remain competitive.” Dow (NYSE: DOW) said April 19 it is building an ethane cracker and ethylene production facility in Freeport, south of Houston, which is scheduled to open in 2017. The facility is part of a $4 billion investment to grow ethylene and propylene production in the Gulf Coast that will result in 4,800 construction jobs at its peak. In addition, Netherlands-based LyondellBasell (NYSE: LYB), which has operations in Houston and its surrounding areas, is investing in local shale-related chemical facilities. The company said late last year it has plans to expand capacity at its ethylene plant in LaPorte to produce more than 2.5 billion pounds of ethylene per year. Also, LyondellBasell said it would increase its ethane feedstock capability at its existing ethane cracker in Channelview, although it did not disclose the price of the investment.

# Doubles

## 1NC

### F/W

See Rnd 2+5

### Braidotti

#### Dilluting the conception of gender to construction lapses into establishing symmetry between the sexes where symmetry never existed- erases the violence of patriarchal history

Braidotti 2011

[Braidotti, Rosi. Nomadic Subjects : Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory (2nd Edition). New York, NY, USA: Columbia University Press, 2011. p 5.

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/uofw/Doc?id=10464453&ppg=16> Copyright © 2011. Columbia University Press. All rights reserved. Uwyo//amp]

A third related phenomenon in this respect is the recent emergence in the international debate of Italian, Australian, Dutch, and other strains of feminist thought as an alternative that helps split the comfortably binary opposition between French Continental and Anglo-American positions (Bono and Kemp 1991, 1993; Hermsen and Lemming 1991). To these we should add the wealth of non-European traditions, notably the Asian women’s studies community as well as pan-African feminism (Amina Mama). 1 These different traditions and their respective publications havecontributed not only to putting other, however “minor,” feminist cultures on the map but also to stressing the extent to which the notion of gender is a vicissitude of the English language that bears little or no relevance to theoretical traditions in non-European and Romance European languages (de Lauretis 1988:3– 37). As such, gender has found no successful echo in the French, Spanish, or Italian feminist movements. If you think that, in French, le genre can be used to refer to humanity as a whole (le genre humain) you will get an idea of the culture-specific nature of the term and its untranslatability. This also means that the sex/gender distinction, which is one of the pillars on which English-speaking feminist theory is built, makes neither epistemological nor political sense in many non-English, Western European contexts, where the notions of sexuality and sexual difference are currently used instead. Although much ink has been spilled to either praise or attack theories of sexual difference, little effort has been made to try and situate the debates in their cultural contexts. Nor has there been sufficient attention paid to the nationalistic undertones that often mark the discussions around sexual difference as opposed to gender theories. The fourth and final remark I would like to make about gender concerns the institutional practice to which it gives rise, which I find problematic for feminists. The scientific-sounding term gender appears to strike a more reassuring note in the academic world than the more explicitly political feminist studies. This factor is partly responsible for the success encountered by “gender studies” in universities and publishing houses of late. In my opinion, this success has resulted in a shift of focus away from the feminist agenda toward a more generalized attention being paid to the social construction of differences between the sexes. It is a broadening out which is also a thinning down of the political agenda; this is painfully obvious in policy-making practice. Arguing that men have a gender too, many institutions started claiming the establishment of “men’s studies” courses as a counterpart to, or, alternatively, as a structural component of, women’s studies. Masculinity comes back in, under the cover of “gender.” Although male critiques of masculinity are extremely important and necessary, I think this institutional competition between the broadening out of “gender studies”—to include men as a presence and as a topic, on the one hand— and the practical feminist agenda is regrettable. This situation has caused some feminists to view “gender” and “gender mainstreaming” with suspicion at the level of institutional practice. On a more theoretical level I think that the main assumption behind “gender studies” is of a new symmetry between the sexes on the ground of their social constructivist structure, which practically results in a renewal of interest for men, masculinity, and men’s studies. Faced with this, I would like to state my open disagreement with this illusion of symmetry and instead revindicate sexual difference as a powerful factor of asymmetry. Moreover, I think that the historical texts of the feminist debate on gender do not lend themselves to a case for sexual symmetry. Within a perspective of the historiography of feminist ideas, I would define gender as a notion that defines multiple social relations. It offers a set of frameworks within which feminist theory has explained the social and discursive construction and representation of differences between the sexes. As such, gender, in feminist theory, primarily fulfills the function of challenging the universalist tendency of critical language and systems of knowledge as well as scientific discourse at large.

#### The alternative is to affirm the female embodied subject.

Braidotti 2011

[Braidotti, Rosi. Nomadic Subjects : Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory (2nd Edition). New York, NY, USA: Columbia University Press, 2011. p 5.

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Whenever I fail to forget the continuing patterns of marginalization of women, I simply “forget to forget,” which does not mean that I fall into a stupor, but rather that I am zigzagging across different time sequences. Forgetting to forget the imperative of one-way time travel, I inhabit my critical consciousness as a time machine, which allows me to travel across different realities or spatiotemporal coordinates. Being a critical female subject, inscribed asymmetrically into the power relations of advanced capitalism, splits me temporarily. Attempting to reconcile the pieces would be madness: better to settle into the everyday schizophrenia of late postmodernity, also known as early global technoculture. I call this a form of active resistance, understood as a strategy to deal with the typical of schizophrenia of our times. Schizophrenia means the co-occurrence of internally contradictory and even incompatible trends and time zones. And the status of women is a powerful indicator of these. These are historic times that see the return of the most primitive forms of naturalization in the status of women alongside high technological celebration of the death of the naturalized order— times when geopolitical wars are being justified in the light of the backward status of women in non-Christian cultures. More than ever, sexual difference is exacerbated and polarized. Gender roles and stereotypes, far from being effaced, are strengthened in the new world order that followed the events of September 11, 2001. Hence the status of women is both central to and paradoxically multiplied across the social and political agenda. In such a context, the feminist awareness of internal discrepancies, or differences within the subject, becomes quite a vantage viewpoint. Feminist reappropriations of feminine specificity strike a dissonant note 110 Sexual Difference Theory in this framework, marking forms of political resistance: a multiplicity of possible strategies, internally contradictory, paradoxical and nonlinear. They may not be one united party, but a kind of a kaleidoscope of maybe potentially contradictory strategies. An Irigarayan approach stressed the complex and nonunitary nature of the subject without making concessions to either relativism or to amoral undecidability. Irigaray instead stresses the accountable structure of an embodied and hence sexualized subject whose sheer bodily materiality constitutes both the site of empowerment and transformation as well as the marker of limits and hence of boundaries. Irigaray’s feminism affirms political and ethical passions. It designs tools and road maps by which to establish values, not in the normative mode, but in the sense of an evaluation of interactions with a large variety of others, including external objects and projects. This “intensive” reading of feminist theory expresses a nonunitary— in my terms, nomadic— subject that is opposed to classical humanism, or liberal notions of the individual, but also to facile postmodern celebrations of fragmentation for its own sake. In opposition to the urge to complete the loss of specification, or marking of the subject, this position expresses also my desire to defend the relevance of that historically obsolete institution known as the “feminine.” As I suggested earlier, it is neither as an essentialized entity nor as an immediately accessible one; femininity is rather a virtual reality, in the sense that it is the effect of a political and conceptual project aimed at transcending the traditional subject position of Woman as other. This transcendence, however, occurs through the flesh, in enfleshed locations and not in flight away from the body. Feminism, like all critical theories, can express affirmative forces and thus liberate in those who partake of it a yearning for freedom, dignity, justice, lightness, and joyfulness. These values can also be translated both into dogmatic gloom and into more constructive rational beliefs and policies. They form, in any case, a substratum of affect that activates the movement in the first place. In feminism, as elsewhere in critical theory and practice, the wager is to move beyond the negative stasis and the slave morality of an oppositional culture. One must avoid the deadly serious priestly revolutionary zeal of dogma and doxa joining forces within the gravitational pull of a new normative order. If politics begin with our passions, then what I yearn for is the gay knowledge of an affirmative critical spirit.

#### Escaping from the embodied subject justifies bare life and extermination

Braidotti 2011

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The blurring of sexual difference as well as the powerful social trend toward androgynous, unisexed, grotesque, gothic, transsex, cyborg, and monstrous bodies reveals the transformations that have occurred in the contemporary sexual imaginary. With them, the linearity generational time is also arrested, dislocated, and challenged. “Organs without bodies” as our historical condition introduces multiple and internally contradictory temporalities within the embodied subject. Thus, “age” and “the aging process” disappears into broader and less defined categories: the “third age,” as opposed to the “teen”-age express a cultural obsession with perennial youth and the denial of aging. The same blurring of intergenerational distinctions occurs in spatial terms: take the contemporary relationship to food, for instance. The fast-food inhabitants of the modern metropolis have collapsed time in anticipating dreams of artificial nutrition: frozen food, precooked food, mashed-up food, and all kinds of food replacements, mostly pills. No time for cooking: the acceleration, but also contraction of the spatiotemporal coordinates enacts the dematerialization of the actual matter that used to be food. Pill popping emerges then as a cultural imperative, as if the shrinking stomachs of the collectively anorexic city dwellers— variations on the theme of the bachelor machines (Penley 1985)—ignored all hunger, despite the increasing visibility of poverty all around them (Lipovetsky 1983). And yet the expanding girth of most inhabitants of the advanced world points to the opposite reaction: obesity as the social assertion of forms of resistance to the dematerialization of the body in contemporary society. Pill popping, better to evacuate the body, to simplify the bodily functions. The new RU486— the abortion pill— replaced the contested gesture of surgical intervention by a perfectly trivial one: the body is not, or, at least, it is not one. Dif ferent degrees of bodily dematerialization are proliferating around us. Not even modern warfare really takes the body seriously, i.e., as a politically concrete variable, military geopolitical considerations are mere logistical operations (Virilio 1976);. It is no longer a question of inflicting death, but of servicing strategic targets with a minimum of collateral damage. Paradoxically enough, it is still a matter of extermination, but not of individuals as much as of masses. It is less a question of killing (Foucault 1976) than of allowing some to stay alive. The highly televised and dramatic coverage of the Desert Storm operation against Iraq in the 1990s and, later, the spectacularly indecent photographs from the Abu Ghraib U.S. military prison during the second Iraq war have highlighted the main point that concern me here. The first is the primacy of visualization techniques; the occultation of the physical body from the field of political and especially military action (more on this in chapter 7). The second is the evanescence of bodily matter and hence also of corpses, especially in the utter disregard shown by Western media for non-Western casualties. The latter are reduced to the nonhuman status that Giorgio Agamben describes as “bare life” (Agamben 1998). Life is an “added” factor that needs to be managed and allocated according to a clear hierarchical scale of entitlement, while death is that from whence one can really measure power and/in the body. The horizon of mortality as the primary justification for biopolitical power includes the notion of warfare as a legitimate instrument. Foucault emphasizes the extent to which political philosophy takes mortality and the power to induce death as the defining feature of sovereignty. This necropolitical element— the management of death— lies paradoxically at the core of biopolitics— the management of life. One does not act without the other. I shall return to this paradox in the next chapter.

### 1NC Mormons

#### The 1ac’s narrative of the how place in Pocatello came to be creates a monolithic edifice of the Mormon church- this attitude of disgust and revulsion at what they don’t understand is the same logic of violence that drives queer bodies to hate themselves and consider suicide

Baldwin, 2007

[J. Tyler, Queer Mormons: Stuck between a rock and a hard place, http://www.pridedepot.com/?p=738250] /Wyo-MB

Suicide attempts by gay Mormons are not at all uncommon, according to a recent online survey conducted by Affirmation.org. The organization, with 33 chapters worldwide, is one of only a handful of groups dedicated to providing “a supportive environment for relieving the needless fear, guilt, self-oppression and isolation that LDS gays and lesbians can experience.”¶ The results of Affirmation’s May 2000 survey are astounding and sobering – fully 57 percent of the gay Mormon respondents admitted to thoughts of, or attempts, at suicide.¶ Affirmation.org is one small light in the darkness for queer members of the Mormon Church, offering them fellowship, support and understanding, encouraging spirituality, influencing Church leaders in their treatment and perception of homosexual church members, and providing gay and lesbian Mormons positive opportunities for social, intellectual, emotional and cultural development.¶ Yet with all the positive benefits Affirmation.org can provide those who seek them out, gay Mormons still struggle. They still contemplate, and commit, suicide in appalling numbers.¶ Queer Solidarity¶ Stuart Matis and DJ Thompson are just two of the many gay suicide victims tallied in this country each year, but they represent an important subset of the GBLT community that we cannot ignore or forget. Gay Mormons must be welcomed and encouraged to become part of the larger GBLT community, just as gay Muslims and gay Jews and gay agnostics are accepted.¶ To discriminate against them for their choice of religion is just as damning as discriminating against them for being queer, and as a group, the gay community simply cannot afford to alienate or discriminate against prospective members or supporters. ¶ The last words of Stuart Matis were written to his parents, but they contain wisdom the GBLT community should heed, as well:¶ “Seek to understand first before you make comments. We have the same needs as you. We desire to love and be loved. We desire to live our lives with happiness. We are not a threat to you or your families. We are your sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, neighbors, co-workers and friends, and most importantly, we are all children of God.”

#### Vote negative to rethink sexuality through religion

#### That solves the aff and avoids scapegoating- reconceptualizing the relationship between the boundaries between religion and sexuality is essential to recognize the emancipatory difference that inheres in faith

Goodwin, 2011

[Megan, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Thinking Sex and American Religions, Religion Compass 5/12 (2011): 772–787] /Wyo-MB

Scholars of American religions might also consider how sex is used to deny individuals¶ and groups access to privilege. In his excellent The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths,¶ and the Construction of Heresy (1997), Terryl Givens convincingly demonstrates the articulation of an American religious orthodoxy through demonization of LDS plural marriage. In¶ ‘‘Queering Fundamentalism: John Balcolm Shaw and the Sexuality of a Protestant Orthodoxy,’’ Kathryn Lofton recovers the voice of a Fundamentals author previously silenced¶ after allegations of sexual improprieties emerged. Marie Anne Pagliarini’s 1999 ‘‘The Pure¶ American Woman and the Wicked Catholic Priest: An Analysis of Anti-Catholic Literature in Antebellum America’’ suggests that such texts portrayed Catholicism as a threat to¶ sexual norms, gender deﬁnitions, and family values; Pagliarini suggests anti-Catholic literature promoted normative sexuality by emphasizing the perversity of the religious other,¶ instantiated by the ‘‘wicked Catholic priest’’ (p. 98, 118). Finally, Lynn Neal’s ‘‘They’re¶ Freaks! The Cult Stereotype in Fictional Television Shows, 1958-2008’’ illustrates popular¶ culture depictions of new religious movements as sexually depraved, exploitative, or predatory (2011, p. 101). Neal argues that the American ‘‘cult stereotype’’ contributes to the¶ ‘‘marginalization and oppression of new religious movements’’ (2011, p. 101).¶ Scholars might further consider the ways in which some individuals and groups –¶ including new religious movements and evangelicals – have deliberately used sex to distance themselves from mainstream religions. New religious movements provide a wealth¶ of primary source material on this subject: see, for example, the Children of God, the¶ Shakers, and the Oneida community. Molly McGarry explores the ‘‘queerness’’ of Spiritualism in the ﬁnal chapter of her 2008 Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural¶ Politics of Nineteenth-Century America. McGarry argues for possibility of a religious sexual¶ subject while proposing that Spiritualism allowed women spiritual authority, sanctioned¶ free love, and facilitated same-sex connections through channeling.13 Sarah M. Pike’s¶ ‘‘‘All Acts of Love and Pleasure Are My Rituals:’ Sex, Gender, and the Sacred’’ in New¶ Age and Neopagan Religions might also be of interest (2006, pp. 115–44).¶ Michael Warner testiﬁes to both evangelical and secularist sexual strategies in his 2008¶ ‘‘The Ruse of ‘Secular Humanism.’’ Warner notes that the regulation of sex – in the form¶ of abortion, contraception, and other transgressions – rallied an evangelical confederation¶ of disparate Protestantisms in the late 1970s. He further notes that secularism can provide¶ a ‘‘framework of corporeal experience and struggle.’’ Amy DeRogatis also explores recent¶ shifts in evangelical discourses on marital sex in her fascinating ‘‘What Would Jesus Do?¶ Sexuality and Salvation in Protestant Evangelical Sex Manuals, 1950s to the Present’’ and¶ ‘‘Born Again is a Sexual Term: Demons, STDs, and God’s Healing Sperm.’’¶ AXIOM 4: SEX CHANGES OVER TIME14¶ Which is to say that sexuality is a modern construct. Because we now understand sexual¶ identity as the core truth of our beings, the idea of a culture or time period that did not¶ think of sex as identity can be hard for students to grasp. As historian David Halperin¶ explains in How to Do the History of Sexuality:¶ The rise to dominance of those categories [i.e. heterosexuality and homosexuality] represents a¶ relatively recent and culturally speciﬁc development, yet it has left little trace in our consciousness of its novelty. As a result, not only do we have a hard time understanding the logic at¶ work in other historical cultures’ organizations of sex and gender, but we have an even harder¶ time understanding our own inability to understand them. We can’t ﬁgure out what it is about¶ our own experiences of sexuality that are not universal, what it is about sexuality that could be¶ cultural instead of natural, historical instead of biological. (2004, p. 3)¶ alperin is responding to Michel Foucault’s The Will to Knowledge, the ﬁrst volume in¶ the exhaustive History of Sexuality (1978).15 The Will to Knowledge is canonical for scholars¶ of critical sex theory; however, Foucault outlines key concepts in the introduction (‘‘We¶ ‘Other Victorians’’’) and ﬁnal chapter (‘‘Right of Death and Power over Life’’).16 These¶ two sections might guide nascent sexuality scholars in deﬁning the repressive hypothesis,¶ tracing the historical construction of sexuality, and considering the relationship between¶ power, knowledge, and sexuality.¶ ‘‘We ‘Other Victorians’’’ deﬁnes the repressive hypothesis and establishes the narrative¶ Foucault disrupted. Once upon a time (the story goes), sex was public and unabashed;¶ then Victorian prudery made sex silent and secret: repressed (1978, p. 3). Late 20th-century sexual liberation challenged that repression by speaking about sex (1978, p. 6). Foucault problematized this narrative: ‘‘what led us to show, ostentatiously,’’ he asked, ‘‘that¶ sex is something we hide, to say it is something we silence?’’ (1978, p. 9). This is the¶ repressive hypothesis: Foucault’s assertion that while we like to think we’ve been sexually¶ repressed until recently – that sex was simply not talked about until the late 20th century¶ – in fact, we’ve never stopped talking about how much we don’t talk about sex (1978,¶ p. 8). Understanding sex in repressive terms suggests that merely speaking sex created¶ resistance, a space outside power (1978, p. 8). Alas, Foucault told us, talking about sex¶ was not enough. We had to think about what this talk – this discourse – of sex did, of¶ what power and knowledges it created (1978, p. 11).¶ ‘‘Right of Death and Power over Life’’ proposed that ‘‘sexuality’’ connected discourse,¶ power, knowledge, and sex (1978, pp. 152–3). In the late 19th century, Foucault argued,¶ psychoanalysis created sexuality as an identity – a collection of acts, drives, desires, products, and signiﬁcances (1978, p. 153). This is key: sexuality, sex-as-identity, did not exist¶ before the late 19th century. Sexuality became a way of knowing ourselves; we have¶ judged and regulated ourselves according norms historically established by medicine and¶ psychoanalysis (1978, pp. 155–6). In short: Foucault is crucial to thinking sex because he¶ insisted we (re)think sex in historical terms (1978, p. 157).17¶ The work of Laura Vance and Ann Taves demonstrates Foucault’s historicization of¶ sex.¶ 18 Laura Vance’s (2008) ‘‘Converging on the Heterosexual Dyad: Changing Mormon and Adventist Sexual Norms and Implications for Gay and Lesbian Adherents’’¶ illustrates pertinent discursive shifts. Vance notes that late 19th century Mormonism and¶ Adventism had widely disparate views on sex: Adventists discouraged even marital sexual behaviors; while Latter-Day Saints encouraged marital sex beyond the boundaries of¶ American norms and were largely ambivalent about same-sex sexual object choice. By¶ the mid-20th century, Adventists and Mormons increasingly championed ‘‘dyadic gender roles’’ and condemned homosexuality (Vance 2008, p. 60). Ann Taves’, ‘‘Sexuality¶ in American Religious History’’ (1997) investigates the ways in which ‘‘Euro-American¶ Protestantism’’ attempted to ‘‘maintain its purity and power’’ in response to increasing¶ religious diversity (p. 56). Taves deftly illustrates changes in American religio-sexual discourse; however, non-historians might ﬁnd her meticulous evidence somewhat¶ daunting.19¶ AXIOM 5: SEX IS NOT JUST FOR RADICALS¶ Much critical work on sexuality focuses on transgression of and resistance to norms. As¶ Ann Taves notes, ‘‘recent textbooks of American religions … discuss sexuality explicitly¶ only when it ‘deviates’ from the norm’’ (1997, p. 28). But thinking sex does not only¶ mean thinking about sexual (or religious) outsiders. Disrupting the presumed naturalness¶ heterosexuality also allows us to consider ‘‘negative’’ agency (cf. Mahmood’s ‘‘negative¶ freedom’’), cases in which religious people address issues of conservative sexualities.20¶ Richard Dyer’s article on ‘‘Heterosexuality’’ theorizes normative sex (1997, pp. 261–¶ 73). Responding to Butler’s Gender Trouble, Dyer notes the extent to which heterosexuality constructs gender norms (1997, p. 270). Dyer insists all sexuality is ‘‘ﬂuid and unstable,’’ thus the analytical signiﬁcance of isolating heterosexuality’s ‘‘peculiarities’’ (1997,¶ pp. 263–4). While Dyer’s conclusion regarding the racialized consequences of ‘‘denaturalizing heterosexuality’’ felt hasty, the piece works well to frame conversations on conservative religious agency (Dyer 1997, p. 272).21¶ A number of authors explore conservative sexuality in North American Islam. In her¶ editorial for The Globe and Mail (1993), ‘‘My Body is My Own Business,’’ Naheed Mustafa reﬂects on her decision to cover while in Canada as a graduate student; she embraces¶ covering as a rejection of the eroticization of Muslim women’s bodies. Homa Hoodfar’s,¶ ‘‘The Veil in Their Minds and on Our Heads: Veiling Practices and Muslim Women’’¶ (2001, pp. 420–46) offers a nuanced historical analysis of covering practices in Iran,¶ Canada, and the United Kingdom.22¶ American evangelicalism also provides rich fodder for considerations of conservative¶ sexualities. Amy DeRogatis’ ‘‘What Would Jesus Do? Sexuality and Salvation in Protestant Evangelical Sex Manuals, 1950s to the Present’’ demonstrates conservative evangelicals’ engagement in deﬁnitional debates about sex. The introduction to Tanya Erzen’s,¶ Straight to Jesus: Sexual and Christian Conversions in the Ex-Gay Movement (2006) establishes¶ a relationship between sexual and religious surrender. Erzen underscores the extent to¶ which ‘‘ex-gay’’ requires religious and sexual conversion. ‘‘Heterosexuality isn’t the goal,’’¶ Erzen insists; rather, ‘‘ex-gays’’ seek to reconcile their religious and sexual identities¶ (2006, p. 5).23 While Erzen’s account of ex-gay ministries is widely popular among¶ American religions scholars, Lynne Gerber offers a more nuanced and critically adept¶ account in her ‘‘The Opposite of Gay: Nature, Creation, and Queerish Ex-Gay Experiments’’ (2008). Using Butlerian theories of gender performance, Gerber interrogates the¶ contradiction between ex-gay ministries’ reliance on heteronormativity and their encouragement for candid disclosures of same-sex desire. Finally, Michael Warner’s, ‘‘Tongues¶ Untied: Memoirs of a Pentecostal Boyhood’’ (1997) and ‘‘The Ruse of ‘Secular Humanism’’’ (2008) present the poignant tension between religious piety and transgressive sexual¶ expression. ‘‘Secular Humanism’’ in particular insists that the mobilization of a ‘‘panChristian alliance’’ during the 1970s required a conservative sexual consensus: ‘‘these¶ Christians needed sex to exist as a movement.’’24¶ AXIOM 6: IT’S NEVER JUST SEX¶ As important as thinking sex is to the study of American religions, it’s possible to overthink (and over-do) sex. Jakobsen and Pellegrini call this oversigniﬁcation; the authors suggest ‘‘we have bundled a number of social relations into sex’’ (2004, p. 144). That is,¶ ﬁnances, hospital access, and kinship rights have all been (arbitrarily, if we believe Foucault) linked to sexual relationships (2004, p. 140). Thus, Pellegrini and Jakobsen recommend we treat sex as religiously and politically signiﬁcant, but also recognize that sex is¶ one among many concerns for scholars of embodied religions (2004, p. 139). Thinking sex¶ does not exempt us from considering other cultural factors – race, education, geographic¶ location, economic status – that construct and constrain religious belief and practice.¶ Elizabeth Povinelli and Katherine Ewing both address oversigniﬁcation in their contributions to The Immanent Frame. In her 2007 ‘‘Can Sex Be a Minor Form of Spitting?’’¶ xovinelli critiques Charles Taylor’s ‘‘rather tame, dare one say, liberal’’ solution to the¶ problem of sexual oversigniﬁcation (cf. Taylor 2007). While Taylor argues for a celebration of sexual multiplicity, Povinelli insists that we must deprioritize sex as a bodily activity. She suggests we rather think of sex as ‘‘a minor form of spitting,’’ a¶ reconceptualization Povinelli hopes might foster ‘‘the conditions in which multiple forms¶ of the body and communities thrive, not merely multiple forms of sexuality’’ (2007).¶ Ewing’s, ‘‘Religion, Spirituality, and the Sexual Scandal’’ (2010) focuses on the deployment of sexual oversigniﬁcation, speciﬁcally by ‘‘that media darling, the religious sex¶ scandal.’’ Ewing suggests that such scandals are ‘‘public act[s] of abjection,’’ attempts to¶ expel religious conservatives from the body politic while establishing a tacit secular⁄spiritual, liberal (dare one say liberated?) orthodoxy.¶ The U.S. government has not only used religion to regulate sex, but has also used sex¶ to regulate religion.25 The paradigmatic example of religious regulation on sexual grounds¶ is the 1890 decision on Davis v. Beason, in which the Supreme Court ruled that free¶ exercise does not protect religious practice – speciﬁcally the LDS practice of plural marriage. Terryl Givens, The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy (1997) and Sarah Barringer Gordon’s, The Mormon Question: Polygamy and¶ Constitutional Conﬂict in Nineteenth-Century America (2002) both provide insightful analysis¶ of Mormon disenfranchisement on the grounds of ‘‘sexual decency.’’26¶ Oversigniﬁcation also presents an opportunity to consider intersectionality,27 particularly the intersection of race, sexuality, and religion.28 Kelly Brown Douglas’, ‘‘Black¶ Body⁄White Soul: The Unsettling Intersection of Race, Sexuality, and Christianity’’¶ (2003) highlights the complicity of white Christianity in hypersexualizing black bodies,¶ which places a ‘‘double burden of sin’’ on black people of faith (pp. 105–6). The consequences of this double burden, Brown Douglas suggests, have been ‘‘sexual silence and¶ sexual discrimination,’’ particularly against community members who engage in ‘‘abnormal’’ sexual behaviors (2003, p. 106).29 Brown Douglas proposes a new sexual ethic,¶ based on Foucauldean understandings of power and liberation theological ‘‘preferential¶ options’’ for the oppressed (2003, pp. 109–10). Keith Boykin’s, ‘‘Bearing Witness: Faith¶ in the Lives of Black Lesbians and Gays’’ (1996) provides ethnographic evidence for¶ Brown Douglas’ argument. Boykin emphasizes the importance of the black church to¶ understanding black queer American’s experiences (p. 126).¶ Conclusion¶ Critical theories of sexuality encourage us to think differently – deeper, broader, more¶ carefully – about what sex is, what it can mean and what it can do. Scholars of American¶ religions must think sex because religious Americans take sex very seriously, and American religious thought has material consequences. Americans’ religious ideas about sex¶ affect military service, access to marital privilege, even international government policies.¶ Americans often assume that religion should tell us how to think (and do) sex – and that¶ only certain kinds of sex are (or should be) permissible in ‘‘good old American’’ religions.¶ As scholars of American religions, then, we should – we must – be thinking sex.

### 1NC Melancholy

#### The affirmative’s attachment to the historical injury of heterosettlerism is not an epistemology but rather an effect of the crisis of the modern subject- their inability to unburden themselves from the trauma of the past guarantees they either loathe life or hunt down scape-goats- either turns case

Brown 93

[Wendy, “Wounded Attachments”, Political Theory, p. http://www.jstor.org/stable/191795 .Accessed: 25/03/2013 11:13Your //wyo-tjc]

Premising itself on the natural equality of human beings, liberalism makes a political promise of universal individual freedom in order to arrive at social equality or achieve a civilized retrieval of the equality postulated in the state of nature. It is the tension between the promises of individualistic liberty and the requisites of equality that yields ressentiment in one of two directions, depending on how the paradox is brokered. A strong commitment to freedom vitiates the fulfillment of the equality promise and breeds ressentiment as welfare-state liberalism-attenuations of the unmitigated license of the rich and powerful on behalf of the "disadvantaged." Conversely, a strong com- mitment to equality, requiring heavy state interventionism and economic redistribution, attenuates the commitment to freedom and breeds ressentiment expressed as neoconservative antistatism, racism, charges of reverse racism, and so forth. However, it is not only the tension between freedom and equality but the prior presumption of the self-reliant and self-made capacities of liberal subjects, conjoined with their unavowed dependence on and construction by a variety of social relations and forces, that makes all liberal subjects, and not only markedly disenfranchised ones, vulnerable to ressentiment: it is their situatedness within power, their production by power, and liberal discourse's denial of this situatedness and production that casts the liberal subject into failure, the failure to make itself in the context of a discourse in which its self-making is assumed, indeed, is its assumed nature. This failure, which Nietzsche calls suffering, must find either a reason within itself (which redoubles the failure) or a site of external blame on which to avenge its hurt and redistribute its pain. Here is Nietzsche's account of this moment in the production of ressentiment: For every sufferer instinctively seeks a cause for his suffering, more exactly, an agent; still more specifically a guilty agent who is susceptible to suffering-in short, some living thing upon which he can on some pretext or other, vent his affects, actually or in effigy.... This ... constitutes the actual physiological cause of ressentiment, vengeful- ness, and the like: a desire to deaden pain by means of affects. .. to deaden, by means of a more violent emotion of any kind, a tormenting, secret pain that is becoming unendurable, and to drive it out of consciousness at least for the moment: for that one requires an affect, as savage an affect as possible, and, in order to excite that, any pretext at all.'8 Ressentiment in this context is a triple achievement: it produces an affect (rage, righteousness) that overwhelms the hurt, it produces a culprit respon- sible for the hurt, and it produces a site of revenge to displace the hurt (a place to inflict hurt as the sufferer has been hurt). Together these operations both ameliorate (in Nietzsche's terms, "anaesthetize") and externalize what is otherwise "unendurable. Now, what I want to suggest is that in a culture already streaked with the pathos of ressentiment for these reasons, there are several characteristics of late modem postindustrial societies that accelerate and expand the conditions of its production. My listing is necessarily highly schematic. First, the phenomenon that William Connolly names "increased global contingency" combines with the expanding pervasiveness and complexity of domination by capital and bureaucratic state and social networks to create an unparalleled individual powerlessness over the fate and direction of one's own life, intensifying the experiences of impotence, dependence, and gratitude inher- ent in liberal capitalist orders and consitutive of ressentiment.'9 Second, the steady desacralization of all regions of life-what Weber called disenchan- ment, what Nietzsche called the death of God-would appear to add yet another reversal to Nietzsche's genealogy of ressentiment as perpetually available to "alternation of direction." In Nietzsche's account, the ascetic priest deployed notions of "guilt, sin, sinfulness, depravity and damnation" to "direct the ressentiment of the less severely afflicted sternly back upon themselves ... and in this way [exploited] the bad instincts of all sufferers for the purpose of self-discipline, self-surveillance, and self-overcoming."20 However, the desacralizing tendencies of late modernity undermine the efficacy of this deployment and turn suffering's need for exculpation back toward a site of external agency. Third, the increased fragmentation, if not disintegration, of all forms of association until recently not organized by the commodities market-communities, churches, families-and the ubiqui- tousness of the classificatory, individuating schemes of disciplinary society combine to produce an utterly unrelieved individual, one without insulation from the inevitable failure entailed in liberalism's individualistic construc- tion. In short, the characteristics of late modern secular society, in which individuals are buffeted and controlled by global configurations of disciplin- ary and capitalist power of extraordinary proportions, and are at the same time nakedly individuated, stripped of reprieve from relentless exposure and accountability for themselves, together add up to an incitement to ressenti- ment that might have stunned even the finest philosopher of its occasions and logics. Starkly accountable, yet dramatically impotent, the late modern liberal subject quite literally seethes with ressentiment. Enter politicized identity, now conceivable in part as both product of and "reaction" to this condition, where "reaction" acquires the meaning that Nietzsche ascribed to it, namely, as an effect of domination that reiterates impotence, a substitute for action, for power, for self-affirmation that reinscribes incapacity, powerlessness, and rejection. For Nietzsche, ressentiment itself is rooted in "reaction"-the substitution of reasons, norms, and ethics for deeds-and not only moral systems but identities themselves take their bearings in this reaction. As Tracy Strong reads this element of Nietzsche's thought, Identity ... does not consist of an active component, but is a reaction to something outside; action in itself, with its inevitable self-assertive qualities, must then become something evil, since it is identified with that against which one is reacting. The will to power of slave morality must constantly reassert that which gives definition to the slave: the pain he suffers by being in the world. Hence any attempt to escape that pain will merely result in the reaffirmation of painful structures.21 If ressentiment's "cause" is suffering, its "creative deed" is the reworking of this pain into a negative form of action, the "imaginary revenge" of what Nietzsche terms "natures denied the true reaction, that of deeds."22 This revenge is achieved through the imposition of suffering "on whatever does not feel wrath and displeasure as he does"23 (accomplished especially through the production of guilt), through the establishment of suffering as the measure of social virtue, and through casting strength and good fortune ("privilege" as we say today) as self-recriminating, as its own indictment in a culture of suffering: "it is disgraceful to be fortunate, there is too much misery."24 But in its attempt to displace its suffering, identity structured by ressenti- ment at the same time becomes invested in its own subjection. This invest- ment lies not only in its discovery of a site of blame for its hurt will, not only in its acquisition of recognition through its history of subjection (a recogni- tion predicated on injury, now righteously revalued), but also in the satisfac- tions of revenge that ceaselessly reenact even as they redistribute the injuries of marginalization and subordination in a liberal discursive order that alter- nately denies the very possibility of these things or blames those who experience them for their own condition. Identity politics structured by ressentiment reverses without subverting this blaming structure: it does not subject to critique the sovereign subject of accountability that liberal indi- vidualism presupposes nor the economy of inclusion and exclusion that liberal universalism establishes. Thus politicized identity that presents itself as a self-affirmation now appears as the opposite, as predicated on and requiring its sustained rejection by a "hostile extemal world."2 Insofar as what Nietzsche calls slave morality produces identity in reac- tion to power, insofar as identity rooted in this reaction achieves its moral superiority by reproaching power and action themselves as evil, identity structured by this ethos becomes deeply invested in its own impotence, even while it seeks to assuage the pain of its powerlessness through its vengeful moralizing, through its wide distribution of suffering, through its reproach of power as such. Politicized identity, premised on exclusion and fueled by the humiliation and suffering imposed by its historically structured impo- tence in the context of a discourse of sovereign individuals, is as likely to seek generalized political ~~paralysis~~, to feast on generalized political impotence, as it is to seek its own or collective liberation. Indeed it is more likely to punish and reproach-"punishment is what revenge calls itself; with a hypocritical lie it creates a good conscience for itself'-than to find venues of self-affirming action.2

\*we do not endorse ableist or gendered language

#### We should forget the 1ac in order to affirm life- [green]

Zupancic, 2003 (Alenka, Philosopher, “The Shortest Shadow: Nietzche’s philosophy of the two” Online, MB)

It is true that there is also a rather different notion present in Christianity, a notion much closer to Nietzsche’s own position—namely, the notion of mercy as situated “beyond law” (Jenseits des Rechts). Nietzsche links to this notion nothing less than the possibility of an escape from the vicious circle of punishment and guilt. But his notion of mercy is not simply that of an act of forgiveness; it can spring only from a surplus of “power” and “richness.” Illustrating this with the example of actual wealth, Nietzsche writes that the creditor becomes more human to the extent that he has grown richer: so that, finally, how much injury he can endure without suffering from it becomes the actual measure of his wealth.24 Such a creditor can now allow himself the noblest luxury possible: letting those who harm him go unpunished. In this way, the justice which began with “everything is dischargeable, everything must be discharged” ends by winking, and letting those who are incapable of discharging their debt go free. This “self-overcoming of justice” is called mercy, and remains the privilege of the most “powerful.”25 We should be careful here not to believe that the terms “rich” and “powerful” refer simply to those who have a lot of money, and hold this or that position of power.As Nietzsche points out, it is the capacity not to be injured, and not to suffer because of an injustice, that constitutes the measure of one’s richness and power—not the capacity to endure suffering and injury, to bear pain, but the capacity not to let this suffering as suffering enter the constitution of one’s subjectivity (which also means the capacity not to let oneself be subjectivized in the figure of the “subject of injury,” the figure of the victim). Those who can manage this are “rich” and “powerful” because they can manage it, not the other way around. There is also an important difference between forgiving and (what Nietzsche calls) forgetting. Forgiveness has a perverse way of involving us even further in debt. To forgive somehow always implies to pay for the other, and thus to use the very occurrence of injury and its forgiveness as a new “engagement ring.” Nietzsche makes this very point in relation to Christianity: the way God has forgiven our sins has been to pay for them, to pay for them with His own “flesh.” This is the fundamental perversity of Christianity: while forgiving, it simultaneously brandishes at us the cross, the instrument of torture, the memory of the one who suffered and died so that we could be forgiven, the memory of the one who paid for us. Christianity forgives, but does not forget. One could say that, with the eyes of the sinner fixed on the cross, forgiving creates a new debt in the very process of this act. It forgives what was done, but it does not forgive the act of forgiving itself. On the contrary, the latter establishes a new bond and a new debt. It is now infinite mercy (as the capacity of forgiving) that sustains the infinite debt, the debt as infinite. The debt is no longer brought about by our actions; it is brought about by the act of forgiving us these actions.We are indebted for forgiveness. The infinite capacity to forgive might well become the infernal flame in which we “temper” our debt and guilt. This is why Nietzsche counters the concept of forgiving with the concept of forgetting (“a good example of this in modern times is Mirabeau, who had no memory for insults and vile actions done to him and was unable to forgive simply because he—forgot”).26 This is perhaps the moment to examine in more detail what Nietzschean “forgetting” is actually about. What is the capacity of forgetting as the basis of “great health”? Nietzsche claims that memory entertains some essential relationship with pain. This is what he describes as the principle used in human “mnemotechnics”: “If something is to stay in the memory it must be burned in: only that which never ceases to hurt stays in the memory.”27 Thus, if memory is essentially related to pain (here it seems that Nietzsche claims the opposite of what psychoanalysis is claiming: that traumatic events are the privileged objects of repression; yet pain is not the same thing as trauma, just as “forgetting” is not the same thing as repressing), then forgetting refers above all to the capacity not to nurture pain. This also means the capacity not to make pain the determining ground of our actions and choices. What exactly is pain (not so much physical pain, but, rather, the “mental pain” that can haunt our lives)? It is a way in which the subject internalizes and appropriates some traumatic experience as her own bitter treasure. In other words, in relation to the traumatic event, pain is not exactly a part of this event, but already its memory (the “memory of the body”). And Nietzschean oblivion is not so much an effacement of the traumatic encounter as a preservation of its external character, of its foreignness, of its otherness. In Unfashionable Observations, Second Piece (“On the Utility and Liability of History for Life”), Nietzsche links the question of forgetting (which he employs as a synonym for the ahistorical) to the question of the act. Forgetting, oblivion, is the very condition of possibility for an act in the strong sense of the word. Memory (the “historical”) is eternal sleeplessness and alert insomnia, a state in which no great thing can happen, and which could even be said to serve this very purpose. Considering the common conception according to which memory is something monumental that “fixes” certain events, and closes us within their horizon, Nietzsche proposes a significantly different notion. It is precisely as an eternal openness, an unceasing stream, that memory can immobilize us, mortify us, make us incapable of action. Nietzsche invites us to imagine the extreme example of a human being who does not possess the power to forget. Such a human being would be condemned to see becoming everywhere: he would no longer believe in his own being, would see everything flow apart in turbulent particles, and would lose himself in this stream of becoming. He would be like the true student of Heraclitus. A human being who wanted to experience things in a thoroughly historical manner would be like someone forced to go without sleep.28 Memory holds us in eternal motion—it keeps opening numerous horizons, and this is precisely how it i~~mmobilizes~~ us, forcing us into frenetic activity. Hence, Nietzsche advances a thesis that is as out of tune with our time as it was with his own: “every living thing can become healthy, strong and fruitful only within a defined horizon; if it is incapable of drawing a horizon around itself and too selfish, in turn, to enclose its own perspective within an alien horizon, then it will feebly waste away or hasten to its timely end.”29 Of course, Nietzsche’s aim here is not to preach narrow-mindedness and pettiness, nor is it simply to affirm the ahistorical against history and memory. On the contrary, he clearly states that it is only by thinking, reflecting, comparing, analyzing, and synthesizing (i.e. only by means of the power to utilize the past for life, and to reshape past events into history) that the human being becomes properly human.Yet, in the excess of history, the human being ceases to be human once again, no longer able to create or invent. This is why Nietzsche insists that “every great historical event” is born in the “ahistorical atmosphere,” that is to say, in conditions of oblivion and closure: Imagine a man seized and carried away by a vehement passion for a woman or for a great idea; how his world changes! Looking backward he feels he is blind, listening around he hears what is unfamiliar as a dull, insignificant sound; and those things that he perceives at all he never before perceived in this way; so palpable and near, colorful, resonant, illuminated, as though he were apprehending it with all his senses at once. All his valuations are changed and devalued; . . . It is the most unjust condition in the world, narrow, ungrateful to the past, blind to dangers, deaf to warnings; a tiny whirlpool of life in a dead sea of night and oblivion; and yet this condition—ahistorical, antihistorical through and through— is not only womb of the unjust deed, but of every just deed as well; and no artist will create a picture, no general win a victory, and no people gain its freedom without their having previously desired and striven to accomplish these deeds in just such an ahistorical condition. . . . Thus, everyone who acts loves his action infinitely more than it deserves to be loved, and the best deeds occur in such an exuberance of love that, no matter what, they must be unworthy of this love, even if their worth were otherwise incalculably great.30 If we read this passage carefully,we note that the point is not simply that the capacity to forget, or the “ahistorical condition,” is the condition of “great deeds” or “events.” On the contrary: it is the pure surplus of passion or love (for something) that brings about this closure of memory, this “ahistorical condition.” In other words, it is not that we have first to close ourselves within a defined horizon in order then to be able to accomplish something. The closure takes place with the very (“passionate”) opening toward something (“a woman or a great idea”). Nietzsche’s point is that if this surplus passion engages us “in the midst of life,” instead of mortifying us, it does so via its inducement of forgetting. Indeed, I could mention a quite common experience here: whenever something important happens to us and incites our passion,we tend to forget and dismiss the grudges and resentments we might have been nurturing before. Instead of “forgiving” those who might have injured us in the past, we forget and dismiss these injuries. If we do not, if we “work on our memory” and strive to keep these grudges alive, they will most probably affect and mortify our (new) passion.

\*we do not endorse ableist or gendered language

## 2NC/1NR

### Impact overview

#### Flight from the body constructs everything as bare life- the dematerialization of the body supports a politics of mass extermination that reifes Foucault’s underside of power- leads to mass genocide of marginalized bodies

#### AND the Phallogocentrism of the aff inflects irreparable loss on all female subjectivity

Braidotti 2011

[Braidotti, Rosi. Nomadic Subjects : Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory (2nd Edition). New York, NY, USA: Columbia University Press, 2011. p 5.

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Irigaray is one of the few thinkers who places full emphasis on radical heterosexuality and the need to reconstruct a heterosexual social-symbolic contract that does not rest on feminophobia, hence not on a patriarchal social unconscious. A fully trained psychoanalyst, Irigaray denounces the delusional nature of identities postulated on the phallogocentric signifier and digs deeper than the sociological expressions of everyday sexism and culturally enforced discrimination. Her critique touches upon the in-depth roots of misogyny in a subject whose foundations rest on the rejection of the feminine from the material maternal body that constitutes our site of origin and inflicts a wound on each and every subject. At the beginning of the self, there is a separation from the totality one enjoyed as part of the mater or matrix. This causes an irreparable loss and hence an inexpressible grief. This structure of “unrepresentability” is a crucial part of psychoanalytic theories of subject formation. It rests on two key ideas: first, that the original loss of (the illusion of) totality, which translates into a wound, becomes a constitutive element of our subjectivity. One incorporates the loss, so to speak, and folds over it by deploying all possible cognitive and emotional forms of compensation. The pain of it never goes away— it just gets formatted into mourning and melancholia (Freud) or gratitude and reciprocity (Melanie Klein). Irigaray argues that the sense of originary loss has to be replaced by self-love and love for the Woman one could become.

#### Phallogocentrism necessitates the dichotomy of the sexes and compulsory heterosexuality

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The importance of this point is not only epistemological and methodological but also political: it will in fact determine the kind of alliance or social pact that we women are likely to undertake with each other. The notion of desire in this configuration is not a prescriptive one: the desire to become and to speak as women does not entail the imposition of a specific propositional content of women’s speech. What is being empowered is women’s entitlement to speak, not the propositional content of their utterances. What I want to emphasize is women’s desire to become, not a specific model for their becoming. In the feminist perspective, patriarchy, defined as the actualization of the masculine homosocial bond, can be seen as a monumental denial of the axiom expressed earlier, insofar as it has been haunted by the political necessity to make biology coincide with subjectivity, the anatomical with the psychosexual, and therefore reproduction with sexuality. This forced unification of nature with culture has been played out mostly on woman’s body, upon which patriarchal discourse and practice has built one of its most powerful institutions: the family. A related aspect of this strategy is the enforcement of the myth of the complementarity of the sexes, which is socially coded as the practice of heterosexism or compulsory heterosexuality.

### AT: Heternormativity understanding first

#### Understanding heteronormativity as coming first fails- power is diffuse and everywhere, it cannot be reduced to only compulsory heterosexuality

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Second, I have a serious conceptual disagreement with queer theory on heteronormativity being the matrix of power. Heteronormativity, as I see it, is one model of power, not necessarily the main one. Power relations cannot be reduced to compulsory heterosexuality only. Power has no matrix; it is not a centralized notion, but rather a weblike pervasive situation of controls and regulations. Foucault, of course, has been here! The negative or confining aspects of power operate, as Deleuze and Guattari suggested, as a sort of reduction of the multiple potentials of our bodies and our desires at all levels. Power enacts a sort of generalized theft of our intensities and our polymorphous perversity, which is something other than just the setup of the gender binary, though the latter is a major component of this takeover. The only way to counteract this violent dispossession is to imagine and enact alternative ways of experimenting with our bodies in multiple relations with others. Sexuality is work-in-progress, risk and exploration.

### Links

### AT: Queer death- Autogenisis Link

#### Aff participates in the myth of autogenesis- male desire to reproduce himself and erase the mother by constantly becoming

Jafari S. Allen, assistant professor of anthropology and African American studies at Yale University, where he also teaches in the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender studies program, Black/Queer/Diaspora at the current conjuncture. GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies, 18 (2-3), 2012. pp. 211-248

"All the Things You Could Be by Now, If Jacqui Alexander and Cathy Cohen Were Your . . ."

During the opening discussion of our symposium, Michelle Wright offered that "dominant epistemologies are quite often illogical, in the way in which heteronormativity insists upon certain [fantastical ways of being and becoming], like the way in which Jehosephat begat Jeboth begat . . ." Queer studies and black studies also too often capitulate to lineages of "male autogenesis."32 As "outside children" of black studies and queer studies, we claim new ways to queerly trace our genealogies [End Page 218] beyond patronymic reconstruction. The title of this section both playfully recalls Spillers's foundational (dare I say "seminal"?) essay "All the Things You Could Be by Now, If Sigmund Freud's Wife Was Your Mother: Psychoanalysis and Race" and honors the radical black and feminist of color lesbian genesis of black/queer/diaspora work, here represented by Cohen and Alexander.33 After the ellipsis in the section heading above, the reader may find a senior sister, wise lover, mentor, friend, or teacher, for example, or maybe a cousin who comes to visit (from the city, the country, or abroad) doing a new dance or wearing a scandalous outfit—precipitating a shift, structuring a conjuncture.

### AT: Queer ecology Ecofeminism Link

#### We must embrace in a gynocentric eco-logic which embraces other ways of thinking, in that we must let nature be the guide for its own logic. Instead of following the phallic logic of masculinity which gives and defines identity, this new way of thinking values difference and give values to the dominated

**Glazebrook in 2k5** (Trish, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia, *Ethics & the Environment* 10.2 (2005) 75-99, Gynocentric Eco-logics)

I wish to provide a diagnosis and etiology, and suggest a curative possibility for a disease of modernity I will call phallic logic Symptomatic of this sickness are wide-spread social alienation, global domination and oppression on the basis of gender, race, class and color, and epidemic eco-destruction. A body of critique exists in ecofeminist analyses that experiences these symptoms as a single disease: the phallic logic of modernity. “Logic” in this context does not mean the formal discipline in which rules for the proper manipulation of abstract statements are laid down. Rather, “logic” in the sense used here is an epistemological term. It means the ways that understanding is structured. Phallic logic is the structure of understanding that permeates patriarchy. This logic takes its paradigm from scientific objectivity, but even voices from within the sciences themselves are arguing that contemporary human being must establish new ways of thinking about nature. I propose that such new eco-logics, that is, ways of thinking about nature, take their guidance from the physical environment. If nature informs knowledge claims, then knowledge itself is construed organically: it is finite and changing rather than fixed and eternal. Such logics can encompass the finitude of physical embodiment as an epistemological principle, and hence I identify them as gynocentric. They are not grounded in the disembodied Cartesian subject that feminists have shown so often and clearly to be typical of androcentric philosophizing. These logics draw instead on the physicality of environmental elements as well as of the thinker, and thus they allow nature’s temporality to resonate within knowledge itself. They are not satisfied with a conceptual contrast between nature’s on-going coming-to-be and passing-away and the alleged universality of knowledge. Rather, they take nature as a model for truth and acknowledge that nature infuses the things we say to be truth. Accordingly, gynocentric eco-logics do not need to kill the (eternal) father in order to love the (mortal) mother, to destroy phallic logic and take its place. Such a move would simply replace a phallic logic of domination by equally fascistic and domineering eco-logics. Rather, the task is to chorus logics of inclusion and reciprocity that welcome and encompass differences. Following Carol Bigwood, I am “not blindly privileging traditional feminine characteristics and experience and denouncing those of the traditional male” (Bigwood 1993, 76) but calling for balance. There is a place for the logic of science and technology in our world, but it must share the space with other ways of thinking, and other practices of human engagement with, and as part of, nature. What distinguishes gynocentric eco-logics from phallic logic is precisely their toleration, in fact, welcoming of differences. They involve rather than distance themselves from nature. Logics that embrace diversity do not articulate themselves in eternal, unchanging truth. They are eco-logical in that they take nature as 89 their model—they are on the way, evolving, open to revision, in a word, organic. Rupert Sheldrake has suggested a new paradigm to replace Newton’s mechanistic universe: “the universe of the new cosmology is an evolving organism” (Sheldrake 1988, 79). I extend his voice to knowledge itself: let nature be the guide for logics. Let us make space in mechanism for organism. I hear four rhythmic movements in these logics that echo against an under-lying theme. Nature is directly involved in such logics since these rhythms come from the cycle of finitude of nature itself. Gynocentric eco-logics are situated epistemologies. They are grounded in nature, not in the abstract reasoning of disembodied Cartesian subjectivity, but in the body. Resisting historical “somatophobia” (as

Elizabeth Spelman calls it (1988, 126–130)), they likewise reject materialism. In overcoming the dualisms of mind/body, spirit/matter, reason/ emotion, their practitioners are engaged in what Judith Plant has called

“thinking feelingly” (Plant 1990, 155), Carol Bigwood, “feelingful thoughts” (Bigwood 1993, 2). Linda Holler calls it “thinking with the weight of the earth” (Holler 1990) in distinction from meta-physical abstraction. Overcoming hierarchical dualisms means reinstating value in the second, devalued term. Refusal to denigrate emotion is simultaneous with embracing embodiment. I can be rational about my feelings (in fact, things usually go better when I am), and I can feel strongly concerning my rational engagements. Valuing the embodiment of my reason in this way is also valuing my body—my beauty consists not in how I am like other women, especially not some idealized body that rejects its natural drives and pleasures in rampant social anorexia. To love my body is to love its

physicality, its enfleshed particularity, its mineness, its differences. I embrace those differences as natural, and celebrate the movements of nature that sustain my body.

Queer ruralism-Amy Marie, forced to stay home, rejected by a trona mine workforce that is 98% male and provides the only means of economic mobility-my father is certain having a male at the head of the household and a woman at home would solve the adam Lanzas of the world

Experience as rural woman, every time try to silence claim we don’t solver or perm is a silencing of our rural feminism

experiences of rural women but the key is all women are still connected infinitely because of hat birthing moment-universal fracture is still masculine/femininity, just urban/rural it can be a man looking at that and reinscribe it in a way that obscures females bodies

“Passing” is insufficient, violence committed when discover they are women, violence committed when they discover they are “feminine”

### 2NC – Braidotti v. Seacomb

We internal link turn their fracture good arguments and solve the offense better:

1. Gender fracture v. Sexualities fracture: Our argument is that there is a fundamental fracture in social existence and that is GENDER. The Braidotti evidence says that the fracture of masculinity and femininity is the fundamental ontological structure of social existence and that the feminine language that erupts from and lives as the in between and continually births culture anew.
2. Material fracture v. Discursive fracture: u should prefer our interpretation of a fundamental MATERIAL FRACTURE of society rather than their discursive conceptualizations of queerness as the fractures of society. Their multiplicity renders subject so fluid that the actual FRACTURE itself is impossible – our argument is that BEING IS FRACTURED whereas they suggest that its infinite. That’s the link to the K

### AT: You Erase transgender

#### Braidotti doesn’t erase the transsexual- queer theory disregards lived experience of transsexuals and ignores that they long to belong to a specific pole of the gender/sex bianry

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Andrijasevic: The discussion on sexuality has mainly been taken up by queer theory and activism. Theoretical explorations of gay, lesbian, and queer sexualities do not speak of shifts of the imaginary or address the issue of how desire is constituted in the space between bodies. As in Judith Butler’s work, much emphasis is being put on the critique of heteronormativity and the rights of transsexual and intersexed persons. It’s well known that you are not a queer theorist, but don’t you think that there might be a convergence between your interest in rethinking desires and the queer project of destabilizing the categories of sex, gender, and desire? Braidotti: It is absolutely true that my nomadic subject is very compatible with queering practices, so long as we agree on the terms and the structure of the exercise. Sexuality for me is not linguistically mediated, but rather an embodied practice of experimentation with multiple relations in an affirmative manner. I have devoted a large amount of my book Metamorphoses to a critique of queer theory in Butler’s work, and she responded in Undoing Gender. This has often led to some sort of polarization among younger theorists, as if one felt compelled to choose either/or. Neither of us agrees with easy polarizations, but we do work with different paradigms. For me the transsexual paradigm is inadequate. There are three main reasons: first, this paradigm is culture specific, and it derives from the now hegemonic lesbian critique of heteronormativity that runs from Gayle Rubin to Teresa de Lauretis via the Californian phase of Monique Wittig. This does not easily translate back into the history and concepts of European feminisms, to which I, as you know, am deeply committed. Second, I have a serious conceptual disagreement with queer theory on heteronormativity being the matrix of power. Heteronormativity, as I see it, is one model of power, not necessarily the main one. Power relations cannot be reduced to compulsory heterosexuality only. Power has no matrix; it is not a centralized notion, but rather a weblike pervasive situation of controls and regulations. Foucault, of course, has been here! The negative or confining aspects of power operate, as Deleuze and Guattari suggested, as a sort of reduction of the multiple potentials of our bodies and our desires at all levels. Power enacts a sort of generalized theft of our intensities and our polymorphous perversity, which is something other than just the setup of the gender binary, though the latter is a major component of this takeover. The only way to counteract this violent dispossession is to imagine and enact alternative ways of experimenting with our bodies in multiple relations with others. Sexuality is work-in-progress, risk and exploration. Third, the transsexual paradigm does not convince me as a paradigm, for two reasons. The first is that most of the research I have read on this shows that transsexual people long for sexual clarity and want to belong unequivocally to the pole of the gender binary they recognize as affirming their identity. This means that the idea of sexual indeterminacy as a paradigm actually disregards the desires of real-life transsexuals and constrains their lived experience into a tidy metaphor. Moreover, the emphasis on degrees of indeterminacy, or in-betweenness, is a form of identity politics that is endemic to advanced capitalism, with its emphasis on individualism narrowly defined as the right to choose. All I see here is a quantitative proliferation of pluralist options for one’s identity and lifestyle. This, coupled with the often implicit suggestion that the aim of both feminist and gay and lesbian struggles should be the destruction of the “gender system,” makes for a heady and in my eyes unsustainable set of ideas.

#### Nomadism isn’t essentialist- affirmation of embodiment of the subject is critical to define the body as multifunctional and complex, material and symbolic

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These figurations are evidence of the many heterogeneous ways in which feminists today are exploring alternative forms of subjectivity and of their struggle with language to produce affirmative representations. The array of terms available to describe this new female feminist subjectivity is telling: Monique Wittig (1991) chooses to represent it through the figuration of the “lesbian,” echoed by Judith Butler with her “queer parodic politics of the masquerade” (1991); others, quoting Nancy Miller (Miller 1986b) prefer to describe the process as “becoming women,” in the sense of the female feminist subjects of another story. De Lauretis calls it the “eccentric” subject (1990a:115– 150); alternative feminist subjectivities have also been described as “fellow-commuters” in an in-transit state (Boscaglia 1991:122– 135) or as “inappropriated others” (Minh-ha 1989) or as “postcolonial” (Mohanty 1984:333– 358; Spivak 1989b, c) subjects. These last analyze gender in relation to other geopolitical concerns in terms of transnational feminist links. The starting point for most feminist redefinitions of subjectivity is a new form of materialism that develops the notion of the corporeal by emphasizing the embodied and therefore sexually differentiated structure of the speaking subject. Consequently, rethinking the bodily roots of subjectivity is the starting point for the epistemological project of nomadism. The body or the embodiment of the subject is to be understood as neither a biological nor a sociological category, but rather as a point of overlapping between the physical, the symbolic, and the sociological. I stress the issue of embodiment so as to make a plea for different ways of thinking about the body. The body refers to the materialist but also vitalist groundings of human subjectivity and to the specifically human capacity to be both grounded and to flow and thus to transcend the very variables— class, race, sex, gender, age, disability— that structure us. A nomadic vision of the body defines it as multifunctional and complex, as a transformer of flows and energies, affects, desires, and imaginings. From psychoanalysis I have learned to appreciate the advantages of the nonunitary structure of the subject and the joyful implication of the unconscious foundations of the subject. Complexity is the key to understanding the multiple affective layers, complex temporal variables, and internally contradictory time and memory lines that frame our embodied existence. In contrast to the oppositions created by a dualistic mode of social constructivism, a nomadic body is a threshold of transformations. It is the complex interplay of the highly constructed social and symbolic forces. The body is a surface of intensities and an affective field in interaction with others. In other words, feminist emphasis on embodiment goes hand in hand with a radical rejection of essentialism. In feminist theory one speaks as a woman, although the subject “woman” is not a monolithic essence, defined once and for all, but rather the site of multiple, complex, and potentially contradictory sets of experiences, determined by overlapping variables such as class, race, age, lifestyle, and sexual preference. One speaks as a woman in order to empower women, to activate sociosymbolic changes in their condition: this is a radically antiessentialist position.

### AT: Sexuality Key – Hetero/Homo Focus Bad (p. 286)

#### Focusing on sexual orientation limits our understanding of sexuality and its complexities

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Then the immediate question for me becomes: why should there be such a big difference in the world between homoerotic and heterosexual people? Why not consider other variables to measure the geometry of our passions? One of them could be sheer intensity. I am often struck by the fact that the real distinction is between moderately sexed people and highly sexed people. That is not just a quantitative but also a qualitative difference— in that it produces different kinds of sexuality. We do not talk about degrees, levels, and geometries of passion. Why don’t we talk about the famous problem of the death of lesbian desire or of choosing lesbianism as a way of retreating from sexuality? And my favorite, of course— how about addressing the sexuality of the mind? You see, we are just not talking about the interesting things because we are obsessed with identity politics.

### AT: Perm

#### The perm is severance and demands the rejection of Roger- Men in feminism, even queer activists and theorists, cannot participate in feminism because they have not experienced the historical oppression on the basis of sex-results in metaphysical cannibalism in which men become subversive at the expense of the subjectivity of woman

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In spite of my commitment to joyful, positive affirmation of alternative values, according to the Dionysian spirit of nomadic philosophy, there are times when a dose of resentful criticism appears as irresistible as it is necessary. Such is the case whenever I cast an ironic glance at “male-stream” poststructuralist philosophy. The question I will start of with is what is the position of men in feminism. How does the nomadic feminist look upon this issue? There is something both appealing and suspect in the notion of “men in feminism,” like many of the other contributors, my gaze lingers on the preposition “IN” wondering about the spatial dimension it throws open. Is it the battleground for the eternal war of the sexes? Is the space where bodily sexed subjectivities come to a head-on collision? I can only envisage this topic as a knot of interconnected tensions, an area of intense turmoil, a set of contradictions. Somewhere along the line, I am viscerally opposed to the whole idea: men aren’t and shouldn’t be IN feminism: the feminist space is not theirs and not for them to see. Thus the discursive game we are trying to play is either profoundly precarious or perversely provocative— or both at once. A sort of impatience awakens in me at the thought of a whole class/caste of men who are fascinated, puzzled, and intimidated by the sight of a penhandling female intelligentsia of the feminist kind. I do not know what is at stake in this for them and thus, to let my irony shine through between the lines, I am tempted to de/reform a sign and write, instead of phallic subtexts, “men in Pheminism.” Why insist on a letter, for instance? Contextual Constraints Of all Foucault ever taught me, the notion of the “materiality of ideas” has had the deepest impact. One cannot make an abstraction of the network of truth and power formations that govern the practice of one’s enunciation; ideas are sharp-edged discursive events that cannot be analyzed simply in terms of their propositional content. There is something incongruous for me to be sitting here in ethnocentric messed up Europe, thinking about “men in Pheminism.” I cannot say this is a major problem in my mind or in the context within which I am trying to live. There is something very American, in a positive sense, about this issue. The interest that American men display in feminism reflects a specific historical and cultural context: one in which feminist scholarship has made it to the cutting edge of the academic scene. This is not the case in Europe yet. As a European feminist I feel both resistant to and disenchanted with the reduction of feminism to “feminist theory” and the confining of both within academic discourse. This attitude points out a danger that the pioneers of women’s studies courses emphasized from the start: that our male “allies” may not be able to learn how to respect the material foundations, experiential bases, and hence the complexity of the issues raised by feminism. Following a century-old mental habit that Adrienne Rich (1977) analyzes so lucidly, men-in-feminism, however, cannot resist the temptation of short-circuiting this complexity. In a drive to straighten out feminist theory and practice, they streamline the feminist project in a mold. Blinded by what they have learned to recognize as “theory,” they bulldoze their way through feminism as if it were not qualitatively different from any other academic discipline. They are walking all over us. “They” are those white, middle-class male intellectuals who have “got it right” in that they have sensed where the subversive edge of feminist theory is. “They” are a very special generation of postbeat, preneoconfortyto-fifty-year-old men who have “been through” the upheavals of the 1960s and have inherited the values and the neuroses of that period. “They” are the “new men” in the “postfeminist” context of the politically reactionary 1990s. “They” are the best male friends we’ve got, and “they” are not really what we had hoped for. “They” can circle round women’s studies departments in crisis-struck arts faculties, knowing that here’s one of the few areas of the academy tht is still expanding financially with student enrollment at both undergraduate and graduate levels. “They” play the academic career game with great finesse, knowing the rule about feminist politics of locations and yet ignoring it. “They” know that feminist theory is the last bastion of constructive radical thought amidst the ruins of the postmodern gloom. “They” are conscious of the fact that the debate about modernity and beyond is coextensive with the woman question. Some of them are gay theorists and activists whose political sensibility may be the closest to feminist concerns. Next are heterosexual “ladies men,” whose preoccupation with the feminine shines for its ambiguity. What the heterosexual men are lacking intellectually— the peculiar blindness to sexual difference for which the term sexism is an inadequate assessment— is a reflection on their position in history. The politics of location is just not part of their genealogical legacy. They have not inherited a world of oppression and exclusion based on their sexed corporal being; they do not have the lived experience of oppression because of their sex. Thus most of them fail to grasp the specificity of feminism in terms of its articulation of theory and practice, of thought and life. Maybe they have no alternative. It must be very uncomfortable to be a male, white, middle-class, heterosexual intellectual at a time in history when so many minorities and oppressed groups are speaking up for themselves; a time when the hegemony of the white knowing subject is crumbling. Lacking the historical experience of oppression on the basis of sex, they paradoxically lack a minus. Lacking the lack, they cannot participate in the great ferment of ideas that is shaking up Western culture: it must be very painful, indeed, to have no option other than being the empirical referent of the historical oppressor of women, asked to account for his atrocities. The problem, in my perspective, is that the exclusion of women and the denigration of the feminine— or of blackness— are not just a small omission that can be fixed with a little good will. Rather, they point to the underlying theme in the textual and historical continuity of masculine self-legitimation and ideal self-projection (Lloyd 1985; Benjamin 1980). It’s on the woman’s body— on her absence, her silence, her disqualification— that phallocentric discourse rests. This sort of “metaphysical cannibalism,” which Ti-Grace Atkinson (1974) analyzed in terms of uterus envy, positions the woman as the silent groundwork of male subjectivity— the condition of possibility for his story. Psychoanalytic theory, of the Freudian or the Lacanian brand, circles around the question of origins— the mother’s body— by elucidating the psychic mechanisms that make the paternal presence, the father’s body, necessary as a figure of authority over her. Following Luce Irigaray, I see psychoanalysis as a patriarchal discourse that apologizes for and provides a political anatomy of metaphysical canni­ balism: the silencing of the powerfulness of the feminine (potentia). Refusing to dissociate the discourse about the feminine, the maternal, from the historical realities of the condition and status of women in Western culture, Irigaray equates the metaphorization of women (the feminine, the maternal) with their victimization or historical oppression. One does not become a member of the dark continent, one is born into it. The question is how to transform this century-old silence into a presence of women as subjects in every aspect of existence. I am sure “they” know this, don’t “they”?

### Academia D/A

#### Sex difference politics uniquely key in the academic sphere- economic impoverishment disparities between male scholars and female scholars proves

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Alphonso Lingis’s work is an interesting term of comparison to Massumi’s. Equally creative, but far more hysterical in his assimilation of the master’s voice, Lingis’s texts strike me as exacerbations of Deleuze’s style. They push some of his premises to the extreme, often with great poetic force, which, however, reads at times like parody. Lingis reminds me of another loyal Deleuzian, the Italian Bifo (Franco Berardi), former leader of the 1977 political movements. In his recent writings on globalization, nomadology, and the politics of the new technologies (Berardi 1997), Bifo adopts a rather prophetic or visionary mode. Inspired by Nietzsche, like Lingis, Bifo mixes poetic with theoretical voices within the same text. This, in my opinion, healthy disregard for coherence goes hand in hand with a flair for discontinuities in graphic layout and chronological sequences. At times his texts precipitate an apocalyptic tone, mostly, however, they run at a high level of intensity. They constitute singular expressions of a nomadic sensibility that laughs with tragic seriousness at “Splatterkapitalismus” (Berardi 1997:7) as a horror show and at the not less horrific inertia of its lawful subjects sealed in “Prozacnation” (Berardi 1997:21). Significantly, whereas Lingis incorporates and mimes the feminine, Bifo leaves it alone and highlights instead the relevance of male nomadic subjects in quest for a radical politics in an era that seems to want to yield none. Massumi’s work, on the other hand, differs from both Lingis’s and Bifo’s in that he is mercifully free of any self-referential constraints: he is kind of egoless. This allows him to trace patterns of becoming that are less representational and hence higher in creative energy. Intrinsically political, Massumi’s texts are constructed both geologically and genealogically as multilayered strata that do not fit into any predictable symmetry. His political theory texts (Massumi 1992a, 1992b) enact diachronic interventions upon the social unconscious and the kind of flows of desire that both construct it and sustain it. Massumi’s work is diagrammatic in that he draws the flowcharts of desiring subjects, both the Majority-subject and His “others” or minorities. He also underscores the interconnections between single events or actors, texts, historical contexts, and other effects. This focus on the effects of the text, of the affectivity it enacts and on the material interrelations that sustain it, are all central to the cartographic concerns that I value so highly. It triggers off what I consider the most important effect of all: it destabilizes readers and, like a diagonal line in Mondrian’s paintings, it evokes the becoming-minoritarian, it makes readers yearn for it. This desire is crucial to the Deleuzian diagrams, or “abstract machines,” that function in the cartographic mode of flowcharts. In his disobedience or, rather, his disregard for orthodoxy, Massumi does not even attempt oedipal loyalty and dutiful imitation, thus expressing perfectly the conceptual core of Deleuze’s philosophy. In an advanced queer era, it may even seem inadequate to still speak of men and women, let alone of their respective relationships to feminism. Yet, in the competitive context of the contemporary social and academic labor market, torn between “theory wars” and multiple “races for theory,” these seemingly old-fashioned categories have acquired a new salience. The statistics of male-to-female career practices speak for themselves and the term backlash does not even begin to sketch the extent of the political obstacles put in the way of the fulfillment of feminist ideals and practices. The “brothers” may have learned to appreciate complexity and multiplicity in theory, but they are far from practicing generous encounters with positive differences in practice. Institutions themselves have delayed the implementation of feminist and antidiscriminatory practices, with the result that the economic impoverishment of female academics is higher than that of their male counterparts. The long march through institutions proved to be fraught with more horizontal resistance as well as vertical hierarchies than my generation had expected. Let this not be a sad ending, however, but rather a thoughtful reflection along the long and winding road of feminist empowerment in every aspect of social life, including my beloved field of scholarly research, teaching, and philosophical thought. The struggle does go on. So as to avoid the pitfalls of ready-made essentialism, of positing woman as originally and constitutionally other— so as to avert her plural lips repeating a certain uniformity— we feminists asserted clearly the need for a nomadic political project, a practice, a movement. We need to put the “active” back into “activism.” Difference, to be operative, has to be acted ON and acted OUT, collectively, in the here and now of our common world. This ideal should also be the core of male feminism and its “pheminist” acolytes in the third millennium. Beyond the principle of envy and ingratitude— the ethics of sexual difference: I therefore am and shall proudly remain a human, sexed, mortal being of the female Italo-Australo-Franco-Dutch kind, endowed with many a language and multiple locations and belonging. Just call me— if you will— woman as nomadic work-in-process.