# Counter Method

**Debaters should have a truth and reconciliation which addresses the issues of oppression in debate.**

#### A TRC is the best methodology for addressing white supremacy in round – TRCs are based on the idea of acknowledging how privilege works and all of our individual participation as oppressors and/or as the oppressed can be communicated in whatever way each person desires. The TRC is praxis. It is an action we can all participate in that deals with the violence we as debaters have visited upon each other.

#### Oaklahoma is correct debate has been through a process of mass exclusion and violence. We don’t need a different forum like a banquet or a CEDA meeting where there is no way to question and account for the participation in a problematic system. But we need to be skeptical of the punishment paradigm. They will read evidence that ballots are the only way to change the mindset of debaters. We believe that is true in the status quo which is why a TRC is necessary. We have to accept healing as a goal.

A paradigm of punishment related to wins and losses is more harmful to both victims and perpetrators. We should instead embrace a method of truth and reconciliation in order to create space for emotional recovery.

Rauschenbach and Scalia ‘8

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That being the case, should we rebuild totally the criminal justice system? Some authors23 consider that the system in its present form could be harmful for both victims and perpetrators, since it places the entire emphasis on punishment and does not allow for the constructive and healing settlement of conflicts. It is undeniable that a system mainly based on retribution can only lead to intensification of conflict.24 However, since a radical reform of the criminal justice system is not very a realistic prospect, one solution might be to encourage innovations such as restorative justice. This allows the victims, the perpetrators and the communities affected to recognize that a specific criminal act has caused injury and suffering and to find ways to restore the social fabric destroyed by that act. Such restorative processes also have the advantage of affording greater participation for perpetrators and their victims and of making all parties aware of the consequences of their actions.25 These practices also offer the perpetrator an opportunity to express sorrow and regret and the victim an opportunity to forgive, which can reduce the victim’s desire for punishment and retribution26 and contribute to his emotional recovery.27

#### We cannot simply forget – we must remember what to remember and remember what to forget. A TRC allows for that process on an individual level. There is only a risk the counter advocacy allows us a way to escape the cycle of revenge through a dynamic process of remembering not some intact picture but an assemblage of experiences. Their methodology only allow them to access their own personal experiences.

#### Minow ’99 Martha Minow is the Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Professor of Law and the Dean of [Harvard Law School](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harvard_Law_School) Between Vengence and Forgiveness Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence 1999 (118-120)

After mass atrocity, what can and should be faced about the past? World denying experiences defy description and perhaps even memory; yet refusing to remember even this can risk insulting the victimized and leaving rage to fester. To seek a path between vengeance and forgiveness is also to seek a route between too much memory and too much forgetting. Too much memory is a disease, comments Michael Roth. 1 Charles Maier argues that Americans in particular have "become addicted to memory," making modern American politics "a competition for enshrining grievances."2 Philosopher Hermann Lubbe argued that suppression of the Nazi past through amnesty and amnesia permitted West Germany in the 1950 to build a stable democracy.3 Yet Jean Baudrillard explains that "[f]orgetting the extermination is part of the extermination itself."4 Journalist Tina Rosenberg concluded from her investigations in Eastern Europe and Latin America that "[n]ations, like individuals, need to face up to and understand traumatic past events before they can put them aside and move on to normal life."5 Milan Kundera's phrase has come to summarize resistance against totalitarianism: "The struggle against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."6 Timothy Garton Ash argues that "victims and their relatives have a moral right to know at whose hands they or their loved ones suffered." In addition, memory becomes a political tool: "Dirty fragments of the past constantly resurface and are used, often dirtily, in current political disputes." 7

The alternation of forgetting and remembering itself etches the path of power. William Gladstone is said to have commented that "the cause of the problem in Ireland is that the Irish will never forget and the British will never remember."8 According to historian Patrice Higgonet, French leaders in the nineteenth century conveyed to the nation a commitment to remember and hate the French Revolution and its terror as a form of expiation, while politicians and ordinary citizens in France today treat the Terror as a historical misfortune that one should try to forget.9

The double edged dangers of too much and too little memory lead contemporary figures to make paradoxical calls about remembering the past. Dullah Omar, South Africa's justice minister, exhorts "we want to put the past behind us but we don't want to forget, we want to remember."10 In his afterword to Death and the Maiden, the chilling play of post terror revenge and justice, Ariel Dorfman writes, "How do we keep the past alive without becoming its prisoner? How do we forget it without risking its repetition in the future?"11 Even a contemporary children's book tells of a young elephant who must learn to remember what to forget; notably, he must remember to forget another elephant's injurious but accidental assault and violation of rules in order to remember their fundamental brotherhood.12

Living after genocide, mass atrocity, totalitarian terror, however, makes remembering and forgetting not just about dealing with the past. The treatment of the past through remembering and forgetting crucially shapes the present and future for individuals and entire societies. Mona Wiessmark, whose parents survived Nazi concentration camps, and Ilona Kuphal, whose father was a Nazi SS officer, organized the first meeting between children of Nazis and children of Holocaust survivors to explore their guilt, anger, resentment. Their intent was not to focus on the past but to change the future.13 For individuals, and even for communities, traumatic violence becomes part of the current human psyche forged by past oppression.14 Tina Rosenberg writes, "The first lesson I learned was that many countries are not dealing with the past, because the past is still with them." 15 What's needed, then, is not memory but remembering,16 not retrieval of some intact picture but instead a dynamic process of both tying together and distinguishing fragments of past and present.17 What's needed, paradoxically, is a process for reinterpreting what cannot be made sensible, for assembling what cannot be put together, and for separating what cannot be severed from both present and future.

#### We should not be called upon to find a solution to white supremacy, walk around from this round, and forget. There is no one waiting in the tab room to see the results of this debate and others like it to see if a team was successful in examining whiteness so we can alter the norms of debate through an algorithm of wins vs. Losses. A TRC leaves a permanent record, which prevents forgetting and protects survivors from being re-oppressed as anger and passion fade away and the norms of debate re-emerge by Northwesterners hungry for an NDT trophy.

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It should be recognized that in a perfect society victims are entitled to full justice, namely trial of the perpetrator and, if found guilty, adequate punishment. That ideal is not possible in the aftermath of massive violence. There are simply too many victims and too many perpetrators. Even the most sophisticated criminal justice system would be completely overwhelmed. It is for this reason that such societies have to find other solutions. Some countries simply forget the past and attempt to induce a national amnesia in its people. Of course that is bound to fail—the victims do not, indeed cannot, forget. And their unanswered calls for retribution develop into hate and invariably that hate is directed collectively at the group from which the perpetrators came. In the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda the hate induced in that way provided the tool which evil leaders used to induce those under their power to commit genocide, crimes against humanity, and other gross violations of human rights.

In other countries wiser leaders recognized that in order to lay a foundation for an enduring peace, measures had to be taken to manage the past. It was acknowledged that history has to be

#### The problem with standing in solidarity with those who have been oppressed the way in which we construct them. The media and academics have painted romantic pictures of how we can use our privilege to help expose the wrongdoings of white supremacy. A TRC is a space where those people can talk for themselves, rather than talking for them. The aff simply invites them into our space and says “yes, we’ll let you talk here” instead of opening up a space where anyone can talk– our debates must attend to the multiplicity of voices involved in these movements.

#### **TRC’s heal dehumanizing and violent social relations- that’s especially necessary in Egypt**

Rayman ‘11

Noah Rayman, Daily News Egypt, “Cairo Conversation draws parallels between Egypt and South Africa,” July 6, 2011, http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/egypt/cairo-conversation-draws-parallels-between-egypt-and-south-africa.html

She says she learned to look forward and not to the past from the likes of Mandela and Tutu. Quoting Tutu, who chaired the TRC for two years, she said, “To forgive is not just to be altruistic. It is the best form of self-interest … What dehumanizes you, inexorably dehumanizes me.” A lively discussion arose among the audience—even drawing the evening’s translator out of his booth to speak his mind—after Burghgraef asked attendees to break into groups and respond to the question at hand. Respondents disagreed about how reconciliation applied to contemporary Egypt, or whether it was necessary at all. “The first thing to have in this sensitive state is justice,” one young woman said after the groups came together to explain their individual conversations. “Without justice I cannot reconcile.” But others said reconciliation — between religions, with the police, and even with some members of the previous regime — would be necessary for the nation to move forward together. Some saw promise in South Africa’s TRC, which has since been used as a model in 19 post-conflict nations. “Are we going to use the same methods to replying to the perpetrators of the violence,” said one attendee. “Do we really want to respond in revenge?” The Cairo Conversation was a pilot for the recently established MasterPeace organization, which officially launches in September. Calling itself “the most heartwarming peace project ever,” MasterPeace encourages local conversation and participation in conflict-resolution efforts. It hopes to engage some 20 million people around the world in the next three years. Following the ambassador’s account, Culture Wheel founder and former minister of culture Mohamed El-Sawy reflected on what reconciliation could mean for Egypt. He said the sentiment of forgiveness evident in post-apartheid South Africa would be difficult for him to undertake. But South Africa’s experience should nonetheless serve as a strong reference for Egyptians today, he said. “It gives us in Egypt a big hope that we as a nation can overcome these tough days and really celebrate the achievements and the blood that was poured,” he said. “To make their blood have the deserved value, we should really take this lesson as a guideline for the near future.”

### A TRC is the best method for creating healing in debate. Taylor and I believe that in a system where everyone is empowered to ask the tough questions without fear of losing we’ll be better able to confront violence in debate. This rejection of the punishment paradigm further ensures that in rounds between allies, we don’t have to call our allies our oppressors or take a ballot away from them just to get ahead.

### The recommendations made by TRCs are necessary to resolve conflicts and ensure that the oppressed don’t become the opressors of the new system.

Mooneshingle 2/23/12 Gnana, http://groundviews.org/2012/02/23/a-road-to-reconciliation-in-sri-lanka-will-we-take-it/

There are several recommendations made by the LLRC if/or when implemented will set the nation more than half way to building trust and confidence among the parties to the conflict and bring about peace through improved governance resolving some of the urgent problems facing the country. It is time that Sri Lankans learn to use the conflict situation the country has gone through as a ‘catalyst for discovering and creating resolutions’ to promote understanding within and among the communities. Obviously the responsibility to implement the recommendations within an agreed time frame rests squarely with the government. It is hoped that the government will have the political will to implement the recommendations presented by the Commission mandated by the President himself. If the implementation is perceived to be tardy, then it will be up to the religious leaders and civil society to alert the government to the urgency for implementing the recommendations. The recommendations touch on most of the important aspects essential for reconciliation and good governance. Reconciliation Although the end of the war points to the State as the victor, a sober reflection of the post war scenario will reveal that wars do not end in victors and losers. This war is no different; the victor will emerge only when reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction processes have achieved their targets and discussions on the war and the post conflict period becomes a thing of the past. The victors must emerge from both sides, from the majority and the minority communities looking to the future with a common vision for harmonious relationships, shared powers and shared resources that would bring progress to the people. Constantly looking out for divisive politics will get the country nowhere. The country must learn to make compromises and get over the ‘ugly patches’ (the world is full of them) and look to give the next generation better opportunities so that they will become achievers and not losers.

### **Interpersonal violence arises from reactions to systemic and institutional ideologies and practices- only investigating responsibility thoroughly and acting on all dimensions allows us to move forward and effectively criticize configurations of power relations that gave rise to violence in debate. Refusal to include all teams in a truth commission reflects that violent.**

Parodi ‘4

Carlos A Parodi, Illinois State University Professor in the Politics and Government Department, Acclaimed international truth commission expert, Meeting of Latin American Studies Association October 7-9, 2004, “Readings of the Final Report of Peru’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission”

Defining responsibility for the violence is key for overcoming human rights violations. A conclusion that one could draw from the *Final Report* of Peru’s CVR is that responsibility has multiple dimensions and is important to act on all of them. Interpersonal violence is linked to institutional and structural violence. The CVR affirmed that the Shining Path massacred peasant communities, but also that the killing could not have achieved such degree of intensity without a favorable environment. Ideology was among the key elements of such environment. In order to eradicate violence, it is not enough to have a working justice system; it is imperative to question the legitimacy of ideologies that justify the use of violence in politics. During the days of the International Seminar, different CVR members stated that their fundamental mission was to free politics from violence. They said, for example, that “political violence” was an oxymoron because, by definition, politics is the opposite of violence.41 In sum, the CVR’s Final Report allows an understanding of different types of responsibility for human rights violations. In principle, this theoretical framework should allow the establishment of the responsibility of international actors. However, Peru’s CVR decided to remain silent regarding the responsibility of the USA. The following sections discuss two possible answers. First, power relations create possibilities and limitations to truth, in general, and truth about the responsibility of the USA, in particular. Second, the exclusion of the USA results from a nationalist framework that defines human rights violations as happening exclusively between nationals.

### Only a TRC prevents the creation of a violent backlash and renewed conflict between elites and the public, that’s critical to allow an effective transition

Fadel ‘11

ammad Fadel, law professor at Univeristy of Toronto, primary focus on Islamic law and liberalism, March 21, 2011, http://shanfaraa.com/2011/03/toward-a-practical-platform-for-the-jan-25th-revolution/

 *Torture*: While the decision to dissolve state security is a small step in the right direction, much more needs to be done in order to assure Egyptians that they enjoy personal security against abuse by the state. Indeed, [there continue to be troubling reports that elements within the armed forces have been arresting civilians, abusing them while in detention and sentencing some to terms of years in military proceedings](http://egypt.alive.in/2011/03/10/rami-issams-revolution-singer-testimony-of-his-torture-by-egyptian-army/). The fact that this abuse of citizens’ rights is ongoing is strong evidence that the anti-torture norm of the Jan. 25th Revolution has not been fully internalized by those elements of the Egyptian government – the police and the army – that are entrusted with the people’s security.It is critical, I believe, for the new Egyptian government to confront the past openly, and I believe that South Africa provides a useful model for Egyptians to consider: a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is impractical to believe that Egypt could imprison all members of the police who were engaged in illegality during the Mubarak years; moreover, dismissal of all former officers would create a substantial risk that previous regime elements could form a disgruntled force that could work actively to subvert the new order. It may be possible, through the mechanism of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, however, to rehabilitate them by forcing them to confront their history of illegality and confess it, in the hope that they will thereby internalize the new norms of the Egyptian state. Participation in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission would of course be a condition for continued employment, and testimony would be given under oath so that perjury could be prosecuted.Such a commission would also provide an important forum for the victims of torture and police abuse to confront their tormentors and provide a public basis for accountability and compensation to the countless Egyptian victims of torture and abuse. Although Egyptian law already provides that torture is illegal, Egyptian law should also be supplemented by providing a civil remedy that will allow victims of torture and police abuse to sue the perpetrators directly and attain prompt and adequate compensation.

### TRCs support the healing process for a country badly wounded by social and political violence- they bring hidden activities to light and expose the inner workings of a corrupt system to allow the people to learn from their mistakes and move forward.

Coyne ‘5

RANDALL T. COYNE\*, Frank and Edna Asper Elkouri Professor of Law, University of Oklahoma. B. Music Education, University of Massachusetts, 1980; J.D., Georgetown University, 1986, ESCAPING VICTORíS JUSTICE BY THE USE OF TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSIONS, 2005

A third, and perhaps superior, option would be for Iraq to set up a TRC.39 TRCs provide a unique way for countries making the transition from despotism to democracy to address human rights abuses and politically motivated crimes.40 By providing an official forum for victims, relatives, and perpetrators to give evidence of human rights abuses and political crimes,41 TRCs enable countries to formally acknowledge their tragic histories and begin the healing process. An Iraqi TRC would require the entire country to acknowledge its past, to document and confront the widespread violence perpetrated by Saddam and other factions, to recognize the myriad ways in which countless Iraqis were victimized, and to seek reconciliation through forgiveness.42 Although TRCs vary considerably in their mandates, this essay proposes that Iraq seek restorative justice achieved through granting conditional amnesty to violators in exchange for their complete and candid admissions, the same approach adopted by the post-apartheid South African government.43

### **The TRC is a critical step on the path to healing- it simultaneously holds those who have committed acts of violence responsible for their actions without seeking retribution and gives debaters that bore the brunt of the norms of the activity the chance to share their stories with the world.**

Ahour ‘11

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History does repeat itself. The evening of 5 March in Egypt was much like that of 15 January 1990, when thousands of German protesters stormed the headquarters of the State Security Ministry (Stasi) in Berlin. The direct causes of the protests were shockingly similar - state security officers were seeking impunity by destroying files that documented corruption and repression. Consequently, citizens gathered and tried to safeguard the incriminating evidence. Fortunately for the Stasi, YouTube and Facebook did not exist in 1990. Unfortunately for Egypt's State Security Investigations (SSI), they did. Secret graveyards, medieval-like dungeons, files of political dissidents held for more than a decade, lists of informants - celebrities, religious figures, talk-show hosts and "opposition" leaders - were all captured on camera and uploaded onto the popular websites. "I spent 12 years in the political section of Liman Abu Zaabal prison - without charge, without visits," former detainee Magdi Zaki told local media. "When I saw my two kids I did not recognise them and they did not recognise me. But worst of all was the month I spent in the state security building," he said. There are reasons for this. 'Red lines' Torture rooms and equipment were captured on camera in every SSI building stormed by protesters. Unfortunately for the SSI and its last head, Gen Hassan Abd al-Rahman, who ordered the destruction process, reassembling the enormous amount of shredded files will not take a decade like in the case of the Stasi. Advanced computer-assisted data recovery systems exist now. For many Egyptians, the sheer size and the graphic details of the released files were shocking. The unlawful detentions, kidnappings and disappearances, systematic torture and rape, and the inhuman prison conditions have all been well documented since the 1980s, by both human rights organisations and Egyptian courts. But many media outlets did not dare to address those "red lines". Amateur video purportedly shows protesters raiding ministry and secret police offices in Cairo Aside from the horrific stories, more mundane matters help to illustrate how Egypt was run under Mubarak. In early 2000, I met an SSI general who effectively ran Cairo University. The intellectually unsophisticated general - to put it mildly - decided which dean should run which school, which professors got hired, fired, or promoted, and which students should discontinue their education. Never openly discussed before, these former "red lines" are now being exposed. "The fall of the state of state security" was the headline of al-Ahram newspaper, the one-time mouthpiece of the Mubarak regime. Lessons from abroad Democratisation processes have at least four phases: dictatorship removal, transition, consolidation and maturation. With the fall of the SSI, Egypt seems quite close to completing phase one of its inspirational struggle for democracy - the removal of its dictator and his coercive apparatus, one that behaved more like a crime syndicate than a professional security service. But moving into the transitional phase will require institutional and legal reform. The experiences of other countries - notably Chile, Indonesia, South Africa, East Germany, Argentina, Spain, and South Korea - are quite useful. Comprehensive security sector reform (SSR) was at the core of democratisation in those countries. It targeted the intelligence services, police, judiciary, prison system, and the civilian management of the security services. The core idea of the reform was simple: the security of the individual citizen is the primary objective of the security apparatus, not the security of the regime or any other entity. This simple idea reverses the reality in Egypt, where the principal threat for many law-abiding citizens was not al-Qaeda or the Mossad, but the SSI and other Egyptian police institutions. Final stages In the aforementioned countries that moved into the transitional phase, the SSI-equivalents were dismantled - the Stasi in East Germany, the Bakorstanas in Indonesia, and the National Centre for Intelligence (CNI) in Chile. The accompanying emergency laws were also annulled, most notably Indonesia's notorious 1963 Anti-Subversion Law. A third critical step in security sector reform is the continuous monitoring of security agencies by elected parliamentary committees. In Indonesia, parliamentary oversight was introduced under President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001). As a result, three parliamentary commissions monitor every security apparatus in the country. In Chile, the Senate approved the creation of a civilian National Intelligence Agency (ANI) and, by law, all security agencies have to provide any requested information to that body. Even highly professional security agencies in the West are monitored. The British MI5, for example, is overseen by the Intelligence and Security Committee that comprises nine parliamentarians drawn from the House of Commons and the House of Lords. A fourth critical step is dealing with gross violations of human rights committed by the SSI against Egyptians. In that regard, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, akin to that of South Africa, may be essential to form a restorative justice system for the victims. Victims would be invited to share their testimonies, while perpetrators of gross violations could give their statements and apply for amnesty. Overall, despite the numerous hurdles along Egypt's road to democratisation - including attacks by remaining elements of the security forces against mosques, churches and pipelines - the country seems to be on the right path. The dismantling of the SSI, the annulment of emergency law, the parliamentary oversight of security apparatuses, and the formation of a reconciliation commission will usher in a democratic transition in Egypt.

# Case

#### **“Community” means to fortify, to put up walls to the foreign other- this is the opposite of hospitality, which is constantly open and porous to the incoming of the other.**

Caputo ‘97

(John D., David R. Cook Professor of Philosophy Emeritus at Villanova University, Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida, pgs. 118-120)

Postmodern difference, let us say, the difference that interests Derrida,¶ is deeply multi-cultural, multi-lingual , and multi-racial, representing¶ what I have elsewhere called a highly miscegenated¶ "polymorphism . "2 Derrida does not dismiss the idea of unity and identity¶ out of hand, for "pure" diversity, were such a thing possible, would¶ spell death no less surely than would a "pure" totalitarian unity. But¶ he advocates highly heterogenous, porous, self-differentiating quasiidentities,¶ unstable identities, if that is what they are, that are not identical¶ with themselves, that do not close over and form a seamless web¶ of the selfsame. What Derrida advocates, in a nutshell, is "democracy,¶ " which is supposed to be a very generous "receptacle" for every¶ difference imaginable.¶ That is why Derrida is troubled by, and wants to make ascertain¶ trouble for, the word "community":¶ I don't much like the word community, I am not even sure I l i ke the¶ thing.¶ If by community one implies, as is often the case, a harmonious group,¶ consensus, and fundamental agreement beneath the phenomena of discord or war, then I don't believe in it very much and I sense in it as¶ much threat as promise.¶ There is doubtless this irrepressible desire for a "community" to form¶ but also for it to know its limit and for its limit to be its opening [PdS,¶ 3661Points 3 5 5).¶ What he does not like about the word community is i t s connotations of¶ "fusion" and " identification" (Sauf 38/0N 46). 􁋘 After all, communio is a word for a military formation and a kissing cousin of the word¶ "munitions"; to have a communio is to be fortified on all sides, to build¶ a "common" (com) "defense" ( m u n is), as when a wall is put up around¶ the city to keep the stranger or the foreigner out. 4 The self-protective¶ closure of "community, " then, would be just about the opposite of¶ what deconstruction is, since deconstruction is the preparation for the¶ incoming of the other, "open" and "porous" to the other, which would¶ of course make one poor excuse for a defense system . A "universal¶ community" excluding no one is a contradiction in terms; communities¶ always have to have an inside and an outside. That is why Derrida's¶ comments on "community" -which is otherwise a mom-and-applepie¶ word, at the very sound of which every politician's knee must¶ bend - are always extremely guarded , on guard against the guard that¶ communities station around themselves to watch out for the other (see¶ Pol. 3 29-3 3 1 ). That, too, is why it was necessary to put the word "we"¶ in scare quotes in the previous chapter. For the deconstructive "we" is¶ always highly qualified and unsure, always running scared, a certain¶ "we who cannot say we, "a "we, if such a thing exists. "

**The call for a debate “community” calls for inclusion. This guarantees exclusion which has caused murder and oppression on a global scale.**

**Reiff ‘8** (School of Law University of Manchester)

(Mark R., Terrorism, Retribution, and Collective Responsibility, Social Theory and Practice 34 no2 209-42 Ap 2008, WilsonWeb)

This is not to say that believing in collective responsibility will always produce such catastrophic results, or even that it will often do so. Attributions of collective responsibility may only lead to relatively minor, localized or even individualized acts of violence, and may even be used to justify the payment of reparations, which is why collective responsibility is sometimes attractive to those on the left. But attributions of collective responsibility have led to the wholesale murder, displacement, and oppression of entire peoples often enough that it should be obvious that a belief in collective responsibility cannot easily be controlled--given human nature, we must regard it as always presenting an invitation to evil, and reject it even though the consequences of its application might sometimes be relatively benign, or even beneficial.     Perhaps, however, this argument has moved too swiftly. Is a concept's mere potential for abuse enough to warrant rejecting reliance on it in all circumstances? After all, other moral concepts that we generally accept can also be subject to abuse. Consequentialism itself, for example, can be used to justify some extremely unpalatable actions, perhaps even the extermination of whole populations, but most people are nevertheless prepared to apply this method of moral reasoning in many situations. If genocide is merely a contingent rather than a necessary consequence of the belief in collective responsibility, then perhaps this is not alone enough to make such a belief morally unacceptable.     But the consequences of embracing collective responsibility are also likely to be extremely negative in another way. When the community accused of collective responsibility is not in a position to defend itself, the accusation encourages the widespread oppression, displacement, and decimation of its members. When the accused community is in a position to defend itself, however, collective responsibility-based acts of retribution are most likely to produce an endless cycle of retaliation and counter-retaliation that ultimately proves devastating for everyone involved.