# 1NC

## Security

#### War powers policy analysis is plagued with flawed scholarship based on constructed threats to US national security – these threats reify the power of the executive while resulting in endless warfare – questioning the underlying assumptions of the knowledge presented in the 1AC is critical to creating a base for substantive political change

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Despite such democratic concerns, a large part of what makes today’s dominant security concept so compelling are two purportedly objective sociological claims about the nature of modern threat. As these claims undergird the current security concept, by way of a conclusion I would like to assess them more directly and, in the process, indicate what they suggest about the prospects for any future reform. The first claim is that global interdependence means that the U.S. faces near continuous threats from abroad. Just as Pearl Harbor presented a physical attack on the homeland justifying a revised framework, the American position in the world since has been one of permanent insecurity in the face of new, equally objective dangers. Although today these threats no longer come from menacing totalitarian regimes like Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union, they nonetheless create of world of chaos and instability in which American domestic peace is imperiled by decentralized terrorists and aggressive rogue states. Second, and relatedly, the objective complexity of modern threats makes it impossible for ordinary citizens to comprehend fully the causes and likely consequences of existing dangers. Thus, the best response is the further entrenchment of Herring’s national security state, with the U.S. permanently mobilized militarily to gather intelligence and to combat enemies wherever they strike – at home or abroad. Accordingly, modern legal and political institutions that privilege executive authority and insulated decisionmaking are simply the necessary consequence of these externally generated crises. Regardless of these trade-offs, the security benefits of an empowered presidency (one armed with countless secret and public agencies as well as with a truly global military footprint)188 greatly outweigh the costs. Yet, although these sociological views have become commonplace, the conclusions that Americans should draw about security requirements are not nearly as clear cut as the conventional wisdom assumes. In particular, a closer examination of contemporary arguments about endemic danger suggests that such claims are not objective empirical judgments but rather are socially complex and politically infused interpretations. Indeed, the openness of existing circumstances to multiple interpretations of threat implies that the presumptive need for secrecy and centralization is not self-evident. And as underscored by high profile failures in expert assessment, claims to security expertise are themselves riddled with ideological presuppositions and subjective biases. All this indicates that the gulf between elite knowledge and lay incomprehension in matters of security may be far less extensive than is ordinarily thought. It also means that the question of who decides – and with it the issue of how democratic or insular our institutions should be – remains open as well. Clearly technological changes, from airpower to biological and chemical weapons, have shifted the nature of America’s position in the world and its potential vulnerability. As has been widely remarked for nearly a century, the oceans alone cannot guarantee our permanent safety. Yet, in truth they never fully ensured domestic tranquility. The nineteenth century was one of near continuous violence, especially with indigenous communities fighting to protect their territory from expansionist settlers. But even if technological shifts make doomsday scenarios more chilling than those faced by Hamilton, Jefferson, or Taney, the mere existence of these scenarios tells us little about their likelihood or how best to address them. Indeed, these latter security judgments are inevitably permeated with subjective political assessments, assessments that carry with them preexisting ideological points of view – such as regarding how much risk constitutional societies should accept or how interventionist states should be in foreign policy. In fact, from its emergence in the 1930s and 1940s, supporters of the modern security concept have – at times unwittingly – reaffirmed the political rather than purely objective nature of interpreting external threats. In particular, commentators have repeatedly noted the link between the idea of insecurity and America’s post-World War II position of global primacy, one which today has only expanded following the Cold War. In 1961, none other than Senator James William Fulbright declared, in terms reminiscent of Herring and Frankfurter, that security imperatives meant that “our basic constitutional machinery, admirably suited to the needs of a remote agrarian republic in the 18th century,” was no longer “adequate” for the “20th- century nation.” For Fulbright, the driving impetus behind the need to jettison antiquated constitutional practices was the importance of sustaining the country’s “preeminen[ce] in political and military power.” Fulbright held that greater executive action and war-making capacities were essential precisely because the United States found itself “burdened with all the enormous responsibilities that accompany such power.”192 According to Fulbright, the United States had both a right and a duty to suppress those forms of chaos and disorder that existed at the edges of American authority. Thus, rather than being purely objective, the American condition of permanent danger was itself deeply tied to political calculations about the importance of global primacy. What generated the condition of continual crisis was not only technological change, but also the belief that the United States’ own ‘national security’ rested on the successful projection of power into the internal affairs of foreign states. The key point is that regardless of whether one agrees with such an underlying project, the value of this project is ultimately an open political question. This suggests that whether distant crises should be viewed as generating insecurity at home is similarly as much an interpretative judgment as an empirically verifiable conclusion. To appreciate the open nature of security determinations, one need only look at the presentation of terrorism as a principal and overriding danger facing the country. According to the State Department’s Annual Country Reports on Terrorism, in 2009 “[t]here were just 25 U.S. noncombatant fatalities from terrorism worldwide” (sixteen abroad and nine at home).194 While the fear of a terrorist attack is a legitimate concern, these numbers – which have been consistent in recent years – place the gravity of the threat in perspective. Rather than a condition of endemic danger – requiring everincreasing secrecy and centralization – such facts are perfectly consistent with a reading that Americans do not face an existential crisis (one presumably comparable to Pearl Harbor) and actually enjoy relative security. Indeed, the disconnect between numbers and resources expended, especially in a time of profound economic insecurity, highlights the political choice of policymakers and citizens to persist in interpreting foreign events through a World War II and early Cold War lens of permanent threat. In fact, the continuous alteration of basic constitutional values to fit ‘national security’ aims highlights just how entrenched Herring’s old vision of security as pre-political and foundational has become, regardless of whether other interpretations of the present moment may be equally compelling. It also underscores a telling and often ignored point about the nature of modern security expertise, particularly as reproduced by the United States’ massive intelligence infrastructure. To the extent that political assumptions – like the centrality of global primacy or the view that instability abroad necessarily implicates security at home – shape the interpretative approach of executive officials, what passes as objective security expertise is itself intertwined with contested claims about how to view external actors and their motivations. This means that while modern conditions may well be complex, the conclusions of the presumed experts may not be systematically less liable to subjective bias than judgments made by ordinary citizens based on publicly available information. It further underscores that the question of who decides cannot be foreclosed in advance by simply asserting deference to elite knowledge. If anything, one can argue that the presumptive gulf between elite awareness and suspect mass opinion has generated its own very dramatic political and legal pathologies. In recent years, the country has witnessed a variety of security crises built on the basic failure of ‘expertise.’ 195 At present, part of what obscures this fact is the very culture of secret information sustained by the modern security concept. Today, it is commonplace for government officials to leak security material about terrorism or external threat to newspapers as a method of shaping the public debate. These ‘open’ secrets allow greater public access to elite information and embody a central and routine instrument for incorporating mass voice into state decision-making. But this mode of popular involvement comes at a key cost. Secret information is generally treated as worthy of a higher status than information already present in the public realm – the shared collective information through which ordinary citizens reach conclusions about emergency and defense. Yet, oftentimes, as with the lead up to the Iraq War in 2003, although the actual content of this secret information is flawed, its status as secret masks these problems and allows policymakers to cloak their positions in added authority. This reality highlights the importance of approaching security information with far greater collective skepticism; it also means that security judgments may be more ‘Hobbesian’ – marked fundamentally by epistemological uncertainty as opposed to verifiable fact – than policymakers admit. If both objective sociological claims at the center of the modern security concept are themselves profoundly contested, what does this mean for reform efforts that seek to recalibrate the r elationship between liberty and security? Above all, it indicates that the central problem with the procedural solutions offered by constitutional scholars – emphasizing new statutory frameworks or greater judicial assertiveness – is that they mistake a question of politics for one of law. In other words, such scholars ignore the extent to which governing practices are the product of background political judgments about threat, democratic knowledge, professional expertise, and the necessity for insulated decision-making. To the extent that Americans are convinced that they face continuous danger from hidden and potentially limitless assailants – danger too complex for the average citizen to comprehend independently – it is inevitable that institutions (regardless of legal reform initiatives) will operate to centralize power in those hands presumed to enjoy military and security expertise. Thus, any systematic effort to challenge the current framing of the relationship between security and liberty must begin by challenging the underlying assumptions about knowledge and security upon which legal and political arrangements rest. Without a sustained and public debate about the validity of security expertise, its supporting institutions, and the broader legitimacy of secret information, there can be no substantive shift in our constitutional politics. The p roblem at present, however, is that no popular base exists to raise these questions. Unless such a base emerges, we can expect our prevailing security arrangements to become ever more entrenched.

#### The mindset of endless threats is a self-fulfilling prophecy leading to the constant creation of more threats

**Lipschutz 1998**

Ronnie, Director – Politics PhD Program, UC Santa Cruz, “On Security” p. 8

Security is, to put Wæver's argument in other words, a socially constructed  concept: It has a specific meaning only within a specific social context.[18](http://www.ciaonet.org/book/lipschutz/lipschutz11.html#note18#note18) It emerges and changes as a result of discourses and discursive actions intended to reproduce historical structures and subjects within states and among them.[19](http://www.ciaonet.org/book/lipschutz/lipschutz11.html#note19#note19) To be sure, policymakers define security on the basis of a set of assumptions regarding vital interests, plausible enemies, and possible scenarios, all of which grow, to a not-insignificant extent, out of the specific historical and social context of a particular country and some understanding of what is "out there."[20](http://www.ciaonet.org/book/lipschutz/lipschutz11.html#note20#note20) But, while these interests, enemies, and scenarios have a material existence and, presumably, a real import for state security, they cannot be regarded simply as having some sort of "objective" reality independent of these constructions.[21](http://www.ciaonet.org/book/lipschutz/lipschutz11.html#note21#note21) That security is socially constructed does not mean that there are not to be found real, material conditions that help to create particular interpretations of threats, or that such conditions are irrelevant to either the creation or undermining of the assumptions underlying security policy. Enemies, in part, "create" each other, via the projections of their worst fears onto the other; in this respect, their relationship is intersubjective.

#### Security discourse sanitizes global destruction by proliferating symptom-focused solutions to power imbalances—-causes cycles of violence that make global warfare and extinction inevitable—adopt the role of a critical intellectual to question the claims of the 1AC

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#### This analysis thus calls for a broader approach to environmental security based on retrieving the manner in which political actors construct discourses of ‘scarcity’ in response to ecological, energy and economic crises [critical security studies] in the context of the historically-speciﬁc socio-political and geopolitical relations of domination by which their power is constituted, and which are often implicated in the acceleration of these very crises [historical sociology and historical materialism]. Instead, both realist and liberal orthodox IR approaches focus on different aspects of interstate behaviour, conﬂictual and cooperative respectively, but each lacks the capacity to grasp that the unsustainable trajectory of state and inter-state behaviour is only explicable in the context of a wider global system concurrently over-exploiting the biophysical environment in which it is embedded. They are, in other words, unable to addressthe relationship of the inter-state system itself to the biophysical environment as a key analytical category for understanding the acceleration of global crises. They simultaneously therefore cannot recognise the embeddedness of the economy in society and the concomitant politically-constituted nature of economics.84 Hence, they neglect the profound irrationality of collective state behaviour, which systematically erodes this relationship, globalising insecurity on a massive scale – in the very process of seeking security.85 In Cox’s words, because positivist IR theory ‘does not question the present order [it instead] has the effect of legitimising and reifying it’. 86 Orthodox **IR sanitises globally-destructive collective inter-state behaviour as a normal function of instrumental reason – thus rationalising what are clearly deeply irrational collective human actions that threaten to permanently erode state power and security by destroying the very conditions of human existence**. Indeed, the prevalence of orthodox IR as a body of disciplinary beliefs, norms and prescriptions organically conjoined with actual policy-making in the international system highlights the extent to which both realism and liberalism are ideologically implicated in the acceleration of global systemic crises.87 By the same token, the incapacity to recognise and critically interrogate how prevailing social, political and economic structures are driving global crisis acceleration has led to the proliferation of symptom-led solutions focused on the expansion of state/regime military–political power rather than any attempt to transform root structural causes.88 It is in this context that, as the prospects for meaningful reform through inter-state cooperation appear increasingly nulliﬁed under the pressure of actors with a vested interest in sustaining prevailing geopolitical and economic structures, states have resorted progressively more to militarised responses designed to protect the concurrent structure of the international system from dangerous new threats. In effect, the failure of orthodox approaches to accurately diagnose global crises, directly accentuates a tendency to ‘securitise’them– and this, ironically, fuels the proliferation of violent conﬂict and militarisation responsible for magniﬁed global insecurity. ‘**Securitisation’ refers to a ‘speech act’** – an act of labelling – whereby political authorities identify particular issues or incidents as an existential threat which, because of their extreme nature, justify going beyond the normal security measures that are within the rule of law. It thus legitimises resort to special extra-legal powers. By labelling issues a matter of ‘security’, therefore, states are able to move them outside the remit of democratic decision-making and into the realm of emergency powers, **all in the name of survival** itself. Far from representing a mere aberration from democratic state practice, this discloses a deeper ‘dual’ structure of the state in its institutionalisation of the capacity to mobilise extraordinary extra-legal military– police measures in purported response **to an existential danger**.89 The problem in the context of global ecological, economic and energy crises is that such levels of emergency mobilisation and militarisation have no positive impact on the very global crises generating ‘new security challenges’, and are thus entirely disproportionate.90 All that remains to examine is on the ‘surface’ of the international system [geopolitical competition, the balance of power, international regimes, globalisation and so on], phenomena which are dislocated from their structural causes by way of being unable to recognise the biophysically-embedded and politically-constituted social relations of which they are comprised. The consequence is that orthodox IR has no means of responding to global systemic crises other than to reduce them to their symptoms. Indeed, orthodox IR theory has largely responded to global systemic crises not with new theory, but with the expanded application of existing theory to ‘new security challenges’ such as ‘low-intensity’ intra-state conﬂicts; inequality and poverty; environmental degradation; international criminal activities including drugs and arms trafﬁcking; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and international terrorism.91 Although the majority of such ‘new security challenges’ are non-military in origin – whether their referents are states or individuals – the inadequacy of systemic theoretical frameworks to diagnose them means they are primarily examined through the lenses of military-political power.92 In other words, the escalation of global ecological, energy and economic crises is recognised not as evidence that the current organisation of the global political economy is fundamentally unsustainable, requiring **urgent transformation**, but as vindicating the necessity for states to radicalise the exertion of their military–political capacities to maintain existing power structures, to keep the lid on.93 Global crises are thus viewed as amplifying factors that could mobilise the popular will in ways that challenge existing political and economic structures, which it is presumed [given that state power itself is constituted by these structures] deserve protection. **This justiﬁes the state’s adoption of extra-legal measures outside the normal sphere of democratic politics**. In the context of global crisis impacts, this counter-democratic trend-line can result in a growing propensity to problematise potentially recalcitrant populations – rationalising violence toward them as a control mechanism. 3.2 From theory to policy Consequently, for the most part, the policy implications of orthodox IR approaches involve a redundant conceptualisation of global systemic crises purely as potential ‘threat-multipliers’ of traditional security issues such as ‘political instability around the world, the collapse of governments and the creation of terrorist safe havens’. Climate change will serve to amplify the threat of international terrorism, particularly in regions with large populations and scarce resources.94 The US Army, for instance, depicts climate change as a ‘stress-multiplier’ that will ‘exacerbate tensions’ and ‘complicate American foreign policy’; while the EU perceives it as a ‘threat-multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability’. 95 In practice, this generates an excessive preoccupation not with the causes of global crisis acceleration and how to ameliorate them through structural transformation, but with their purportedly inevitable impacts, and how to prepare for them by controlling problematic populations. Paradoxically, **this ‘securitisation’ of global crises does not render us safer**. Instead, **by necessitating more violence, while inhibiting preventive action, it guarantees greater insecurity**. Thus, a recent US Department of Defense report explores the future of international conﬂict up to 2050. It warns of ‘resource competition induced by growing populations and expanding economies’, particularly due to a projected ‘youth bulge’ in the South, which ‘will consume ever increasing amounts of food, water and energy’. This will prompt a ‘return to traditional security threats posed by emerging near-peers as we compete globally for depleting natural resources and overseas markets’. Finally, climate change will ‘compound’ these stressors by generating humanitarian crises, population migrations and other complex emergencies.96 A similar study by the US Joint Forces Command draws attention to the danger of global energy depletion through to 2030. Warning of ‘the dangerous vulnerabilities the growing energy crisis presents’, the report concludes that ‘The implications for future conﬂict are ominous.’ 97 Once again, the subject turns to demographics: ‘In total, the world will add approximately 60 million people each year and reach a total of 8 billion by the 2030s’, 95 per cent accruing to developing countries, while populations in developed countries slow or decline. ‘Regions such as the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa, where the youth bulge will reach over 50% of the population, will possess fewer inhibitions about engaging in conﬂict.’ 98 The assumption is that regions which happen to be both energy-rich and Muslim-majority will also be sites of violent conﬂict due to their rapidly growing populations. A British Ministry of Defence report concurs with this assessment, highlighting an inevitable ‘youth bulge’ by 2035, with some 87 per cent of all people under the age of 25 inhabiting developing countries. In particular, the Middle East population will increase by 132 per cent and sub-Saharan Africa by 81 per cent. Growing resentment due to ‘endemic unemployment’ will be channelled through ‘political militancy, including radical political Islam whose concept of Umma, the global Islamic community, and resistance to capitalism may lie uneasily in an international system based on nation-states and global market forces’. More strangely, predicting an intensifying global divide between a super-rich elite, the middle classes and an urban under-class, the report warns: ‘The world’s middle classes might unite, using access to knowledge, resources and skills to shape transnational processes in their own class interest.’ 99 3.3 Exclusionary logics of global crisis securitisation? Thus, the securitisation of global crisis leads not only to the problematisation of particular religious and ethnic groups in foreign regions of geopolitical interest, but potentially extends this problematisation to any social group which might challenge prevailing global political economic structures across racial, national and class lines. The previous examples illustrate how securitisation paradoxically generates insecurity by reifying a process of militarisation against social groups that are constructed as external to the prevailing geopolitical and economic order. In other words, the internal reductionism, fragmentation and compartmentalisation that plagues orthodox theory and policy reproduces precisely these characteristics by externalising global crises from one another, externalising states from one another, externalising the inter-state system from its biophysical environment, and externalising new social groups as dangerous ‘outsiders’. Hence, a simple discursive analysis of state militarisation and the construction of new ‘outsider’ identities is insufﬁcient to understand the causal dynamics driving the process of ‘Otherisation’. As Doug Stokes points out, the Western state preoccupation with the ongoing military struggle against international terrorism reveals an underlying ‘discursive complex’, where representations about terrorism and non-Western populations are premised on ‘the construction of stark boundaries’ that ‘operate to exclude and include’. Yet these exclusionary discourses are ‘intimately bound up with political and economic processes’, such as strategic interests in proliferating military bases in the Middle East, economic interests in control of oil, and the wider political goal of ‘maintaining American hegemony’ by dominating a resource-rich region critical for global capitalism.100 But even this does not go far enough, for arguably the construction of certain hegemonic discourses is mutually constituted by these geopolitical, strategic and economic interests – exclusionary discourses are politically constituted. New conceptual developments in genocide studies throw further light on this in terms of the concrete socio-political dynamics of securitisation processes. It is now widely recognised, for instance, that the distinguishing criterion of genocide is not the pre-existence of primordial groups, one of which destroys the other on the basis of a preeminence in bureaucratic military–political power. Rather, genocide is the intentional attempt to destroy a particular social group that has been socially constructed as different. 101 As Hinton observes, genocides precisely constitute a process of‘othering’in which an imagined community becomes reshaped so that previously ‘included’ groups become ‘ideologically recast’ and dehumanised as threatening and dangerous outsiders, be it along ethnic, religious, political or economic lines – eventually legitimising their annihilation.102 In other words, genocidal violence is inherently rooted in a prior and ongoing ideological process, whereby exclusionary group categories are innovated, constructed and ‘Otherised’ in accordance with a speciﬁc socio-political programme. The very process of identifying and classifying particular groups as outside the boundaries of an imagined community of ‘inclusion’, justifying exculpatory violence toward them, is itself a political act without which genocide would be impossible.103 This recalls Lemkin’s recognition that the intention to destroy a group is integrally connected with a wider socio-political project – or colonial project – designed to perpetuate the political, economic, cultural and ideological relations of the perpetrators in the place of that of the victims, by interrupting or eradicating their means of social reproduction. Only by interrogating the dynamic and origins of this programme to uncover the social relations from which that programme derives can the emergence of genocidal intent become explicable.104 Building on this insight, Semelin demonstrates that the process of exclusionary social group construction invariably derives from political processes emerging from deep-seated sociopolitical crises that undermine the prevailing framework of civil order and social norms; and which can, for one social group, be seemingly resolved by projecting anxieties onto a new ‘outsider’ group deemed to be somehow responsible for crisis conditions. It is in this context that various forms of mass violence, which may or may not eventually culminate in actual genocide, can become legitimised as contributing to the resolution of crises.105 This does not imply that the securitisation of global crises by Western defence agencies is genocidal. Rather, the same essential dynamics of social polarisation and exclusionary group identity formation evident in genocides are highly relevant in understanding the radicalisation processes behind mass violence. This highlights the fundamental connection between social crisis, the breakdown of prevailing norms, the formation of new exclusionary group identities, and the projection of blame for crisis onto a newly constructed ‘outsider’ group vindicating various forms of violence. Conclusions While recommendations to shift our frame of orientation away from conventional state-centrism toward a ‘human security’ approach are valid, this cannot be achieved without confronting the deeper theoretical assumptions underlying conventional approaches to ‘non-traditional’ security issues.106 By occluding the structural origin and systemic dynamic of global ecological, energy and economic crises, orthodox approaches are incapable of transforming them. Coupled with their excessive state-centrism, this means they operate largely at the level of ‘surface’ impacts of global crises in terms of how they will affect quite traditional security issues relative to sustaining state integrity, such as international terrorism, violent conﬂict and population movements. Global crises end up fuelling the projection of risk onto social networks, groups and countries that cross the geopolitical fault-lines of these ‘surface’ impacts – which happen to intersect largely with Muslim communities. Hence, regions particularly vulnerable to climate change impacts, containing large repositories of hydrocarbon energy resources, or subject to demographic transformations in the context of rising population pressures, have become the focus of state security planning in the context of counter-terrorism operations abroad. The intensifying problematisation and externalisation of Muslim-majority regions and populations by Western security agencies – as a discourse – is therefore not only interwoven with growing state perceptions of global crisis acceleration, but driven ultimately by an epistemological failure to interrogate the systemic causes of this acceleration in collective state policies [which themselves occur in the context of particular social, political and economic structures]. This expansion of militarisation is thus coeval with the subliminal normative presumption that the social relations of the perpetrators, in this case Western states, must be protected and perpetuated at any cost – precisely because the efﬁcacy of the prevailing geopolitical and economic order is ideologically beyond question. As much as this analysis highlights a direct link between global systemic crises, social polarisation and state militarisation, it fundamentally undermines the idea of a symbiotic link between natural resources and conﬂict per se. Neither ‘resource shortages’ nor ‘resource abundance’ [in ecological, energy, food and monetary terms] necessitate conﬂict by themselves. There are two key operative factors that determine whether either condition could lead to con- ﬂict. The ﬁrst is the extent to which either condition can generate socio-political crises that challenge or undermine the prevailing order. The second is the way in which stakeholder actors choose to actually respond to the latter crises. To understand these factors accurately requires close attention to the political, economic and ideological strictures of resource exploitation, consumption and distribution between different social groups and classes. Overlooking the systematic causes of social crisis leads to a heightened tendency to problematise its symptoms, in the forms of challenges from particular social groups. This can lead to externalisation of those groups, and the legitimisation of violence towards them. Ultimately, this systems approach to global crises strongly suggests that conventional policy ‘reform’ is woefully inadequate. Global warming and energy depletion are manifestations of a civilisation which is in overshoot. The current scale and organisation of human activities is breaching the limits of the wider environmental and natural resource systems in which industrial civilisation is embedded. This breach is now increasingly visible in the form of two interlinked crises in global food production and the global ﬁnancial system. In short, industrial civilisation in its current form is unsustainable. This calls for a process of wholesale civilisational transition to adapt to the inevitable arrival of the post-carbon era through social, political and economic transformation. Yet conventional theoretical and policy approaches fail to [1] fully engage with the gravity of research in the natural sciences and [2] translate the social science implications of this research in terms of the embeddedness of human social systems in natural systems. Hence, **lacking capacity for epistemological self-reﬂection** and inhibiting the transformative responses urgently required, they reify and normalise mass violence against diverse ‘Others’, newly constructed as traditional security threats enormously ampliﬁed by global crises – a process that guarantees the intensiﬁcation and globalisation of insecurity on the road to ecological, energy and economic catastrophe. Such an outcome, of course, is not inevitable, but extensive new transdisciplinary research in IR and the wider social sciences – drawing on and integrating human and critical security studies, political ecology, historical sociology and historical materialism, while engaging directly with developments in the natural sciences – is urgently required to develop coherent conceptual frameworks which could inform more sober, effective, and joined-up policy-making on these issues.

## Heg

#### Maintaining hegemony accelerates paranoid imperial violence – their obsession manufactures threats and conceals the US’ role in enemy construction – the alternative makes visible power relationships that enable endless warfare

McClintock 9 (Anne, Simone de Beauvoir Professor of English and Women’s and Gender Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, "Paranoid Empire: Specters from Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib," Muse)

By now it is fair to say that the United States has come to be dominated by two grand and dangerous hallucinations: the promise of **benign US globalization** and the permanent threat of the “war on terror.” I have come to feel that we cannot understand the extravagance of the violence to which the US government has committed itself after 9/11—two countries invaded, thousands of innocent people imprisoned, killed, and tortured—unless we grasp a defining feature of our moment, that is, a deep and disturbing doubleness with respect to power. Taking shape, as it now does, around **fantasies of global omnipotence** (Operation Infinite Justice, the War to End All Evil) **coinciding with nightmares of impending attack**, the United States has entered the domain of **paranoia**: dream world and catastrophe. For it is only in paranoia that one finds simultaneously and in such condensed form both **deliriums of absolute power and forebodings of perpetual threat.** Hence the spectral and nightmarish quality of the “war on terror,” a limitless war against a limitless threat, a war vaunted by the US administration to encompass all of space and persisting without end. But the war on terror is not a real war, for “terror” is not an identifiable enemy nor a strategic, real-world target. The war on terror is what William Gibson calls elsewhere “a consensual hallucination,”[4](http://muse.jhu.edu.go.libproxy.wfubmc.edu/journals/small_axe/v013/13.1.mcclintock.html#f4) and the US government can fling its military might against ghostly apparitions and hallucinate a victory over all evil only at the cost of catastrophic self-delusion and the infliction of great calamities elsewhere. [End Page 51] I have come to feel that we **urgently need to make visible** (the better politically to challenge) those established but **concealed circuits of imperial violence** that now animate the war on terror. We need, as urgently, to illuminate the continuities that connect those circuits of imperial violence abroad with the vast, internal shadowlands of prisons and supermaxes—the modern “slave-ships on the middle passage to nowhere”—that have come to characterize the United States as a super-carceral state.[5](http://muse.jhu.edu.go.libproxy.wfubmc.edu/journals/small_axe/v013/13.1.mcclintock.html#f5) Can we, the uneasy heirs of empire, now speak only of national things? If a long-established but primarily covert US imperialism has, since 9/11, manifested itself more aggressively as an overt empire, does the terrain and object of intellectual inquiry, as well as the claims of political responsibility, not also extend beyond that useful fiction of the “exceptional nation” to embrace the shadowlands of empire? If so, how can we theorize the phantasmagoric, imperial violence that has come so dreadfully to constitute our kinship with the ordinary, but which also at the same moment renders extraordinary the ordinary bodies of ordinary people, an imperial violence which in **collusion** with a complicit corporate media would **render itself invisible**, casting **states of emergency** into fitful shadow and fleshly bodies into specters? For imperialism is not something that happens elsewhere, an offshore fact to be deplored but as easily ignored. Rather, the force of empire comes to **reconfigure**, from within, the nature and violence of the nation-state itself, giving rise to perplexing questions: Who under an empire are “we,” the people? And who are the ghosted, ordinary people beyond the nation-state who, in turn, constitute “us”? We now inhabit a crisis of violence and the visible. How do we insist on seeing the violence that the imperial state attempts to render **invisible**, while also seeing the ordinary people afflicted by that violence? For to allow the spectral, disfigured people (especially those under torture) obliged to inhabit the haunted no-places and penumbra of empire to be made visible as ordinary people is to forfeit the long-held US claim of moral and cultural exceptionalism, the traditional self-identity of the United States as the **uniquely superior, universal standard-bearer of moral authority, a tenacious, national mythology of originary innocence now in tatters**. The deeper question, however, is not only how to see but also how to theorize and oppose the violence without becoming beguiled by the seductions of spectacle alone.[6](http://muse.jhu.edu.go.libproxy.wfubmc.edu/journals/small_axe/v013/13.1.mcclintock.html#f6) Perhaps in the labyrinths of torture we must also find a way to speak with ghosts, for specters disturb the authority of vision and the hauntings of popular memory disrupt the great forgettings of official history. [End Page 52] Paranoia Even the paranoid have enemies. —Donald Rumsfeld Why paranoia? Can we fully understand the proliferating circuits of imperial violence—the very eclipsing of which gives to our moment its uncanny, phantasmagoric cast—without understanding the **pervasive presence of the paranoia** that has come, quite violently, to manifest itself across the political and cultural spectrum as a defining feature of our time? By paranoia, I mean not simply Hofstadter’s famous identification of the US state’s tendency toward conspiracy theories.[7](http://muse.jhu.edu.go.libproxy.wfubmc.edu/journals/small_axe/v013/13.1.mcclintock.html#f7) Rather, I conceive of paranoia as an **inherent contradiction** with respect to power: a **double-sided phantasm** that **oscillates precariously between deliriums of grandeur and nightmares of perpetual threat**, a deep and dangerous doubleness with respect to power that is held in unstable tension, but which, if suddenly destabilized (as after 9/11), can produce **pyrotechnic displays of violence**. The pertinence of understanding paranoia, I argue, lies in its peculiarly intimate and peculiarly dangerous relation to violence.[8](http://muse.jhu.edu.go.libproxy.wfubmc.edu/journals/small_axe/v013/13.1.mcclintock.html#f8) Let me be clear: I do not see paranoia as a primary, structural cause of US imperialism nor as its structuring identity. Nor do I see the US war on terror as animated by some collective, psychic agency, submerged mind, or Hegelian “cunning of reason,” nor by what Susan Faludi calls a national “terror dream.”[9](http://muse.jhu.edu.go.libproxy.wfubmc.edu/journals/small_axe/v013/13.1.mcclintock.html#f9) Nor am I interested in evoking paranoia as a kind of psychological diagnosis of the imperial nation-state. Nations do not have “psyches” or an “unconscious”; only people do. Rather, a social entity such as an organization, state, or empire can be spoken of as “paranoid” if the dominant powers governing that entity cohere as a collective community around **contradictory cultural narratives, self-mythologies, practices, and identities that oscillate between delusions of inherent superiority and omnipotence,** and phantasms of threat and engulfment. The term paranoia is analytically useful here, then, not as a description of a collective national psyche, nor as a description of a universal pathology, but rather as an **analytically strategic concept**, a way of seeing and being **attentive to contradictions within power**, a way of making visible (the better politically to oppose) the contradictory **flashpoints of violence** that the state tries to conceal. [End Page 53] Paranoia is in this sense what I call a hinge phenomenon, articulated between the ordinary person and society, between psychodynamics and socio-political history. Paranoia is in that sense dialectical rather than binary, for its violence **erupts from the force** of its multiple, **cascading contradictions**: the intimate memories of wounds, defeats, and humiliations condensing with cultural fantasies of aggrandizement and revenge, in such a way as to be productive at times of **unspeakable violence**. For how else can we understand such debauches of cruelty?

#### Stability will survive without US hegemony

Fettweis ‘10 (Chris Fettweis, Professor of national security affairs @ U.S. Naval War College, Georgetown University Press, “Dangerous times?: the international politics of great power peace” Google Books)

Simply stated, the hegemonic stability theory proposes that international peace is only possible when there is one country strong enough to make and enforce a set of rules. At the height of Pax Romana between 27 BC and 180 AD, for example, Rome was able to bring unprecedented peace and security to the Mediterranean. The Pax Britannica of the nineteenth century brought a level of stability to the high seas. Perhaps the current era is peaceful because the United States has established a de facto Pax Americana where no power is strong enough to challenge its dominance, and because it has established a set of rules that a generally in the interests of all countries to follow. Without a benevolent hegemony, some strategists fear, instability may break out around the globe. Unchecked conflicts could cause humanitarian disaster and, in today’s interconnected world economic turmoil that would ripple throughout global financial markets. If the United States were to abandon its commitments abroad, argued Art, the world would “become a more dangerous place” and, sooner or later, that would “rebound to America’s detriment.” If the massive spending that the United States engages in actually produces stability in the international political and economic systems, then perhaps internationalism is worthwhile. There are good theoretical and empirical reasons, however, the belief that U.S. hegemony is not the primary cause of the current era of stability. First of all, the hegemonic stability argument overstates the role that the United States plays in the system. No country is strong enough to police the world on its own. The only way there can be stability in the community of great powers is if self-policing occurs, ifs states have decided that their interest are served by peace. If no pacific normative shift had occurred among the great powers that was filtering down through the system, then no amount of international constabulary work by the United States could maintain stability. Likewise, if it is true that such a shift has occurred, then most of what the hegemon spends to bring stability would be wasted. The 5 percent of the world’s population that live in the United States simple could not force peace upon an unwilling 95. At the risk of beating the metaphor to death, the United States may be patrolling a neighborhood that has already rid itself of crime. Stability and unipolarity may be simply coincidental. In order for U.S. hegemony to be the reason for global stability, the rest of the world would have to expect reward for good behavior and fear punishment for bad. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has not always proven to be especially eager to engage in humanitarian interventions abroad. Even rather incontrovertible evidence of genocide has not been sufficient to inspire action. Hegemonic stability can only take credit for influence those decisions that would have ended in war without the presence, whether physical or psychological, of the United States. Ethiopia and Eritrea are hardly the only states that could go to war without the slightest threat of U.S. intervention. Since most of the world today is free to fight without U.S. involvement, something else must be at work. Stability exists in many places where no hegemony is present. Second, the limited empirical evidence we have suggests that there is little connection between the relative level of U.S. activism and international stability. During the 1990s the United States cut back on its defense spending fairly substantially, By 1998 the United States was spending $100 billion less on defense in real terms than it had in 1990. To internationalists, defense hawks, and other believers in hegemonic stability this irresponsible "peace dividend" endangered both national and global security "No serious analyst of American military capabilities," argued Kristol and Kagan, "doubts that the defense budget has been cut much too far to meet Americas responsibilities to itself and to world peace."" If the pacific trends were due not to U.S. hegemony but a strengthening norm against interstate war, however, one would not have expected an increase in global instability and violence. The verdict from the past two decades is fairly plain: The world grew more peaceful while the United States cut its forces. No state seemed to believe that its security was endangered by a less-capable Pentagon, or at least none took any action that would suggest such a belief. No militaries were enhanced to address power vacuums; no security dilemmas drove mistrust and arms races; no regional balancing occurred once the stabilizing presence of the U.S. military was diminished. The rest of the world acted as if the threat ofinternational war was not a pressing concern, despite the reduction in U.S. capabilities. The incidence and magnitude of global conflict declined while the United States cut its military spending under President Clinton, and it kept declining as the Bush Administration ramped spending back up. No complex statistical analysis should be necessary to reach the conclusion that the two are unrelated. It is also worth noting for our purposes that the United States was no less safe.

#### History disproves effective deterrence

Kober ‘10 (Stanley Kober, Research Fellow in foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute, “The Deterrence Illusion” http://www.cato.org/pub\_display.php?pub\_id=11898, June 13, 2010)

The world at the beginning of the 21st century bears an eerie — and disquieting — resemblance to Europe at the beginning of the last century.

That was also an era of globalisation. New technologies for transportation and communication were transforming the world. Europeans had lived so long in peace that war seemed irrational. And they were right, up to a point. The first world war was the product of a mode of rational thinking that went badly off course. The peace of Europe was based on security assurances. Germany was the protector of Austria-Hungary, and Russia was the protector of Serbia. The prospect of escalation was supposed to prevent war, and it did — until, finally, it didn't. The Russians, who should have been deterred — they had suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of Japan just a few years before — decided they had to come to the support of their fellow Slavs. As countries honoured their commitments, a system that was designed to prevent war instead widened it. We have also been living in an age of globalisation, especially since the end of the cold war, but it too is increasingly being challenged. And just like the situation at the beginning of the last century, deterrence is not working. Much is made, for example, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) invoking Article V — the famous "three musketeers" pledge that an attack on one member is to be considered as an attack on all — following the terrorist attacks of September 11. But the United States is the most powerful member of NATO by far. Indeed, in 2001, it was widely considered to be a hegemon, a hyperpower. Other countries wanted to be in NATO because they felt an American guarantee would provide security. And yet it was the US that was attacked. This failure of deterrence has not received the attention it deserves. It is, after all, not unique. The North Vietnamese were not deterred by the American guarantee to South Vietnam. Similarly, Hezbollah was not deterred in Lebanon in the 1980s, and American forces were assaulted in Somalia. What has been going wrong? The successful deterrence of the superpowers during the cold war led to the belief that if such powerful countries could be deterred, then lesser powers should fall into line when confronted with an overwhelmingly powerful adversary. It is plausible, but it may be too rational. For all their ideological differences, the US and the Soviet Union observed red lines during the cold war. There were crises — Berlin, Cuba, to name a couple — but these did not touch on emotional issues or vital interests, so that compromise and retreat were possible. Indeed, what we may have missed in the west is the importance of retreat in Soviet ideology. "Victory is impossible unless [the revolutionary parties] have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly," Lenin wrote in Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder. When the Soviets retreated, the US took the credit. Deterrence worked. But what if retreat was part of the plan all along? What if, in other words, the Soviet Union was the exception rather than the rule? That question is more urgent because, in the post-cold war world, the US has expanded its security guarantees, even as its enemies show they are not impressed. The Iraqi insurgents were not intimidated by President Bush's challenge to "bring 'em on". The Taliban have made an extraordinary comeback from oblivion and show no respect for American power. North Korea is demonstrating increasing belligerence. And yet the US keeps emphasising security through alliances. "We believe that there are certain commitments, as we saw in a bipartisan basis to NATO, that need to be embedded in the DNA of American foreign policy," secretary of state Hillary Clinton affirmed in introducing the new National Security Strategy. But that was the reason the US was in Vietnam. It had a bipartisan commitment to South Vietnam under the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation, reaffirmed through the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which passed Congress with only two dissenting votes. It didn't work, and found its commitments were not embedded in its DNA. Americans turned against the war, Secretary Clinton among them. The great powers could not guarantee peace in Europe a century ago, and the US could not guarantee it in Asia a half-century ago.

**The Owen card is just a post on the Cato institute- not a study itself and it’s not peer-reviewed- give it little weight compared to our statistical studies**

**Owen is just citing the Human Security Report - he admits he has no data or methodology to test his armchair theorizing about heg**

**Owen ‘11** (John M. Owen Professor of Politics at University of Virginia PhD from Harvard "DON’T DISCOUNT HEGEMONY" Feb 11 www.cato-unbound.org/2011/02/11/john-owen/dont-discount-hegemony/

Andrew Mack and his colleagues at the Human Security Report Project are to be congratulated. Not only do they present a study with a striking conclusion, driven by data, free of theoretical or ideological bias, but they also do something quite unfashionable: they bear good news. Social scientists really are not supposed to do that. Our job is, if not to be Malthusians, then at least to point out disturbing trends, looming catastrophes, and the imbecility and mendacity of policy makers. And then it is to say why, if people listen to us, things will get better. We do this as if our careers depended upon it, and perhaps they do; for if all is going to be well, what need then for us? Our colleagues at Simon Fraser University are brave indeed. That may sound like a setup, but it is not. I shall challenge neither the data nor the general conclusion that violent conflict around the world has been decreasing in fits and starts since the Second World War. When it comes to violent conflict among and within countries, things have been getting better. (The trends have not been linear—Figure 1.1 actually shows that the frequency of interstate wars peaked in the 1980s—but the 65-year movement is clear.) Instead I shall accept that Mack et al. are correct on the macro-trends, and focus on their explanations they advance for these remarkable trends. With apologies to any readers of this forum who recoil from academic debates, this might get mildly theoretical and even more mildly methodological. Concerning international wars, one version of the “nuclear-peace” theory is not in fact laid to rest by the data. It is certainly true that nuclear-armed states have been involved in many wars. They have even been attacked (think of Israel), which falsifies the simple claim of “assured destruction”—that any nuclear country A will deter any kind of attack by any country B because B fears a retaliatory nuclear strike from A. But the most important “nuclear-peace” claim has been about mutually assured destruction, which obtains between two robustly nuclear-armed states. The claim is that (1) rational states having second-strike capabilities—enough deliverable nuclear weaponry to survive a nuclear first strike by an enemy—will have an overwhelming incentive not to attack one another; and (2) we can safely assume that nuclear-armed states are rational. It follows that states with a second-strike capability will not fight one another. Their colossal atomic arsenals neither kept the United States at peace with North Vietnam during the Cold War nor the Soviet Union at peace with Afghanistan. But the argument remains strong that those arsenals did help keep the United States and Soviet Union at peace with each other. Why non-nuclear states are not deterred from fighting nuclear states is an important and open question. But in a time when calls to ban the Bomb are being heard from more and more quarters, we must be clear about precisely what the broad trends toward peace can and cannot tell us. They may tell us nothing about why we have had no World War III, and little about the wisdom of banning the Bomb now. Regarding the downward trend in international war, Professor Mack is friendlier to more palatable theories such as the “democratic peace” (democracies do not fight one another, and the proportion of democracies has increased, hence less war); the interdependence or “commercial peace” (states with extensive economic ties find it irrational to fight one another, and interdependence has increased, hence less war); and the notion that people around the world are more anti-war than their forebears were. Concerning the downward trend in civil wars, he favors theories of economic growth (where commerce is enriching enough people, violence is less appealing—a logic similar to that of the “commercial peace” thesis that applies among nations) and the end of the Cold War (which end reduced superpower support for rival rebel factions in so many Third-World countries). These are all plausible mechanisms for peace. What is more, none of them excludes any other; all could be working toward the same end. That would be somewhat puzzling, however. Is the world just lucky these days? How is it that an array of peace-inducing factors happens to be working coincidentally in our time, when such a magical array was absent in the past? The answer may be that one or more of these mechanisms reinforces some of the others, or perhaps some of them are mutually reinforcing. Some scholars, for example, have been focusing on whether economic growth might support democracy and vice versa, and whether both might support international cooperation, including to end civil wars. We would still need to explain how this charmed circle of causes got started, however. And here let me raise another factor, perhaps **even less appealing** than the “nuclear peace” **thesis**, at least outside of the United States. That factor is what international relations scholars call hegemony—specifically American hegemony. A theory that many regard as discredited, but that refuses to go away, is called hegemonic stability theory. The theory emerged in the 1970s in the realm of international political economy. It asserts that for the global economy to remain open—for countries to keep barriers to trade and investment low—one powerful country must take the lead. Depending on the theorist we consult, “taking the lead” entails paying for global public goods (keeping the sea lanes open, providing liquidity to the international economy), coercion (threatening to raise trade barriers or withdraw military protection from countries that cheat on the rules), or both. The theory is skeptical that international cooperation in economic matters can emerge or endure absent a hegemon. The distastefulness of such claims is self-evident: they imply that it is good for everyone the world over if one country has more wealth and power than others. More precisely, they imply that it has been good for the world that the United States has been so predominant. There is no obvious reason why hegemonic stability theory could not apply to other areas of international cooperation, including in security affairs, human rights, international law, peacekeeping (UN or otherwise), and so on. What I want **to suggest here—suggest, not test**—is that American hegemony might just be a deep cause of the steady decline of political deaths in the world. How could that be? After all, the report states that United States is the third most war-prone country since 1945. Many of the deaths depicted in Figure 10.4 were in wars that involved the United States (the Vietnam War being the leading one). Notwithstanding politicians’ claims to the contrary, a candid look at U.S. foreign policy reveals that the country is as ruthlessly self-interested as any other great power in history. The answer is that U.S. hegemony might just be a deeper cause of the proximate causes outlined by Professor Mack. Consider economic growth and openness to foreign trade and investment, which (so say some theories) render violence irrational. American power and policies may be responsible for these in two related ways. First, at least since the 1940s Washington has prodded other countries to embrace the market capitalism that entails economic openness and produces sustainable economic growth. The United States promotes capitalism for selfish reasons, of course: its own domestic system depends upon growth, which in turn depends upon the efficiency gains from economic interaction with foreign countries, and the more the better. During the Cold War most of its allies accepted some degree of market-driven growth. Second, the U.S.-led western victory in the Cold War damaged the credibility of alternative paths to development—communism and import-substituting industrialization being the two leading ones—and left market capitalism the best model. The end of the Cold War also involved an end to the billions of rubles in Soviet material support for regimes that tried to make these alternative models work. (It also, as Professor Mack notes, eliminated the superpowers’ incentives to feed civil violence in the Third World.) What we call globalization is caused in part by the emergence of the United States as the global hegemon. The same case can be made, with somewhat more difficulty, concerning the spread of democracy. Washington has supported democracy only under certain conditions—the chief one being the absence of a popular anti-American movement in the target state—but those conditions have become much more widespread following the collapse of communism. Thus in the 1980s the Reagan administration—the most anti-communist government America ever had—began to dump America’s old dictator friends, starting in the Philippines. Today Islamists tend to be anti-American, and so the Obama administration is skittish about democracy in Egypt and other authoritarian Muslim countries. But general U.S. material and moral support for liberal democracy remains strong. **The trouble with hegemonic stability theory is that it is difficult to test**. The difficulty lies in the unobservable qualities of hegemony: it is about not simply material power—guns and money—but “soft power,” persuasion, ideas, things difficult to quantify and measure. Still, many scholars of international relations continue to think that there is much to the theory. The implications are large. If American hegemony does indeed underpin, at least indirectly, the virtuous macro-trends outlined in Professor Mack’s essay—the overall downward trend in wars and political deaths—then the decline in American hegemony many analysts are now seeing is about much more than the humbling of a superpower.

**The Human Security Report Owen is citing concludes neg- prefer the people who actually analyzed the statistical data**

**A- Heg causes more conflict than it solves- historical data proves**

**Human Security Report ’10** ( Embargoed until 2 December 2010, 11:00am EST Human Security Report Project. Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

**As with other realist claims, there are reasons for skepticism about the peace through preponderance thesis**. First, if it were true, we might expect that the most powerful states would experience the least warfare. However, since the end of World War II, the opposite has in fact **been the case**. Between 1946 and 2008, the four countries that had been involved in the greatest number of international conflicts were France, the UK, the US, and Russia/USSR.19 Yet, these were four of the most powerful conventional military powers in the world— and they all had nuclear weapons. The fact that **major powers tend to be more involved in international conflicts** than minor powers is not surprising. Fighting international wars requires the capacity to project substantial military power across national frontiers and often over very long distances. Few countries have this capacity; major powers have it by definition.

**B-Heg causes colonialist conflicts that turn any reason heg is good**

**Human Security Report ’10** ( Embargoed until 2 December 2010, 11:00am EST Human Security Report Project. Human Security Report 2009/2010: The Causes of Peace and the Shrinking Costs of War. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

But **there is a more serious challenge to the preponderance thesis**. **From the end of World War II until the early 1970s, nationalist struggles against colonial powers were the most frequent form of international conflict**. The failure of the far more powerful colonial powers to prevail in these conflicts poses a serious challenge to the core assumptions of preponderance theories—and marked a remarkable historical change. During most of the history of colonial expansion and rule there had been little effective resistance from the inhabitants of the territories that were being colonized. Indeed, as one analyst of the wars of colonial conquest noted, “by and large, it would seem true that what made the machinery of European troops so successful was that native troops saw fit to die, with glory, with honor, en masse, and in vain.”20 The ease of colonial conquest, the subsequent crushing military defeats imposed on the Axis powers by the superior military industrial might of the Allies in World War II, and the previous failure of the UN’s predecessor, the League of Nations, to stop Fascist aggression all served to reinforce the idea that preponderance—superiority in military capability—was the key both to peace through deterrence and victory in war. But in the post-World War II world, new strategic realities raised serious questions about assumptions regarding the effectiveness of conventional military superiority. In particular, the outcomes of the wars of colonial liberation, the US defeat in Vietnam, and the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan demonstrated that in some types of conflict, **military preponderance could neither deter nationalist forces nor be used to defeat them**. **The outcomes of these conflicts posed a major challenge for preponderance theories.** **While preponderance itself may reduce the risk of war**, **the process of trying to attain it increases the risk**. Not only did the vastly superior military capabilities of the colonial powers fail to deter the nationalist rebels from going to war but in every case it was the nationalist forces that prevailed. The colonial powers withdrew and the colonies gained independence. Military preponderance was strategically irrelevant. Writing about US strategy in Vietnam six years before the end of the war, Henry Kissinger noted: We fought a military war; our opponents fought a political one. We sought physical attrition; our opponents aimed for our psychological exhaustion. In the process, we lost sight of one of the cardinal maxims of guerrilla warfare: the guerrilla wins if he does not lose. The conventional army loses if it does not win.21 For the nationalist forces, military engagements were never intended to defeat the external power militarily—that was impossible. The strategy was rather to seek the progressive attrition of the metropole’s political capability to wage war— “will” in the language of classical strategy.22 In such conflicts, if the human, economic, and reputational costs to the external power increase with little prospect of victory, support for the war in the metropole will steadily erode and the pressure to withdraw will inexorably increase. But asymmetric political/military strategies were not the only reason that relatively weak nationalist forces prevailed over militarily preponderant colonial powers in the post-World War II era. In the aftermath of World War II, there had been a major shift in global norms with respect to the legitimacy of colonial rule—a shift that made crushing nationalist rebellions politically more difficult for the colonial powers. In 1942 Winston Churchill had defiantly declared that “I have not become the King’s First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.”23 Less than 20 years later, another British prime minister, Harold MacMillan, sounded a very different note: “The wind of change is blowing through this [African] continent and, whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We must all accept it as a fact, and our national policies must take account of it.”24 The “wind of change” made crushing anticolonial uprisings fought in the name of self-determination politically difficult for the colonial powers who were after all signatories to the UN Charter that had strongly proclaimed the right to self-determination. Understanding this shift in global norms helps explain the failure of the colonial powers to prevail in the wars of colonial liberation. The anticolonial nationalists had history on their side, plus international political, and sometimes material, support from the US, from European countries that were not colonial powers, and, of course, from the Soviet Union. In many cases power was transferred to nationalist movements without any violence—fighting was often more about the timing of independence than its principle. Traditional realist “peace through strength” theories, with their focus on the importance of material capability in deterring war, and winning if deterrence fails, and their deep skepticism about the importance of ideas as drivers of change in the international system, **have never been able to provide compelling explanations for the strategic successes of militarily weak insurgents in national liberation wars.**

**Data proves cred theory wrong ----- leads to intervention and wars**

PRESS ‘5 – Associate Professor of Government at Dartmouth (Daryl Press, “Calculating credibility: how leaders assess military threats”, Google Books)

In international politics credibility is a prized asset. A country whose promises are credible can build valuable alliances because potential allies will not fear betrayal or abandonment. A country whose threats are credible can deter many enemies and prevent costly wars rather than fight them. Every country strives to make its threats and promises credible, but how is this done? What causes credibility?

Statesmen, scholars, and pundits believe they know how credibility is won and lost. The conventional wisdom holds that credibility depends on a country's past behavior—its history of keeping or breaking commitments. Like people who keep their word, countries that keep their promises will be believed when they issue new assurances. And like people who casually break their promises, countries that renege on their commitments soon discover that their promises carry no weight. In international politics, it seems, countries must keep their promises and carry out their threats to preserve their credibility, even if doing so exacts serious costs in the short term.

This book argues that the conventional wisdom about credibility is wrong. A country's credibility, at least during crises, is driven not by its past behavior but rather by power and interests. If a country makes threats that it has the power to carry out—and an interest in doing so—those threats will be believed even if the country has bluffed in the past. If it makes threats that it lacks the power to carry out—or has no interest in doing so—its credibility will be viewed with great skepticism. When assessing credibility during crises, leaders focus on the "here and now," not on their adversary's past behavior. Tragically, those countries that have fought wars to build a reputation for resolve have wasted vast sums of money and, much worse, thousands of lives.

Evidence shows that presidents, prime ministers, and dictators believe the conventional wisdom about the sources of credibility. As a result countries have paid dearly to "invest" in reputation. Nowhere has this reasoning played a more influential role than in the past fifty years of U.S. foreign policy. The Cold War had just begun when the Truman administration intervened in the Korean War to protect America's credibility. As Secretary of State John Foster Dulles explained: "To sit by while Korea is overrun by unprovoked armed attack ... would start [a] disastrous chain of events leading most probably to world war." The president clarified this reasoning in a radio address to the American public: “If aggression were allowed to succeed in Korea, it would be an open invitation to new acts of aggression elsewhere."1

Fifteen years later American officials made the same arguments for intervention in Vietnam. Secretary of State Dean Rusk explained in 1965 why vital U.S. interests were at stake in Southeast Asia: "The integrity of the U.S. principal pillar of peace throughout the world. If that commitment becomes unreliable, the communist world would draw conclusions that would lead to our ruin and almost certainly to a catastrophic war. That same year President Lyndon Johnson echoed Rusk's reasoning: "To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would shake... confidence ... in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word." Years later, after the war had clearly become a quagmire, President Richard Nixon warned Americans that it would be dangerous to abandon South Vietnam because "the cause of peace might not survive the damage that would be done to other nations' confidence in our reliability."2

Even after suffering through the tragedy of Vietnam, America's leaders remained concerned that any signs of irresolution would weaken U.S. credibility. In 1983 President Ronald Reagan cautioned that the United States could not let Communists come to power in Latin America or else "our credibility will collapse and our alliances would crumble."3

Concern for protecting America's reputation for resolve remains strong in the post-Cold War era. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, President George H. W. Bush cautioned that America's credibility was at stake: a failure to defend Kuwait, the president warned, "would be a signal to actual ' and potential despots around the world" that they could swallow their neighbors without fear of the United States.4 Former president Nixon agreed, arguing that both U.S. and UN credibility were on the line: "If we fail to roll back (Saddam Hussein's) aggression ... no potential aggressor in the future will be deterred by warnings from the U.S. or by UN resolutions."5

Americas leaders and pundits also claimed that civil wars in Bosnia and Somalia put American credibility at stake.6 And when, in 1999, Serbia escalated its brutalities against Kosovar Albanians in defiance of NATO's warn- Introduction Defense William Cohen announced that the stakes America went beyond the obvious humanitarian issues: he declared that "NATO's credibility [is] on the line." Former secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger put it most clearly: NATO could not afford to fail in Kosovo because "our credibility must be preserved or all the would-be Milosevic around the world will believe that they, too, can kill and maim with impunity."7

Each of these claims—from the Korean War through the post-Cold War period—rests on an idea, which I call "Past Actions" theory, that tomorrow's enemies will assess America's credibility on the basis of U.S. action today. This theory is widely believed. But is it true?

This book tests the conventional wisdom against a competing argument about the sources of credibility. The "Current Calculus" theory posits that decisionmakers assess the credibility of their adversaries' threats by evaluating the balance of power and interests—and not the adversaries' history for keeping or breaking commitments. When decisionmakers face a threat, they ask themselves a few simple and intuitive questions. They wonder: Does the enemy have an interest in carrying out his threat? Does he have the power to do it? And—bringing together power and interests—are the enemy's interests sufficient to justify the costs that he will have to pay by carrying out his threat? If he can do what he threatens with relatively low costs, the adversary's threats will be credible. Otherwise his threats will seem empty.

In contrast with Past Actions theory—which envisions leaders assessing credibility by peering into the past—Current Calculus theory posits that decisionmakers treat crises as if they were sui generis. If Current Calculus theory is correct, then countries do not need to take costly actions (such as fighting wars) to protect their future credibility. Future commitments will be credible if—and only if—they are backed up by sufficient strength and connected to weighty interests.

This book evaluates these competing theories of credibility by examining decisionmaking during three sets of crises.8 The first set has become the metaphor for the dangers of breaking commitments: the "appeasement" crises between Nazi Germany and the British and French immediately before World War II. According to the conventional view, British and French irresolution throughout the 1930s shattered their credibility in German eyes. In 1939, Britain and France tried to deter Germany from attacking Poland but the Germans no longer took their threats seriously. This interpretation of the 1930s appears to provide strong support for Past Actions theory, but how does it hold up against the evidence? Specifically, how did German leaders assess British and French credibility during the crises that led to World War II? Did they base their assessments on the series of British and French withdrawals? Or did German leaders disregard the past and calculate credibility throughout the period on the basis of the current balance of power and interests?

The second set of crises takes us to the Cold War and focuses on American and British decisionmaking. From 1958 to 1961 Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev repeatedly threatened to cut off American, British, and French access to West Berlin, to force the western Allies to withdraw from the city. On several occasions Khrushchev set a six-month deadline and threatened dire consequences if the West ignored his demands. Each time the deadline passed and the Soviets backed down. What did American and British decisionmakers learn from Khrushchev's repeated bluffs over Berlin? Did Khrushchev's pattern of making threats and backing down reduce his credibility in American and British eyes? Or were American and British leaders' assessments of credibility determined by the Soviet Union's growing power, specifically the country's expanding strategic nuclear arsenal?

The third case picks up a few months after the last Berlin crisis. In the fall of 1962 the United States and Soviet Union confronted each other in a dangerous standoff over Soviet missiles secretly deployed to Cuba. For two weeks the Kennedy administration used a combination of military and diplomatic tools to induce the Soviets to remove their missiles from Cuba, finally offering to "trade" and withdraw NATO's missiles from Turkey if the Soviets removed their missiles from Cuba. What did the American decisionmakers think about Soviet credibility during the Cuban missile crisis? Had they learned from Khrushchev's years of deadlines and bluster that his threats were merely bluffs? Or were their assessments of Soviet credibility focused on the current balance of power and the interests at stake?

The results of these cases are striking. First, in the 1930s British and French credibility fluctuated with shifts in both the real and perceived balance of power. Despite a long string of irresolute actions, British and French threats continued to look credible to German leaders as long as the Allies had the power to back their threats with effective force. They lost credibility only when the balance of power swung in Germany's favor. Furthermore, despite one famous remark by Hitler ("Our enemies are worms. I saw them in Munich."), British and French past actions were almost never mentioned by German leaders as they argued about foreign policy strategy. When German leaders debated Western credibility—and the debates were sometimes frank and acrimonious—they focused on the Allies' power to stop German aggression, not their past behavior. Western appeasement was misguided because it permitted Germany to grow dangerously powerful, but it did not cripple the Allies' credibility.

The Cold War cases reveal similar findings. Evidence from American and British archives demonstrates that Soviet threats to Berlin became more credible from 1958 through 1961 despite Khrushchev's repeated bluffs. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Soviets slowly expanded and diversified their nuclear arsenal, thereby closing America's gaping nuclear advantage. As the Soviet nuclear arsenal grew, the credibility of their threats to Berlin increased. And in 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis, Khrushchev's threats carried greater weight than ever. Despite years of bluffs, American leaders were convinced that the Soviets would be resolute in response to any tough U.S. actions against Cuba.

Furthermore, thousands of pages of documents from British and American archives reveal that during these Cold War crises, American and British decisionmakers almost never referred to the Soviet record of making threats and then backing down. Ironically, American and British decisionmakers worried constantly about their own reputations, and they talked incessantly about how their actions might affect the credibility of the NATO alliance, but they virtually never talked about Khrushchev's past actions: that he had repeatedly backed down over Berlin, and what his past behavior might reveal about *his* credibility.

What do these results tell us? First, Current Calculus theory performs very well in these cases. In the 1930s German decisionmakers believed French and British threats when—and only when—the balance of power favored the Allies. American and British decisionmakers believed Soviet threats when power and interests favored the Soviets. Second, the evidence is damning for Past Actions theory; the theory performs very poorly even though the cases stack the deck in its favor. For example, all the cases involved repeated interactions between the same countries, over similar issues, over a short period of time. In most of the cases there was continuity in the national leadership from one crisis to the next. If leaders were ever going to make judgments about the enemy's credibility from his past actions, this would be the time. But there is virtually no evidence from these crises that backing down damaged anyone's credibility. Past Actions theory is either simply wrong, or it is very weak, or it does not apply to high-stakes military crises such as those examined in this book.

#### Soft power is a gimmick- only based on GDP not credibility

Doctorow ’13 (Gilbert Doctorow, Research Fellow of the American University in Moscow, “Soft power is largely an American PR gimmick”, May 20, 2013)

The recent nose-thumbing at Russia and China by Professor Joseph Nye in Foreign Policy magazine over the inability of those countries to marshal soft power is flawed in a number of ways that go beyond the methodological weaknesses of his scholarly writings that I have described at length elsewhere.¹ This article is part of Voice of Russia Experts’ Panel Discussion It is curious that Nye insists soft power is purely the work of a free society and cannot be formed or directed by governments like the Chinese or the Russians, when in his own 2004 master work on the concept he bemoaned the cutbacks in US government-financed image projection by the USIA going back to the end of the Cold War. And in the same work he listed steps that Washington should do to promote soft power, including educational and military exchanges, liberalization of visas and the like. I have long agreed with Nye that the Kremlin’s efforts at exercising soft power have often been inept. For example, the Valdai Discussion Club meetings have only flattered fat-cat American academics who, after their photo opportunity with Vladimir Putin, returned home and laid into Russia with even greater vigor from their university and think-tank perches. At the same time, Russia’s cultural icons are genuinely very popular abroad. The Hermitage Amsterdam is a world-class calling card that carries weight greater than the humbler British Council or Alliance Française installations. The Mariinsky Theater, newly launched into a Lincoln Center type complex with the opening of its second stage, enjoys worldwide respect both on tour and at home during the White Nights Festival. Friends in the travel industry assure me that the coming summer season bookings of upper middle-class American tourists to Moscow, St Petersburg and the Golden Triangle are at a multi-year high. There is not much in all of this for the Kremlin to use in furtherance of its foreign policy objectives. But then the fact that Hilary Clinton chose Nye as the State Department’s house philosopher during her tenure did not change the substance of Obama’s foreign policy even if it may have influenced the sound bites. And it could not be otherwise, because soft power is largely a public relations gimmick. Since Nye is an idealist rather than a realist, he systematically fails to understand that soft power is above all a by-product of wealth and success. America’s undisputed power of attraction to peoples around the world (when it is not invading hapless countries) has more to do with its per capita GDP than with any other factor. This explains the passion of ambitious people everywhere to send their children to American colleges, whatever their ratings. It explains the popularity of Hollywood and pop culture and much more. There is nothing wrong with this; it is all understandable in human terms. But it has relatively little to do with vibrant civil society or any beacon of human rights radiating from Washington, D.C. In this respect, the best thing that Russia or China can do to further their soft power is to get richer quick. In the meantime, Beijing and Moscow would be wise to keep their eyes on the ball, that is on their hard power. If you can’t be loved, it is quite sufficient to be respected. 1. The underlying notion of soft power can be sufficiently explained in a sentence or two. Nye has written volumes. However, his “research” is utterly indiscriminating and he is enthralled by new media. See my critique in Great Post-Cold War American Thinkers on International Relations (2010)

#### Systemic opposition dooms soft power- drones aren’t key

**Wike ’12** [Richard Wike is associate director of the Pew Global Attitudes Project, “Wait, You Still Don't Like Us?” September 19, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/19/you_still_don_t_like_us?page=full>]

Anti-Americanism in the Muslim world, an issue that was front and center throughout much of the George W. Bush era, is squarely back in the news following the protests that swept across more than 20 countries in reaction to a controversial anti-Islam film. The all-too-familiar images of angry demonstrators burning the Stars and Stripes are a dramatic reminder that, while the image of the United States has improved throughout many parts of the world during Barack Obama's presidency, negative views of America remain stubbornly persistent in key Muslim countries. Much of this animosity is due to continuing concerns about U.S. power and widespread opposition to major elements of American foreign policy. But it's not just about the United States -- rather, anti-Americanism needs to be seen within a broader context of distrust between Muslims and the West.¶ Following his election, Obama made it a priority to change America's dismal image in the Muslim world, most prominently in his June 2009 Cairo speech. And he has had some successes; in fact, Muslim publics still generally give him more positive ratings than Bush received. For instance, in a spring 2012 survey by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, only 24 percent of Turks express confidence in Obama; still, that's a whole lot better than the 2 percent who felt this way about Bush during his final year in office. Also, due in part to having lived there for a few years as a child, Obama has consistently received high marks in Indonesia, and his popularity has helped turn around America's image in the world's most populous Muslim nation.¶ But overall, the picture remains grim. In Egypt, for example, despite all the tumult of the revolution, America's image remains roughly where it was four years ago -- then 22 percent expressed a favorable opinion of the United States; in the 2012 poll, it was 19 percent. Among Pakistanis and Jordanians, America's already poor ratings have declined further since 2008 -- in both countries, 19 percent held a positive view of the U.S. four years ago, compared with just 12 percent in 2012.¶ Why hasn't America's image improved? In part, many Muslims around the world continue to voice the same criticisms of U.S. foreign policy that were common in the Bush years. U.S. anti-terrorism efforts are still widely unpopular. America is still seen as ignoring the interests of other countries. Few think Obama has been even-handed in dealing with the Israelis and the Palestinians. And the current administration's increased reliance on drone strikes to target extremists is overwhelmingly unpopular -- more than 80 percent of Jordanians, Egyptians, and Turks oppose the drone campaign.¶ The opposition to drone strikes points to a broader issue: a widespread distrust of American power. This is especially true when the United States employs hard power, whether it's the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq or the drone attacks in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen. But it is true even for elements of American soft power. Predominantly Muslim nations are generally among the least likely to embrace U.S. popular culture or the spread of American ideas and customs. Only 36 percent of Egyptians like American music, movies, and television, and just 11 percent believe it is good that U.S. ideas and customs are spreading to their country.¶ But America's image problems are not due solely to fears of American power. In some ways, the issue of anti-Americanism is part of a broader story about mutual distrust between Muslims and Westerners. Polling by Pew in 2006 and 2011 highlighted the extent to which Muslim and Western publics see their relations with each other as bad, and the degree to which they blame each other for the poor state of affairs.¶ In the West, fears about extremism and violence continue to play a role in driving these views. Among Muslims, many describe Westerners as selfish, greedy, and violent, and the 2011 poll found majorities of Muslims in Egypt, the Palestinian territories, Pakistan, and Turkey saying that both Americans and Europeans tend to be hostile toward Muslims. Also, large numbers of Muslims surveyed in 2011 blamed Western policies for the lack of prosperity in Muslim nations.¶ Just like the headlines from the past week, the survey data paint a fairly bleak picture. The "Obama effect" that changed America's battered image in Europe and other parts of the globe did not register in many predominantly Muslim nations. Even so, there are some hopeful signs. For one thing, it is important to keep in mind that the "Muslim world" is not monolithic. In the 2012 Pew survey, two-thirds of Lebanese Sunni Muslims expressed a positive view of the United States. In newly democratic Tunisia, opinions were equally divided, with 45 percent giving the United States a positive rating and 45 percent a negative one. Previous polling found largely positive views of the United States among Muslims in Indonesia and Nigeria following Obama's election.

**Their narratives of U.S. hegemony rely on images of anarchy and racial inferiority that colonize knowledge production and lead to perpetual intervention**

Kaplan, humanities prof, ‘4—President of the American Studies Association as well as a professor of English and the Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Endowed Term Professor in the Humanities at the University of Pennsylvania (Amy, American Quarterly 56.1 (2004) 1-18, “Violent Belongings and the Question of Empire Today Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, October 17, 2003,” Project MUSE)

This coming-out narrative, associated primarily with neoconservatives, aggressively celebrates the United States as finally revealing its true essence—its manifest destiny—on a global stage. We won the Cold War, so the story goes, and as the only superpower, we will maintain global supremacy primarily by military means, by preemptive strikes against any potential rivals, and by a perpetual war against terror, defined primarily as the Muslim world. We need to remain vigilant against those rogue states and terrorists who resist not our power but the universal human values that we embody. This narrative is about time as well as space. It imagines an empire in perpetuity, one that beats back the question haunting all empires in J. M. Coetzee's Waiting for the Barbarians: "One thought alone preoccupies the submerged mind of Empire: how not to end, how not to die, how to prolong its era." 9 In this hypermasculine narrative there's a paradoxical sense of invincibility and unparalleled power and at the same time utter and incomprehensible vulnerability—a lethal combination, which reminds us that the word vulnerable once also referred to the capacity to harm. Another dominant narrative about empire today, told by liberal interventionists, is that of the "reluctant imperialist." 10 In this version, the United States never sought an empire and may even be constitutionally unsuited to rule one, but it had the burden thrust upon it by the fall of earlier empires and the failures of modern states, which abuse the human rights of their own people and spawn terrorism. The United States is the only power in the world with the capacity and the moral authority to act as military policeman and economic manager to bring order to the world. Benevolence and self-interest merge in this narrative; backed by unparalleled force, the United States can save the people of the world from their own anarchy, their descent into an [End Page 4] uncivilized state. As Robert Kaplan writes—not reluctantly at all—in "Supremacy by Stealth: Ten Rules for Managing the World": "The purpose of power is not power itself; it is a fundamentally liberal purpose of sustaining the key characteristics of an orderly world. Those characteristics include basic political stability, the idea of liberty, pragmatically conceived; respect for property; economic freedom; and representative government, culturally understood. At this moment in time it is American power, and American power only, that can serve as an organizing principle for the worldwide expansion of liberal civil society." 11 This narrative does imagine limits to empire, yet primarily in the selfish refusal of U.S. citizens to sacrifice and shoulder the burden for others, as though sacrifices have not already been imposed on them by the state. The temporal dimension of this narrative entails the aborted effort of other nations and peoples to enter modernity, and its view of the future projects the end of empire only when the world is remade in our image. This is also a narrative about race. The images of an unruly world, of anarchy and chaos, of failed modernity, recycle stereotypes of racial inferiority from earlier colonial discourses about races who are incapable of governing themselves, Kipling's "lesser breeds without the law," or Roosevelt's "loosening ties of civilized society," in his corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. In his much-noted article in the New York Times Magazine entitled "The American Empire," Michael Ignatieff appended the subtitle "The Burden" but insisted that "America's empire is not like empires of times past, built on colonies, conquest and the white man's burden." 12 Denial and exceptionalism are apparently alive and well. In American studies we need to go beyond simply exposing the racism of empire and examine the dynamics by which Arabs and the religion of Islam are becoming racialized through the interplay of templates of U.S. racial codes and colonial Orientalism. These narratives of the origins of the current empire—that is, the neoconservative and the liberal interventionist—have much in common. They take American exceptionalism to new heights: its paradoxical claim to uniqueness and universality at the same time. They share a teleological narrative of inevitability, that America is the apotheosis of history, the embodiment of universal values of human rights, liberalism, and democracy, the "indispensable nation," in Madeleine Albright's words. In this logic, the United States claims the authority to "make sovereign judgments on what is right and what is wrong" for everyone [End Page 5] else and "to exempt itself with an absolutely clear conscience from all the rules that it proclaims and applies to others." 13 Absolutely protective of its own sovereignty, it upholds a doctrine of limited sovereignty for others and thus deems the entire world a potential site of intervention. Universalism thus can be made manifest only through the threat and use of violence. If in these narratives imperial power is deemed the solution to a broken world, then they preempt any counternarratives that claim U.S. imperial actions, past and present, may have something to do with the world's problems. According to this logic, resistance to empire can never be opposition to the imposition of foreign rule; rather, resistance means irrational opposition to modernity and universal human values.

#### We adapt to warming.

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

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

## Solvency

#### Transparency just continues strikes – does not reduce them

**Waxman 3-20**-13 [Matthew Waxman is a professor at Columbia Law School, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the Hoover Institution Task Force on National Security and Law, “Going Clear,” <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/20/going_clear>]

So, moving operations to the Pentagon may modestly improve transparency and compliance with the law but -- ironically for drone critics -- it may also entrench targeted-killing policy for the long term.¶ For one thing, the U.S. government will now be better able to defend publicly its practices at home and abroad. The CIA is institutionally oriented toward extreme secrecy rather than public relations, and the covert status of CIA strikes makes it difficult for officials to explain and justify them. The more secretive the U.S. government is about its targeting policies, the less effectively it can participate in the broader debates about the law, ethics, and strategy of counterterrorism.¶ Many of the criticisms of drones and targeting are fundamentally about whether it's appropriate to treat the fight against al Qaeda and its allies as a war -- with all the legal authorities that flow from that, like the powers to detain and kill. The U.S. government can better defend its position without having to maintain plausible deniability of its most controversial program and without the negative image (whether justified or not) that many audiences associate with the CIA. Under a military-only policy, the United States would also be better positioned to correct lingering misperceptions about targeted killings and to take remedial action when it makes a mistake.¶ Moreover, clearer legal limits and the perception of stricter oversight will make drone policy more legitimate in the public's eyes. Polling shows that Americans support military drone strikes more strongly than CIA ones, so this move will likely strengthen political backing for continued strikes. Consider the case of Guantanamo: The shuttering of black sites, as well as the Supreme Court's decisions that detainees there can challenge their detention in federal court and that all detainees are protected by the Geneva Convention, have muted criticism of the underlying practice of detention without trial. Here, too, the proposed reforms would put the remaining policy on stronger footing.

#### Pariah weapons regulation backfires- normalizes militarism and leads to worse forms of violence

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[Neil, PhD from University of Kent at Canterbury, University of Bradford Associate Dean for Research for the School of Social and International Studies, "Humanitarian Arms Control and Processes of Securitization: Moving Weapons along the Security Continuum," Contemporary Security Policy, Vol 32, Issue 1, 2011, tandfonline, accessed 9-5-13, mss]

In this account of contemporary HAC, powerful actors who aim to uphold the status quo principally have a role as agents of resistance to control agendas, not as actors in the production of control regimes. This certainly reﬂects important aspects of contemporary campaigns to regulate pariah weapons but, as I suggest below, it offers a rather incomplete account. Moreover, if such accounts did indeed provide a complete understanding of the dynamics underpinning these control agendas it would certainly represent a novel development, not least because the long history of pariah weapons regulation illustrates the way that weapons taboos frequently reﬂect the interests of the powerful. For example, one factor in the virtual eradication of the gun in 17th and 18th century Japan was that it represented a threat to the warrior class when in the hands of the lower classes.48 The same was true of the rather less successful attempt of the Second Lateran Council to ban the crossbow – a ban partly motivated by the fact that crossbows could pierce the armour of the knight – and a ban that was notably not extended to use against non-Christians.49Similarly, whilst the restrictions on the slave, arms, and liquor trade to Africa embodied in the 1890 Brussels Act were certainly grounded in an ethical discourse, the restrictions imposed on the trade in ﬁrearms were primarily rooted in concerns about the impact of the trade on colonial order. As one British colonial ofﬁcial noted at the time, the restrictions on the small arms trade to Africa reﬂected imperial concern to ‘avoid the development and paciﬁcation of this great continent ... [being] carried out in the face of an enormous population, the majority of whom will probably be armed with ﬁrst-class breechloading riﬂes’.50 The history of pariah weapons regulation would therefore appear to demonstrate a persistent link between the material and political interests of states and / or powerful elites and the emergence of pariah weapons regulation. To be sure, the material and political interests of the same, or other, powerful actors also provide countervailing pressures – the immediate interests of nobles in winnings wars with crossbows mostly won out over their broader class interests,51 whilst colonial competition to secure arms proﬁts and local allies mitigated the impact of the various restrictions on the ﬁrearms trade in the late 19th century.52 But the point is that whilst the genesis of earlier attempts at pariah regulation may, in part, be explained by reference to particular securitizing moments of intervention, the impact of such interventions can only be understood by locating them in particular political economies of power. What is surprising therefore about accounts of post-Cold War humanitarian arms control is that this long history has largely failed to prompt consideration of the way in which contemporary regulation might also reﬂect the interests of powerful states and other actors, albeit in ways that are subject to similar countervailing pressures – an issue that will be taken up below. Pariah Weapons, Heroic Weapons, and Legitimized Military Technology A further recurring theme in the history of pariah regulation is the way in which **restrictions on pariah weapons are** often **related** in some way **to the construction of a broad arena of legitimized military tech**nology**.** A particularly extreme example of this is the way in which pariah weapons are sometimes constructed as the antithesis of the ‘heroic weapon’ – a weapon deemed to embody positive values such as honour and / or which is deemed central to national defence. Thus, the series of relatively successful Acts implemented in England between 1508 and 1542 banning crossbows were largely rooted in a concern to preserve the use of the heroic longbow, deemed central to a long line of English military successes.53 The Japanese ban on the gun was similarly connected to the romanticization of the heroic samurai sword as the visible form of one’s honour, as associated with grace of movement in battle and even its status as a work of art.54 In effect both the crossbow in 16th century England and the gun in 17th and 18th century Japan became the ‘other’ which deﬁned legitimized military technologies and militarism. Redford makes much the same point about English attitudes to the submarine, which was constructed as an ‘other’ partly because of the British romanticization of the battleship (‘the upper class or aristocracy of warships’)55 as central to British security and linked to British notions of valour and honour in the conduct of war. This highlights the ways in which the security meaning associated with particular sets of weapons technology are not just a function of the framings speciﬁc to that technology but are also relational, with the representation of one weapon playing an important role in constituting the meaning of another (albeit in sometimes unexpected ways), and vice versa. Not surprisingly perhaps, similar themes also help explain the contemporary taboos constructed around particular sets of military technology such as cluster munitions. Cluster Munitions What is particularly striking about the campaign against cluster munitions is not its success in banning an inhumane weapon but the fact that this success was achieved at a moment in history when, in absolute terms at least, cluster munitions use had fallen from the peak years of use during the Vietnam era (see Table 2). In the latter period cluster bombs such as the CBU-24 represented a ‘major increase in battleﬁeld lethality’ yet its development and deployment was ‘accomplished with no public debate and relatively little subsequent protest’.56 Indeed, for the American military, ‘CBUs were categorised as a standard weapon, to be taken off the shelf – “conventional ironmongery”.57 This is not to suggest that American use of cluster munitions in this period went unremarked. There were certainly some critics at the time who argued that such weapons were inhumane.58 There were also attempts, sponsored by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Sweden in particular, to promote restrictions on cluster munitions in negotiations in the 1970s on the Additional Protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions.59 The point is however, that these efforts never achieved traction either with diplomats or with a wider public in the way that the issue would 30 years later. The labels attached to cluster munitions and also landmines only changed dramatically as the move into the post-Cold War era occurred when they moved from being treated as unproblematic elements in global military arsenals to a form of ‘technology non grata’ – weaponry deemed immoral, inhumane, and indiscriminate. Crucially, such a successful process of stigmatization was only made feasible in the context of a post-Cold War widening of the security label to incorporate the notion of human security as a referent object; by the turn to casting security interventions in humanitarian terms; and the representation of modern weaponry as humane because of its perceived capacity to better discriminate between civilians and combatants. The widening and deepening of the security label created the permissive environment necessary for activists to reframe cluster munitions (and APMs) as threats to the human. At the same time, the discussion of intervention in humanitarian terms60 and of precision weapons as instruments of humane warfare61 created a legitimized discursive space into which campaigners could insert a re-representation of landmines and cluster munitions technology as inhumane. Indeed, such a re-representation only exerted a powerful appeal because it was consonant with both the predominant framing of security threats in a postCold War world and a new divide between good and odious military technology. This is not to suggest that such developments reﬂected some teleology in which security and arms control practice progressively evolved to be more humane. As Krause and Latham have noted, for example, whilst the post-Cold War era concern with the impact of ‘inhumane weapons’ represents a notable shift compared with the Cold War arms control agenda, it does have similarities with the late 19th century when a Western discourse of civilized warfare was also prominent. One corollary of this – then as now – was a concern to specify what constituted an ‘inhumane weapon’62 manifest, for example, in the negotiations in the Hague conferences over problem technologies such as the dum dum bullet. As Michael Howard has suggested though, whilst initiatives such as the Hague conferences achieved notable successes, they also reﬂected the fact that liberal internationalists had ‘abandoned their original objects of preventing war and building peace in favour of making war more humane for those actually ﬁghting it’.63 The prohibitions on cluster munitions and also APMs can be understood as similarly ambiguous developments. On the one hand, the legitimizing discourse of Western militaries and arms ﬁrms was turned against them in order to generate powerful taboos against particular categories of weapons – even in the face of opposition from these militaries. The language of state security was coopted to promote human security, to preserve life, and prevent threats to its existence. On the other hand, the same prohibitions can ultimately be understood less as progressive initiatives imposed on foot-dragging states by the bottom-up power of global civil society and more as performative acts that simultaneously function to codify aspects of a new set of criteria for judging international respectability in a post-Cold War era, to reinforce the security framings of the era and to legitimize those categories of weapons successfully constructed as precise, discriminate, and thus humane. Indeed, **to the extent** that states such as **the U**nited **S**tates have been able to **circumscribe their commitments** on landmines etc. **they** have been able to **beneﬁt** **from the** broader **legitimizing effects of** speciﬁc **weapons taboos without being unduly constrained** **by** the **speciﬁc regulatory requirements** they have given rise to. Moreover, as already noted, the presence of pariah weapons regulation is not necessarily a sign of a more general shift to the tighter regulation of the arms trade – quite the reverse in some cases. Thus, any evaluation of the overall impact of such regulation on global and local security also has to take into account the broader system of arms regulation in which it is located, and the relationship that exists between pariah regulation and this broader system. The next two sections will offer some observations on these issues. Models of Economy and Models of Arms Trade Regulation The approach adopted to the regulation of the arms trade in general does not only reﬂect the security labels attached to particular kinds of technology or the direct interests powerful actors may have in constraining such technology. Regulatory approaches to the arms trade are also a function of the particular paradigms of political economy that dominate in speciﬁc era. In part this is because they link into particular understandings of what constitutes economic security. But the link between regulation and the paradigms of political economy go beyond this, reﬂecting a much more fundamental common sense about economy and trade. For example, the rise of mercantilism from about the 1600s meant the previous dominance of private arms traders was replaced by that of government arsenals64 and the emphasis on autarky encouraged a more restrictive approach to the regulation of arms transfers.65 In England for example, Queen Elizabeth I issued an order in 1574 restricting the number of guns to be cast in England to those ‘for the only use of the Realm’66 and further Ordnances restricting the export of arms were passed in 1610 and 1614.67 In contrast, the shift in economic ideology from mercantilism to capitalism led to the more laissez-faire approach to the regulation of arms transfers in the late 19th century already described above. Britain moved to a more laissez-faire basis from 1862 onwards, France passed legislation in 1885 reinstituting the private manufacture of arms and also repealed the law prohibiting exports.68 Indeed, this was an era in which the Prussian government did not even feel able to compel Krupp to abjure exports to Austria on the eve of war with that country in 1866.69 Economic philosophy also shaped both discourse and practice on the regulation of the arms trade in the aftermath of World War I. Against the background of what Buzan and Waever have described as a broader attempt to ‘construct war as a threat to civilisation’ after World War I70 private arms manufacturers were particularly castigated for the role they had supposedly played in fomenting war fever to promote sales, a role facilitated by their alleged control over the press in many countries.71 This partly explained the attempts in 1919 and 1925 to develop international agreements on the regulation of the arms trade, although in reality a broader set of international order and security concerns were also at work (see below). However, the 1919 and 1925 agreements never received the necessary ratiﬁcations to come into force (although they did have important legacy effects) and the laissez faire approach to the arms trade still predominated throughout the 1920s. It was only in the 1930s that concern about the activities of the arms manufacturers gained particular salience in both the media and policy circles. In part this may have been a function of the deteriorating international situation, but as Harkavy has argued, it was also a function of the fact that the Great Depression had prompted widespread doubts about the general viability of the capitalist system.72Consequently, nationalization and greater government oversight of the arms industry was presented by campaigners and, indeed, some governments, as a vehicle to ensure arms proﬁts were not pursued at the expense of either state interests or world peace. Although nationalization was, with the exception of France73 mostly avoided, by the mid-1930s most of the major arms producing states had begun to develop formal defence export licensing systems.74 In other words, this was the moment when the institutions and processes were established that would produce the many thousands of ordinary extraordinary export licensing decisions that now occur on a weekly basis, the point of genesis for a particular habitus of a particular set of security professionals. This shift was not solely a function of debates about the role of arms merchants in World War I, nor was it purely a consequence of the doubts about unmanaged capitalism sowed by the Great Depression. Issues of power and security as well as the moments of intervention represented by successive attempts to agree international arms regulation all played their role in this shift (see below). Nevertheless, attitudes to economy were an important part of the mix. In the Cold War, the regulation of arms transfers was structured so that it was simultaneously permissive vis-a`-vis transfers to allies and highly restrictive vis-a`-vis allies of the Soviet Union. In the West at least, these security rationales overlapped with the dominance of Keynesian approaches to the economy in which the preservation of defence production emerged not only as a strategic imperative but as a form of welfare militarism – aimed at maintaining jobs, stimulating economies in times of recession, and preserving key technology sectors. This implied the further extension of government oversight of arms sales (albeit principally on a national basis rather than through international negotiation) and government’s role in the promotion of arms sales. It also meant that arms sales were pursued primarily (if not exclusively) for political rather than economic reasons. This contrasted sharply with the late 19th century and even inter-war years when private industry and the search for arms proﬁts were the principle factors driving supply. However, the end of the Cold War coincided with (and reinforced) underlying shifts in conceptions of economy and security that inﬂuenced the debate on arms transfer control. In terms of economy, the neoliberal agenda had already been thoroughly mainstreamed in the policy discourse of governments. Greed was good, proﬁt was better and market principles were the order of the day. In terms of domestic defence procurement policies this was reﬂected in a shift to the much wider application of competition policy, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom.75 In terms of the approach to major arms transfers it underpinned the shift to a more commercial attitude that had been gradually evolving from the 1960s onwards. Already by 1988 one analyst could note that ‘the political factors that dominated the arms trade in the recent past are yielding to market forces... the arms trade is returning to its patterns prior to World War II, when the trade in military equipment was not dramatically different from the trade in many other industrial products’.76The comparison with the pre-World War II era is perhaps exaggerated – not least because the frameworks of national oversight and national export promotion are far more extensive, as are the frameworks of international regulation. Nevertheless, whilst one feature of the post-Cold War era has been the proliferation of international or regional initiatives to ostensibly restrain arms proliferation, an equally notable feature has been the relaxation of restrictions on arms supplies, particularly to allies. Both the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations in the United States have attempted to ease restrictions on exports to key allies, most notably in the form of defence trade cooperation treaties with Australia and the United Kingdom announced in 2007, although these have yet to be ratiﬁed by the Senate.77 The effect of these agreements will be to permit the licence-free transfer of defence goods between the United States and each of the signatories.78 The Obama administration has, in addition, committed itself to a radical overhaul of the American export control system to make it easier to export weapons to American allies and to emerging markets such as China. For example, the administration has claimed that in the case of items related to tanks and military vehicles, the new rules would remove 74 per cent of the items currently on the US Munitions List.79 In other words, the export of brake pads for tanks may no longer be subject to a regime of extraordinary measures. Similar processes have been at work in other countries. For example, in 2002 the United Kingdom announced changes to its methodology for assessing licence applications for components to be incorporated into military equipment for onward export, a reform generally interpreted as opening ‘a signiﬁcant export licensing loophole’,80 whilst in 2007 the French government announced it would ease restrictions on products moving within the European Union.81 At the same time as this occurred NGOs became more focussed on the security outcomes stemming from the trade in small arms and landmines. To the extent that NGOs and academics have engaged with the issue of major conventional arms transfers, they have tended to follow the lead set by government and industry by engaging with the economic rationale for defence exports – albeit in an attempt to debunk them.82The combined effect of this has been to give a more central place to a technocratic discourse on major weapons transfers focussed on their economic costs and beneﬁts to suppliers. This is not to suggest that strategic rationales for arms transfers have disappeared completely – they still remain important factors in speciﬁc cases, particularly post-9/11. Nevertheless, as Hartung has noted, with the end of the Cold War, the economic rationales for arms sales ‘moved to the forefront’.83One corollary of this greater emphasis on the economics of arms sales has been the post-Cold War deproblematization of major arms transfers84 at least in terms of debates about their security outcomes. Today, such sales are primarily discussed (by exporters at least, if not by recipients and their neighbours) in the language of the technocrat and the banker - the language of jobs, ﬁnancing terms, market share, and performance evaluation. Indeed, both government and NGO security concerns about the negative effects of the arms trade have bifurcated – with concern focussed either on the problem of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (problematized primarily in terms of their potential acquisition by rogues) or, at the other end of the scale, on issues such as small arms (primarily problematized in terms of the illicit rather than the legal trade in such weapons). Arms Trade Regulation and the Security Problematique If neoliberalism has facilitated a more permissive approach to arms transfer regulation then this raises the question of why any limits have been introduced at all? As already noted above, one part of the answer is rooted in the relationship between legitimized and heroic weapons and those military technologies that lie outside the boundaries of the heroic and the legitimized. Being the ‘other’ of legitimized military technology facilitates successful problematization and indeed ‘extra-securitisation’. Additionally however, the architecture of global arms trade regulation has been transformed in the post-Cold War era along with the transformation in the objects of security that accompanied the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, the global architecture of conventional arms trade regulation, like arms control more generally, was principally focussed on managing East –West tensions. One consequence was a substantial extension of the range of dual-use goods invested with security labels in relation to trade with Eastern Europe, most manifest in debates in the early 1950s between the United States and European states over the operation of CoCoM (Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls).85 In contrast, the developing world was merely an object of security competition between the superpowers and therefore a site for the supply of arms to allies. With the dissolution of the Soviet threat the focus has turned more to the management of North–South relations as the developing world has been reconstructed as the source of diverse security threats86 and as humanitarian intervention has resurrected similar concerns with the maintenance of order in the developing world that animated the arms restrictions in the Brussels Act. One manifestation of this has been in the reframing of small arms as instruments of disorder rather than the means to shore up Cold War allies. A further example is the replacement of the CoCom regime with the Wasennaar Arrangement, focussed particularly on restricting transfers to pariah regimes in the global South. This shift in focus is also manifest in the signiﬁcant rise in the use of arms embargoes in the post-Cold War era. For example, between 1945 and 1990 only two mandatory embargoes were imposed globally, on Rhodesia and Africa, respectively. Since the 1990s there have been two voluntary and 27 mandatory cases of sanctions, the vast majority of which have been aimed at actors in Africa.87 Sanctions, just like the efforts to control arms to Africa in the late 19th century have not been hugely successful in reducing the supply of weapons to combatants. Nevertheless, they can be understood as animated by much the same desire to maintain order in the peripheries of the world, particularly in a context where Western powers have once again taken on a greater responsibility for policing and managing instability in the developing world. Thus, the post-Cold War regulation of the conventional arms trade is simultaneously characterized by a relatively more permissive approach to arms transfers in general but also a redirection of controls away from the governance of East – West relations and towards the governance of North –South relations and particularly the disciplining of those actors framed as rogue or pariah in the security narratives of dominant actors. The campaign to promote an arms trade treaty may yet produce a more meaningful architecture of arms transfer control – the jury is out. However the framing of the Arms Trade Treaty to the defence industry is perhaps instructive. For example, the UK’s Ambassador for Multilateral Arms Control has noted, the ATT ‘... is about ... export controls that will stop weapons ending up in the hands of terrorists, insurgents, violent criminal gangs, or in the hands of dictators’.88 It should also be noted that current efforts to develop a global agreement on the arms trade echo late 19thth and early 20thth century initiatives to govern the international arms trade, most notably: the Brussels Act, the 1919 St Germain Convention for the Control of the Trade in Arms and Ammunition, and the 1925 Arms Trafﬁc Convention. Although the latter two never received the necessary ratiﬁcations to come into force both were animated by the same imperial concern to prevent disorder in the colonies that had underpinned the Brussels Act. As Stone has noted with regards to the St Germain convention for example, ‘there was little doubt among representatives in Paris [where the Convention was signed] that keeping arms out of African and Asian hands was St Germain’s chief task’.89Accordingly, the convention imposed far stricter restrictions on sales to these areas as well as a ban on arms shipments to ‘any country which refuses to accept the tutelage under which it has been placed’.90 Indeed, although the convention never came into being, European powers nevertheless agreed informally to carry out its provisions in Africa and the Middle East.91 The 1925 convention similarly imposed more severe restrictions on exports to special zones that covered most of Africa and parts of what had been the Ottoman Empire.92 Thus, viewed against this broader history of arms regulation, negotiations on a putative Arms Trade Treaty (rather like action on APMs or cluster munitions) do not represent a novel post-Cold War development that symbolizes progress on an emancipatory human security agenda consonant with the promotion of local and global peace. Instead, it reﬂects the emergence of particular sets of relationships between power, interest, economy, security, and legitimized military technologies that in turn create the conditions of emergence for historically contingent architectures of global regulation. Conclusion The preceding analysis has a number of implications for campaigners, but also speaks to the debates about the utility of the securitization framework outlined at the start of this article. First, it provides support for Abrahamson’s notion of the security spectrum. Viewed in a more historical perspective, what is notable about the post-Cold War emergence of a humanitarian arms control agenda is the way in which action on landmines, cluster munitions, and even small arms have been made possible by a quite dramatic transformation in the way such technology is represented. They have, in Abrahamson’s formulation, been moved along the ‘spectrum of security’ from normal, run-of-the mill, unproblematic technologies of killing, to ones of extra special concern. Conversely, one of the features of the post-Cold War era is the way in which the security labels attached to major weapons transfers have, in general, actually moved in the other direction. Whilst such transfers still remain clearly within the domain of security it is, nevertheless, possible to conceive the post-Cold War trade in major weapons as having been relatively desecuritized. Second, the analysis highlights the relational elements that can be involved in processes of securitization and desecuritization. In the case of the landmines ban this manifested itself in the way campaigners engaged in simultaneous processes of securitization of APMs (with respect to the human as referent object) and (relative) desecuritization (with respect to the state as referent object) that worked to mutually reinforce the case for a ban. In the case of pariah weapons generally, whilst there are a number of factors that explain their stigmatization, one factor can be the way their particular qualities are depicted as the antithesis of those possessed by legitimized and particularly heroic weapons. Conversely, the stigmatization///////////////////////////////// of pariah weapons works to delineate other weapons as normal and legitimate. There is therefore a process of mutual constitution that is at work in the way different sets of weapons technology are framed and understood. Third, the preceding analysis illustrates the relevance of Floyd’s argument that processes of securitization or desecuritization can be positive and negative, particularly when considered in terms of their emancipatory effects. As noted above, in the case of landmines a process of relative desecuritization vis-a`-vis the state combined with a process of extra-securitization vis-a`-vis the human to bring about the production of a ban widely considered to have produced positive security outcomes for individuals, communities, and the human as a collective. In contrast, the relative desecuritization of major weapons transfers represents a much more ambiguous development. It could, of course, be argued that such a change in the security labels attached to the weapons holdings of neighbouring states would not only reﬂect but reinforce a move to more peaceable relations. In addition, the relative deproblematization of defence transfers might be conceived as a positive development, particularly for states that possess minimal domestic defence industrial capacity, and are threatened by hostile neighbours. At the same time however, such a shift along the spectrum of security arguably represents a quite regressive development when applied to the issue of arms transfers. This is particularly the case given that, irrespective of the powerful ways in which the security labels attached to major weapons are shaped by discourse and other forms of representation, they still possess a residual materiality, however thin, that is characterized by their capacity to facilitate the organized prosecution of violence. More generally, the transfer of such technologies can also be viewed as symptomatic of a world characterized by deeply problematic higher order paradigms of security and economy. At the very least then, the relative (if not complete) desecuritization of major arms transfers would appear to raise further questions about the Copenhagen School’s normative commitment to desecuritization. Although more accurately, it highlights the effects that come from ratcheting down the security labels attached to ‘normal’ arms transfers and subjecting them to the kind of standard bureaucratic routines highlighted by Bigo, albeit the routines of the export licencing process in this case. One consequence, is that the many thousands of export licences granted for the transfer of weapons other than landmines, cluster munitions, and small arms are far less likely to become the object of public scrutiny or become subject to intense public and political contestation about the security effects of such exports. In this sense at least, the switch from a Cold War arms transfer system where security motivations for exports often predominated to one where economic motivations are more to the fore, has also been accompanied by a corresponding depoliticization of contemporary transfers, a phenomenon that highlights the problematic nature of the neat division between politicized and securitized issues outlined in the CS conception of securitization and one that highlights the downside of even partial moves towards the desecuritization end of the security spectrum. Fourth, the success of campaigns on landmines and cluster munitions demonstrates how ‘moments of intervention’ undertaken on behalf of the voiceless by supposedly weak securitizing actors such as NGOs can, nevertheless, produce quite effective securitizations – in this case, the hyper-securitization of particular weapons technologies. Both campaigns also highlighted the ways in which actors can utilize media images and, through survivor activism that extended to the conference room, provide a context for the body to speak security. Moreover, the success of these campaigns highlights the ways in which the language of threat, survival, and security can be deployed to achieve positive security outcomes. At the same time however, the success of the humanitarian arms control agenda around landmines and cluster munitions in particular was only achieved because NGOs adopted exactly the same discourse around humanitarianism, human security and weapons precision that has been deployed to legitimize post-Cold War liberal peace interventionism and in the marketing of new weapons developments. On one reading, this might point to the potential for actors to deploy dominant forms of security speech in order to achieve progressive ends. On a more pessimistic reading however, it also highlights the profound limits involved in such approaches. To the extent that the extra-securitization of pariah technologies such as landmines has facilitated the relative desecuritization of major conventional weapons transfers it has also made the current framework of control look like an example of ethical advance at the same time as creating space for the deproblematization of arms transfers in general. Ultimately then, the moments of intervention represented by the campaigns on landmines and cluster munitions were successful because they did not threaten, and in many ways were quite consistent with, the dominant security paradigm and security narratives of the post-Cold War era. Equally, whilst the regularized routines and working practices of the security professionals of the export licensing process are certainly important in understanding the treatment of defence transfers, this body of professionals were themselves, brought into being as a result of historical changes in the fundamental assumptions about security and economy. Moreover, their very working practices and modes of behaviour are currently being altered as a result of similar fundamental shifts in the paradigms of security and economy which, in turn, are a function of particular combinations of power and interest. Although these shifts certainly predated the post-Cold War era, they have become particularly concretized in this era. One consequence of all this is that a loud ethical discourse around the restriction of landmines, cluster munitions, and small arms has gone hand in hand with recent rises in both global military expenditure and arms transfers. For example, overall, world defence expenditure in 2008 was estimated to be $1,464 billion (of which NATO countries accounted for 60 per cent and OECD countries 72 per cent) representing a 45 per cent increase in real terms since 1999,93whilst global arms sales were 22 per cent higher in real terms for the period 2005– 2009 than for the preceding period 2000– 2004.94 Moreover, largely because of the dominance of American and European defence spending, the defence trade is increasingly concentrated in the hands of the United States and to a lesser extent, European companies. For example, in 2006 American and European companies accounted for an estimated 92.7 per cent of the arms sales of the world’s 100 largest defence companies.95 Most arms trade NGOs have largely neglected issues such as the rises in defence expenditure in major weapons states such as the United States, intra-northern trade in arms, and the dominant role played by Western companies in the arms trade, in favour of an agenda that conceives the South – and in particular pariah actors in sub-Saharan Africa – as the primary object of conventional arms trade regulation.96With regard to transfers of small arms and major conventional weapons it might be argued that this, at least, also requires impressive self-abnegation from arms trade proﬁts on the part of powerful states in the international system. In practice however, international initiatives such as the EU Code or the Wassennaar Arrangement, national export regulations of the major weapons states and the local initiatives of client states mostly combine to produce a cartography of prohibition that corresponds more closely with the disciplinary geographies advocated by the powerful rather than any global map of militarism and injustice. One illustration of this is the way in which a recent review of British defence export legislation downgraded long-range missiles and the ‘heroic’ Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV – the Maxim gun of modern imperial wars) from a category A classiﬁcation (goods such as cluster munitions whose supply is prohibited) to the less restrictive category B,97 whilst in 2010, the Afghan government proscribed the import, use, and sale of Ammonium Nitrate Fertilizer because it is one of the elements used in the making of IEDs.98 More generally, as one recent econometric analysis of major weapons transfers from the Britain, France, Germany, and the United States concluded, despite much rhetoric about the need for a more ethical approach to arms sales from governments in all these countries: Neither human rights abuses nor autocratic polity would appear to reduce the likelihood of countries receiving Western arms, or reduce the relative share of a particular exporter’s weapons they receive. In fact, human rights abusing countries are actually more likely to receive weapons from the US, while autocratic regimes emerge as more likely recipients of weaponry from France and the UK.99 Of course, arms trade NGOs have often been the ﬁrst to highlight such hypocrisies and the work of most organizations include, to a greater or lesser extent, elements of critique or advocacy that might be considered transformational. However, one of the principle features of arms trade activism in the post-Cold War era is the extent to which many NGOs have downgraded radical critique in exchange for insider inﬂuence and government funding.100 Instead, activism has largely been aimed at promoting tactical reform within an overarching economic and security paradigm that justiﬁes intervention, regulation, and transformation of the South whilst (with the exception of token action on landmines, etc.) leaving the vast accumulation of Western armaments largely unproblematized. The logic of this analysis then, is that there needs to be a far greater problematization of military expenditure by the major powers, of the so-called ‘legitimate’ trade in defence goods, including intraNorthern trade, and a problematization of the predominance of Western defence companies in global arms markets. In short, campaigners needs to return to a strategic contestation of global militarism rather than searching for tactical campaign victories dependent on accommodation with the language and economic and security paradigms of contemporary military humanism.

# 2NC

**The status quo disproves the effectiveness of procedural solutions focus – securitization results in a faith in experts centralizes political decision-making while excluding the public**

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Today politicians and legal scholars routinely invoke fears that the balance between liberty and security has swung drastically in the direction of government’s coercive powers. In the post-September 11 era, such worries are so commonplace that in the words of one commentator, “it has become part of the drinking water of this country that there has been a trade-off of liberty for security.” According to civil libertarians, centralizing executive power and removing the legal constraints that inhibit state violence (all in the name of heightened security) mean the steady erosion of both popular deliberation and the rule of law. For Jeremy Waldron, current practices, from coercive interrogation to terrorism surveillance and diminished detainee rights, provide government the ability not only to intimidate external enemies but also internal dissidents and legitimate political opponents. As he writes, “We have to worry that the very means given to the government to combat our enemies will be used by the government against its enemies.” Especially disconcerting for many commentators, executive judgments – due to fears of infiltration and security leaks – are often cloaked in secrecy. This lack of transparency undermines a core value of democratic decisionmaking: popular scrutiny of government action. As U.S. Circuit Judge Damon Keith famously declared in a case involving secret deportations by the executive branch, “Democracies die behind closed doors. . . . When government begins closing doors, it selectively controls information rightfully belonging to the people. Selective information is misinformation.” In the view of no less an establishment figure than Neal Katyal, now the Principal Deputy Solicitor General, such security measures transform the current presidency into “the most dangerous branch,” one that “subsumes much of the tripartite structure of government.” ¶ Widespread concerns with the government’s security infrastructure are by no means a new phenomenon. In fact, such voices are part of a sixty-year history of reform aimed at limiting state (particularly presidential) discretion and preventing likely abuses. What is remarkable about these reform efforts is that, every generation, critics articulate the same basic anxieties and present virtually identical procedural solutions. These procedural solutions focus on enhancing the institutional strength of both Congress and the courts to rein in the unitary executive. They either promote new statutory schemes that codify legislative responsibilities or call for greater court activism. As early as the 1940s, Clinton Rossiter argued that only a clearly established legal framework in which Congress enjoyed the power to declare and terminate states of emergency would prevent executive tyranny and rights violations in times of crisis. After the Iran-Contra scandal, Harold Koh, now State Department Legal Adviser, once more raised this approach, calling for passage of a National Security Charter that explicitly enumerated the powers of both the executive and the legislature, promoting greater balance between the branches and explicit constraints on government action. More recently, Bruce Ackerman has defended the need for an “emergency constitution” premised on congressional oversight and procedurally specified practices. As for increased judicial vigilance, Arthur Schlesinger argued nearly forty years ago, in his seminal book The Imperial Presidency (1973), that the courts “had to reclaim their own dignity and meet their own responsibilities” by abandoning deference and by offering a meaningful check to the political branches. Today, Lawrence Tribe and Patrick Gudridge once more imagine that, by providing a powerful voice of dissent, the courts can play a critical role in balancing the branches. They write that adjudication can “generate[]—even if largely (or, at times, only) in eloquent and cogently reasoned dissent—an apt language for potent criticism.” ¶ The hope – returned to by constitutional scholars for decades – has been that by creating clear legal guidelines for security matters and by increasing the role of the legislative and judicial branches, government abuse can be stemmed. Yet despite this reformist belief, presidential and military prerogatives continue to expand even when the courts or Congress intervene. Indeed, the ultimate result has primarily been to entrench further the system of discretion and centralization. In the case of congressional legislation (from the 200 standby statutes on the books to the post September 11 and Iraq War Authorizations for the Use of Military Force to the Detainee Treatment Act and the Military Commissions Acts), this has often entailed Congress self-consciously playing the role of junior partner – buttressing executive practices by providing its own constitutional imprimatur to them. Thus, rather than rolling back security practices, greater congressional involvement has tended to further strengthen and internalize emergency norms within the ordinary operation of politics. As just one example, the USA PATRIOT Act, while no doubt controversial, has been renewed by Congress a remarkable ten consecutive times without any meaningful curtailments. Such realities underscore the dominant drift of security arrangements, a drift unhindered by scholarly suggestions and reform initiatives. Indeed, if anything, today’s scholarship finds itself mired in an argumentative loop, re-presenting inadequate remedies and seemingly incapable of recognizing past failures. ¶ What explains both the persistent expansion of the federal government’s security framework as well as the inability of civil libertarian solutions to curb this expansion? In this article I argue that the current reform debate ignores the broader ideological context that shapes how the balance between liberty and security is struck. In particular, the very meaning of security has not remained static but rather has changed dramatically since World War II and the beginning of the Cold War. This shift has principally concerned the basic question of who decides on issues of war and emergency. And as the following pages explore, at the center of this shift has been a transformation in legal and political judgments about the capacity of citizens to make informed and knowledgeable decisions in security domains. Yet, while underlying assumptions about popular knowledge – its strengths and limitations – have played a key role in shaping security practices in each era of American constitutional history, this role has not been explored in any sustained way in the scholarly literature. ¶ As an initial effort to delineate the relationship between knowledge and security, I will argue that throughout most of the American experience, the dominant ideological perspective saw security as grounded in protecting citizens from threats to their property and physical well-being (especially those threats posed by external warfare and domestic insurrection). Drawing from a philosophical tradition extending back to John Locke, politicians and thinkers – ranging from Alexander Hamilton and James Madison at the founding to Abraham Lincoln and Roger Taney – maintained that most citizens understood the forms of danger that imperiled their physical safety. The average individual knew that securing collective life was in his or her own interest, and also knew the institutional arrangements and practices that would fulfill this paramount interest. A widespread knowledge of security needs was presumed to be embedded in social experience, indicating that citizens had the skill to take part in democratic discussion regarding how best to protect property or to respond to forms of external violence. Thus the question of who decides was answered decisively in favor of the general public and those institutions – especially majoritarian legislatures and juries – most closely bound to the public’s wishes. ¶ What marks the present moment as distinct is an increasing repudiation of these assumptions about shared and general social knowledge. Today the dominant approach to security presumes that conditions of modern complexity (marked by heightened bureaucracy, institutional specialization, global interdependence, and technological development) mean that while protection from external danger remains a paramount interest of ordinary citizens, these citizens rarely possess the capacity to pursue such objectives adequately. Rather than viewing security as a matter open to popular understanding and collective assessment, in ways both small and large the prevailing concept sees threat as sociologically complex and as requiring elite modes of expertise. Insulated decision-makers in the executive branch, armed with the specialized skills of the professional military, are assumed to be best equipped to make sense of complicated and often conflicting information about safety and self-defense. The result is that the other branches – let alone the public writ large – face a profound legitimacy deficit whenever they call for transparency or seek to challenge presidential discretion. Not surprisingly, the tendency of procedural reform efforts has been to place greater decision-making power in the other branches and then to watch those branches delegate such power back to the very same executive bodies.

## Security

### Alternative

#### Individual analysis of security allows us to resituate our relationship to others

Burke ’02 [Anthony, School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland. Alternatives 27, 2002]

It is perhaps easy to become despondent, but as **countless struggles for freedom, justice, and social transformation have proved, a sense of seriousness can be tempered with the knowledge that many tools are already available—and where they are not, the ef­fort to create a productive new critical sensibility is well advanced.** There is also a crucial political opening within the liberal problematic itself, in the sense that it assumes that power is most effec­tive when it is absorbed as truth, consented to and desired—which creates an important space for refusal. As Colin Gordon argues, Foucault thought that the very possibility of governing was condi­tional on it being credible to the governed as well as the govern­ing. This throws weight onto the question of how security works as a technology of subjectivity. It is to take up Foucault's challenge, framed as a reversal of the liberal progressive movement of being we have seen in Hegel, not to discover who or what we are so much as to refuse what we are. Just as security rules subjectivity as both a totalizing and individualizing blackmail and promise, it is at these levels that we can intervene. **We can critique the machinic frame­works of possibility represented by law, policy, economic regulation, and diplomacy, while challenging the way these institutions deploy language to draw individual subjects into their consensual web.** This suggests, at least provisionally, a dual strategy. The first as­serts the space for agency, both in challenging available possibilities for being and their larger socioeconomic implications. Roland Bleiker formulates an idea of agency that shifts away from the lone (male) hero overthrowing the social order in a decisive act of re­bellion to one that understands both the thickness of social power and its "fissures," "fragmentation," and "thinness." **We must**, he says, "**observe how an individual may be able to escape the discur­sive order and influence its shifting boundaries.** ... By doing so, **discursive terrains of dissent all of a sudden appear where forces of domination previously seemed invincible." Pushing beyond security requires tactics that can work at many-levels—that empower individuals to recognize the larger social, cul­tural, and economic implications of the everyday forms of desire, subjection, and discipline they encounter, to challenge and rewrite them, and** that in turn contribute to collective efforts to **transform the larger structures of** being, exchange, and **power** that sustain (and have been sustained by) these forms. As Derrida suggests, this is to open up aporetic possibilities that transgress and call into question the boundaries of the self, society, and the international that security seeks to imagine and police. The second seeks new ethical principles based on a critique of the rigid and repressive forms of identity that security has heretofore offered. Thus writers such as Rosalyn Diprose, William Con­nolly, and Moira Gatens have sought to imagine a new ethical rela­tionship that thinks difference not on the basis of the same but on the basis of a dialogue with the other that might, allow space for the unknown and unfamiliar, for a "debate and engagement with the other's law and the other's ethics"—an encounter that involves a transformation of the self rather than the other. Thus while the sweep and power of **security must be acknowledged, it must also be refused: at the simultaneous levels of individual identity, social order, and macroeconomic possibility, it would entail another kind of work on "ourselves"—a political refusal of the One, the imagination of an other that never returns to the same. It would be to ask if there is a world after security, and what its shimmering possi­bilities might be.**

### AT: Scenario Planning Good

#### Our argument isn’t that predictions can’t be made it’s that security interests corrupt their scenario planning

Stevens 12 (Jacqueline, Prof of Polisci at Northwestern U, "Political Scientists Are Lousy Forecasters," www.nytimes.com/2012/06/24/opinion/sunday/political-scientists-are-lousy-forecasters.html?\_r=1&pagewanted=all)

DESPERATE “Action Alerts” land in my in-box. They’re from the [American Political Science Association](http://www.apsanet.org/) and colleagues, many of whom fear grave “threats” to our discipline. As a defense, they’ve supplied “talking points” we can use to tell Congressional representatives that political science is a “critical part of our national science agenda.” Political scientists are defensive these days because in May the House passed an amendment to a bill eliminating National Science Foundation grants for political scientists. Soon the Senate may vote on similar legislation. Colleagues, especially those who have received N.S.F. grants, will loathe me for saying this, but just this once I’m sympathetic with the anti-intellectual Republicans behind this amendment. Why? The bill incited a national conversation about a subject that has troubled me for decades: the government — **disproportionately —** supports research that is amenable to statistical analyses and models even though everyone knows the clean equations mask messy realities that contrived data sets and assumptions don’t, and **can’t, capture**. It’s an open secret in my discipline: **in terms of accurate political predictions** (the field’s benchmark for what counts as science), my colleagues have **failed spectacularly** and **wasted colossal amounts of time and money**. The most obvious example may be political scientists’ insistence, during the cold war, that the Soviet Union would persist as a nuclear threat to the United States. In 1993, in the journal International Security, for example, the cold war historian John Lewis Gaddis wrote that the demise of the Soviet Union was “of such importance that no approach to the study of international relations claiming both foresight and competence should have failed to see it coming.” And yet, he noted, “None actually did so.” Careers were made, prizes awarded and millions of research dollars distributed to international relations experts, even though Nancy Reagan’s astrologer may have had superior forecasting skills. Political prognosticators fare just as poorly on domestic politics. In a peer-reviewed journal, the political scientist [Morris P. Fiorina](http://politicalscience.stanford.edu/faculty/morris-fiorina) wrote that “we seem to have settled into a persistent pattern of divided government” — of Republican presidents and Democratic Congresses. Professor Fiorina’s ideas, which synced nicely with the conventional wisdom at the time, appeared in an article in 1992 — just before the Democrat Bill Clinton’s presidential victory and the Republican 1994 takeover of the House. Alas, little has changed. Did any prominent N.S.F.-financed researchers predict that an organization like Al Qaeda would change global and domestic politics for at least a generation? Nope. Or that the Arab Spring would overthrow leaders in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia? No, again. What about proposals for research into questions that might favor Democratic politics and that political scientists seeking N.S.F. financing do not ask — perhaps, one colleague suggests, because N.S.F. program officers discourage them? Why are my colleagues kowtowing to Congress for research money that comes with **ideological strings** attached? The political scientist Ted Hopf wrote in a 1993 article that experts failed to anticipate the Soviet Union’s collapse largely because the military establishment played such a big role in setting the government’s financing priorities. “Directed by this logic of the cold war, research dollars flowed from private foundations, government agencies and military individual bureaucracies.” Now, nearly 20 years later, the A.P.S.A. Web site trumpets my colleagues’ collaboration with the government, “most notably in the area of defense,” as a reason to retain political science N.S.F. financing. Many of today’s peer-reviewed studies offer trivial confirmations of the obvious and policy documents filled with **egregious, dangerous errors**

. My colleagues now point to research by the political scientists and N.S.F. grant recipients James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin that claims that civil wars result from weak states, and are not caused by ethnic grievances. Numerous scholars have, however, convincingly criticized Professors Fearon and Laitin’s work. In 2011 Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils B. Weidmann and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch wrote in the [American Political Science Review](http://www.apsanet.org/apsr/) that “rejecting ‘messy’ factors, like grievances and inequalities,” which are hard to quantify, “may lead to more elegant models that can be more easily tested, but the fact remains that some of the most **intractable and damaging conflict** processes in the contemporary world, including Sudan and the former Yugoslavia, are largely about **political and economic injustice**,” an observation that policy makers could glean from a subscription to this newspaper and that nonetheless is more astute than the insights offered by Professors Fearon and Laitin. How do we know that these examples aren’t **atypical cherries** picked by a political theorist munching sour grapes? Because in the 1980s, the political psychologist Philip E. Tetlock began systematically quizzing 284 political experts — most of whom were political science Ph.D.’s — on dozens of basic questions, like whether a country would go to war, leave NATO or change its boundaries or a political leader would remain in office. His book “Expert Political Judgment: How Good Is It? How Can We Know?” won the A.P.S.A.’s prize for the best book published on government, politics or international affairs. Professor Tetlock’s main finding? Chimps randomly throwing darts at the possible outcomes would have done almost as well as the experts. These results wouldn’t surprise the guru of the scientific method, Karl Popper, whose 1934 book “The Logic of Scientific Discovery” remains the cornerstone of the scientific method. Yet Mr. Popper himself scoffed at the pretensions of the social sciences: “Long-term prophecies can be derived from scientific conditional predictions only if they apply to systems which can be described as well-isolated, stationary, and recurrent. These systems are very rare in nature; and **modern society is not one of them**.”

#### Especially in the context of the apocalypse

#### Masco 08 (Joseph, ““Survival Is Your Business”: Engineering Ruins and Affect in Nuclear America” Cultural Anthropology, May 2008. Vol. 23, Issue 2)

Facing clear evidence of peril, we cannot wait for the final proof, the smoking gun that could come in the form of a mushroom cloud.¶ President George W. Bush, address to the nation on Iraq on October 7, 2002 ¶ Be prepared to be bombed. Be prepared to go back to the Stone Age.¶ President Musharraf of Pakistan, reporting on a message delivered to him from the U.S. State Department immediately after 9/11¶ Reclaiming the emotional history of the atomic bomb is crucial today, as nuclear fear has been amplified to enable a variety of political projects at precisely the moment American memory of the bomb has become impossibly blurred. In the United States, nuclear fear has recently been used to justify preemptive war and unlimited domestic surveillance, a worldwide system of secret prisons, and the practices of rendition, torture, and assassination. But what today do Americans actually know or remember about the bomb? We live not in the ruins produced by Soviet ICBMs but, rather, in the emotional ruins of the Cold War as an intellectual and social project. The half-century-long project to install and articulate the nation through contemplating its violent end has colonized the present. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, D. C, in 2001 may have produced a political consensus that "the Cold War is over" and a formal declaration of a counterterrorism project.23 But American reactions to those attacks were structured by a multigenerational state project to harness the fear of mass death to divergent political and military industrial agendas.¶ By evoking the image of the mushroom cloud to enable the invasion of Iraq, Bush appealed directly to citizens' nuclear fear, a cultural product of the very Cold War nuclear standoff he formally disavowed in inaugurating the new counterterrorist state. The mushroom-cloud imagery, as well as the totalizing immediacy of the threat in his presentation, worked to redeploy a cultural memory of apocalyptic nuclear threat (established during the four decades of the Soviet- American nuclear arms race) as part of the new "war on terror." The new color-coded terrorist warning system (first proposed by Project East River in 1952 to deal with Soviet bombers), as well as the more recent transformation of shampoo bottles on planes into a totalizing threat by the Homeland Security Administration, are official efforts to install and regulate fear in everyday life.24 In this regard, the "war on terror" has been conducted largely as an emotional management campaign in the United States, using the tropes and logics developed during the early Cold War to enable a new kind of U.S. geopolitical project. The "war on terror" redirects but also reiterates the American assumptions about mass violence and democracy I have explored in this essay.¶ If the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York and Washington, D. C, felt strangely familiar to many U.S. citizens, it was because American society has been imaginatively rehearsing the destruction of these cities for over three generations: in the civil defense campaigns of the early and late Cold War, as well as the Hollywood blockbusters of the 1990s, which destroyed these cities each summer with increasing nuance and detail. The genealogy of this form of entertainment is traumatic, it goes back to the specific way in which the United States entered the nuclear age with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the specific propaganda campaigns informing nuclear threat throughout the Cold War. Indeed, the ease with which the September 11, 2001, attacks were nationalized as part of a nuclear discourse by the Bush administration has much to do with this legacy (see Kaplan 2003). Not coincidentally, the two graphic measures of nuclear blast damage most frequently used during the Cold War were the Pentagon and the New York City skyline (cf. Eden 2004). Figures 8 and 9, for example, are taken from the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission campaign to document the size of the first U.S. hydrogen bomb test from 1952. Fourteen true-to-scale versions of the Pentagon (identified by the AEC as the largest building in the world) are placed inside the blast crater (the former Elugelab Island) to document its size, while the New York skyline is used to demonstrate the vast horizontal and vertical scope of the detonation. The events of 9/11 were easily nationalized and transformed into a nuclear discourse precisely because our security culture has imagined and rehearsed attacks on Washington and New York for generations, and because the specific symbols in the attacks (the Pentagon and the tallest building in the New York sky line) were also used by the nuclear state for three generations as part of its emotional management strategy.

The Bush administration, in other words, mobilized a well-established logic of nuclear attack to pursue its policy objectives, translating discrete, nonnuclear threats into the emotional equivalent of the Cold War nuclear crisis.¶ For a nation that constructs itself via discourses of ruination, it should not be a surprise to see the exportation of ruins on a global scale. As President Musharraf clearly understood, the "with us or against us" logic of the Bush administration in 2001 left no ambiguity about the costs of Pakistan not aligning with the sole global superpower. The threat to reduce Pakistan to the "Stone Age" is the alternative, international deployment of nuclear fear, constituting a U.S. promise to reduce his country to a prenational, pretechnological state. Thus, the United States enters the 21st century as a nation both fascinated and traumatized by nuclear ruins. It transforms real and imagined mass death into a nationalized space, and supports a political culture that believes bombing campaigns can produce democracy abroad. It is simultaneously terrorized by nuclear weapons and threatens to use them. The U.S. military both wages preemptive war over nascent "WMD" programs and is preparing to build a new generation of U.S. nuclear weapons.25 American society is today neither "atomic bomb proof nor capable of engaging nuclear technologies as a global problem of governance. Instead, U.S. citizens live today in the emotional residues of the Cold War nuclear arms race, which can only address them as fearful docile bodies. Thus, even in the 21st century, Americans remain caught between terror and fear, trapped in the psychosocial space defined by the once and future promise of nuclear ruins.¶

#### Studies prove that the more specific forecasts are the less probable they are – causes flawed threat evaluation that results in serial policy failure

**Yudkowsky ‘6** Research Fellow at the Singularity Institute for Artificial Intelligence “Cognitive biases potentially affecting judgment of global risks” Forthcoming in Global Catastrophic Risks, eds. Nick Bostrom and Milan CirkovicDraft of August 31, 2006. Eliezer Yudkowsky(yudkowsky@singinst.org)

**The conjunction fallacy** similarly **applies to futurological forecasts. Two independent sets of professional analysts at the Second International Congress on Forecasting were asked to rate, respectively, the probability of "A complete suspension of diplomatic relations between the USA and the Soviet Union, sometime in 1983" or "A Russian invasion of Poland, and a complete suspension of diplomatic relations between the USA and the Soviet Union, sometime in 1983". The second set of analysts responded with significantly higher probabilities.** (Tversky and Kahneman 1983.) In Johnson et. al. (1993), MBA students at Wharton were scheduled to travel to Bangkok as part of their degree program. Several groups of students were asked how much they were willing to pay for terrorism insurance. One group of subjects was asked how much they were willing to pay for terrorism insurance covering the flight *from* Thailand *to* the US. A second group of subjects was asked how much they were willing to pay for terrorism insurance covering the round-trip flight. A third group was asked how much they were willing to pay for terrorism insurance that covered the complete trip to Thailand. These three groups responded with average willingness to pay of $17.19, $13.90, and $7.44 respectively. **According to probability theory, adding additional detail onto a story *must* render the story less probable.** It is less probable that Linda is a feminist bank teller than that she is a bank teller, since all feminist bank tellers are necessarily bank tellers. **Yet human psychology seems to follow the rule that *adding an additional detail can make the story more plausible.* People might pay more for international diplomacy intended to prevent nanotechnological warfare *by China,* than for an engineering project to defend against nanotechnological attack *from any source.* The second threat scenario is less vivid and alarming, but the defense is more useful *because* it is more vague.** More valuable still would be strategies which make humanity harder to extinguish without being specific to nanotechnologic threats - such as colonizing space, or see Yudkowsky (this volume) on AI. **Security expert Bruce Schneier observed** (both before and after the 2005 hurricane in New Orleans) **that the U.S. government was guarding *specific* domestic targets against "movie-plot scenarios" of terrorism, at the cost of taking away resources from emergency-response capabilities that could respond to *any* disaster.** (Schneier 2005.)

#### Experts fail at predictions

Quirk 11 ([THE TROUBLE WITH EXPERTS](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08913811.2010.541699), Paul J. Quirk, [Critical Review,](http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rcri20/22/4)Vol. 22, Iss. 4, 2011)

 In his remarkable book Expert Political Judgment, Philip E. Tetlock ([2005](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08913811.2010.541699#CIT0028)) presents findings that might seem to account for some of the dire events of the succeeding years. Putting hundreds of experts through rigorous tests of their ability to predict economic and political trends, he found their predictions, on the whole, wanting. Experts performed only marginally better than they would have done by randomly guessing among the alternative predictions that the tests permitted. Experts actually performed worse, on average, than a standardized statistical model that Tetlock designed to extrapolate from long-term patterns and current trends in any context. In addition to their lack of accuracy, Tetlock shows that the experts consistently overestimated their ability to make these predictions accurately, and that they failed to learn from their mistakes-refusing to admit that their methods or assumptions might need revising. Although no category of experts performed substantially better than others, the ones that Tetlock calls “hedgehogs”-those who claimed to rely on a central idea or explanatory notion-did somewhat worse than his “foxes”-those who used a complex and flexible intellectual approach. In fact, apparently underlining Tetlock's concerns, disastrous failures of expert advice, real or alleged, have been a theme of the past decade. In the run-up to the Iraq War, intelligence officials drastically exaggerated the clarity of the evidence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (Commission on Intelligence Capabilities [2005](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08913811.2010.541699#CIT0006); Jervis[2010](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08913811.2010.541699#CIT0017)). On many accounts, the financial crisis and economic recession of 2008-2010 were partly the result of economic advice in the 1990s that promoted sweeping deregulation of financial services and endorsed a wide range of high-risk investment innovations contrived by financial managers.[1](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08913811.2010.541699#NOTE0001) In the aftermath of the economic calamity, economists trumpeting a sharp reversal in approach helped design some of the most expansive measures for governmental direction of economic activity in American history-with results that remain to be seen.[2](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08913811.2010.541699#NOTE0002) One might conclude that the so-called experts have no real insight, and yet that policymakers act on their advice, with the public suffering the consequences. The problem with experts, in this view, is, as Tetlock suggests, a severe shortage of discipline, accountability, and ultimately competence.

### Cooption DA

#### Combinations of the alternative and the state result in the cooption of intellectuals into a political, interventionist sphere

**BISWAS 07** (Shampa, Prof – Politics, Whitman, 2007 "Empire and Global Public Intellectuals: Reading Edward Said as an International Relations Theorist" Millennium 36 (1)

While it is no surprise that the US academy should find itself too at that uneasy confluence of neoliberal globalising dynamics and exclusivist nationalist agendas that is the predicament of many contemporary institutions around the world, **there is much reason for concern and an urgent need to rethink the role and place of intellectual labour in the democratic process**. This is especially true for scholars of the global writing in this age of globalisation and empire. Edward **Said has written extensively on the place of the academy as one of the few and increasingly precarious spaces for democratic deliberation and argued the necessity for public intellectuals immured from the seductions of power.14 Defending the US academy as one of the last remaining utopian spaces**, ‘the one public space **available to real alternative intellectual practices**: no other institution like it on such a scale exists anywhere else in the world today’15, and lauding the remarkable critical theoretical and historical work of many academic intellectuals in a lot of his work, Said also complains that ‘the American University, with its munificence, utopian sanctuary, and remarkable diversity, has defanged (intellectuals)’16. **The most serious threat to the ‘intellectual vocation’, he argues, is ‘professionalism’** and mounts a pointed attack on the proliferation of ‘specializations’ and the ‘cult of expertise’ with their focus on ‘relatively narrow areas of knowledge’, ‘technical formalism’, ‘impersonal theories and methodologies’, **and** most worrisome of all**, their ability and willingness to be seduced by power.**17 **Said mentions** in this context **the funding of academic programmes and research which came out of the exigencies of the Cold War**18, an area in which **there was considerable traffic of political scientists** (largely trained as IR and comparative politics scholars) **with institutions of policy-making.** Looking at various influential US academics as ‘organic intellectuals’ involved in a dialectical relationship with foreign policy-makers and examining the institutional relationships at and among numerous think tanks and universities that create convergent perspectives and interests, Christopher Clement has studied **US intervention in the Third World both during and after the Cold War made possible and justified through various forms of ‘intellectual articulation’**.19 This is not simply a matter of scholars working for the state, but indeed a larger question of intellectual orientation. **It is not uncommon for IR scholars to feel the need to formulate their scholarly conclusions in terms of its relevance for global politics, where ‘relevance’ is measured entirely in terms of policy wisdom.** Edward Said’s searing indictment of US intellectuals – policy-experts and Middle East experts - in the context of the first Gulf War20 is certainly even more resonant in the contemporary context preceding and following the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

### Soft Power

**Soft power is a euphemism for hegemonic coercion**

**Bilgin, 08** – Pinar Prof. of IR @ Bilkent, Berivan Elis, PhD Candidate in IR @ Ankara, ‘8 [Hard Power, Soft Power: Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis, <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~pbilgin/Bilgin-Elis-IT-2008.pdf>]

On another level, Nye’s (soft) power analysis is problematic insofar as his own agenda of ‘success in world politics’ is concerned. This is not only because his analysis fosters the false impression that ‘soft power’ is a nice and cuddly surrogate to ‘hard power’, but also because he underestimates the extent to which U.S. soft power is produced and expressed through compulsion. After all, compulsory power is not limited to the use of material resources. Non-material forms of power, such as ‘symbolic power’, may also be used for the purpose of coercing another. Barnett’s analysis of Arab politics is highly illuminating in this regard; during the Arab Cold War ‘symbolic power’ was used by ‘radical’ Arab states to bring into line their ‘conservative’ counterparts by touting the attractiveness of ‘Arab nationalism’ for Arab peoples across the Middle East.51 By failing to inquire into how the production and expression of soft power can also cause harm, Nye does disservice to both his power analysis and his agenda for U.S. ‘success’ in world politics. To recapitulate, in Part I we pointed to the poverty of realist power analysis for taking agents as well as the stockpile of power as pre-given and focusing on decision-making in cases of visible conflict. Following Lukes, we called for adopting Bachrach and Baratz’s conception of two-dimensional power, which would allow looking at instances of decision-making and nondecision-making. Nye’s conception of soft power constitutes an improvement upon realist power analysis insofar as it raises the analyst’s awareness of the ‘second face of power’. For, **the** very notion of ‘attraction’ suggests that there is a conflict of interest that does not come to the surface. That is to say, B does not express its grievances and does what A wants it to do, because it is attracted to A’s culture, political values and/or foreign policy. That said, Nye’s analysis rests on a conception of power that is somehow less than three-dimensional. While Nye encourages the analyst to be curious about those instances of power expression where there is no visible conflict and/or clash of interests, his failure to register how soft power is ‘not-so-soft’ means that his (soft) power analysis does not fully capture the ‘third face of power’. Let us clarify. Lukes understands the ‘third face of power’ as those instances when “A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping, or determining his very wants”.52 Post-colonial peoples’ post-WWII rush towards sovereign statehood may be viewed as an example of the ‘third face of power’ whereby the international society shaped their wants while their actual circumstances called for other forms of political community. That is to say, in Lukes’ framework, B does what A wants in apparent readiness contrary to its own interests. Put differently, by exercising soft power, A prevents B from recognizing its own ‘real interests’. While Nye’s attention to A’s ability to shape B’s wants seem to render his analysis three-dimensional, his lack of curiosity into ‘not-so-soft’ expressions of U.S. power renders his (soft) power analysis two-and-a-half dimensional. This is mostly because Nye assumes that B’s ‘real interests’ are also served when it follows A’s lead. It is true that soft power does not involve physical coercion, but as Lukes reminded us, it is the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances

 by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial.53 Going back to the example of North/South relations, power is involved not only when the South does not express its grievance because of the absence of opportunities to do so, but also when it seemingly has no grievances as a consequence of the prevalent system of ideas that depoliticizes its status within the international economic order.54 In a similar fashion, Nye is not interested in inquiring into the sources of U.S. ‘attraction’, for he considers the U.S.’s ability to shape the wants of others as befitting the latter’s ‘real interests’. Accordingly, he misses a ‘fundamental part of soft power’, what Bohas describes as “the early shaping of taste, collective imaginary and ideals which constitutes a way of dominating other countries. This includes the reinforcing effect of the social process in favor of American power through goods and values”.55 As such, Nye’s analysis remains limited in regard to the third face of soft power, where the existing state of things is internalized by the actors, and the U.S.’s expression of power seems benign and in accordance with the ‘real interests’ of others. In sum, the limits of Nye’s approach, which could be characterized as ‘two-and-a-half dimensional power analysis’, does not allow him to offer a theory of power that reflects upon its own moment(s) and site(s) of production and ‘not-so-soft’ expression. This is not to underestimate what Nye’s (soft) power analysis delivers. Rather, our aim has been to push his analysis further towards generating a more realistic framework where one’s scope of research is not limited to the acts or inacts of actors but investigates how different actors’ needs and wants as well as their understanding of themselves and their ‘real interests’ are shaped by other actors or by the existing structures.

### AT: Realism

#### Their realism defenses are epistemologically bankrupt – they naturalize political assumptions to legitimize violence and oppressive political structures – Their method causes self-fulfilling prophesies – the alt is key to reclaim agency from inevitable violence

Busser 6 (Mark Busser, Masters Candidate at the Dept of Political Science at York University. Aug 2006, “The Evolution of Security: Revisiting the Human Nature Debate in International Relations ”, <http://www.yorku.ca/yciss/publications/documents/WP40-Busser.pdf>)

**Responding directly to Thayer,** Duncan Bell and Paul MacDonald have expressed concern at the intellectual functionalism inherent in sociobiological explanations, suggesting that too often analysts choose a specific behaviour and **read backwards** into evolutionary epochs in an attempt to **rationalize explanations for that behaviour.** These arguments, Bell and MacDonald write, often fall into what Richard Lewontin and Stephen Jay Gould have called ‘adaptionism,’ or “the attempt to understand all physiological and behavioural traits of an organism as evolutionary adaptations.”42 Arguments such as these are **hand-crafted** by their makers, and tend to **carry forward their assumptions and biases**. In an insightful article, Jason Edwards suggests that sociobiology and its successor, evolutionary psychology, are fundamentally political because they frame their major questions in terms of an assumed individualism**.** Edwards suggests that the main question in both subfields is: “given human nature, how is politics possible?”43 The problem is that the ‘**givens’ of human nature are drawn backward from common knowledges and truths about humans in society, and the game-theory experiments** which seek to prove them are often **created with such assumptions in mind.**

These arguments are seen by their critics as **politicized from the** very **start**. Sociobiology in particular has been widely interpreted as a **conservative politico-scientific tool** because of these basic assumptions, and because of the political writings of many sociobiologists.44 Because sociobiology **naturalizes certain behaviours** like **conflict, inequality and prejudice**, Lewontin et al. suggest that it “**sets the stage for legitimation of things as they are**.”45 The danger inherent in arguments that incorporate sociobiological arguments into examinations of modern political life, the authors say, is that such arguments naturalize variable behaviours and support discriminatory political structures. Even if certain behaviours are found to have a biological drives behind them, dismissing those behaviours as ‘natural’ **precludes the possibility** that human actors can make choices and can avoid anti-social, violent, or undesirable action.46 While the attempt to discover a geneticallydetermined human nature has usually been justified under the argument that knowing humankind’s basic genetic programming will help to solve the resulting social problems, discourse about human nature seems to generate self-fulfilling prophesies by putting limits on what is considered politically possible. While sociobiologists tend to distance themselves from the naturalistic fallacy that ‘what is’ is ‘what should be,’ there is still a problem with employing adaptionism to ‘explain’ how existing political structures because conclusions tend to be drawn in terms of conclusions that assert what ‘must be’ because of biologically ingrained constraints.47 Too firm a focus on sociobiological arguments about ‘natural laws’ **draws attention away** from humanity’s potential for social and political solutions that can **counteract and** **mediate** any inherent biological impulses, whatever they may be. A revived classical realism based on biological arguments **casts biology as destiny** in a manner that parallels the neo-realist sentiment that the international sphere is doomed to everlasting anarchy. Jim George quotes the English School scholar Martin Wight as writing that “hope is not a political virtue: it is a theological virtue.”48 George questions the practical result of traditional realsist claims, arguing that the suggestion that fallen man’s sinful state can only be redeemed by a higher power puts limitations on what is considered politically possible. Thayer’s argument rejects the religious version of the fallen man for a scientific version, but similar problems remain with his ‘scientific’ conclusions.

#### Discourse first – speech acts that legitimize security create the only scenario for extinction

John **Collins**, Ass. Prof. of Global Studies at St. Lawrence, **and** Ross **Glover**, Visiting Professor of Sociology at St. Lawrence University, 20**02**, Collateral Language, p. 6-7

The Real Effects of Language

As any university student knows, theories about the “social con­struction” and social effects of language have become a common feature of academic scholarship. Conservative critics often argue that those who use these theories of language (e.g., deconstruc­tion) are “just” talking about language, as opposed to talking about the “real world.” The essays in this book, by contrast, begin from the premise that language matters in the most concrete, im­mediate way possible: its use, by political and military leaders, leads directly to violence in the form of war, mass murder (in­cluding genocide), the physical destruction of human commu­nities, and the devastation of the natural environment. Indeed, if the world ever witnesses a nuclear holocaust, it will probably be because leaders in more than one country have succeeded in convincing their people, through the use of political language, that the use of nuclear weapons and, if necessary, the destruction of the earth itself, is justifiable.

 From our perspective, then, every act of political violence—from the horrors perpetrated against Native Americans to the murder of political dissidents in the So­viet Union to the destruction of the World Trade Center, and now the bombing of Afghanistan—is intimately linked with the use of language.¶ Partly what we are talking about here, of course, are the processes of “manufacturing consent” and shaping people’s per­ception of the world around them; people are more likely to sup­port acts of violence committed in their name if the recipients of the violence have been defined as “terrorists,” or if the violence is presented as a defense of “freedom.” Media analysts such as Noam Chomsky have written eloquently about the corrosive ef­fects that this kind of process has on the political culture of sup­posedly democratic societies. At the risk of stating the obvious, however, the most fundamental effects of violence are those that are visited upon the objects of violence; the language that shapes public opinion is the same language that burns villages, besieges entire populations, kills and maims human bodies, and leaves the ground scarred with bomb craters and littered with land mines. As George Orwell so famously illustrated in his work, acts of vio­lence can easily be made more palatable through the use of eu­phemisms such as “pacification” or, to use an example discussed in this book, “targets.” It is important to point out, however, that the need for such language derives from the simple fact that the violence itself is abhorrent. Were it not for the abstract language of “vital interests” and “surgical strikes” and the flattering lan­guage of “civilization” and ‘just” wars, we would be less likely to avert our mental gaze from the physical effects of violence.

### AT: Proximate Cause

#### Epistemology focus is good

#### 1. All knowledge is socially conditioned

John Agnew, Professor of Geography at UCLA, 2007, International Political Sociology, (**2007**) 1, p. 143

Various ‘‘social studies’’ of science take these insights down to the level of the laboratory and the classroom. In the context of world politics, what they suggest is that all knowledge, including that claiming the mantle of science, is at least socially conditioned by the rituals, routines, and recruitment practices of powerful educational and research institutions. Thus, the assumption of ‘‘anarchy’’ beyond state borders is not an objective fact about the world but a claim socially constructed by theorists and actors operating in conditioning sites and venues (premier universities, think-thanks, government offices, etc.), which unthinkingly reproduce the assumption drawing on unimpeachable intellectual precursors (such as Machiavelli and Hobbes) irrespective of its empirical ‘‘truth’’ status (O´ Tuathail 1996). Other ideas such as those of ‘‘rational choice’’ and ‘‘hegemonic succession’’ can be thought of similarly as reflecting the social and political experiences of particular theorists in specific places as much as objective truth about the world per se (see, respectively, e.g., Grunberg 1990; Green and Shapiro 1996; Taylor 2006). If believed, of course, and if in the hands of those powerful enough, they can become guides to action that make their own reality.

#### 2. Critical to determining what we consider factual

Zachary Lockman, professor of Modern Middle Eastern History at New York University, 2004, Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism, p. 4-5

I should also acknowledge at the outset that there have been, and con­tinue to be, scholars of the Middle East and Islam (as well as scholars in other fields and disciplines) who reject the entire notion of a politics of knowledge and insist that their own scholarly impartiality, critical fac­ulties and good judgment, along with the use of tried-and-true scholarly methods, allow them to produce knowledge that is not informed by any implicit or explicit theory, model or vision of the world but is simply and objectively true. They might be said to take their motto from police sergeant Jack Webb’s favorite line in the old television series Dragnet: “Just the facts, ma’am.” Adherents of this epistemological position, which (depending on how it is formulated and implemented) may be characterized as empiricism or positivism, insist that they simply examine the facts, which are deemed to “speak for themselves,” and derive their analyses directly from them, without allowing any presuppositions, theory, political viewpoint, social values or personal prejudices to affect their judgment. In contrast, they tend to see their epistemological opponents — those who see the produc­tion of knowledge as always involving some degree of interpretation and judgment and as always influenced by historical contexts — as wrongly injecting a distorting political and subjective element into what should be the politically neutral, objective world of scholarship. Of course, scholars who see knowledge as socially produced or con­structed respond by insisting that what we believe we know about the human world, what we take to be true about whatever aspect of human social life past or present we are interested in, is never simply the product of the direct observation of reality and our capacity for reasoning. Rather, attaining such knowledge always entails resort to some (often implicit and unacknowledged) theory, interpretive stance or exercise of judgment. Nor do the facts ever really speak for themselves in any simple sense. What we deem to be a fact, which facts we deem to be significant, which questions we want our data to help us answer, and how we go about producing an explanation of something — all these involve making choices, which again means interpretation, judgment, some notion or theory or vision of how the world is put together and can be understood. Facts thus do not stand entirely on their own: they come to make sense within a theoreti­cal or interpretive framework which specifies that they are indeed facts, that is, true statements about reality, and that it is this set of facts and not some other that counts, that tells us what is really going on. And the emer­gence, dissemination and decline of the contending scholarly frameworks of interpretation, the many alternative possible ways of comprehending the social world, are always bound up, if in complex ways, with broader contexts and developments.1

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### AT US Lashout

#### No US lashout

MacDonald ’11 (Paul K. MacDonald, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Williams College, and Joseph M. Parent, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Miami, “Graceful Decline?: The Surprising Success of Great Power Retrenchment,” International Security, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 7-44, Spring 2011)

With regard to militarized disputes, declining great powers demonstrate more caution and restraint in the use of force: they were involved in an average of 1.7 fewer militarized disputes in the five years following ordinal change compared with other great powers over similar periods.67 Declining great powers also initiated fewer militarized disputes, and their disputes tended to escalate to lower levels of hostility than the baseline category (see figure 2).68 These findings suggest the need for a fundamental revision to the pessimist's argument regarding the war proneness of declining powers.69 Far from being more likely to lash out aggressively, declining states refrain from initiating and escalating military disputes. Nor do declining great powers appear more vulnerable to external predation than other great powers. This may be because external predators have great difficulty assessing the vulnerability of potential victims, or because retrenchment allows vulnerable powers to effectively recover from decline and still deter potential challengers.

#### No potential conflicts for hotspots to escilate

Fettweis ‘11 (Christopher J. Fettweis, Department of Political Science, Tulane University, Free Riding or Restraint? Examining European Grand Strategy, Comparative Strategy, 30:316–332, EBSCO, September 26, 2011)

Assertions that without the combination of U.S. capabilities, presence and commitments instability would return to Europe and the Pacific Rim are usually rendered in rather vague language. If the United States were to decrease its commitments abroad, argued Robert Art, “the world will become a more dangerous place and, sooner or later, that will redound to America’s detriment.”53 From where would this danger arise? Who precisely would do the fighting, and over what issues? Without the United States, would Europe really descend into Hobbesian anarchy? Would the Japanese attack mainland China again, to see if they could fare better this time around? Would the Germans and French have another go at it? In other words, where exactly is hegemony is keeping the peace? With one exception, these questions are rarely addressed. That exception is in the Pacific Rim. Some analysts fear that a de facto surrender of U.S. hegemony would lead to a rise of Chinese influence. Bradley Thayer worries that Chinese would become “the language of diplomacy, trade and commerce, transportation and navigation, the internet, world sport, and global culture,” and that Beijing would come to “dominate science and technology, in all its forms” to the extent that soon the world would witness a Chinese astronaut who not only travels to the Moon, but “plants the communist flag on Mars, and perhaps other planets in the future.”54 Indeed China is the only other major power that has increased its military spending since the end of the Cold War, even if it still is only about 2 percent of its GDP. Such levels of effort do not suggest a desire to compete with, much less supplant, the United States. The much-ballyhooed, decade-long military buildup has brought Chinese spending up to somewhere between one-tenth and one-fifth of the U.S. level. It is hardly clear that a restrained United States would invite Chinese regional, must less global, political expansion. Fortunately one need not ponder for too long the horrible specter of a red flag on Venus, since on the planet Earth, where war is no longer the dominant form of conflict resolution, the threats posed by even a rising China would not be terribly dire. The dangers contained in the terrestrial security environment are less severe than ever before. Believers in the pacifying power of hegemony ought to keep in mind a rather basic tenet: When it comes to policymaking, specific threats are more significant than vague, unnamed dangers. Without specific risks, it is just as plausible to interpret U.S. presence as redundant, as overseeing a peace that has already arrived. Strategy should not be based upon vague images emerging from the dark reaches of the neoconservative imagination. Overestimating Our Importance One of the most basic insights of cognitive psychology provides the final reason to doubt the power of hegemonic stability: Rarely are our actions as consequential upon their behavior as we perceive them to be. A great deal of experimental evidence exists to support the notion that people (and therefore states) tend to overrate the degree to which their behavior is responsible for the actions of others. Robert Jervis has argued that two processes account for this overestimation, both of which would seem to be especially relevant in the U.S. case.55 First, believing that we are responsible for their actions gratifies our national ego (which is not small to begin with; the United States is exceptional in its exceptionalism). The hubris of the United States, long appreciated and noted, has only grown with the collapse of the Soviet Union.56 U.S. policymakers famously have comparatively little knowledge of—or interest in—events that occur outside of their own borders. If there is any state vulnerable to the overestimation of its importance due to the fundamental misunderstanding of the motivation of others, it would have to be the United States. Second, policymakers in the United States are far more familiar with our actions than they are with the decision-making processes of our allies. Try as we might, it is not possible to fully understand the threats, challenges, and opportunities that our allies see from their perspective. The European great powers have domestic politics as complex as ours, and they also have competent, capable strategists to chart their way forward. They react to many international forces, of which U.S. behavior is only one. Therefore, for any actor trying to make sense of the action of others, Jervis notes, “in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, the most obvious and parsimonious explanation is that he was responsible.”57 It is natural, therefore, for U.S. policymakers and strategists to believe that the behavior of our allies (and rivals) is shaped largely by what Washington does. Presumably Americans are at least as susceptible to the overestimation of their ability as any other people, and perhaps more so. At the very least, political psychologists tell us, we are probably not as important to them as we think. The importance of U.S. hegemony in contributing to international stability is therefore almost certainly overrated. In the end, one can never be sure why our major allies have not gone to, and do not even plan for, war. Like deterrence, the hegemonic stability theory rests on faith; it can only be falsified, never proven. It does not seem likely, however, that hegemony could fully account for twenty years of strategic decisions made in allied capitals if the international system were not already a remarkably peaceful place. Perhaps these states have no intention of fighting one another to begin with, and our commitments are redundant. European great powers may well have chosen strategic restraint because they feel that their security is all but assured, with or without the United States.

### Soft Power

#### Systemic opposition dooms soft power- drones aren’t key

**Wike ’12** [Richard Wike is associate director of the Pew Global Attitudes Project, “Wait, You Still Don't Like Us?” September 19, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/19/you_still_don_t_like_us?page=full>]

Anti-Americanism in the Muslim world, an issue that was front and center throughout much of the George W. Bush era, is squarely back in the news following the protests that swept across more than 20 countries in reaction to a controversial anti-Islam film. The all-too-familiar images of angry demonstrators burning the Stars and Stripes are a dramatic reminder that, while the image of the United States has improved throughout many parts of the world during Barack Obama's presidency, negative views of America remain stubbornly persistent in key Muslim countries. Much of this animosity is due to continuing concerns about U.S. power and widespread opposition to major elements of American foreign policy. But it's not just about the United States -- rather, anti-Americanism needs to be seen within a broader context of distrust between Muslims and the West.¶ Following his election, Obama made it a priority to change America's dismal image in the Muslim world, most prominently in his June 2009 Cairo speech. And he has had some successes; in fact, Muslim publics still generally give him more positive ratings than Bush received. For instance, in a spring 2012 survey by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project, only 24 percent of Turks express confidence in Obama; still, that's a whole lot better than the 2 percent who felt this way about Bush during his final year in office. Also, due in part to having lived there for a few years as a child, Obama has consistently received high marks in Indonesia, and his popularity has helped turn around America's image in the world's most populous Muslim nation.¶ But overall, the picture remains grim. In Egypt, for example, despite all the tumult of the revolution, America's image remains roughly where it was four years ago -- then 22 percent expressed a favorable opinion of the United States; in the 2012 poll, it was 19 percent. Among Pakistanis and Jordanians, America's already poor ratings have declined further since 2008 -- in both countries, 19 percent held a positive view of the U.S. four years ago, compared with just 12 percent in 2012.¶ Why hasn't America's image improved? In part, many Muslims around the world continue to voice the same criticisms of U.S. foreign policy that were common in the Bush years. U.S. anti-terrorism efforts are still widely unpopular. America is still seen as ignoring the interests of other countries. Few think Obama has been even-handed in dealing with the Israelis and the Palestinians. And the current administration's increased reliance on drone strikes to target extremists is overwhelmingly unpopular -- more than 80 percent of Jordanians, Egyptians, and Turks oppose the drone campaign.¶ The opposition to drone strikes points to a broader issue: a widespread distrust of American power. This is especially true when the United States employs hard power, whether it's the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq or the drone attacks in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen. But it is true even for elements of American soft power. Predominantly Muslim nations are generally among the least likely to embrace U.S. popular culture or the spread of American ideas and customs. Only 36 percent of Egyptians like American music, movies, and television, and just 11 percent believe it is good that U.S. ideas and customs are spreading to their country.¶ But America's image problems are not due solely to fears of American power. In some ways, the issue of anti-Americanism is part of a broader story about mutual distrust between Muslims and Westerners. Polling by Pew in 2006 and 2011 highlighted the extent to which Muslim and Western publics see their relations with each other as bad, and the degree to which they blame each other for the poor state of affairs.¶ In the West, fears about extremism and violence continue to play a role in driving these views. Among Muslims, many describe Westerners as selfish, greedy, and violent, and the 2011 poll found majorities of Muslims in Egypt, the Palestinian territories, Pakistan, and Turkey saying that both Americans and Europeans tend to be hostile toward Muslims. Also, large numbers of Muslims surveyed in 2011 blamed Western policies for the lack of prosperity in Muslim nations.¶ Just like the headlines from the past week, the survey data paint a fairly bleak picture. The "Obama effect" that changed America's battered image in Europe and other parts of the globe did not register in many predominantly Muslim nations. Even so, there are some hopeful signs. For one thing, it is important to keep in mind that the "Muslim world" is not monolithic. In the 2012 Pew survey, two-thirds of Lebanese Sunni Muslims expressed a positive view of the United States. In newly democratic Tunisia, opinions were equally divided, with 45 percent giving the United States a positive rating and 45 percent a negative one. Previous polling found largely positive views of the United States among Muslims in Indonesia and Nigeria following Obama's election.

### Racism Turn

#### Racism must be rejected in EVERY INSTANCE without surcease – prerequisite to morality.

Memmi ’00 [2000, Albert is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology @ Unv. Of Paris, Albert-; RACISM, translated by Steve Martinot, pp.163-165]

The struggle against racism will be long, difficult, without intermission, without remission, probably never achieved, yet for this very reason, it is a struggle to be undertaken without surcease and without concessions. One cannot be indulgent toward racism. One cannot even let the monster in the house, especially not in a mask. To give it merely a foothold means to augment the bestial part in us and in other people which is to diminish what is human. To accept the racist universe to the slightest degree is to endorse fear, injustice, and violence. It is to accept the persistence of the dark history in which we still largely live. It is to agree that the outsider will always be a possible victim(and which [person] man is not [themself] himself an outsider relative to someone else?). Racism illustrates in sum, the inevitable negativity of the condition of the dominated**;** that is it illuminates in a certain sense the entire human condition. The anti-racist struggle, difficult though it is, and always in question, is nevertheless one of the prologues to the ultimate passage from animality to humanity. In that sense, we cannot fail to rise to the racist challenge. However, it remains true that one’s moral conduct only emerges from a choice: one has to want it. It is a choice among other choices, and always debatable in its foundations and its consequences. Let us say, broadly speaking, that the choice to conduct oneself morally is the condition for the establishment of a human order for which racism is the very negation. This is almost a redundancy. One cannot found a moral order, let alone a legislative order, on racism because racism signifies the exclusion of the other and his or her subjection to violence and domination. From an ethical point of view**,** if one can deploy a little religious language, racism is “the truly capital sin.**”**fn22 It is not an accident that almost all of humanity’s spiritual traditions counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows, or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical counsel respect for the weak, for orphans, widows or strangers. It is not just a question of theoretical morality and disinterested commandments. Such unanimity in the safeguarding of the other suggests the real utility of such sentiments. All things considered, we have an interest in banishing injustice, because injustice engenders violence and death. Of course, this is debatable. There are those who think that if one is strong enough, the assault on and oppression of others is permissible. But no one is ever sure of remaining the strongest. One day, perhaps, the roles will be reversed. All unjust society contains within itself the seeds of its own death**.** It is probably smarter to treat others with respect so that they treat you with respect. “Recall,” says the bible, “that you were once a stranger in Egypt,” which means both that you ought to respect the stranger because you were a stranger yourself and that you risk becoming once again someday. Itis an ethical and a practical appeal – indeed, it is a contract, however implicit it might be . In short, the refusal of racism is the condition for all theoretical and practical morality////////////////////////////////. Because, in the end, the ethical choice commands the political choice. A just society must be a society accepted by all. If this contractual principle is not accepted, then only conflict, violence, and destruction will be our lot. If it is accepted, we can hope someday to live in peace. True, it is a wager, but the stakes are irresistible.

**Discourse shapes reality and policy – Mobilization using security logic creates a self-fulfilling prophecy**

**- Bilgin ‘5** (Pinar Bilgin, Prof. of IR @ Bilkent Univ, ‘5 [Regional Security in The Middle East, p. 203-6]

First, it was argued only by thinking and writing about the future that one could raise actors' awareness as to 'threats to the future', what future outcomes may result, and what needs to be done in order to prevent them. Second, the chapter suggested that, **as knowledge about the future both shapes and constrains practices, thereby helping constitute the future, an uncritical adoption of existing knowledge produced by prevailing discourses** - **those that have been complicit in perpetuating regional insecurity in the Middle East could in itself be construed as a 'threat to the future'**. Indeed, given the conception of theory adopted by students of critical approaches to security (that theory is constitutive of the 'reality' it seeks to explain) it is vital that its proponents do not limit their thinking to 'desired' futures, **but also criticise existing knowledge about the future that informs actors' practices in an often unthinking manner**.