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## Plan

#### Plan: The United States Federal Government ought to substantially increase judicial restrictions on the President of the United States’ war powers authority by designating District Court judges to approve or reject drone strikes based on a strict scrutiny test.

## Advantage 1—Norms

#### **Despite recent rhetoric, Obama’s executive authority and drone usage remains unrestricted**

Kaplan, 13 [Fred, Slate’s “War Stories” columnist, “Obama’s Post-9/11 World,” <http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/war_stories/2013/05/barack_obama_national_defense_university_speech_nothing_new_about_drones.single.html>, ALB]

President Obama’s speech today on U.S. counterterrorism policy was actually two speeches

AND

short, the speech heralded nothing new when it comes to drone strikes.

#### **Now is key- The US needs to set standards for drone usage – or it’ll lead to an international free for all**

Roberts, 13 [Kristin, News Editor for National Journal, Master’s in Security Studies from Georgetown University, Master’s in Journalism from Columbia University, “When the Whole World Has Drones,” <http://www.nationaljournal.com/magazine/when-the-whole-world-has-drones-20130321?print=true>, ALB]

The proliferation of drone technology has moved well beyond the control of the United States

AND

uses of one of the most awesome military robotics capabilities of this generation.¶

Lack of oversight on drone usage sets a dangerous international precedent –The plan is necessary to prevent other countries from doing the same

Alston, 11 [Philip, Pomeroy Professor of Law, New York University School of Law, was UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions from 2004 until 2012, “The CIA and Targeted Killings Beyond Borders,” 2 Harv. Nat’l Sec. J. 283, pg. lexis, ALB]

3. Self-interest: Setting Prudent Precedents for Others¶ Because the United States inevitably contributes

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. To the extent that the United States genuinely believes it is currently acting within the scope of those rules it needs to provide the evidence.

Unchecked drone proliferation collapses deterrence and ensures Indo-Pak miscalc

Boyle, 13 [Michael J., Assistant Professor of Political Science at La Salle University in Philadelphia, “The costs and consequences of drone warfare,” <http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2013/89_1/89_1Boyle.pdf>, ALB]\*\*we reject any offensive language used in our evidence

A second consequence of the spread of drones is that many of the traditional concepts which have underwritten stability

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thus magnifying the risks of a spiral of conflict ¶ between them.

#### Absent restrictions, establishing a credible international norm is impossible- Drone usage will lead to the destruction of aircraft carriers and unrestricted Chinese drones sales

Wood, 12 [David, “American Drones Ignite New Arms Race from Gaza to Iran to China,” The Huffington Post, 11/27, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/27/american-drones_n_2199193.html>, ALB]\*\*we reject any offensive language used in this evidence

The drone wars are here.**¶** While President Obama ponders new legal and moral guidelines

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a race for unmanned (SIC) aircraft," the Pentagon study reported.

#### Chinese drones uniquely make US-China war more likely destroying U.S. aircraft carriers and making Dong Feng missile effective

Gertz 13 (Bill has been a media fellow at the [Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hoover_Institution_on_War,_Revolution_and_Peace) at [Stanford University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stanford_University), He has also written for [National Review](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Review), [The Weekly Standard](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Weekly_Standard) and Air Force Magazine. He has lectured on defense, national security, and media issues at the [Defense Department’s](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Department_of_Defense) National Security Leadership Program, [Johns Hopkins University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johns_Hopkins_University) School of Advanced International Studies, the [FBI National Academy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FBI_National_Academy), the [National Defense University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Defense_University), and the [CIA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CIA).[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bill_Gertz#cite_note-3) , March 26, [http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/mar/26/china-stepping-drone-deployment/?page=all)\*\*we](http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/mar/26/china-stepping-drone-deployment/?page=all)**we) reject any offensive language used in our evidence

[China](http://www.washingtontimes.com/topics/china/)’s military is expanding its unmanned aerial vehicle forces with a new Predator-like

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behavior, ultimately increasing risks to peace and stability,” the report stated.

Dong feng missile takes out carriers

Johnson 13 (Robert, Jan 25, “China Successfully Tests 'Carrier Killer' Missile In The Gobi Desert [REPORT]”)

China's PLA "sunk" a U.S. aircraft carrier during a war

AND

on its truck-mounted launcher, posing a significant threat to U.S. Naval forces in the region.

#### **And drones are the essential internal-link**

Koebler 13(Jason is a Science and Technology Reporter and graduated from [University of Maryland College Park](http://www.linkedin.com/edu/school?id=18570), March 14, “Report: Chinese Drone 'Swarms' Designed to Attack American Aircraft Carriers”, [http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2013/03/14/report-chinese-drone-swarms-designed-to-attack-ariersmerican-aircraft-car](http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2013/03/14/report-chinese-drone-swarms-designed-to-attack-american-aircraft-carriers))

"When the Chinese look at UAVs, **they see tremendous capabilities for high-**

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a way where they could be very innovative in terms of weapon systems."

#### Conflict in the South China Sea VERY LIKELY – it goes nuclear

Dupont 13[“High stakes tension on the China Seas”, Alan Dupont, The Australian, 12 March 2013]

It is clear that the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands in the East China Sea have

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rival North Korea's nuclear weapons program as East Asia's number one security concern.

#### And **carrier**-based deterrence maintains world peace – they prevent conflicts from escalating

**Admiral Johnson and General Krulak 97** (Jay is the Chief of Naval Operations and Charles is the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, “Forward Presence is Essential to American Interests”, <http://www.milnet.com/pentagon/navy/fwdpresn.htm>)

Also this morning, United States Navy amphibious assault ships carrying 4,400 combat

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right force, tailor-made for these uncertain and sometimes fiery times.

Deterrence is an empirically verifiable solution to war

Moore 04 – Dir. Center for Security Law @ University of Virginia, 7-time Presidential appointee, & Honorary Editor of the American Journal of International Law, Solving the War Puzzle: Beyond the Democratic Peace, John Norton Moore, page 27-31.

As so broadly conceived, there is strong evidence that deterrence, that is,

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totality of external factors, that is, deterrence, that become crucial.

## Advantage 2—Pakistan

#### **Current drone policy causes instability in Pakistan – leads to a coup**

Boyle 13 [Michael J., Assistant Professor of Political Science at La Salle University

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and scale ¶ of drone attacks than it was during the Bush administration.

#### Drones strikes in pakistan are not ending – Kerry’s statement was wrong

Mazzetti and Landler, 13 [Mark and Mark, NYT, “Despite Administration Promises, Few Changes in Drone War,” <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/03/us/politics/drone-war-rages-on-even-as-administration-talks-about-ending-it.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0>, ALB]

¶ ¶ There were more drone strikes in Pakistan last month than any month since

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Pakistan,” Mr. Zenko said, “or Yemen for that matter.”

#### **Drone strikes devestate stability and relations – prefer our authors they take into account drones effect on social fabric**

Boyle 13 [Michael J., Assistant Professor of Political Science at La Salle University in Philadelphia, “The costs and consequences of drone warfare,” <http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2013/89_1/89_1Boyle.pdf>, ALB]

Drone strikes have an invidious and subtle effect on the social fabric of the societies

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treats them as ¶ subservient accomplices to the brute exercise of American power.

Pakistani instability and a coup causes nuclear war

Pitt 09- a New York Times and internationally bestselling author of two books: "War on Iraq: What Team Bush Doesn't Want You to Know" and "The Greatest Sedition Is Silence." (5/8/09, William, “Unstable Pakistan Threatens the World,” http://www.arabamericannews.com/news/index.php?mod=article&cat=commentary&article=2183)

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But a suicide bomber in Pakistan rammed a car packed with explosives into a jeep filled with troops today, killing five and wounding as many as 21,

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Obama administration appears to be gravely serious about addressing the situation. So should we all.

#### **And current drone strategy destroys U.S.-Pakistan relations**

Boyle 13 [Michael J., Assistant Professor of Political Science at La Salle University in Philadelphia, “The costs and consequences of drone warfare,” <http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2013/89_1/89_1Boyle.pdf>, ALB]

First, the Pakistani government is under intense pressure from growing popular ¶ hostility to

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future of a nuclear-armed country seething with anti-American sentiment.

#### Strong US-Pakistan relations are a pre-requisite to resolve the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan – escalatory war

Bruce Riedel 08, senior fellow in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, (“Pakistan and Terror: The Eye of the Storm”, The annals of the American academy of political and social science, July, 2008, sage journals)

But this does not rule out an option that would involve a major effort to

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time to come to grips with what motivates Pakistan’s behavior and make peace.

#### Indo-Pak war culminates in extinction

Korb 12, Senior Fellow Center for American Progress, (Lawrence- Assistant Secretary of Defense under Reagan, (Lawrence, March/April, “No first use: The way to contain nuclear war in South Asia” Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Vol 68 No 2, p 34-42, SagePub)

In the twenty-first century, the Indian subcontinent has surpassed Europe as the

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no guarantees that it would choose to restrain itself after another such incident.

## Solvency

#### Authority of District Courts judges are the only way to solve- they are fast and effective

Rushforth 12 [Elinor June, Fall, Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law, There's An App For That: Implications Of Armed Drone Attacks And Personality Strikes By The United States Against Non-Citizens, 2004-2012, .D. candidate, University of Arizona, James E. Rogers College of Law, Class of 2013]

Regardless of the type of judicial mechanism used to ensure the lawfulness of a targeted

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branches will have to ensure they are not unconstitutionally restricting the President's authority.

#### Plan is the best policy for drones – Strict Scrutiny requires evidence based verification and definitional restraint to limit civilian casualties and reestablish credibility

Guiora, 12 [Amos, Professor of Law, SJ Quinney College of Law, University of Utah, author of numerous books dealing with military law and national security including Legitimate Target: A Criteria-Based Approach to Targeted Killing, “Drone Policy: A Proposal Moving Forward,” <http://jurist.org/forum/2013/03/amos-guiora-drone-policy.php>, ALB]

Targeted killing sits at the intersection of law, morality, strategy and policy.

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deeply troubling paradigm established by the Obama administration in the DOJ white paper.

#### Strict scrutiny undoubtedly prevents errors

Guiora 12(Amos, Professor of Law, SJ Quinney College of Law, University of Utah, author of numerous books dealing with military law and national security including Legitimate Target: A Criteria-Based Approach to Targeted Killing, 2012, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law, 45 Case W. Res. J. Int'l L. 235, “Presidential Powers and Foreign Affairs: Rendition and Targeted Killings of Americans: Targeted Killings: When Proportionality Gets All Out of Proportion”)

The unitary executive theory aggressively articulated, and implemented, by the Bush Administration has

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a court would significantly contribute to minimizing operational error that otherwise would occur.

#### Our epistemology is best- only judicial restrictions solve

Guiora 09(Amos, Professor of Law, SJ Quinney College of Law, University of Utah, author of numerous books dealing with military law and national security including Legitimate Target: A Criteria-Based Approach to Targeted Killing, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law, 2009, 42 Case W. Res. J. Int'l L. 273, “The Appropriate Venue for Trying Terrorist Case: Not "By All Means Necessary": A Comparative Framework for Post-9/11 Approaches to Counterterrorism”, Lexis)

I have advocated in my scholarship the absolute importance of active judicial review. [n27](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.701736.3455682287&target=results_DocumentContent&returnToKey=20_T18140477957&parent=docview&rand=1379025902592&reloadEntirePage=true#n27)

AND

response to Justice Jackson's unfettered executive concern is an active, interventionist Court.

#### There are no checks on drone use – the Plan’s rule-oriented process is the only solution

Crandall 12 [Carla, Law Clerk to the Honorable Laura Denvir Stith, Supreme Court of Missouri, J.D., “Ready…Fire…Aim! A Case for Applying American Due Process Principles Before Engaging in Drone Strikes,” April, Florida Journal of International Law, pg. lexis]

In November 2002, a drone operated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

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no restrictions on the use of force" against him or her. [n59](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?tokenKey=rsh-20.715167.991905467&target=results_DocumentContent&returnToKey=20_T17935585916&parent=docview&rand=1376007144291&reloadEntirePage=true" \l "n59)

Judicial review is the best – Executive can’t solve

Guiora, 13 [Amos N., Professor of Law, SJ Quinney College of Law, University of Utah, author of numerous books dealing with military law and national security including Legitimate Target: A Criteria-Based Approach to Targeted Killing, “Targeted Killing: When Proportionality Gets All Out of Proportion,” University of Utah College of Law Research Paper No. 1, <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2230686>, ALB]

Rather than relying on the executive branch making decisions in a “closed world”

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information to an independent judiciary as a precursor to engaging in operational counterterrorism.

#### No other oversight solves – every empirical example proves

Alston, 11 [Philip, Pomeroy Professor of Law, New York University School of Law, was UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions from 2004 until 2012, “The CIA and Targeted Killings Beyond Borders,” 2 Harv. Nat’l Sec. J. 283, pg. lexis, ALB]

2. Executive Oversight¶ The CIA identifies three executive oversight bodies examining its activities

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itself in this area, its outputs would almost certainly remain entirely secret.

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## International Norms

### A2: Economic Interdependence

#### Economic interdependence doesn’t check

**Auslin 13** (Michael – scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, The Sino-Japanese Standoff, National Review, 1/28/2013 , p. <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/338852/sinondashjapanese-standoff-michael-auslin?pg=2>)

This Sino–Japanese standoff also is a problem for the United States, which

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, and Asia could face its gravest crisis perhaps since World War II.

## Seabasing CP

#### Perm – Do both

#### Sealifts don’t solve because can’t move to respond to conflict wherever it occurs, that kills credible because only carriers have the firepower to stop global challengers

#### The CP causes China first strike

David C. Gompert, 8-2-13 (is an adjunct senior fellow and Terrence K. Kelly is the director of the Strategy, Doctrine, and Resources Program at the Arroyo Center at the nonprofit, nonpartisan RAND Corporation.; he served as President Obama's principal deputy director of national intelligence., “Escalation Cause: How the Pentagon's New Strategy Could Trigger War with China”, RanD)

Air-Sea Battle increases the odds that a crisis will turn violent. Already

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is a dangerous situation when both sides put a premium on early action.

#### Seabasing doesn’t solve and is delayed

**ABC NEWS 03** (“A Game of Chicken with Aircraft Carriers?” August 10, http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=79428&page=2)

Military planners have long considered using mobile platforms — fixed constructs that look like oil

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carriers forward because you don't have to pull the trigger," he said.

#### Setting a precedent that allows states to kill individuals in another state without their consent causes a world war

Close 98, Arab affairs specialist for the CIA for twenty-six years & an independent consultant on the region, 1998 (Raymond, “The Only Effective Defense Against Terrorism is To Rebuild America's Reputation For Fairness,” The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, November)

Despite U.S. government claims to the contrary, there is, in

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their national interests are similarly threatened. **This is how world wars start.**

### Links to PTX

#### Seabasing is unpopular—delays prove

Parker 10 (Commander Gregory J. Parker is a career naval aviator and recent Federal Executive Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He works on the OPNAV (Navy) staff at the Pentagon, "The future of seabasing", Armed Forces Journal, December 2010, http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/2010/12/4997685)

By the decade’s end, the Marines had circled the wagons around “Marine Corps

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2010. By all appearances, seabasing appeared to be on the ropes.

### Takes Too Long

#### Countries won’t let the U.S. build seabases and delays prevent them from solving

CBO 07 (Congressional Budget Office, "Sea Basing and Alternatives for Deploying and Sustaining Ground Combat Forces", July 2007, http://www.cbo.gov/doc.cfm?index=8284&type=0&sequence=4)

The more substantial the required support, the more limited the number of locations that

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sea-based alternatives and threats to aircraft in all of the alternatives.

## Turkey CP

#### Not textually competitive – Ought has no temporal function

Dictionary of Americanisms, ‘99

(1999, The Dictionary of Americanisms was originally created by John Russell Bartlett in 1848, This edition was re-copyrighted 1999-2006 – http://www.merrycoz.org/voices/bartlett/AMER10.HTM#o)

OUGHT. As this verb is defective, and has no inflection to distinguish past from present time, illiterate persons often attempt to supply the deficiency by the use of auxiliaries. Hence the expressions, don't ought, had ought, hadn't ought. Mr. Pegge notices the two last among the vulgarisms of London.

#### Resolved” Doesn’t Make You Compete, doesn’t lock Aff into “certainty”:

Merriam Webster ‘9

(http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/resolved)

# Main Entry: 1re·solve # Pronunciation: \ri-ˈzälv, -ˈzȯlv also -ˈzäv or -ˈzȯv\ # Function: verb # Inflected Form(s): **re·solved**; re·solv·ing 1 : to become separated into component parts; also : to become reduced by dissolving or analysis 2 : to form a resolution : determine 3 : **consult, deliberate**

#### “Resolved” doesn’t sever immediacy

Online Plain Text English Dictionary ‘9

(http://www.onelook.com/?other=web1913&w=Resolve)

Resolve: “To form a purpose; to make a decision; especially, **to determine after reflection**; as, to resolve on a better course of life.”

## Recommend/CIA/Executive CP

#### Only the Plan’s process, rule-oriented approach solves – key to rule of law

Guiora, 13 [Amos N., Professor of Law, SJ Quinney College of Law, University of Utah, author of numerous books dealing with military law and national security including Legitimate Target: A Criteria-Based Approach to Targeted Killing, “Targeted Killing: When Proportionality Gets All Out of Proportion,” University of Utah College of Law Research Paper No. 1, <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2230686>, ALB]

The U.S. drone policy raises profoundly important questions regarding the very nature

AND

, the approach articulated by Brennan on behalf of the administration is troubling.

#### Rule of law prevents extinction

IEER 03 (“Rule of Power or Rule of Law?”, [http://www.lcnp.org/pubs/exesummary.pdf](http://www.lcnp.org/pubs/exesummary.pdf" \t "_blank))

The evolution of international law since World War II is largely a response to the

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justice to which the United States is committed under the United Nations Charter.\

#### CP will get rolled back by future presidents

Friedersdorf 13

(CONOR FRIEDERSDORF, staff writer, “Does Obama Really Believe He Can Limit the Next President's Power?” MAY 28 2013, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/05/does-obama-really-believe-he-can-limit-the-next-presidents-power/276279/>,)

Obama doesn't seem to realize that his legacy won't be shaped by any perspicacious limits

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he or she can do it, in secret, per his precedent.

## Prez Powers DA

#### The Plan restores Obama’s credibility – that’s a pre-requisite to accessing their impact

Dietrich 13(Christopher R. W. Dietrich is assistant professor of History at Fordham University, 2-11, “[Bad Precedent: Obama’s Drone Doctrine is Nixon’s Cambodia Doctrine (Dietrich)](http://www.juancole.com/2013/02/precedent-cambodia-dietrich.html)”, <http://www.juancole.com/2013/02/precedent-cambodia-dietrich.html>)

The cynical manipulation of legal and historical precedent regarding unmanned targeted killings vehicles damages the

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rationalizes quashing speech and assassinating citizens without sound evidence of an imminent threat.

#### Obama has no leadership now

Robert Katula 13, 6-24-13 (Experienced Public Policy Analyst, Speaker, Mortgage Banker, Author, and Visionary Entrepreneur , “Will the President Ever Quit Straddling the Fence?”, http://thebigslice.org/will-the-president-ever-swing-for-the-fences-again/)

But I sense there is one more factor at work. It is presidential leadership

AND

by the end of the decade. He prevented a nuclear war too.

## Politics

#### No link – we’re the courts

Whittington 05 Keith E., Cromwell Professor of Politics – Princeton University, ““Interpose Your Friendly Hand”: Political Supports for the Exercise of Judicial Review by the United States Supreme Court”, American Political Science Review, 99(4), November, p. 585, 591-592

There are some issues that politicians cannot easily handle. For individual legislators, their

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action that political leaders want taken, as illustrated in the following case.

#### Obama doesn’t push the Plan - hates it

NYT 5-24-2013 (The End of the Perpetual War, lexis)

In the past, we have been deeply troubled by the administration's insistence that the

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contemptuously dismiss them as some of his advisers have done in the past.

No impact to debt ceiling

Collander 11, expert on the federal budget and congressional budget process who has worked on the staffs of the House and Senate Budget Committees and founded and edited Federal Budget Report, also has a graduate degree in public policy from UC Berkeley [Stan, “Don’t Believe the Scary Words You Hear About the Debt Ceiling”,http://www.capitalgainsandgames.com/blog/stan-collender/2104/dont-believe-scary-words-you-hear-about-debt-ceiling]

There is so much misinformation and grossly misleading talk about what will happen if the

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spectacle because of the debt ceiling are likely to be disappointed and frustrated.

Won’t pass now – healthcare is the key bargaining chip, NOT the Plan

Krugman 9-10 [Paul, professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University, “The Wonk Gap and the Debt Ceiling,” <http://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/10/the-wonk-gap-and-the-debt-ceiling/?_r=0>, ALB]

So, are we going to have a crisis over the debt ceiling again?

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words, the wonk gap might cause the GOP to stumble into disaster.

Obama will use 14th amendment authority to prevent impact

Kuttner 13 Robert Kuttner is co-founder and co-editor of The American Prospect, as well as a distinguished senior fellow of the think tank Demos. He was a longtime columnist for Business Week and continues to write columns in The Boston Globe. “The Endless Cliff,” 2013, http://prospect.org/article/endless-cliff

What can we expect going forward?¶ President Obama, having discovered that toughness works

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by Congress. This is a position long urged on Obama by Bill Clinton

Syria has WRECKED Obama’s political capital-NO DISAD

Khan, 9/11 [Naureen, Al Jazeera, “Obama pays high political price for fumbling on Syria, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/9/11/obama-pays-high-politicalpriceforhandlingofsyria.html>, ALB]

The Obama administration may have found a temporary way to stave off defeat on the

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“Some damage is done because he does look indecisive,” he said.

#### Full Agenda – several divisive fights coming now

AFT 9-6-13 (American Federation of Teachers, “Full Legislative Agenda Awaits Congress When it Returns,” <http://www.aft.org/newspubs/news/2013/090513congress.cfm>, Mike)

Although the situation in Syria will be the dominant concern when Congress returns to Washington

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the union's priorities in the coming months by contacting your senators and representatives.

#### No impact to the economy

Brandt and Ulfelder 11—\*Patrick T. Brandt, Ph.D. in Political Science from Indiana University, is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the School of Social Science at the University of Texas at Dallas. \*\*Jay Ulfelder, Ph.D. in political science from Stanford University, is an American political scientist whose research interests include democratization, civil unrest, and violent conflict. [April, 2011, “Economic Growth and Political Instability,” Social Science Research Network]

These statements anticipating political fallout from the global economic crisis of 2008–2010 reflect

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of the expected and apparent uptick in social unrest associated with the crisis.

**US not key to world economy.**

**Mastanduno 09, Prof Government @ Dartmouth**

Michael, System Maker and Privilege Taker, World Politics, 61.1

Further, the U.S. market is no longer the sole, indispensable

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share of total Asian exports fell from 25 percent to 20 percent.82