## 2AC

### 2AC – Econ Engagement

#### Removal of sanction is engagement

Haas 2k (Richard, President of CFR, Terms of Engagement: Alternatives to Punitive Policies, *Survival;*, vol. 42, no. 2, Summer 2000, pp. xx–xx, <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/articles/2000/6/summer%20haass/2000survival.pdf>)

Architects of engagement strategies can choose from a wide variety of incentives. **Economic engagement** might offer tangible incentives such as export credits, investment insurance or promotion, access to technology, loans and economic aid.3 Other equally useful economic incentives involve the removal of penalties such as trade embargoes, investment bans or high tariffs, which have impeded economic relations between the United States and the target country. Facilitated entry into the economic global arena and the institutions that govern it rank among the most potent incentives in today’s global market.

### 2AC – Neolib

#### Adaptability

**Kaletsky ’10** (Anatole, Masters in Economics from Harvard, Honour-Degree Graduate at King’s College and Cambrdige, editor-at-large of The Times of London, founding partner and chief economist of GaveKal Capital, He is on the governing board of the New York– based Institute for New Economic Theory (INET), a nonprofit created after the 2007– 2009 crisis to promote and finance academic research in economics outside the orthodoxy of “efficient markets.” From 1976 to 1990, Kaletsky was New York bureau chief and Washington correspondent of the Financial Times and a business writer on The Economist)

The world did not end. Despite all the forebodings of disaster in the 2007– 09 financial crisis, the first decade of the twenty-first century passed rather uneventfully into the second. The riots, soup kitchens, and bankruptcies predicted by many of the world’s most respected economists did not materialize— and no one any longer expects the global capitalist system to collapse, whatever that emotive word might mean. Yet the capitalist system’s survival does not mean that the precrisis faith in the wisdom of financial markets and the efficiency of free enterprise will ever again be what it was before the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers on September 15, 2008. A return to decent economic growth and normal financial conditions is likely by the middle of 2010, but will this imply a return to business as usual for politicians, economists, and financiers? Although globalization will continue and many parts of the world will gradually regain their prosperity of the precrisis period, the traumatic effects of 2007– 09 will not be quickly forgotten. And the economic costs will linger for decades in the debts squeezing taxpayers and government budgets, the disrupted lives of the jobless, and the vanished dreams of homeowners and investors around the world. For what collapsed on September 15, 2008, was not just a bank or a financial system. What fell apart that day was an entire political philosophy and economic system, a way of thinking about and living in the world. The question now is what will replace the global capitalism that crumbled in the autumn of 2008. The central argument of this book is that global capitalism will be replaced by nothing other than global capitalism. The traumatic events of 2007– 09 will neither destroy nor diminish the fundamental human urgesthat have always powered the capitalist system— ambition, initiative, individualism, the competitive spirit. These natural human qualities will instead be redirected and reenergized to create a new version of capitalism that will ultimately be even more successful and productive than the system it replaced. To explain this process of renewal, and identify some of the most important features of the reinvigorated capitalist system, is the ambition of this book. This transformation will take many years to complete, but some of its consequences can already be discerned. With the benefit of even a year’s hindsight, it is clear that these consequences will be different from the nihilistic predictions from both ends of the political spectrum at the height of the crisis. On the Left, anticapitalist ideologues seemed honestly to believe that a few weeks of financial chaos could bring about the disintegration of a politico-economic system that had survived two hundred years of revolutions, depressions, and world wars. On the Right, free-market zealots insisted that private enterprise would be destroyed by government interventions that were clearly necessary to save the system— and many continue to believe that the crisis could have been resolved much better if governments had simply allowed financial institutions to collapse. A balanced reassessment of the crisis must challenge both left-wing hysteria and right-wing hubris. Rather than blaming the meltdown of the global financial system on greedy bankers, incompetent regulators, gullible homeowners, or foolish Chinese bureaucrats, this book puts what happened into historical and ideological perspective. It reinterprets the crisis in the context of the economic reforms and geopolitical upheavals that have repeatedly transformed the nature of capitalism since the late eighteenth century, most recently in the Thatcher-Reagan revolution of 1979– 89. The central argument is that capitalism has never been a static system that follows a fixed set of rules, characterized by a permanent division of responsibilities between private enterprise and governments. Contrary to the teachings of modern economic theory, no immutable laws govern the behavior of a capitalist economy. Instead, capitalism is an adaptive social system that mutates and evolves in response to a changing environment. When capitalism is seriously threatened by a systemic crisis, a new version emerges that is better suited to the changing environment and replaces the previously dominant form. Once we recognize that capitalism is not a static set of institutions, but an evolutionary system that reinvents and reinvigorates itself through crises, we can see the events of 2007– 09 in another light: as the catalyst for the fourth systemic transformation of capitalism, comparable to the transformations triggered by the crises of the 1970s, the crises of the 1930s, and the Napoleonic Wars of 1803– 15. Hence the title of this book.

#### Alt doesn’t solve the case – institutional focus key

Doran and Barry 6 – worked at all levels in the environment and sustainable development policy arena - at the United Nations, at the Northern Ireland Assembly and Dáil Éireann, and in the Irish NGO sector. PhD--AND-- Reader in Politics, Queen's University School of Politics, International Studies, and Philosophy. PhD Glasgow (Peter and John, Refining Green Political Economy: From Ecological Modernisation to Economic Security and Sufficiency, Analyse & Kritik 28/2006, p. 250–275, http://www.analyse-und-kritik.net/2006-2/AK\_Barry\_Doran\_2006.pdf)

The aim of this article is to offer a draft of a realistic, but critical, version of green political economy to underpin the economic dimensions of radical views of sustainable development. It is written explicitly with a view to encouraging others to respond to it in the necessary collaborative effort to think through this aspect of sustainable development. Our position is informed by two important observations. As a sign of our times, the crises that we are addressing under the banner of sustainable development (however inadequately) render the distinction between what is ‘realistic’ and ‘radical’ problematic. It seems to us that the only realistic course is to revisit the most basic assumptions embedded within the dominant model of development and economics. Realistically the only longterm option available is radical. Secondly, we cannot build or seek to create a sustainable economy ab nihilo, but must begin—in an agonistic fashion—**from where we are, with the structures, institutions, modes of production, laws, regulations and so on that we have**. We make this point in Ireland with a story about the motorist who stops at the side of the road to ask directions, only to be told: “Now Ma’m, I wouldn’t start from here if I were you.” ¶ This does not mean simply accepting these as immutable or set in stone— after all, some of the current institutions, principles and structures underpinning the dominant economic model are the very causes of unsustainable development— but we do need to recognise that we must work with (and ‘through’—in the terms of the original German Green Party’s slogan of “marching through the institutions”) these existing structures as well as changing and reforming and in some cases abandoning them as either unnecessary or positively harmful to the creation and maintenance of a sustainable economy and society. Moreover, we have a particular responsibility under the current dominant economic trends to name the neo-liberal project as the hegemonic influence on economic thinking and practice. In the words of Bourdieu/Wacquant (2001), neoliberalism is the new ‘planetary vulgate’, which provides the global context for much of the contemporary political and academic debate on sustainable development. For example, there is a clear hierarchy of trade (WTO) over the environment (Multilateral Environmental Agreements) in the international rules-based systems. At the boundaries or limits of the sustainable development debate in both the UK and the European Union it is also evident that the objectives of competitiveness and trade policy are sacrosanct. As Tim Luke (1999) has observed, the relative success or failure of national economies in head-to-head global competition is taken by ‘geo-economics’ as the definitive register of any one nation-state’s waxing or waning international power, as well as its rising or falling industrial competitiveness, technological vitality and economic prowess. In this context, many believe ecological considerations can, at best, be given only meaningless symbolic responses, in the continuing quest to mobilise the Earth’s material resources. ¶ Our realism is rooted in the demos. The realism with which this paper is concerned to promote recognises that the path to an alternative economy and society must begin with a recognition of the reality that most people (in the West) will not democratically vote (or be given the opportunity to vote) for a completely different type of society and economy overnight. This is true even as the merits of a ‘green economy’ are increasingly recognised and accepted by most people as the logical basis for safeguards and guarantees for their basic needs and aspirations (within limits). The realistic character of the thinking behind this article accepts that **consumption and materialistic lifestyles are here to stay**. (The most we can probably aspire to is a widening and deepening of popular movements towards **ethical consumption, responsible investment**, and fair trade.) And indeed **there is little to be gained by proposing alternative economic systems which start from a** complete rejection of consumption **and materialism.** The appeal to realism is in part an attempt to correct the common misperception (and self-perception) of green politics and economics requiring an excessive degree of self-denial and a puritanical asceticism (see Goodin 1992, 18; Allison 1991, 170– 78). While rejecting the claim that green political theory calls for the complete disavowal of materialistic lifestyles, it is true that green politics does require the collective re-assessment of such lifestyles, and does require new economic signals and pedagogical attempts to encourage a delinking—in the minds of the general populus—of the ‘good life’ and the ‘goods life’. This does not mean that we need necessarily require the complete and across the board rejection of materialistic lifestyles. It must be the case that there is room and tolerance in a green economy for people to choose to live diverse lifestyles—some more sustainable than others—so long as these do not ‘harm’ others, threaten long-term ecological sustainability or create unjust levels of socio-economic inequalities. Thus, realism in this context is in part another name for the acceptance of a broadly ‘liberal’ or ‘post-liberal’ (but certainly not anti-liberal) green perspective.2¶ 1. Setting Out¶ At the same time, while critical of the ‘abstract’ and ‘unrealistic’ utopianism that peppers green and radical thinking in this area, we do not intend to reject utopianism. Indeed, with Oscar Wilde we agree that a map of the world that does not have utopia on it, isn’t worth looking at. The spirit in which this article is written is more in keeping with framing green and sustainability concerns within a **‘concrete utopian’ perspective** or what the Marxist geographer David Harvey (1996, 433–435) calls a “utopianism of process”, to be distinguished from “closed”, blueprint-like and abstract utopian visions. Accordingly, the model of green political economy outlined here is in keeping with Steven Lukes’ suggestion that a concrete utopianism depends on the ‘knowledge of a self-transforming present, not an ideal future’ (Lukes 1984, 158).¶ It accepts the current dominance of one particular model of green political economy—namely ‘ecological modernisation’ (hereafter referred to EM)—as the preferred ‘political economy’ underpinning contemporary state and market forms of sustainable development, and further **accepts the necessity for green politics to positively engage in the** debates **and policies around EM** from a strategic (as well as a normative) point of view. However, it is also conscious of the limits and problems with ecological modernisation, particularly in terms of its technocratic, supply-side and reformist ‘business as usual’ approach, and seeks to explore the potential to radicalise EM or use it as a ‘jumping off’ point for more radical views of greening the economy. **Ecological modernisation is a work in progress; and that’s the point**. ¶ The article begins by outlining EM in theory and practice, specifically in relation to the British state’s ‘sustainable development’ policy agenda under New Labour.3 While EM as currently practised by the British state is ‘weak’ and largely turns on the centrality of ‘innovation’ and ‘eco-efficiency’, the paper then goes on to investigate in more detail the role of the market within current conceptualisations of EM and other models of green political economy. In particular, a potentially powerful distinction (both conceptually and in policy debates) between ‘the market’ and ‘capitalism’ has yet to be sufficiently explored and exploited as a starting point for the development of radical, viable and attractive conceptions of green political economy as alternatives to both EM and the orthodox economic paradigm. We contend that **there is a role for the market in innovation and as part of the ‘governance’ for sustainable development** in which eco-efficiency and EM of the economy is linked to non-ecological demands of green politics and sustainable development such as social and global justice, egalitarianism, democratic regulation of the market and the conceptual (and policy) expansion of the ‘economy’ to include social, informal and noncash economic activity and a progressive role for the state (especially at the local/municipal level). Here we suggest that the ‘environmental’ argument or basis of green political economy in terms of the need for the economy to become more resource efficient, minimise pollution and waste and so on, has largely been won. What that means is that no one is disputing the need for greater resource productivity, energy and eco-efficiency. Both state and corporate/business actors have accepted the environmental ‘bottom line’ (often rhetorically, but nonetheless important) as a conditioning factor in the pursuit of the economic ‘bottom line’

#### The alt’s method is *worse*; universalizing neolib misinforms transitions and disproves the K *in Cuba context*.

**Powell ‘8**

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Yet, within these broad patterns, it is clear from the behaviour of different¶ states and the diversity of political responses that neoliberalism has spread unevenly, been adopted selectively and hybridized with existing political¶ processes and political cultures; that neoliberalism in practice is characterized¶ by an ‘unstable and volatile historical geography’ (Harvey, 2005: 70).¶ Emphasizing the need to study such ‘actually existing neoliberalisms’, Peck¶ and Tickell insist that ‘[w]hile processes of neoliberalization are clearly at work in . . . diverse situations, we should not expect this to lead to a simple¶ convergence of outcomes, a neoliberalized end of history and geography’¶ (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 384, quoted in Gledhill, 2004). Such a focus not¶ only fractures the notion of neoliberalism as a monolithic force; its emphasis¶ on process also complicates the notion of political ‘transitions’ by raising¶ questions about the normativities underlying perceptions of previous¶ periods as well as future ones (Gledhill, 2002; Roseberry, 1985; Verdery,¶ 2002) – and Cuba is particularly burdened by the reification of ‘transition’.¶ An emphasis on historically and contextually specific studies shares¶ conceptual and methodological ground both with historical anthropology’s¶ critique of monolithic views of colonialism, the spread of capitalism and¶ state formation ( Joseph and Nugent, 1994; Roseberry, 1985), and with calls¶ for an ‘ethnography of the state’: these similarly critique binary state/society¶ models (Gupta, 1995; Nugent, 1994), focusing on the ‘degree to which the¶ state has become implicated in the minute texture of everyday life’ (Gupta,¶ 1995: 375) and the specific nature of these intimate relations, where people¶ deal with the corrupt bureaucrat, petition the official representative, avoid¶ the police, and engage in discursive constructions of the state which both¶ inform and make sense of their accommodations and resistances – and¶ which reveal the state as an ‘ensemble of social relations’ ( Jessop, 2002: 40).¶ Cuba both shares in and departs from these broad regional tendencies,¶ and presents a particularly complex historical conjuncture. Centeno notes¶ that ‘[Cuba] remained exceptional during the 1990s as it not only resisted¶ neoliberalism, but also the accompanying democratizing wave’ (2004:¶ 404). Resistance came at an immense social cost: the 1990s in Cuba¶ mirrored the decimation much of the rest of Latin America endured¶ during the 1980s under structural adjustment, and revealed the exclusionary¶ and punitive logic of neoliberal hegemony.3 As mentioned above,¶ resistance entailed accommodation in the marketization of certain sectors,¶ resulting in an economic and social bifurcation and hierarchization,¶ reproducing regional patterns of inequality, informality and migration:¶ these processes (discussed in more detail below) coexist in some tension¶ with the government’s strong political imperatives to firmer resistance in¶ the face of heightened hostility.¶ The Cuban state’s formal ‘ensemble of social relations’ and the¶ ways in which it is ‘implicated in the minute texture of everyday life’, are¶ exemplified by official mass organizations4 with active and highly politicized¶ memberships at neighbourhood level and upwards. These organizations¶ can be seen as attempts to ‘monopolize social allocation’, which¶ Verdery (2002: 382) argues have been characteristic of socialist systems: at¶ the same time, while such ‘monopolization’ cannot be exhaustive, it does tend to view with suspicion unofficial social groupings and dynamics,¶ particularly when these ‘escape’ into informality,5 positing more ambiguous¶ sets of relations. By no means everyone is captured by the mass organizations,¶ and the socially divisive effects of growing inequality work against¶ their efforts to sustain a vigorous attachment to Cuban socialism. For some¶ disaffected sectors of the population, the Cuban state’s resistance to neoliberalism¶ itself represents the continued hegemony of the socialist regime,¶ which is in turn unevenly resisted in a variety of everyday ways, such as¶ evasion, political apathy, valorization of self-interest and, especially, dreams¶ of escape to an imagined capitalist prosperity; and here alienated¶ discourses of a ‘totalizing’ state re-emerge which construct a future resolved¶ by the demise of socialism.

#### No impact

**Larrivee 10**— PF ECONOMICS AT MOUNT ST MARY’S UNIVERSITY – MASTERS FROM THE HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL AND PHD IN ECONOMICS FROM WISCONSIN, 10 [JOHN, A FRAMEWORK FOR THE MORAL ANALYSIS OF MARKETS, 10/1, <http://www.teacheconomicfreedom.org/files/larrivee-paper-1.pdf>]

 The Second Focal Point: Moral, Social, and Cultural Issues of Capitalism **Logical errors abound** in critical commentary on capitalism. Some critics observe a problem and conclude: “I see X in our society. We have a capitalist economy. Therefore capitalism causes X.” They draw their conclusion by looking at a phenomenon as it appears only in one system. Others merely follow a host of popular theories according to which capitalism is particularly bad. 6 The solution to such flawed reasoning is to be comprehensive, to look at the good and bad, in market and non-market systems. Thus the following section considers a number of issues—greed, selfishness and human relationships, honesty and truth, alienation and work satisfaction, moral decay, and religious participation—that have often been associated with capitalism, but have also been problematic in other systems and usually in more extreme form. I conclude with some evidence for the view that markets foster (at least some) virtues rather than undermining them. My purpose is not to smear communism or to make the simplistic argument that “capitalism isn’t so bad because other systems have problems too.” The critical point is that **certain people thought** various **social ills resulted from capitalism, and on this basis they took action to establish alternative economic systems** to solve the problems they had identified. That **they failed to solve the problems, and** in fact **exacerbated them** while also creating new problems, implies that capitalism itself wasn’t the cause of the problems in the first place, at least not to the degree theorized.

**The squo is structurally improving**

**Goklany 9—**Worked with federal and state governments, think tanks, and the private sector for over 35 years. Worked with IPCC before its inception as an author, delegate and reviewer. Negotiated UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. Managed the emissions trading program for the EPA. Julian Simon Fellow at the Property and Environment Research Center, visiting fellow at AEI, winner of the Julian Simon Prize and Award. PhD, MS, electrical engineering, MSU. B.Tech in electrical engineering, Indian Institute of Tech. (Indur, “Have increases in population, affluence and technology worsened human and environmental well-being?” 2009, http://www.ejsd.org/docs/HAVE\_INCREASES\_IN\_POPULATION\_AFFLUENCE\_AND\_TECHNOLOGY\_WORSENED\_HUMAN\_AND\_ENVIRONMENTAL\_WELL-BEING.pdf)

Although global population is no longer growing exponentially, it has quadrupled since 1900. Concurrently, affluence (or GDP per capita) has sextupled, global economic product (a measure of aggregate consumption) has increased 23-fold and carbon dioxide has increased over 15-fold (Maddison 2003; GGDC 2008; World Bank 2008a; Marland et al. 2007).4 But contrary to Neo- Malthusian fears, average **human well-being,** measured by any objective indicator, **has never been higher**. Food supplies, Malthus’ original concern, are up worldwide. Global food supplies per capita increased from 2,254 Cals/day in 1961 to 2,810 in 2003 (FAOSTAT 2008). This helped reduce hunger and malnutrition worldwide. The proportion of the population in the developing world, suffering from chronic hunger declined from 37 percent to 17 percent between 1969–71 and 2001–2003 despite an 87 percent population increase (Goklany 2007a; FAO 2006). The reduction in hunger and malnutrition, along with improvements in basic hygiene, improved access to safer water and sanitation, broad adoption of vaccinations, antibiotics, pasteurization and other public health measures, helped reduce mortality and increase life expectancies. These improvements first became evident in today’s developed countries in the mid- to late-1800s and started to spread in earnest to developing countries from the 1950s. The infant mortality rate in developing countries was 180 per 1,000 live births in the early 1950s; today it is 57. Consequently, global life expectancy, perhaps the single most important measure of human well-being, increased from 31 years in 1900 to 47 years in the early 1950s to 67 years today (Goklany 2007a). Globally, average **annual per capita incomes tripled** since 1950. The proportion of the world’s population outside of high-income OECD countries living in absolute poverty (average consumption of less than $1 per day in 1985 International dollars adjusted for purchasing power parity), fell from 84 percent in 1820 to 40 percent in 1981 to 20 percent in 2007 (Goklany 2007a; WRI 2008; World Bank 2007). Equally important, the world is more literate and better educated. Child labor in low income countries declined from 30 to 18 percent between 1960 and 2003. In most countries, people are freer politically, economically and socially to pursue their goals as they see fit. More people choose their own rulers, and have freedom of expression. They are more likely to live under rule of law, and less likely to be arbitrarily deprived of life, limb and property. Social and professional mobility has never been greater. It is easier to transcend the bonds of caste, place, gender, and other accidents of birth in the lottery of life. People work fewer hours, and have more money and better health to enjoy their leisure time (Goklany 2007a). Figure 3 summarizes the U.S. experience over the 20th century with respect to growth of population, affluence, material, fossil fuel energy and chemical consumption, and life expectancy. It indicates that population has multiplied 3.7-fold; income, 6.9-fold; carbon dioxide emissions, 8.5-fold; material use, 26.5-fold; and organic chemical use, 101-fold. Yet its life expectancy increased from 47 years to 77 years and infant mortality (not shown) declined from over 100 per 1,000 live births to 7 per 1,000. It is also important to note that not only are people living longer, they are healthier. The disability rate for seniors declined 28 percent between 1982 and 2004/2005 and, despite better diagnostic tools, major diseases (e.g., cancer, and heart and respiratory diseases) occur 8–11 years later now than a century ago (Fogel 2003; Manton et al. 2006). If similar figures could be constructed for other countries, most would indicate qualitatively similar trends, especially after 1950, except Sub-Saharan Africa and the erstwhile members of the Soviet Union. In the latter two cases, life expectancy, which had increased following World War II, declined after the late 1980s to the early 2000s, possibly due poor economic performance compounded, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, by AIDS, resurgence of malaria, and tuberculosis due mainly to poor governance (breakdown of public health services) and other manmade causes (Goklany 2007a, pp.66–69, pp.178–181, and references therein). However, there are signs of a turnaround, perhaps related to increased economic growth since the early 2000s, although this could, of course, be a temporary blip (Goklany 2007a; World Bank 2008a). Notably, in most areas of the world, the healthadjusted life expectancy (HALE), that is, life expectancy adjusted downward for the severity and length of time spent by the average individual in a less-than-healthy condition, is greater now than the unadjusted life expectancy was 30 years ago. HALE for the China and India in 2002, for instance, were 64.1 and 53.5 years, which exceeded their unadjusted life expectancy of 63.2 and 50.7 years in 1970–1975 (WRI 2008). Figure 4, based on cross country data, indicates that contrary to Neo-Malthusian fears, both life expectancy and infant mortality improve with the level of affluence (economic development) and time, a surrogate for technological change (Goklany 2007a). Other indicators of human well-being that improve over time and as affluence rises are: access to safe water and sanitation (see below), literacy, level of education, food supplies per capita, and the prevalence of malnutrition (Goklany 2007a, 2007b).

### 2AC – Intermediary CP

#### The CP creates policy incoherence and Cuba won’t respond

**Huddleston and Pascual, 10 –** Brookings Institution (Vicki and Carlos, Learning to Salsa : New Steps in U.S.-Cuba Relations, p. 158)

Participants also debated whom the United States should work with in the region. Some in the roles of foreign ministers from countries friendly to the United States argued that selective multilateralism, such as seen in the current simulation, would not be a solution. Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, China, and Russia are the countries that must be brought on board with the new synthesis. Still, even if that effort succeeded, the United States was unlikely to work closely with governments that it did not consider committed to a democratic Cuba. Coordinating with those with fundamentally different perspectives would also carry the risk of undermining policy coherence. Even among countries that consider themselves friends of the United States, differing historical perspectives led to tensions in suggested policies and tactics. This raised questions concerning U.S. options if coordinated engagement does not lead to the intended effects, and the Cuban government is unwilling to respond to good-faith negotiations. Should the United States continue to align its policies with a common multilateral policy? Fifty years of acting alone provides empirical evidence that reverting to a unilateral policy of isolating Cuba will not achieve U.S. objectives. For the United States, the dialogue underscored the need to moderate its policies, even if this process proves difficult and is accompanied by new tensions. But the international community should also accept that unleveraged engagement is a weak strategy. To this end, U.S. partners should grant the United States some leeway to manage the sensitive politics of shifting strategies after fifty years, while at the same time reinforcing the importance of pressing Cuba to improve its human rights and rule-of-law profile.

#### Obama’s credibility is at a crucial juncture – failure repeal of the embargo collapses US influence and emboldens non-democratic regimes

Dickerson 10 – Lieutenant Colonel Sergio M. Dickerson, 2010, "United States Security Strategy Towards Cuba," Strategy Research Project, [www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA518053](http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA518053)) //moxley

**Conclusion**¶ Today, 20 years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall – it’s time to chip away at the diplomatic wall that still remains between U.S. and Cuba. As we seek a new foreign policy with Cuba it is imperative that we take into consideration that distrust will characterize negotiations with the Cuban government. On the other hand, consider that loosening or lifting the embargo could also be mutually beneficial. Cuba’s need and America’s surplus capability to provide goods and services could be profitable and eventually addictive to Cuba. Under these conditions, diplomacy has a better chance to flourish.¶ If the Cuban model succeeds **President** Obama will be seen as a true leader for multilateralism**.** **Success in Cuba could afford the international momentum and** credibility to solve other seemingly “wicked problems” like the Middle East and Kashmir. President Obama could leverage this international reputation with other rogue nations like Iran and North Korea **who might associate their plight with Cuba. 35 The U.S. could begin to lead again and** reverse its perceived decline **in the greater global order bringing true peace for years to come.**

#### Engagement with non-democratic countries solves war

Charles Kupchan 11, professor of international affairs at Georgetown University and Whitney Shepardson Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, June 2011, “The false promise of unipolarity: constraints on the exercise of American power,” Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Vol. 24, No. 2, p. 165-173

These examples aside, Brooks and Wohlforth also fail to address another important pathway through which norms and rules constrain the exercise of US power. They focus exclusively on the costs to the United States of its own failure to comply with the institutions and rules that Washington took the lead in crafting after the close of World War II. But in the aftermath of the global ﬁnancial crisis that began in 2008 and amid the ongoing ascent of China, India, Brazil, and other rising states, change in ordering norms may well be driven by the preferences and policies of emerging powers, not by those of the United States. Moreover, the impressive economic performance and political staying power of regimes that practice non-democratic brands of capitalism—such as China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia—call into question the durability of the normative order erected during America’s watch. Well before emerging powers catch up with America’s material resources, they will be challenging the normative commitment to open markets and liberal democracy that has deﬁned the Western order.¶ The substantive gap between the norms of the Western order and those that inform the domestic and foreign policies of rising powers has not gone unnoticed (Kupchan and Mount 2009). Nonetheless, many scholars have offered an illusory response: that the United States and its democratic allies should dedicate the twilight hours of their primacy to universalizing Western norms. According to G John Ikenberry (2008, 37, 25), ‘the United States’ global position may be weakening, but the international system the United States leads can remain the dominant order of the twenty-ﬁrst century’. The West should ‘sink the roots of this order as deeply as possible’ to ensure that the world continues to play by its rules even as its material preponderance wanes. Such conﬁdence in the universality of the Western order is, however, based on wishful thinking about the likely trajectory of ascending powers, which throughout history have sought to adjust the prevailing order in ways that advantage their own interests. Presuming that rising states will readily embrace Western norms is not only unrealistic, but also dangerous, promising to alienate emerging powers that will be pivotal to global stability in the years ahead (Gat 2007).¶ Brooks and Wohlforth do not address this issue—presumably because they believe that US preponderance is so durable that they need not concern themselves with the normative orientations of rising powers. But facts on the ground suggest otherwise. China is, as of 2010, the world’s second largest economy, holds massive amounts of US debt, and is strengthening its economic and strategic presence in many quarters of the globe; the G-8 has given way to the G-20; the prime minister of democratic India has called for ‘new global “rules of the game”’ and the ‘reform and revitalization’ of international institutions (Mahbubane 2008, 235); the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have increased the voting weight of developing countries; and the United Nations Security Council is coming under growing pressure to enlarge the voices of emerging powers. All of these developments come at the expense of the inﬂuence and normative preferences of the United States and its Western allies. By the numbers, Brooks and Wohlforth are correct that unipolarity persists. But rising powers are already challenging the pecking order and guiding norms of the international system. If the next international system is to be characterized by norm-governed order rather than competitive anarchy, the West will have to make room for the competing visions of rising powers. A new order will have to be based on great-power consensus and toleration of political diversity rather than the normative hegemony of the West.

#### India hates the embargo --- the aff’s key to relations

**BBC, 10** (BBC Monitoring South Asia, October 27, 2010, “India "condemns" continuing US embargo on Cuba – agency,” ProQuest, Hensel)

United Nations, 27 October: **India has joined** other **countries of the world in condemning the** five-decade long **embargo imposed by the United States on Cuba**. "Cuba has had to pay enormous extra cost, in the last five decades for sourcing products, technology and services from third countries located thousands of kilometers away," Communist Party of India leader D Raja, told the UN General Assembly on Tuesday [26 October]. "The extra territorial application of the US embargo has discouraged investment, technology transfer, and sale and other forms of business collaborations between Cuba and third countries," Raja said. India joined other countries in voting for a resolution that called for an immediate end to the US embargo on Cuba. The US and Israel voted against the resolution. "Permit me to reiterate India's opposition to unilateral measures by countries, which impinge on the sovereignty of another country," Raja said. The Indian parliamentarian also pointed out that this was the nineteenth year that the General Assembly was debating the economic, commercial and financial embargo on Cuba. "In all these years, this Assembly has repeatedly rejected the imposition of laws and regulations with extra territorial impact and all forms of coercive economic measures that hurt the progress and prosperity of the world," he said. For two decades, the US has ignored General Assembly resolutions that have called on Washington to end the embargoes that have been in place since the 1960s

#### U.S.-India relations solve South Asian nuclear war

Schaffer, Spring 2002 (Teresita – Director of the South Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Security, Washington Quarterly, p. Lexis)

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

#### Extinction

Hundley 12 (Tom Hundley is senior editor at the [Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting](http://pulitzercenter.org/). This article for Foreign Policy is part of the Pulitzer Center's [Gateway project](http://pulitzercenter.org/going-nuclear) on nuclear security. [Race to the End](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/05/race_to_the_end) http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/09/05/race\_to\_the\_end?page=0,3)

The arms race could make a loose nuke more likely. After all, Pakistan's assurances that its nuclear arsenal is safe and secure rest heavily on the argument that its warheads and their delivery systems have been uncoupled and stored separately in heavily guarded facilities. It would be very difficult for a group of mutinous officers to assemble the necessary protocols for a launch and well nigh impossible for a band of terrorists to do so. But that calculus changes with the deployment of mobile battlefield weapons. The weapons themselves, no longer stored in heavily guarded bunkers, would be far more exposed. Nevertheless, military analysts from both countries still say that a nuclear exchange triggered by miscalculation, miscommunication, or panic is far more likely than terrorists stealing a weapon -- and, significantly, that the odds of such an exchange increase with the deployment of battlefield nukes. As these ready-to-use weapons are maneuvered closer to enemy lines, the chain of command and control would be stretched and more authority necessarily delegated to field officers. And, if they have weapons designed to repel a conventional attack, there is obviously a reasonable chance they will use them for that purpose. "It lowers the threshold," said Hoodbhoy. "The idea that tactical nukes could be used against Indian tanks on Pakistan's territory creates the kind of atmosphere that greatly shortens the distance to apocalypse." Both sides speak of the possibility of a limited nuclear war. But even those who speak in these terms seem to understand that this is fantasy -- that once started, a nuclear exchange would be almost impossible to limit or contain. "The only move that you have control over is your first move; you have no control over the nth move in a nuclear exchange," said Carnegie's Tellis. The first launch would create hysteria; communication lines would break down, and events would rapidly cascade out of control. Some of the world's most densely populated cities could find themselves under nuclear attack, and an estimated 20 million people could die almost immediately. What's more, the resulting firestorms would put 5 million to 7 million metric tons of smoke into the upper atmosphere, according to a [new model](http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=local-nuclear-war) developed by climate scientists at Rutgers University and the University of Colorado. Within weeks, skies around the world would be permanently overcast, and the condition vividly described by Carl Sagan as "nuclear winter" would be upon us. The darkness would likely last about a decade. The Earth's temperature would drop, agriculture around the globe would collapse, and a billion or more humans who already live on the margins of subsistence could starve. This is the real nuclear threat that is festering in South Asia. It is a threat to all countries, including the United States, not just India and Pakistan. Both sides acknowledge it, but neither seems able to slow their dangerous race to annihilation.

#### Lifting the embargo is vital to make the US a credible leader in human rights protection

Weinmann 2004- Master of international affairs from the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University

(Lissa,“Washington's Irrational Cuba Policy”, World Policy Institute, Spring 2004, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40209899>, JSTOR)

The changed mood in Congress also springs from the realization that the embargo is condemned by the most important human rights groups. Holly Ackerman of Amnesty International puts it this way: "Specific embargo provisions such as the allocation of significant amounts of aid for 'democracy-building' have facilitated the [Cuban} government's efforts to paint dissidents as foreign sympathizers and ultimately weakened prospects for a strong and independent human rights movement."5 Human Rights Watch's Jose Vivanco concurs. "If the U.S. is interested in improving human rights conditions in Cuba, it must change this policy. If it is just interested in satisfying the electoral population in Florida, then continue this policy because the embargo is not achieving any goals or results in Cuba." He also stresses the counterproductive nature of the embargo internationally. "Because the embargo is bitterly opposed by most nations, it enables the Cuban government to divide the international community, leading, ironically, to less international pressure on Fidel Castro, not more."6 Internationally, the U.S. finds itself alone in upholding Cuba sanctions. When the European Union decried Cuba's crack- down on dissidents last year, it condemned the U.S. policy in the same breath. The 1996 Helms-Burton law that extends the embargo to foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations violates the very international le- gal standards Washington has worked for decades to create. For ten years running, the U.N. General Assembly has censured the embargo by increasing margins, most recently 157 to 3, with the negative votes coming from the United States, Israel (notwithstanding its extensive investments in Cuba), and the Marshall Islands. In the last year or so, the United States has lost its seats on the human rights commissions of both the United Nations and the Organization of American States, which many people see as rebukes to Washington over its Cuba policy. A change in that policy would signal that the United States is willing to work toward a multilateral approach to Cuban human rights that would necessarily involve diplomacy and engagement.

#### Human rights credibility solves war everywhere---best predictor of states’ propensity for aggression

Burke-White 04 – William W. Burke-White, Lecturer in Public and International Affairs and Senior Special Assistant to the Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, Spring 2004, Harvard Human Rights Journal, 17 Harv. Hum. Rts. J. 249, p. 279-280

This Article presents a strategic--as opposed to ideological or normative--argument that the promotion of human rights should be given a moreprominent place in U.S. foreign policy. It does so by suggesting a **correlation between the** domestic **human rights  practices of states and their propensity to engage in aggressive international conduct**. Among the chief threats to U.S. national security are acts of aggression by other states. Aggressive acts of war may directly endanger the United States, as did the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, or they may require U.S. military action overseas, as in Kuwait fifty years later. Evidence from the post-Cold War period [\*250] indicates that states that systematically abusetheir own citizens' **h**uman **r**ights are also **those most likely to engage in aggression**. To the degree that **improvements in** various **states' human rights records decrease the likelihood of aggressive war**, a foreign policy informed by human rights can significantly enhance U.S. and global security. Since 1990, a state's domestic human rights policy appears to be **a telling indicator of** that state's **propensity to engage in international aggression**. A central element of U.S. foreign policy has long been the preservation of peace and the prevention of such acts of aggression. n2 If the correlation discussed herein is accurate, it provides U.S. policymakers with a powerful new tool to enhance national security through the promotion of human rights. A strategic linkage between national security and human rights would result in a number of important policy modifications. First, it changes the prioritization of those countries U.S. policymakers have identified as presenting the greatest concern. Second, it alters some of the policy prescriptions for such states. Third, it offers states a means of signaling benign international intent through the improvement of their domestic human rights records. Fourth, it provides a way for a current government to prevent future governments from aggressive international behavior through the institutionalization of human rights protections. Fifth, it addresses the particular threat of human rights abusing states **obtaining** weapons of mass destruction(**WMD**). Finally, it offers a mechanism for U.S.-U.N. cooperation on human rights issues.

#### Human rights credibility solves inevitable extinction

Copeland 99 (Rhonda, Professor of Law – NYU, New York City Law Review, p. 71-72)

The indivisible human rights framework survived the Cold War despite U.S. machinations to truncate it in the international arena. The framework is there to shatter the myth of the superiority. Indeed, in the face of systemic inequality and crushing poverty, violence by official and private actors, globalization of the market economy, and military and environmental depredation, the human rights framework is gaining new force and new dimensions. It is being broadened today by the movements of people in different parts of the world, particularly in the Southern Hemisphere and significantly of women, who understand the protection of human rights as a matter of individual and collective human survivaland betterment. Also emerging is a notion of third-generation rights, encompassing collective rights that cannot be solved on a state-by-state basis and that call for new mechanisms of accountability, particularly affecting Northern countries. The emerging rights include human-centered sustainable development, environmental protection, peace, and security. Given the poverty and inequality in the United States as well as our role in the world, it is imperative that we bring the human rights framework to bear on both domestic and foreign policy.

#### The current Cuban policy undermines US trade credibility and risks a trans-atlantic trade war

Morley & McGillion 05 associate professor of politics and international relations at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia & senior lecturer in journalism, Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, Australia. [Morris Morley & Chris McGillion, Cuba, the United States, and the Post-Cold War World: The International Dimensions of the Washington-Havana Relationship, pg 9]

Second is the contradiction between America's professed commitment to free trade and its Cuba policy. Since the 1990s, the nation's multinational business community has depended on foreign markets for a growing proportion of its profits. This trend has reinforced Washington's determination to break down barriers to U.S. capital and commerce and to champion this approach in the interests of global economic health and development. The prime ideological instrument in this drive has been the free trade doctrine. For more than a decade, U.S. officials have argued in every regional and global forum that free trade is the cornerstone of American foreign economic policy-and synonymous with American "global leadership" in the post-Cold War era. Yet this doctrine conflicts with the restrictive trade practices supported by the White House and Congress to obstruct and limit Cuba's economic ties with the rest of the world-a policy inconsistency that has encouraged rivals around the world to view America's embrace of free trade as a self-serving policy to be used only when it serves U.S. political interests. In an era of heightened competition for global market share, economic competitors are not prepared to sacrifice investment or commercial opportunities to satisfy the requirements of American foreign policy. Nor are they willing to be bullied into severing normal economic ties with an internationally recognized and legitimate government in order to accommodate White House domestic imperatives. Consequently, U.S. actions have created tensions and disputes with a number of key allies, even threatening the viability of instruments of global dispute resolution such as the WTO and raising the possibility of a cross-Atlantic trade war.

#### WTO key to solve Nuclear War

**Copley News Service, 99** (December 1)

For decades, many children in America and other countries went to bed fearing annihilation by nuclear war. The specter of nuclear winter freezing the life out of planet Earth seemed very real. Activists protesting the World Trade Organization's meeting in Seattle apparently have forgotten that threat. The truth is that nations join together in groups like the WTO not just to further their own prosperity, but also to forestall conflict with other nations. In a way, our planet has traded in the threat of a worldwide nuclear war for the benefit of cooperative global economics. Some Seattle protesters clearly fancy themselves to be in the mold of nuclear disarmament or anti-Vietnam War protesters of decades past. But they're not. They're special-interest activists, whether the cause is environmental, labor or paranoia about global government. Actually, most of the demonstrators in Seattle are very much unlike yesterday's peace activists, such as Beatle John Lennon or philosopher Bertrand Russell, the father of the nuclear disarmament movement, both of whom urged people and nations to work together rather than strive against each other. These and other war protesters would probably approve of 135 WTO nations sitting down peacefully to discuss economic issues that in the past might have been settled by bullets and bombs. As long as nations are trading peacefully, and their economies are built on exports to other countries, they have a major disincentive to wage war. That's why bringing China, a budding superpower, into the WTO is so important. As exports to the United States and the rest of the world feed Chinese prosperity, and that prosperity increases demand for the goods we produce, the threat of hostility diminishes. Many anti-trade protesters in Seattle claim that only multinational corporations benefit from global trade, and that it's the everyday wage earners who get hurt. That's just plain wrong. First of all, it's not the military-industrial complex benefiting. It's U.S. companies that make high-tech goods. And those companies provide a growing number of jobs for Americans. In San Diego, many people have good jobs at Qualcomm, Solar Turbines and other companies for whom overseas markets are essential. In Seattle, many of the 100,000 people who work at Boeing would lose their livelihoods without world trade. Foreign trade today accounts for 30 percent of our gross domestic product. That's a lot of jobs for everyday workers. Growing global prosperity has helped counter the specter of nuclear winter. Nations of the world are learning to live and work together, like the singers of anti-war songs once imagined. Those who care about world peace shouldn't be protesting world trade. They should be celebrating it.

### 2AC – Syria Politics

#### Won’t pass – we have a cool graph, no but seriously, overwhelming opposition

**Huffington Post 9-5-13** (Huffington Post, “House Greets Syria War Resolution With Intense Skepticism; Vote Could Go Down”, September 5, 2013, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/05/syria-vote_n_3873801.html>)//moxley

This sucker could go down. And unlike the Wall Street bailout, there is unlikely to be a do-over. A resolution authorizing military force against Syria barely made it out of the hawkish Senate Foreign Relations Committee -- with the majority of Republicans opposing it -- and now is facing withering skepticism in Congress. While the Senate appears poised to come to some type of agreement, the "People's House," as it is known, is showing much more reluctance to approve the deeply unpopular bombing resolution. "Peace may well have a chance," said one top House GOP aide. Public opinion surveys have been reflected in the outpouring of calls, emails and letters that have flooded House offices, running, say lawmakers, at more than 9 to 1 against intervention. The opposition spans the political spectrum. Rep. Jason Chaffetz (R-Utah) said on Twitter that his delegation is unpersuaded and that public reaction has been fiercely opposed. Rep. Justin Amash (R-Mich.), who represents the libertarian opposition within the GOP, said that he's also seeing intense disapproval. Discomfort with the war resolution is not just Republican. "**Members on both sides [are] undecided, with most (not all) I've talked to feeling extremely uneasy and uncomfortable with this resolution**," said one Democratic member. "I think if it went down today, it wouldn't pass the House. People though are truly undecided with concerns in a bipartisan way. The real question is if those who feel uncomfortable with this can be made to be comfortable with a resolution that has a much narrower scope." Complicating the picture for advocates of intervention, at least 34 members who voted to support the Iraq war are now leaning against supporting intervention in Syria, presumably burned by experience. A classified House briefing early Thursday afternoon is intended to ease much of that discomfort. **The paradox for the Obama administration, though, is that as the scope of the resolution narrows, the rationale for doing anything at all diminishes**. If the purpose is to deter a future strike, a very narrow and limited bombing might only embolden Syria's President Bashar Assad or other leaders -- and hawks on the issue such as Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) have warned they will vote against anything that is too narrow. McCain nearly sank the Senate's resolution Wednesday over that worry. But the deal cut with McCain to secure his support leaves the resolution vulnerable to other critiques -- that it is too broad and could authorize an open-ended commitment to regime change. Grassroots progressives are no more likely to support the bombing. MoveOn.org, CREDO and the Progressive Change Campaign Committee, which collectively represent more than 10 million liberal activists, have all said their memberships are overwhelmingly opposed. Of the roughly 3,000 letters sent to Congress through PopVox, a nonpartisan service that facilitates congressional missives, 96 percent have been opposed. "On the Democratic side, a lot of the progressive base is already opposed. AIPAC will matter to some and some will want to support President Obama, not out of personal loyalty but because they imagine their base voters are personally loyal. If they sense that the base is not with Obama on this, they may not be either," said one former Democratic member of Congress who is following the debate closely. "I think a lot of members have got wet fingers in the air." Nonetheless, the best hope for the resolution's passage remains with the Democratic caucus. One Republican source guessed that House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) would need roughly 150 votes from her caucus -- an extremely tall order, but not impossible, given that many Democrats, while traditionally reluctant to support military interventions, are also inclined to support the party's president. During Wednesday's hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Eliot Engel (D-N.Y.), the panel's top Democrat, echoed Pelosi in voicing strong support for President Barack Obama's plan. But in the hours since, Democratic members have remained divided. "It's just too soon to know," said one top Democratic aide in the House. "Members need to get back and get classified briefings. A lot are waiting on that before making up their minds, which is fair." A brief look around the web at the various [whip counts](http://data.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/congress-syria-positions) available at this point offers the Obama administration very little hope that an authorization to use force in Syria is likely to pass the House**.** [The Washington Post’s count](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/05/%E2%80%9Dhttp%3A/www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/where-lawmakers-stand-on-syria/%E2%80%9D), updated overnight, now breaks down as follows: “Against military action”: 86 representatives “Lean no”: 92 representatives “Undecided”: 103 representatives “For military action”: 19 representatives. [Over at ThinkProgress,](http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2013/09/02/2561371/congress-support-military-action-syria-thinkprogress-whip-count/) the whip count is slightly more favorable to the White House, but still a far cry from the consensus Obama was seeking: **“Will/Likely To Vote Yes”: 49 representatives “Will/Likely to** Vote No”: 200 representatives“Undecided”: 184 Secretary of State John Kerry and Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel were subjected to two grueling hearings on Tuesday and Wednesday, bombarded with questions from skeptical lawmakers. A broad coalition of House critics, including tea party [conspiracy theorists](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/04/joe-wilson-syria_n_3867776.html?ref=topbar), libertarian non-interventionists, progressive humanitarians and pragmatic foreign policy realists, have all voiced opposition to U.S. military action for different reasons. The Republican Party has been evolving a distinct isolationist wing as its libertarian element has risen in influence. Combine that with the House GOP's conventional hostility toward anything backed by Obama, and House Republicans are likely to turn heavily against the resolution, despite the backing of the party leadership. Several conservative groups, most prominently the Heritage Foundation, have come out strongly against intervention, making it a "key vote" in their annual ratings of lawmakers. One such group, [Citizens for the Republic](http://www.cftr.org/about/default.aspx), declared Thursday that they will double-weight the vote. “Speaker Boehner, Senators McCain and Graham and Majority Leader Cantor are all too willing to go along with this ill-conceived venture," said Diana Banister, the group's director. "It is time for Congress to listen to the American people." House GOP antipathy toward the Obama administration's plan was on full display during Wednesday's hearing before the typically hawkish Foreign Affairs Committee, with multiple Republicans accusing Obama of attempting to distract attention from the events at the U.S. mission in Benghazi in September 2012. After launching a litany of complaints against the administration -- over Benghazi, the (now-debunked) Internal Revenue Service scandal, the Associated Press snooping scandal and others -- Rep. Jeff Duncan (R-S.C.) cited what may be the most pressing issue for members of Congress: public opinion. "I have spoken to hundreds of constituents," Duncan said. "Not a one, not one member in my district in South Carolina or the emails of people that have contacted my office say go to Syria and fight this regime. To a one, to a letter, they say no." Others, like Rep. Tom Marino (R-Pa.), took issue with the significance of chemical weapons use as a principle for U.S. action. Obama opposed the Iraq invasion, Marino noted, even though Saddam Hussein had deployed chemical weapons against both Iranians and Iraqis. Rep. Brian Higgins (D-N.Y.) argued against a military strike, saying that there is no established democracy movement in Syria and that the U.S. has not secured appropriate international cooperation to attack. "Secretary Kerry, you spoke of the history of the world's response to the use of chemical weapons," Higgins said. "Given that history, one would think that more countries would join the U.S. in participating, not supporting, in participating in a military strike against Syria. What gives?" House support for military action is so weak that Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Fla.) asked Kerry at the hearing to comment on a rumor that the lower chamber would not, in fact, be permitted to vote on the action. Kerry said he had heard no such rumor. "President Obama's request to use military force has caused many Republicans to go from a 'kick their ass and take their gas' foreign policy to linking arms and singing 'Give Peace a Chance,'" said the former Democratic member. "Some, maybe a lot, will vote against it just because Obama is for it. There's a real split in the Republican Party now between the neocons and the Paulites, and the Republican base appears to be mostly Paulites. They hate the Republican establishment, and the neocons are the establishment. Even more hawkish Republicans don't see crimes against humanity as a reason to intervene in a country with no oil."

#### CBC <3s plan – you know it

**ABC News 9** (ABC News, “Black Caucus to Obama: Lift Cuba Embargo”, April 2009, <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2009/04/black-caucus-to/>)//moxley

ABC News’ Rick Klein reports: Fresh off a trip to Cuba that included a visit with both Fidel and Raul Castro, members of the Congressional Black Caucus are lobbying President Obama to lift the nation’s longstanding Cuba embargo, and open up lines of communication with the Castros. Rep. Laura Richardson, D-Calif., said on ABCNews.com’s "Top Line" today that she and her colleagues want a complete elimination of the embargo first instituted by the Kennedy administration. Click here to watch our interview with Richardson. Richardson said she welcomes the Obama administration’s planned loosening of travel and financial restrictions impacting those with relatives in Cuba — but said she wants the president to go further**.** "The real big steps that we have to take is looking at the embargo, and the question is, has the embargo worked for 50 years?" said Richardson, who serves on the House Homeland Security Committee. "What I can tell you is, [from] when I went there, every country is working with Cuba except the United States. And my question to you is, what has isolation gotten us in the last 10 years when we’ve isolated ourselves from other countries?" Such a move would fit with the president’s efforts to remake America’s image, she said. Richardson said her visit to Cuba only confirmed her sentiments regarding the need to fundamentally change the relationship between Cuba and the United States. "You know President Obama just two days ago when he was in Turkey, he talked about turning the page," Richardson said. "The key, I think, to having progress is if you’re actually talking to someone. Currently over the 50 years, maybe there has been limited progress in that area, so are we just gonna continue not to talk for another 50 years?" "So, the question is, we can continue not to talk and not to have any progress, or we can sit down and maybe through those dialogues that they will see the benefits of what we’ve gained, how we operate in this country, and as we’ve seen successes in other countries, I believe we would see the same in Cuba." The White House has signaled that it will make changes to Cuba policies in advance of this month’s Summit of the Americas, specifically to make it easier for those with family on the island nation to travel thereand send money to relatives. Congress is also expected to consider a measure that would allow all Americans to travel freely to and from Cuba. But the president has not indicated a willingness to lift the US trade embargo against Cuba, a cornerstone of American foreign policy toward one of the nation’s closest neighbors for 47 years. The Castro regime’s fiercest critics in Congress are promising to fight any effort to ease the terms of the embargo, until or unless the Cuban government first commits to reforms such as releasing political prisoners and scheduling democratic elections. "The position on the embargo is principle-driven . . .  We should not be providing any type of unilateral concessions to that regime," Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart, both Florida Republicans, said in a joint statement provided to ABC News. Of their colleagues’ trip to Cuba, they added: "It’s truly unfortunate that they did not dedicate any portion of the trip to meeting with the victims of repressions in Cuba, or those who are advocating for human rights and a democratic transition." Those promising to fight changes in Cuba policy include some prominent Democrats. "Our great nation should always stand for human freedom and democracy and against underwriting regimes that oppress, suppress and murder," Sen. Robert Menendez, D-N.J., the son of Cuban immigrants and head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said last week after fellow senators introduced legislation that would end the travel ban. But members of the Congressional Black Caucus say they’re looking to the new administration to revamp policies of isolation that they view as outdated. "We are convinced based on the meetings which were held, that the Cubans do want dialogue, they do want talks, and they do want normal relations with USA, and I believe that its in the US best interest to do that," said Rep. Barbara Lee, D-Calif., the caucus’ chairwoman, said Tuesday, after she and her colleagues returned from their trip to Cuba. "We think we have this window of opportunity now with the president who is seeking a new way in the world and a new direction, and we’re in the process of reshaping our image in the world. And where better to do that than 90 miles off the shore of America," she added. Fidel Castro’s visit with US lawmakers was the first time he had such a meeting since the former president fell ill in 2006. "He had a very modest home," Rep. Bobby Rush, D-Ill., said Tuesday. "And we were met at the front door by his lovely wife. And she was a very warm person. So it was almost like visiting an old friend." Richardson told us that Fidel Castro struck her as mentally sharp. "I mean, he was a little older, but he stood up, he greeted us, he knew my name, he knew my district, he knew issues that were pertinent to my area, and imagine, this meeting was only set up with less than 10 hours — so I mean clearly he wasn’t briefed all night," she said. "So, he had a great sense of humor, and he talked about being in America. He talked about the fact that he almost went to Harvard. . . .  We met his wife. A lot of people don’t even know the history of Fidel and his family and his five sons. So, he was in very good health, to answer the question." Also on today’s program, we chatted with Ana Marie Cox, of Air America and The Daily Beast, about the latest in politics — including the new job for Kal "Kumar" Penn in the Obama White House. Click here for our interview with Ana Marie Cox. ABC News’ Jennifer Bost, Dean Norland and David Chalian contributed to this report.

#### CBC Key

**Bacon 9-5-13** (Perry, “Why the Congressional Black Caucus could determine if the US strikes Syria”, September 5th, 2013, <http://thegrio.com/2013/09/05/why-the-congressional-black-caucus-could-determine-if-the-u-s-strikes-syria/>)//moxley

The Congressional Black Caucus, at times ignored by the Obama White House and rendered irrelevant in a GOP-controlled House, will play an outsized role as Congress decides whether to approve military strikes in Syria A sizable bloc of Republicans in the House are expected to vote against the resolution calling for intervention in Syria, arguing the military strikes either don’t serve U.S. national security interests or could lead to a broader conflict. That’s left Obama administration officials aggressively courting the House’s 200 Democrats, who are expected to provide many of the votes if a resolution authorizing military action is approved. And that means that the 43 members of the Congressional Black Caucus, all of whom are Democrats, are a critical swing group. Fifteen of the current CBC members voted against the Iraq War in 2002 (many of the remaining 28 members opposed the war too but were not yet serving in Congress) and are determined never to allow the U.S. to unwisely intervene in a country abroad again. Some, like Rep. Barbara Lee (D-Calif.), are generally opposed to any war. CBC members say their constituents are wary of this intervention, and a Washington Post-ABC News poll released this week showed a majority of African-Americans do not support striking Syria. And a bloc of black congressmen, like Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), have become increasingly wary of President Obama’s foreign policy vision, voting for example to defund the National Security Agency’s controversial “metadata” program that was exposed by Edward Snowden. More than a dozen CBC members, including chairwoman Marcia Fudge (D-Ohio.), backed that legislation, which only narrowly failed. At the same time, despite some tensions over whether Obama’s policies have done enough to help African-Americans, the CBC members take great pride in Obama’s presidency. They have nearly always backed his major initiatives. And the members are aware that allowing the Syria vote to lose could deal a substantial blow to the president’s credibility. For now, many of them are non-committal, saying they want to wait until Congress reconvenes next week, talk to their colleagues and perhaps amend the resolution to their liking. National Security Adviser Susan Rice, who the caucus strongly supported when she was being considered for secretary of state, is meeting with the entire CBC on Monday to urge them to vote for the resolution.

### AT: Terror

#### No chance of terror attack---too tough to execute

John Mueller and Mark G. Stewart 12, Senior Research Scientist at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies and Adjunct Professor in the Department of Political Science, both at Ohio State University, and Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute AND Australian Research Council Professorial Fellow and Professor and Director at the Centre for Infrastructure Performance and Reliability at the University of Newcastle, "The Terrorism Delusion," Summer, International Security, Vol. 37, No. 1, politicalscience.osu.edu/faculty/jmueller//absisfin.pdf

In 2009, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) issued a lengthy report on protecting the homeland. Key to achieving such an objective should be a careful assessment of the character, capacities, and desires of potential terrorists targeting that homeland. Although the report contains a section dealing with what its authors call “the nature of the terrorist adversary,” the section devotes only two sentences to assessing that nature: “The number and high profile of international and domestic terrorist attacks and disrupted plots during the last two decades underscore the determination and persistence of terrorist organizations. Terrorists have proven to be relentless, patient, opportunistic, and flexible, learning from experience and modifying tactics and targets to exploit perceived vulnerabilities and avoid observed strengths.”8¶ This description may apply to some terrorists somewhere, including at least a few of those involved in the September 11 attacks. Yet, it scarcely describes the vast majority of those individuals picked up on terrorism charges in the United States since those attacks. The inability of the DHS to consider this fact even parenthetically in its fleeting discussion is not only amazing but perhaps delusional in its single-minded preoccupation with the extreme.¶ In sharp contrast, the authors of the case studies, with remarkably few exceptions, describe their subjects with such words as incompetent, ineffective, unintelligent, idiotic, ignorant, inadequate, unorganized, misguided, muddled, amateurish, dopey, unrealistic, moronic, irrational, and foolish.9 And in nearly all of the cases where an operative from the police or from the Federal Bureau of Investigation was at work (almost half of the total), the most appropriate descriptor would be “gullible.”¶ In all, as Shikha Dalmia has put it, would-be terrorists need to be “radicalized enough to die for their cause; Westernized enough to move around without raising red flags; ingenious enough to exploit loopholes in the security apparatus; meticulous enough to attend to the myriad logistical details that could torpedo the operation; self-sufficient enough to make all the preparations without enlisting outsiders who might give them away; disciplined enough to maintain complete secrecy; and—above all—psychologically tough enough to keep functioning at a high level without cracking in the face of their own impending death.”10 The case studies examined in this article certainly do not abound with people with such characteristics. ¶ In the eleven years since the September 11 attacks, no terrorist has been able to detonate even a primitive bomb in the United States, and except for the four explosions in the London transportation system in 2005, neither has any in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the only method by which Islamist terrorists have managed to kill anyone in the United States since September 11 has been with gunfire—inflicting a total of perhaps sixteen deaths over the period (cases 4, 26, 32).11 This limited capacity is impressive because, at one time, small-scale terrorists in the United States were quite successful in setting off bombs. Noting that the scale of the September 11 attacks has “tended to obliterate America’s memory of pre-9/11 terrorism,” Brian Jenkins reminds us (and we clearly do need reminding) that the 1970s witnessed sixty to seventy terrorist incidents, mostly bombings, on U.S. soil every year.12¶ The situation seems scarcely different in Europe and other Western locales. Michael Kenney, who has interviewed dozens of government officials and intelligence agents and analyzed court documents, has found that, in sharp contrast with the boilerplate characterizations favored by the DHS and with the imperatives listed by Dalmia, Islamist militants in those locations are operationally unsophisticated, short on know-how, prone to making mistakes, poor at planning, and limited in their capacity to learn.13 Another study documents the difficulties of network coordination that continually threaten the terrorists’ operational unity, trust, cohesion, and ability to act collectively.14¶ In addition, although some of the plotters in the cases targeting the United States harbored visions of toppling large buildings, destroying airports, setting off dirty bombs, or bringing down the Brooklyn Bridge (cases 2, 8, 12, 19, 23, 30, 42), all were nothing more than wild fantasies, far beyond the plotters’ capacities however much they may have been encouraged in some instances by FBI operatives. Indeed, in many of the cases, target selection is effectively a random process, lacking guile and careful planning. Often, it seems, targets have been chosen almost capriciously and simply for their convenience. For example, a would-be bomber targeted a mall in Rockford, Illinois, because it was nearby (case 21). Terrorist plotters in Los Angeles in 2005 drew up a list of targets that were all within a 20-mile radius of their shared apartment, some of which did not even exist (case 15). In Norway, a neo-Nazi terrorist on his way to bomb a synagogue took a tram going the wrong way and dynamited a mosque instead.15

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### No Push

#### A fight causes Obama to back out

**Carter 9-5-13** (Stephen L. Carter is a Bloomberg View columnist and a professor of law at Yale University. He is the author of “The Violence of Peace: America’s Wars in the Age of Obama,” and the novel “The Impeachment of Abraham Lincoln, Obama Asking Congress for Permission”, September 5, 2013, http://www.theolympian.com/2013/09/05/2706148/obama-asking-congress-for-permission.html#storylink=cpy)//moxley

Obama’s situation is different. Congress may well adopt the resolution he seeks, but if members prove reluctant, the administration’s public agonizing over the question suggests that the president will not spend much political capital twisting arms. Should Congress fail to grant Obama the approval he seeks, he will still face exactly the same decision that he does now. “We cannot raise our children in a world where we will not follow through on the things we say,” the president warned on Saturday. The irony is that he could only have been referring to his own warning last year that Syria President Bashar Assad would face “enormous consequences” were he to cross the red line by using chemical weapons. Obama is in effect asking Congress for permission to enforce his own threat. Critics have contended that Obama’s decision to go to Congress may signal a weakening of the prerogatives of the commander in chief. I’m not so sure.