# Gonzaga Cards Round 5

## 1AC

#### Same as round 3.

## 2AC

### Terrorism

#### The 1AC has the best epistemology – social constructions are knowable – they pre-exist individuals and constrain action in predictable ways – prefer the specificity of the aff to broad philosophical indictments

Fluck, PhD in International Politics from Aberystwyth, ’10 (Matthew, November, “Truth, Values and the Value of Truth in Critical International Relations Theory” Millennium Journal of International Studies, Vol 39 No 2, SagePub)

Critical Realists arrive at their understanding of truth by inverting the post-positivist attitude; rather than asking what knowledge is like and structuring their account of the world accordingly, they assume that knowledge is possible and ask what the world must be like for that to be the case. 36 This position has its roots in the realist philosophy of science, where it is argued that scientists must assume that the theoretical entities they describe – atoms, gravity, bacteria and so on – are real, that they exist independently of thoughts or discourse. 37 Whereas positivists identify causal laws with recurrent phenomena, realists believe they are real tendencies and mechanisms. They argue that the only plausible explanation for the remarkable success of science is that theories refer to these real entities and mechanisms which exist independently of human experience. 38 Against this background, the Critical Realist philosopher Roy Bhaskar has argued that truth must have a dual aspect. On the one hand, it must refer to epistemic conditions and activities such as ‘reporting judgements’ and ‘assigning values’. On the other hand, it has an inescapably ontic aspect which involves ‘designating the states of affairs expressed and in virtue of which judgements are assigned the value “true’’’. In many respects the epistemic aspect must dominate; we can only identify truth through certain epistemic procedures and from within certain social contexts. Nevertheless, these procedures are oriented towards independent reality. The status of the conclusions they lead us to is not dependent on epistemic factors alone, but also on independently existing states of affairs. For this reason, Bhaskar argues that truth has a ‘genuinely ontological’ use. 39 Post-positivists would, of course, reply that whilst such an understanding of truth might be unproblematic in the natural sciences, in the social sciences the knower is part of the object known. This being the case, there cannot be an ontic aspect to the truths identified. Critical Realists accept that in social science there is interaction between subject and object; social structures involve the actions and ideas of social actors. 40 They add, however, that it does not follow that the structures in question are the creations of social scientists or that they are simply constituted through the ideas shared within society at a given moment. 41 According to Bhaskar, since we are born into a world of structures which precede us, we can ascribe independent existence to social structures on the basis of their pre-existence. We can recognise that they are real on the basis of their causal power – they have a constraining effect on our activity. 42 Critical Realists are happy to agree to an ‘epistemological relativism’ according to which knowledge is a social product created from a pre-existing set of beliefs, 43 but they maintain that the reality of social structures means that our beliefs about them can be more or less accurate – we must distinguish between the way things appear to us and the way they really are. There are procedures which enable us to rationally choose between accounts of reality and thereby arrive at more accurate understandings; epistemological relativism does not preclude judgemental rationalism. 44 It therefore remains possible to pursue the truth about social reality.

#### EFFORTS TO FIND A RADICAL THIRD OPTION TO THE WAR ON TERRORISM GENERATES A PATERNALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE OTHER AND TIES THE HANDS OF THE UNITED STATES PREVENTING ACTION TO STOP GENOCIDE, TERRORISM, SEXISM AND OTHER ATROCITIES—THE CHOICES ARE HARDLINE OR ANNIHILATION

Hanson 4 (Professor of Classical Studies at CSU Fresno, City Journal, Spring, City Journal, Spring, http://www.city-journal.org/html/14\_2\_the\_fruits.html)

Rather than springing from realpolitik, sloth, or fear of oil cutoffs, much of our appeasement of Middle Eastern terrorists derived from a new sort of anti-Americanism that thrived in the growing therapeutic society of the 1980s and 1990s. Though the abrupt collapse of communism was a dilemma for the Left, it opened as many doors as it shut. To be sure, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, few Marxists could argue for a state-controlled economy or mouth the old romance about a workers’ paradise—not with scenes of East German families crammed into smoking clunkers lumbering over potholed roads, like American pioneers of old on their way west. But if the creed of the socialist republics was impossible to take seriously in either economic or political terms, such a collapse of doctrinaire statism did not discredit the gospel of forced egalitarianism and resentment against prosperous capitalists. Far from it. If Marx receded from economics departments, his spirit reemerged among our intelligentsia in the novel guises of post-structuralism, new historicism, multiculturalism, and all the other dogmas whose fundamental tenet was that white male capitalists had systematically oppressed women, minorities, and Third World people in countless insidious ways. The font of that collective oppression, both at home and abroad, was the rich, corporate, Republican, and white United States. The fall of the Soviet Union enhanced these newer post-colonial and liberation fields of study by immunizing their promulgators from charges of fellow-traveling or being dupes of Russian expansionism. Communism’s demise likewise freed these trendy ideologies from having to offer some wooden, unworkable Marxist alternative to the West; thus they could happily remain entirely critical, sarcastic, and cynical without any obligation to suggest something better, as witness the nihilist signs at recent protest marches proclaiming: “I Love Iraq, Bomb Texas.” From writers like Arundhati Roy and Michel Foucault (who anointed Khomeini “a kind of mystic saint” who would usher in a new “political spirituality” that would “transfigure” the world) and from old standbys like Frantz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre (“to shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and the man he oppresses at the same time”), there filtered down a vague notion that the United States and the West in general were responsible for Third World misery in ways that transcended the dull old class struggle. Endemic racism and the legacy of colonialism, the oppressive multinational corporation and the humiliation and erosion of indigenous culture brought on by globalization and a smug, self-important cultural condescension—all this and more explained poverty and despair, whether in Damascus, Teheran, or Beirut. There was victim status for everybody, from gender, race, and class at home to colonialism, imperialism, and hegemony abroad. Anyone could play in these “area studies” that cobbled together the barrio, the West Bank, and the “freedom fighter” into some sloppy global union of the oppressed—a far hipper enterprise than rehashing Das Kapital or listening to a six-hour harangue from Fidel. Of course, pampered Western intellectuals since Diderot have always dreamed up a “noble savage,” who lived in harmony with nature precisely because of his distance from the corruption of Western civilization. But now this fuzzy romanticism had an updated, political edge: the bearded killer and wild-eyed savage were not merely better than we because they lived apart in a pre-modern landscape. No: they had a right to strike back and kill modernizing Westerners who had intruded into and disrupted their better world—whether Jews on Temple Mount, women in Westernized dress in Teheran, Christian missionaries in Kabul, capitalist profiteers in Islamabad, whiskey-drinking oilmen in Riyadh, or miniskirted tourists in Cairo. An Ayatollah Khomeini who turned back the clock on female emancipation in Iran, who murdered non-Muslims, and who refashioned Iranian state policy to hunt down, torture, and kill liberals nevertheless seemed to liberal Western eyes as preferable to the Shah—a Western-supported anti-communist, after all, who was engaged in the messy, often corrupt task of bringing Iran from the tenth to the twentieth century, down the arduous, dangerous path that, as in Taiwan or South Korea, might eventually lead to a consensual, capitalist society like our own. Yet in the new world of utopian multiculturalism and knee-jerk anti-Americanism, in which a Noam Chomsky could proclaim Khomeini’s gulag to be “independent nationalism,” reasoned argument was futile. Indeed, how could critical debate arise for those “committed to social change,” when no universal standards were to be applied to those outside the West? Thanks to the doctrine of cultural relativism, “oppressed” peoples either could not be judged by our biased and “constructed” values (“false universals,” in Edward Said’s infamous term) or were seen as more pristine than ourselves, uncorrupted by the evils of Western capitalism.¶ Who were we to gainsay Khomeini’s butchery and oppression? We had no way of understanding the nuances of his new liberationist and “nationalist” Islam. Now back in the hands of indigenous peoples, Iran might offer the world an alternate path, a different “discourse” about how to organize a society that emphasized native values (of some sort) over mere profit. So at precisely the time of these increasingly frequent terrorist attacks, the silly gospel of multiculturalism insisted that Westerners have neither earned the right to censure others, nor do they possess the intellectual tools to make judgments about the relative value of different cultures. And if the initial wave of multiculturalist relativism among the elites—coupled with the age-old romantic forbearance for Third World roguery—explained tolerance for early unpunished attacks on Americans, its spread to our popular culture only encouraged more.¶ This nonjudgmentalism—essentially a form of nihilism—deemed everything from Sudanese female circumcision to honor killings on the West Bank merely “different” rather than odious. Anyone who has taught freshmen at a state university can sense the fuzzy thinking of our undergraduates: most come to us prepped in high schools not to make “value judgments” about “other” peoples who are often “victims” of American “oppression.” Thus, before female-hating psychopath Mohamed Atta piloted a jet into the World Trade Center, neither Western intellectuals nor their students would have taken him to task for what he said or condemned him as hypocritical for his parasitical existence on Western society. Instead, without logic but with plenty of romance, they would more likely have excused him as a victim of globalization or of the biases of American foreign policy. They would have deconstructed Atta’s promotion of anti-Semitic, misogynist, Western-hating thought, as well as his conspiracies with Third World criminals, as anything but a danger and a pathology to be remedied by deportation or incarceration

### Leadership

#### We solve the nuclearism turn – imagining dystopian outcomes allow us to transfer socio-political practices to resolve questions of structural violence.

Kurasawa, Professor of Sociology at York University of Toronto, ‘4

[Fuyuki, Constellations, Vol. 11, Issue 4, JL]

Rather than bemoaning the contemporary preeminence of a dystopian imaginary, I am claiming that it can enable a novel form of transnational socio-political action, a manifestation of globalization from below that can be termed preventive foresight. We should not reduce the latter to a formal principle regulating international relations or an ensemble of policy prescriptions for official players on the world stage, since it is, just as significantly, a mode of ethico-political practice enacted by participants in the emerging realm of global civil society. In other words, what I want to underscore is the work of farsightedness, the social processes through which civic associations are simultaneously constituting and putting into practice a sense of responsibility for the future by attempting to prevent global catastrophes. Although the labor of preventive foresight takes place in varying political and socio-cultural settings – and with different degrees of institutional support and access to symbolic and material resources – it is underpinned by three distinctive features: dialogism, publicity, and transnationalism. In the first instance, preventive foresight is an intersubjective or dialogical process of address, recognition, and response between two parties in global civil society: the ‘warners,’ who anticipate and send out word of possible perils, and the audiences being warned, those who heed their interlocutors’ messages by demanding that governments and/or international organizations take measures to steer away from disaster. Secondly, the work of farsightedness derives its effectiveness and legitimacy from public debate and deliberation. This is not to say that a fully fledged global public sphere is already in existence, since transnational “strong publics” with decisional power in the formal-institutional realm are currently embryonic at best. Rather, in this context, publicity signifies that “weak publics” with distinct yet occasionally overlapping constituencies are coalescing around struggles to avoid specific global catastrophes.4 Hence, despite having little direct decision-making capacity, the environmental and peace movements, humanitarian NGOs, and other similar globally-oriented civic associations are becoming significant actors involved in public opinion formation. Groups like these are active in disseminating information and alerting citizens about looming catastrophes, lobbying states and multilateral organizations from the ‘inside’ and pressuring them from the ‘outside,’ as well as fostering public participation in debates about the future. This brings us to the transnational character of preventive foresight, which is most explicit in the now commonplace observation that we live in an interdependent world because of the globalization of the perils that humankind faces (nuclear annihilation, global warming, terrorism, genocide, AIDS and SARS epidemics, and so on); individuals and groups from far-flung parts of the planet are being brought together into “risk communities” that transcend geographical borders.5 Moreover, due to dense media and information flows, knowledge of impeding catastrophes can instantaneously reach the four corners of the earth – sometimes well before individuals in one place experience the actual consequences of a crisis originating in another. My contention is that civic associations are engaging in dialogical, public, and transnational forms of ethico-political action that contribute to the creation of a fledgling global civil society existing ‘below’ the official and institutionalized architecture of international relations.6 The work of preventive foresight consists of forging ties between citizens; participating in the circulation of flows of claims, images, and information across borders; promoting an ethos of farsighted cosmopolitanism; and forming and mobilizing weak publics that debate and struggle against possible catastrophes. Over the past few decades, states and international organizations have frequently been content to follow the lead of globally- minded civil society actors, who have been instrumental in placing on the public agenda a host of pivotal issues (such as nuclear war, ecological pollution, species extinction, genetic engineering, and mass human rights violations). To my mind, this strongly indicates that if prevention of global crises is to eventually rival the assertion of short-term and narrowly defined rationales (national interest, profit, bureaucratic self-preservation, etc.), weak publics must begin by convincing or compelling official representatives and multilateral organizations to act differently; only then will farsightedness be in a position to ‘move up’ and become institutionalized via strong publics.7 Since the global culture of prevention remains a work in progress, the argument presented in this paper is poised between empirical and normative dimensions of analysis. It proposes a theory of the practice of preventive foresight based upon already existing struggles and discourses, at the same time as it advocates the adoption of certain principles that would substantively thicken and assist in the realization of a sense of responsibility for the future of humankind. I will thereby proceed in four steps, beginning with a consideration of the shifting socio-political and cultural climate that is giving rise to farsightedness today (I). I will then contend that the development of a public aptitude for early warning about global cataclysms can overcome flawed conceptions of the future’s essential inscrutability (II). From this will follow the claim that an ethos of farsighted cosmopolitanism – of solidarity that extends to future generations – can supplant the preeminence of ‘short-termism’ with the help of appeals to the public’s moral imagination and use of reason (III). In the final section of the paper, I will argue that the commitment of global civil society actors to norms of precaution and transnational justice can hone citizens’ faculty of critical judgment against abuses of the dystopian imaginary, thereby opening the way to public deliberation about the construction of an alternative world order (IV).

### Appropriations CP

#### Perm do both

#### Terrorism DA - Civilian trials fail – give away secrets and hurt cooperation.

Harvey, et al, ‘9

[Albert (Chair¶ Standing Committee on¶ Law and National Security¶ American Bar Association); Suzanne Spalding (Advisory Committee Chair¶ Standing Committee on¶ Law and National Security¶ American Bar Association); Richard Friedman (President and Chair¶ National Strategy Forum); M.E. Spike Bowman (Distinguished Fellow¶ University of Virginia School of Law); Deborah Pearlstein (Visiting Scholar¶ Program in Law and Public Affairs¶ Princeton University); Peter Raven-Hansen (Professor of Law¶ George Washington University Law ¶ School); and Harvey Rishikof (Professor of Law and National Security ¶ Studies¶ National War College), “Trying Terrorists ¶ in Article III Courts ¶ Challenges and Lessons Learned”, American Bar Association Standing Committee on ¶ Law and National Security, National Strategy Forum, McCormick Foundation, RSR]

First, the disclosure of evidence in some terrorism trials may force a ¶ decision about whether to expose important intelligence gathering priorities, ¶ methods, and sources. This exposure may lead to conflicting interests between ¶ U.S. intelligence and law enforcement agencies; the risk of conflict is no less ¶ substantial when using sensitive evidence as opposed to classified evidence.17 In ¶ addition, it is not always clear at the outset which intelligence information will be ¶ valuable in the future, meaning that intelligence agencies are resistant to disclosing any intelligence information unless its secrecy can be adequately safeguarded and its use will result in meaningful benefits to the government.¶ Second, the use of classified and sensitive evidence obtained from the ¶ intelligence arm of a foreign government can pose an obstacle to future cooperation between the United States and the foreign government. Intelligence information is often shared between governments with the express understanding that ¶ such cooperation will remain secret. In terrorism trials, the prosecution may face ¶ the dilemma of either (i) turning over the evidence of foreign cooperation and ¶ thereby undermining the trust of the foreign government, (ii) proceeding with ¶ litigation on a more restricted set of evidence, or, in some rare cases, (iii) withdrawing some charges against the defendant.¶ Third, where a secret informant only cooperates with U.S. intelligence ¶ under assurances that she will never be identified or have to testify in an American courtroom, prosecutors and intelligence officials may be faced with losing a ¶ valuable intelligence source for the purpose of prosecuting a single (or a small ¶ group of) terrorist suspect(s). The higher value the informant, the less likely ¶ the intelligence service will agree to such disclosure, meaning that the prosecution may be forced to proceed on significantly less evidence. This problem also ¶ arises where the source is a foreign intelligence agent barred from testifying in an ¶ American courtroom by her own government. A few discussants argued, however, that these were merely practical barriers for the prosecution that can be, and ¶ in past cases have been, overcome, for example, by renegotiating with an intelligence source or engaging in diplomacy with a foreign government on a case-bycase basis. Some discussants urged that criminal prosecutors often handle issues ¶ pertaining to reluctant and secret witnesses, meaning that prosecutors can continue to do so in terrorism trials. However, other discussants disagreed, asserting that the national security, intelligence, and foreign relations implications of ¶ handling secret witnesses in terrorism trials are different and more complex than ¶ secrecy considerations typically at issue in traditional criminal trials. Fourth, there was general consensus that the government increases its ¶ discovery burden in terrorism cases when it seeks the death penalty. Thus, a ¶ majority of the discussants agreed that the prosecution would mitigate some of ¶ the practical and foreign affairs challenges by not seeking the death penalty in ¶ some terrorism cases. Moreover, some discussants intimated that many foreign ¶ governments might categorically refuse to cooperate with U.S. intelligence and ¶ law enforcement if the government could use the information as evidence in a ¶ future capital case. As a result, some workshop participants agreed that removing ¶ the death penalty as a potential punishment for terrorists would greatly benefit the prosecution as well as U.S. intelligence and foreign relations. However, at ¶ least one discussant noted that public and political pressures may not permit the ¶ government to categorically remove the death penalty as a punishment for terrorists. Ultimately, there was no agreement about whether the United States should ¶ remove the death penalty as a punishment in terrorism cases as a matter of policy, ¶ merely recognition that seeking the death penalty can intensify some of the discovery and foreign affairs challenges facing the government.

#### Logistics DA - Civilian courts won’t work – not operationally built to try terrorists.

Sulmasy 9 (Glenn Sulmasy Chairman, Department of Humanities, Professor of Law US Coast Guard Academy “The Need for a National Security Court System” Journal of Civil Rights and Economic Development, Issue 4, Vol. 23, Article 5 Spring 2009)

There are some, many of whom are here today at St. John's Law School¶ for this symposium, who advocate the use of the current civilian court¶ system to try these suspects.13 The civilian court system as established in¶ Article III of the Constitution, however, is not the appropriate system to¶ adjudicate these hybrid cases. There are numerous substantive and¶ procedural problems with trying terror suspects in Article III courts.¶ Constitutional Criminal Procedure¶ Applications of the Fourth and Fifth Amendments to the War on al¶ Qaeda are prime examples of reasons why this construct is as unworkable¶ as the military commissions have been (albeit for very different reasons).¶ Combat officers in Afghanistan and Iraq are not police officers - nor¶ should they ever be required to function in this capacity. They are there¶ overseas to fight and win wars. It is unreasonable to expect soldiers to¶ issue Miranda warnings to detainees, or require them to obtain search¶ warrants before searches or seizing evidence. Simply, such law¶ enforcement requirements are not issues on the mind of soldiers fighting¶ stateless enemies in Iraq and Afghanistan who have evidence that could be¶ used for prosecutions later. Although these concerns would be unthinkable¶ seven years ago, since the Court's Boumedienel4 decision, it is debatable¶ whether other Constitutional rights would be afforded to these suspects.¶ American soldiers should be concerned with combating the enemy, not¶ with providing Miranda statements upon the initiation of battle, or storming¶ an al Qaeda safe house and the subsequent detention of suspected terrorists.¶ Such notions are ludicrous.¶ Juries¶ Furthermore, consider the jury issues associated with trying the alleged¶ international terrorists in our Article III courts. Imagine the attempts made¶ to empanel an unbiased jury for any of these cases. A "jury of your peers"¶ in accordance with U.S. jurisprudence for trying Khalid Sheik-Mohamed¶ would be impossible within the continental United States. Additionally,¶ any juries would require lifetime protective details.¶ Judges¶ Also, it appears ill advised to use traditional Article III judges to make¶ determinations on such matters of nuanced and niche areas of the law, such¶ as the law of armed conflict, intelligence law, human rights law, etc. In¶ other areas of so called "niche law" - immigration, bankruptcy - we have¶ created separate court systems with specialized judges presiding. The¶ reality is that not all U.S. district court judges have the experience in the¶ law of war, intelligence law, international law, human rights, etc., that¶ would be required to properly conduct a trial for an alleged enemy of the United States (and part of an ongoing armed conflict). If we are serious¶ about using a civilian system to try the detainees, we need judges that are¶ versed in these areas of the law to preside.¶ Protective Details¶ Also, like the jury issues, the impractical reality of protecting judges has¶ emerged. The issues of judge protection may sound mundane right now,¶ but they are considerable in terms of cost and time, becoming more¶ important within the realistic framework of 21 t century jurisprudence.¶ Few would contend with the fact that judges trying these suspects would be¶ targets for future terrorist attacks. Using the existing district courts across¶ the country would require the adoption of new security procedures, massive¶ structural overhauls, additional security personnel, and the expenditure of¶ large amounts of money that the federal government does not have.¶ Civilian Prisons¶ Not only would the trial of these suspects in district courts present major¶ problems, the actual physical detention of these suspects using domestic¶ prisons is also highly problematic. It seems unlikely that many members of¶ Congress would actually volunteer to have these detainees moved from¶ Guantanamo Bay to their legislative districts. In fact, in July of 2007, the¶ Senate voted 94 to 3 to not move the detainees into the United States. 15

### Politics DA

#### Shutdown now – Senate is too slow and House too divided.

Washington Post 9/28 (http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/senate-poised-to-vote-on-spending-measure-that-house-republicans-vow-to-reject/2013/09/27/5e5bc59c-2778-11e3-b75d-5b7f66349852\_story.html)

With Washington barreling toward a government shutdown, a deadlocked Congress entered the final weekend of the fiscal year with no clear ideas of how to avoid furloughs for more than 800,000 federal workers. Millions more could be left without paychecks.¶ The Senate on Friday approved a stopgap government funding bill and promptly departed, leaving all of the pressure to find a solution on House Republican leaders.¶ President Obama weighed in, sternly lecturing GOP leaders that the easiest path forward would be to approve the Senate’s bill, which includes money for the implementation of the Affordable Care Act, the president’s prized legislation achievement, which he signed into law in 2010. But a far-right bloc of House and Senate Republicans banded together to leave House Speaker John A. Boehner (R-Ohio) virtually powerless to act.¶ “My message to Congress is this: Do not shut down the government. Do not shut down the economy. Pass a budget on time,” Obama said in the White House press briefing room.¶ Boehner’s leadership team offered no public comment and remained out of sight most of Friday, hunkering down for another weekend on the brink. For Boehner, this is the latest in a series of unstable moments that have become the hallmark of his three-year run as speaker.¶ With a stroke-of-midnight deadline Monday, Senate Majority Leader Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) said Democrats would reject any conservative add-ons that Boehner might attach to the funding bill. That would further delay passage, and given the staunch opposition from Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.), who has suggested that he will not help move the process along, the slow-moving Senate would require up to a week to approve something even if Reid were amenable to the changes. That sets the stage for a shutdown Tuesday.¶ “We’ve passed the only bill that can avert a government shutdown Monday night. I said this on the floor, I say it again: This is it, time is gone,” Reid said Friday after the midday passage of the funding bill on a party-line vote.¶ Before that final roll call, Cruz’s attempt to filibuster the legislation was throttled in a bipartisan 79-to-19 vote, but the first-year senator drew support from nearly half the rank-and-file Republicans in defiance of Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.).

#### Shutdown will happen – no compromise on the Obamacare provision.

Slate 9/28 (http://www.slate.com/blogs/the\_slatest/2013/09/28/republicans\_seek\_delay\_in\_obamacare\_make\_shutdown\_more\_likely.html)

In a rare weekend meeting in the Capitol, Republicans seem to be getting ready to double down. House Republican leaders are calling on their rank-and-file to approve funding for the federal government as long as Obamacare is delayed for a year and the medical device tax used to fund part of health care reform is repealed. Those two measures would be attached to a spending bill that would fund the federal government through Dec. 15, reports the Wall Street Journal. That proposal immediately seems to make a government shutdown on Tuesday far more likely because President Obama and Democrats in the Senate have long said they would reject any effort to limit the health care reform.¶ The Washington Post points out that even as Republican leaders are advocating an aggressive stance on the shutdown question, they’re still “trying to put in a few sweeteners to deal with the fallout of when the government shuts down.” A key sweetener would be a measure that funds the military in the event of a shutdown. So far at least, it seems Republicans aren’t really that worried about causing a shutdown. After Speaker John Boehner outlined the plan to Republicans in a closed-door meeting, “members could be heard cheering outside the room in a Capitol basement,” reports the Hill. Lawmakers apparently chanted, "Vote! Vote! Vote!" after hearing the plan.

#### PC low and fails for fiscal fights

Greg Sargent 9-12, September 12th, 2013, "The Morning Plum: Senate conservatives stick the knife in House GOP leaders," Washington Post, factiva

All of this underscores a basic fact about this fall's fiscal fights: Far and away the dominant factor shaping how they play out will be the divisions among Republicans. There's a great deal of chatter (see Senator Bob Corker for one of the most absurd examples yet) to the effect that Obama's mishandling of Syria has diminished his standing on Capitol Hill and will weaken him in coming fights. But those battles at bottom will be about whether the Republican Party can resolve its internal differences. Obama's "standing" with Republicans -- if it even could sink any lower -- is utterly irrelevant to that question.¶ The bottom line is that, when it comes to how aggressively to prosecute the war against Obamacare, internal GOP differences may be unbridgeable. Conservatives have adopted a deliberate strategy of deceiving untold numbers of base voters into believing Obamacare will be stopped outside normal electoral channels. Central to maintaining this fantasy is the idea that any Republican leader who breaks with this sacred mission can only be doing so because he or she is too weak and cowardly to endure the slings and arrows that persevering against the law must entail. GOP leaders, having themselves spent years feeding the base all sorts of lies and distortions about the law, are now desperately trying to inject a does of reality into the debate by pointing out that the defund-Obamacare crusade is, in political and practical terms alike, insane. But it may be too late. The time for injecting reality into the debate has long since passed.

#### Debt ceiling downgrade won’t hurt the economy---empirics

Brian Dooley 12, "Will US debt rating be downgraded again?", 12/29, [www.royalgazette.com/article/20121229/BUSINESS08/712299981](http://www.royalgazette.com/article/20121229/BUSINESS08/712299981)

So what happens when the world’s largest bond sector faces a potential downgrade due to political instability, runaway budget deficits and an anaemic economic recovery?¶ The answer might be found in what was witnessed last year at the time of the S&P downgrade, which also involved longer term US securities being placed on “negative watch”. S&P said they believed “the fiscal consolidation plan that Congress and the Administration recently agreed fell short of what is necessary to stabilise the government’s medium term debt dynamics”. The downgrade was prompted by the debt ceiling debate which requires Congress to approve increases in America’s debt capacity at regular intervals.¶ S&P argued that the predictability and effectiveness of American policymaking had both declined to a level of concern and cited pessimism that Congress and the Administration could bridge the vast gulf between the two main political parties. In short, the agency took a “show me” attitude about America being able to hammer out an effective plan which put the country back on track.¶ Oddly enough, Treasury bond prices had actually been increasing in the midst of the debt ceiling debate in the summer of 2011 as investors grew sanguine about the prospects for a successful budget negotiation. Prices rose and yields fell right up until the day of the downgrade after which bonds sold off sharply. On that day, the benchmark ten-year US Treasury bond yield ticked up to from 2.47 percent to 2.58 percent and prices of bonds declined across the curve.¶ Immediately after the S&P downgrade, however, investors shrugged off the news and Treasury bonds resumed their rally into the end of the year. Perhaps bond buyers were encouraged that an agreement had finally been struck and that Moody’s and Fitch, the two other major credit rating agencies had not followed the S&P action. Massive bond buying the US Federal Reserve didn’t hurt either.

### Judicial Deference

#### Lack of Congressional clarity within the NDAA causes judicial activism that hampers executive flexibility. The plan is key to reverse that.

Horowitz, J.D. Candidate at Fordham University, ‘13

[Colby, “CREATING A MORE MEANINGFUL ¶ DETENTION STATUTE: LESSONS LEARNED ¶ FROM HEDGES V. OBAMA”, Fordham Law Review, Vol. 81, 2013, RSR]

This part recommends ways to improve section 1021, with the goal of ¶ creating a clearer, more meaningful detention statute. In section 1021, ¶ Congress simply codified verbatim the executive branch’s interpretation of ¶ detention authority.350 Congress failed to define or limit key terms like ¶ “substantial support” or “associated forces,” and thus abdicated its role in ¶ shaping the substantive parameters of executive detention. This section ¶ recommends ways to improve a future detention statute and includes some ¶ proposed definitions of key detention criteria. ¶ A vague and unclear detention statute harms the separation of powers ¶ between the three branches. As Justice Jackson’s widely accepted ¶ Youngstown framework explains,351 executive war powers are relational to ¶ Congress, and the judiciary decides what Congress has or has not ¶ authorized—thus all three branches have a role. Vague statutes enhance the ¶ power of the judiciary at the expense of the legislature for two reasons. ¶ First, vague statutes make congressional intent unclear and give the courts ¶ significant discretion to determine if the President is in Zone 1, 2, or 3.352¶ Second, vague statutes invite close judicial scrutiny because they ¶ demonstrate to the courts that the political process has failed.353 Thus, ¶ vague congressional authorizations that attempt to delegate broad authority ¶ to the President can be counterproductive because, instead of empowering ¶ the President, they actually empower the courts.354¶ In addition to expanding the role of the judiciary, vague statutes create ¶ uncertainty for the executive. The President cannot act quickly and ¶ decisively if the limits of his authority are unclear.355 Finally, Congress ¶ plays an important role in detention policy, and vague statutes like section 1021 represent a congressional abdication of that role.356 Congressional ¶ legislation is essential when creating long-term, effective antiterrorism ¶ policies that have a solid legal foundation.357 This Note recommends ¶ substantive changes to section 1021 to make it a clearer, more meaningful ¶ congressional statement about the limits of indefinite executive detention. ¶ The major recommendations are: (1) move away from the AUMF; ¶ (2) provide specific definitions of key terms (proposed definitions are ¶ suggested); (3) exclude protected First Amendment activities; and ¶ (4) include a clear statement about the indefinite detention of American ¶ citizens.

#### We’re key to make hegemony effective - our credibility internals solve the impact better than flexibility

Schwarz, senior counsel, and Huq, associate counsel at the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law, 2007 [Frederick A.O., Jr., partner at Cravath, Swaine & Moore, chief counsel to the Church Committee, and Aziz Z, former clerk for the U.S. Supreme Court, Unchecked and Unbalanced: Presidential Power in a Time of Terror, p. 201]

The Administration insists that its plunge into torture, its lawless spying, and its lock-up of innocents have made the country safer. Beyond mere posturing, they provide little evidence to back up their claims. Executive unilateralism not only undermines the delicate balance of our Constitution, but also lessens our human liberties and hurts vital counterterrorism campaigns. How? Our reputation has always mattered. In 1607, Massachusetts governor John Winthrop warned his fellow colonists that because they were a "City on a Hill," "the eyes of all people are upon us."4 Thomas Jefferson began the Declaration of Independence by invoking the need for a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind:' In today's battle against stateless terrorists, who are undeterred by law, morality, or the mightiest military power on earth, our reputation matters greatly.¶ Despite its military edge, the United States cannot force needed aid and cooperation from allies. Indeed, our status as lone superpower means that only by persuading other nations and their citizens—that our values and interests align with theirs, and so merit support, can America maintain its influence in the world. Military might, even extended to the globe's corners, is not a sufficient condition for achieving America's safety or its democratic ideals at home. To be "dictatress of the world," warned John Quincy Adams in 1821, America "would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit." A national security policy loosed from the bounds of law, and conducted at the executive's discretion, will unfailingly lapse into hypocrisy and mendacity that alienate our allies and corrode the vitality of the world's oldest democracy.5

#### The aff doesn’t link – limits judicial creativity while resulting in quick prosecutions.

McCarthy and Velshi, ‘9

[Andrew (Director of the Center for Law & Counterterrorism at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies) and Alykhan (staff attorney at the Center for Law & Counterterrorism, where he focuses on the international law of armed conflict and the use of force), “We Need a National Security Court”, Submission for AEI, 2009, RSR]

What is an asset in the criminal justice system, however, would be a liability in a system whose priority is not justice for the individual but the security of the American people. That liability, though, can be satisfactorily rectified by clear procedural rules which underscore that the overriding mission – into which the judicial function is being imported for very limited purposes – remains executive and military. The default position of the criminal justice system would not carry over to a system conceived for enemies of the United States – i.e., terrorist operatives who would not be facing NSC trials in the first place absent a finding, tested by judicial review, that they were alien enemy combatants. ¶ In such a system, the opportunities for judicial creativity would be limited by being plainspoken and unapologetic in enabling legislation about the fact that the defendants are not Americans but those who mean America harm; that the task of federal judges is not to ensure that defendants are considered as equals to our government before the bar of justice, but merely to ensure that they are not capriciously convicted of war crimes by the same branch of government that is prosecuting the war; that if credible and convincing evidence supports the allegations, the system’s preference is that defendants be convicted and harshly sentenced; and that the authority of judges is enumerated and finite – if the rules as promulgated do not expressly provide for the defendant to have particular relief, the judge is powerless to direct it. In short, the system would curb judicial excess by the recognition, which underlies the military justice system, that prosecuting war remains a quintessentially executive endeavor; in the NSC, judges would be a check against arbitrariness but they would not have any general supervisory authority over the conduct of proceedings and they would not be at liberty to create new entitlements by analogizing to ordinary criminal proceedings.

### Fem K

#### Our interpretation is that debate should be a question of the aff plan versus a competitive policy option or the status quo.

#### This is key to ground and predictablity – infinite number of possible kritik alternatives or things the negative could reject explodes the research burden. That’s a voting issue.

#### The process of policy debate solves the case. Positive freedom can only be attained within the context of ongoing political processes and engagement.

Dietz 87 (Mary G. Dietz, Professor of Political Science and Gender Studies Program at Northwestern University, “Context Is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship”, Daedalus, Vol. 116, No. 4, Fall, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20025121)

The key idea here is that citizenship must be conceived of as a continuous activity and a good in itself, not as a momentary engagement (or a socialist revolution) with an eye to a final goal or a societal arrangement. This does not mean, of course, that democratic citizens do not pursue specific social and economic ends. Politics is about such things, after all, and the debates and discussions of civic peers will necessarily center on issues of social, political, and economic concern to the community. But at the same time the democratic vision is, and feminist citizenship must be, more than this. Perhaps it is best to say that this is a vision fixed not on an end but rather inspired by a principle – freedom - and by a political activity - positive liberty. That activity is a demanding process that never ends, for it means engaging in public debate and sharing responsibility for self-government. What I am pressing for, in both theory and practice, is a feminist revitalization of this activity. The reader who has followed me this far is perhaps now wondering whether I have not simply reduced feminist political conscious ness to democratic consciousness, leaving nothing in this vision of feminist citizenship for feminism itself. In concluding these reflections, let me suggest why I think the revitalization of democratic citizenship is an especially appropriate task for feminists to undertake. Although the argument can be made more generally, I will direct my remarks to feminism in the United States.

#### Case outweighs. Extinction is irreversible. Logically prior to their impact claims.

#### Perm do both: Feminist reform of liberal democracy is possible and good.

Dietz 87 (Mary G. Dietz, Professor of Political Science and Gender Studies Program at Northwestern University, “Context Is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship”, Daedalus, Vol. 116, No. 4, Fall, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20025121)

By this I do not mean to suggest that feminists who proceed from the question of access are doing something unhelpful or unimportant. On the contrary, by using gender as a unit of analysis, feminist scholars have revealed the inegalitarianism behind the myth of equal opportunity and made us aware of how such presumptions deny the social reality of unequal treatment, sexual discrimination, cultural stereotypes, and women's subordination both at home and in the marketplace. To the extent that this sort of gender analysis leads to positive political programs -the extension of pregnancy leaves, affirmative action plans, child-care facilities, comparable-worth wages, sexual harassment laws, health care benefits - feminists give indispensable assistance to liberal practice.

#### **Discourse must be combined with interventions at the policy level to change the knowledge economy of terrorism**

Graham et. al. 4 (Phillip W., Sen. Public Health Researcher @ RTI International, Discourse and Society, 2004, 15(2-3). pp. 199-221., Muse) JPG

Martin and Rose (2003) suggest that the challenge for discourse analysis is to show how emancipation, as well as domination, is achieved through discourse; that an analytical focus on ‘hegemony’ must be balanced with a focus on discourses of empowerment—discourses designed to ‘make peace, not war’, that successfully ‘redistribute power without necessarily struggling against it’ (2003: 264; cf Martin, 1999); and that analysis needs to move away from ‘demonology’ and ‘deconstruction’ towards the design of ‘constructive’ discourse (Martin, in press). These are certainly important considerations for the theory and practice of discourse analysis. At least as important to our mind are clear understandings of macro-social, -cultural, and -economic changes, all of which can be seen quite clearly from a discourse-historical perspective—in a process of historical *reconstruction*—to grasp human history as a seamless, unbroken whole. It has become clear that in what is called “a global knowledge economy”, meanings and their mediations perform increasingly important and overt political-economic functions (cf. Graham, 2002; Fairclough and Graham, 2002). The sole social function of academics is, and always has been, ‘to influence discourse’ (David Rooney, personal correspondence)—that is all we can do as academics, whether through teaching, writing, or through the manifold arts of activism. Feudalism was tied to land and militarism; mercantilism was tied to gold and mercenary armies; capitalism was tied to ownership of productive apparatus and imperialism; corporatism is tied to the ownership of legal fictions—money, corporations, and intellectual property—and ‘information warfare’, all of which are products of discourse (Graham, 2002). Each of these developments—each stage in the ‘phylogenesis’ of western economic systems (Martin, 2003: 266)—has tended towards an increasing reliance on abstract- discursive rather than brute-physical coercion in the maintenance of inequalities.The current political economic system, as transitional as it may be, is undoubtedly the most discourse- and media-reliant system in history, precisely because of its size and the high levels of abstraction that both support it and constitute the bulk of its commodities (Graham, 2000). Understanding this means understanding the importance and potential of discursive interventions. The Pentagon’s ‘Total Information Awareness’ program fully recognises this (DARPA, 2003). Similarly, whichever group perpetrated the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon also fully recognised it: the attacks were directed at symbolic centres of a globally hegemonic system and were designed specifically for their mass media impact. Merely exposing facts and breaking silences (as per Chomsky and Pilger) is not enough either; the current malaise is primarily axiological (values-based). Discursive interventions at the axiological level are necessary in the policy field, in the multiple fields of mass media, and in every local field. Ours is a discourse-based global society, a discourse-based global economy, and a discourse-based global culture. Consequently, humanity has never been so close to realising our ‘species-being’ (Marx, 1844/1975: ch 4)—our universal humanity—whilst simultaneously being so close to achieving self-annihilation. Discursive interventions will necessarily be decisive in the outcome between these two paths

#### Liberal internationalism doesn’t link – it espouses many of the cooperative values of feminist theory.

Recchia and Doyle, ‘11

[Stefano (Assistant Professor in International Relations at the University of Cambridge) and Michael (Harold Brown Professor of International Affairs, Law and Political Science at Columbia University), “Liberalism in International Relations”, In: Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, and Leonardo Morlino, eds., International Encyclopedia of Political Science (Sage, 2011), pp. 1434-1439, RSR]

Relying on new insights from game theory, ¶ scholars during the 1980s and 1990s emphasized ¶ that so-called international regimes, consisting of ¶ agreed-on international norms, rules, and decision-making procedures, can help states effectively coordinate their policies and collaborate in ¶ the production of international public goods, such ¶ as free trade, arms control, and environmental ¶ protection. Especially, if embedded in formal multilateral institutions, such as the World Trade ¶ Organization (WTO) or North American Free ¶ Trade Agreement (NAFT A), regimes crucially ¶ improve the availability of information among ¶ states in a given issue area, thereby promoting ¶ reciprocity and enhancing the reputational costs ¶ of noncompliance. As noted by Robert Keohane, ¶ institutionalized multilateralism also reduces strategic competition over relative gains and thus ¶ further advances international cooperation. ¶ Most international regime theorists accepted ¶ Kenneth Waltz's (1979) neorealist assurription of ¶ states as black boxes-that is, unitary and rational ¶ actors with given interests. Little or no attention ¶ was paid to the impact on international cooperation of domestic political processes and dynamics. ¶ Likewise, regime scholarship largely disregarded ¶ the arguably crucial question of whether prolonged interaction in an institutionalized international setting can fundamentally change states' ¶ interests or preferences over outcomes (as opposed ¶ to preferences over strategies), thus engendering ¶ positive feedback loops of increased overall cooperation. For these reasons, international regime ¶ theory is not, properly speaking, liberal, and the ¶ term neoliberal institutionalism frequently used to ¶ identify it is somewhat misleading. ¶ It is only over the past decade or so that liberal ¶ international relations theorists have begun to systematically study the relationship between domestic politics and institutionalized international cooperation or global governance. This new scholarship ¶ seeks to explain in particular the close interna tional ¶ cooperation among liberal democracies as well as ¶ higher-than-average levels of delegation b)' democracies to complex multilateral bodies, such as the ¶ \ ¶ Liberalism in International Relations 1437 ¶ European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty ¶ Organization (NATO), NAFTA, and the WTO ¶ (see, e.g., John Ikenberry, 2001; Helen Milner & ¶ Andrew Moravcsik, 2009). The reasons that make ¶ liberal democracies particularly enthusiastic about ¶ international cooperation are manifold: First, ¶ transnational actors such as nongovernmental ¶ organizations and private corporations thrive in ¶ liberal democracies, and they frequently advocate ¶ increased international cooperation; second, ¶ elected democratic officials rely on delegation to ¶ multilateral bodies such as the WTO or the EU to ¶ commit to a stable policy line and to internationally lock in fragile domestic policies and constitutional arrangements; and finally, powerful liberal ¶ democracies, such as the United States and its ¶ allies, voluntarily bind themselves into complex ¶ global governance arrangements to demonstrate ¶ strategic restraint and create incentives for other ¶ states to cooperate, thereby reducing the costs for ¶ maintaining international order. ¶ Recent scholarship, such as that of Charles ¶ Boehmer and colleagues, has also confirmed the ¶ classical liberal intuition that formal international ¶ institutions, such as the United Nations (UN) or ¶ NATO, independently contribute to peace, especially when they are endowed with sophisticated ¶ administrative structures and information-gathering ¶ capacities. In short, research on global governance ¶ and especially on the relationship between democracy and international cooperation is thriving, and ¶ it usefully complements liberal scholarship on the ¶ democratic peace.

#### Focus on democratic politics is key to building a feminist understanding of citizenship and community. Failure to embrace politics cedes the debate about citizenship and democracy to a non-democratic, capitalist and masculinist interpretation of the state.

Dietz 87 (Mary G. Dietz, Professor of Political Science and Gender Studies Program at Northwestern University, “Context Is All: Feminism and Theories of Citizenship”, Daedalus, Vol. 116, No. 4, Fall, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20025121)

Like Offred in The Handmaid's Tale, we Americans live in reduced circumstances, politically speaking. How we understand ourselves as citizens has little to do with the democratic norms and values I have just defended, and it is probably fair to say that most Americans do not think of citizenship in this way at all. We seem hypnotized by a liberal conception of citizenship as rights, an unremitting consumerism that we confuse with freedom, and a capitalist ethic that we take as our collective identity.36 Sheldon Wolin has noted that in the American political tradition there exist two "bodies" within the historic "body of the people" - a collectivity informed by democratic practices on the one hand and a collectivity informed by an antidemocratic political economy on the other.37 The latter is a "liberal capitalist citizenship" that has emerged triumphant today. Truly democratic practices have nearly ceased to be a part of politics in the United States. They exist only on the margins. More disturbing still, I think, even the memory of these practices seems to elude our collective imagination. As Hannah Arendt puts it, citizenship is the "lost treasure" of American political life. What I want to argue is that we may yet recover the treasure. We may be able to breathe new life into the peoples' other "body"- into our democratic "selves." This § Marked 14:08 §

prospect brings us back to feminism, which I think is a potential source for our political resuscitation. Feminism has been more than a social cause; it has been a political movement with distinctive attributes. Throughout its second wave in America, the movement has been informed by democratic organization and practice -by spontaneous gatherings and marches, diverse and multitudinous action groups, face-to-face assemblies, consensus decision making, nonhierarchical power structures, open speech and debate.38 That is, embodied within the immediate political past of feminism in this country are forms of freedom that are far more compatible with the "democratic body" of the American experience than with the liberal-capitalist one.39 These particular feminist forms are, potentially at least, compatible with the idea of collective, democratic citizenship on a wider scale. I say "potentially" because feminists must first transform their own democratic practices into a more comprehensive theory of citizenship before they can arrive at an alternative to the nondemocratic liberal theory. Feminist political practice will not in some automatic way become an inspiration for a new citizenship. Instead, feminists must become self-conscious political thinkers- defenders of democracy- in a land of liberalism. To be sure, this task is neither easy nor short-term, but it is possible for feminists to undertake it in earnest because the foundation is already set in the movement's own experiences, in its persistent attention to issues of power, structure, and democracy, and in the historical precedent of women acting as citizens in the United States.40 A warning is in order, however. What a feminist defense of democracy must at all costs avoid is the temptation of "womanism." To turn to "women of the republic" and to feminist organization for inspiration in articulating democratic values is one thing; it is quite another to conclude that therein lies evidence of women's "superior democratic nature" or of their "more mature" political voice. A truly democratic defense of citizenship cannot afford to launch its appeal from a position of gender opposition and women's superiority. Such a premise would posit as a starting point precisely what a democratic attitude must deny- that one group of citizens' voices is generally better, more deserving of attention, more worthy of emulation, more moral, than another's. A feminist democrat cannot give way to this sort of temptation, lest democracy itself lose its meaning, and citizenship its special nature. With this in mind, feminists would be well advised to secure the political defense of their theory of democratic citizenship not only in their own territory but also in the diversity of other democratic territories historical and contemporary, male and female. We might include the townships and councils of revolutionary America, the populist National Farmers Alliance, the sit-down strikes of the 1930s, the civil rights movement, the soviets of the Russian Revolution, the French political clubs of 1789, the Spanish anarchist affinity groups, the KOR (Workers' Defense Com mittee) in Poland, the "mothers of the disappeared ones" in Argentina, and so on. In short, the aim of this political feminism is to remember and bring to light the many examples of democratic practices already in existence and to use these examples as inspiration for a form of political life that would challenge the dominant liberal one.41 What this aim requires is not only a feminist determination to avoid "womanism" while remaining attentive to women but also a commitment to the activity of citizenship, which includes and requires the participation of men.

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#### Gender has its place but needs to be combined with empiricism to have explanatory power.

Caprioli, Department of Political Science at the University of Tennessee, ‘4

[Mary, “Feminist IR Theory and Quantitative Methodology: A Critical Analysis”, International Studies Review, Volume 42, Issue 1, Pages 193-197, March 2004,

http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111/0020-8833.00076]

The derision with which many conventional feminists view feminist quantitative studies persists to the detriment of both feminist and other types of IR scholarship. As Jan Jindy Pettman (2002) has argued, however, no single feminist position exists in international relations. One of the most common feminist critiques of feminist quantitative research is that scholars cannot simply "add gender and stir" (Peterson 2002;Steans2003), for gender is not just one of many variables. Yet, gender is one of many variables when we are discussing international issues, from human rights to war. As Fred Halliday (1988) has observed, gender is not the core of international relations or the key to understanding it. Such a position would grossly overstate the feminist case. Gender may be an important explanatory and predictive component but it certainly is not the only one.260 Such a critique only serves to undermine the feminist argument against a scientific methodology for the social sciences by questioning the scholarship of those who employ quantitative methodologies. One does not pull variables "out of the air" to put into a model, thereby "adding and stirring." Variables are added to models if a theoretical justification for doing so exists. Peterson (2002:158) postulates that "as long as IR understands gender only as an empirical category (for example, how do women in the military affect the conduct of war?), feminisms appear largely irrelevant to the discipline's primary questions and inquiry." Yet, little evidence actually supports this contention—unless one is arguing that gender is the only important category of analysis. If researchers cannot add gender to an analysis, then they must necessarily use a purely female-centered analysis, even though the utility of using a purely female- centered analysis seems equally biased. Such research would merely be gender-centric based on women rather than men, and it would thereby provide an equally biased account of international relations as those that are male-centric. Although one might speculate that having research done from the two opposing worldviews might more fully explain international relations, surely an integrated approach would offer a more comprehensive analysis of world affairs. Beyond a female-centric analysis, some scholars (for example, Carver 2002) argue that feminist research must offer a critique of gender as a set of power relations. Gender categories, however, do exist and have very real implications for individuals, social relations, and international affairs. Critiquing the social construction of gender is important, but it fails to provide new theories of international relations or to address the implications of gender for what happens in the world. Sylvester (2002a) has wondered aloud whether feminist research should be focused primarily on critique, warning that feminists should avoid an exclusive focus on highlighting anomalies, for such a focus does not add to feminist IR theories.