# 2ac

## China

**A2: US-Russia War**

**Interdependence prevents US-Russian war**

**Simes 07 –** (Dimitri K. Simes, President of the Nixon Center and Publisher of The National Interest, "Losing War." Foreign Affairs." NOv/DEc. 2007. Lexis)

The good news is that although Russia is disillusioned with the United States and Europe, it is so far not eager to enter into an alliance against the West. **The Russian people do not want to risk their new prosperity**--and Russia's elites are loath to give up their Swiss bank accounts, London mansions, and Mediterranean vacations**. Although Russia is seeking greater military cooperation with China, Beijing does not seem eager to start a fight with Washington either.** At the moment, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization--which promotes cooperation among China, Russia, and the Central Asian states--is a debating club rather than a genuine security alliance.

## T- QPQ

### 2ac – at: has to be a qpq

#### Counter Interpretation – Conditional and unconditional engagement are topical

Haass 2k – Richard N. Haass, Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, and Meghan L. O’Sullivan, Fellow with the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution, “Engaging Problem Countries”, Brookings Policy Brief, No. 61, June,

<http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/18245/1/Engaging%20Problem%20Countries.pdf>?1

Engagement as a policy is not merely the antithesis of isolation. Rather, it involves the use of economic, political, or cultural incentives to influence problem countries to alter their behavior in one or more realms. Such a strategy can take a variety of forms. *Conditional* engagement is a government-to-government affair in which the United States offers inducements to a target regime in exchange for specified changes in behavior. This was the approach favored in 1994 when the United States and North Korea entered into a framework agreement under which Pyongyang pledged to curtail its nuclear weapons development in exchange for shipments of fuel, construction of a new generation of nuclear power-generating reactors, and a degree of diplomatic normalization. In contrast, *unconditional* engagement is less contractual, with incentives being extended without the explicit expectation that a reciprocal act will follow. Unconditional engagement makes the most sense in promoting civil society in hopes of creating an environment more conducive to reform.

## Counterplan

### 2ac – mexico says no

#### Say no – perceived as interference in domestic affairs

Starr 9 - director of the U.S.-Mexico Network and an associate professor of teaching in the School of International Relations and in Public Diplomacy

(Pamela, “Mexico and the United States: A window of opportunity?,” http://www.pacificcouncil.org/document.doc?id=35)

Beyond the current economic crisis, the United States can best promote regional ¶ economic competitiveness in three ways. First, it should remain patient through what is ¶ destined to be a slow process of economic reform and policy adjustment in Mexico. As ¶ Mexico struggles to implement these changes, “advice” coming from Washington would be ¶ seen as unwarranted interference in Mexican domestic affairs and thus be counterproductive. ¶ Second, President Obama’s stated desire to augment significantly the U.S. budget for ¶ economic aid should include an increase in targeted assistance programs for Mexico. This ¶ effort should focus on two of the primary obstacles to growth in the Mexican economy – an ¶ inadequately educated workforce and insufficient infrastructure. It could do this by increasing ¶ current U.S. programs to train rural teachers, provide student scholarships, and determine the ¶ feasibility of large infrastructure projects, and by focusing overall on efforts that complement private sector investment and Mexican government programs.

### 2ac – doesn’t solve HR

#### CP No Solve – Human rights adoption not enforced and hypocrisy undermines perception

**Sikkink 04** political science professor at the University of Minnesota, PhD from Columbia (Kathryn A Sikkink, 2004, “Mixed Signals: U.S. Human Rights Policy and Latin America”, book)

A better understanding of the emergence and diffusion of human rights norms on a global scale represents a crucial contribution to international relations scholarship. However, such norms matter in the world only if rhetorical commitments actually lead states to improve their human rights practices. The second part of the book therefore asks under what conditions a human rights policy can be effective. When do human rights policies and norms lead to improvements in human rights behaviors? There is not a clear linkage between the ratification of human rights treaties and actual human rights practices. Be cause ratification is easiest in an authoritarian state, countries that ratify human rights treaties don’t necessarily treat their citizens well. “ So, why should we care about ratifying human rights treaties if they don’t lead directly to better human rights practices? Because ratification of human rights treaties is seen as an important symbol of a country ‘s commitment to the human rights idea. We need to be aware that for many people around the world, U.S. failure to ratify these treaties undermines our capacity for leadership in the area of human rights. Recently, the United States has not only filed to ratify human rights treaties hut the administration of George V. Bush ‘unsigned” the statute of the International Criminal Court and actively lobbied other governments not to abide by its provisions. Officials in the administration claim that they were responding to flaws in the statute. Because of the symbolic importance of these treaties, however, such action is often interpreted abroad as reckless disregard for international rule of law. The emergence of human rights policy is not a simple victory of ideas over interests. It demonstrates the power of ideas to reshape understandings of national interest. The adoption of human rights policies does not represent a neglect of national interests but rather signifies a fundamental shift in the perception of long-term national interests. Indeed, human rights policies emerged because policy makers began to question the causal assumption that U.S. national interests are furthered by supporting repressive regimes that violate the human rights of their citizens and the related assumption that other countries’ internal human rights practices arc not a legitimate topic of foreign policy.

### 2ac – plan solves HR

#### Plan solves the net benefit—Economic engagement itself causes human right protection

**Burton 03** professor at the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies and director of the Laboratory on International Law and Regulation, PhD in political science (Emilie Hafner-Burton, 2003, “Globalizing human rights? How international trade agreements shape government repression”, book)

In this dissertation I aim to convince that this growing web of international economic organizations does indeed influence governments’ social policies and practices, although these institutions neither compel the death of the state nor wield their influence equally. To be sure, there are many different social policies and practices that such a dissertation might engage. Such outcomes are brought to light by the many anti-globalization protests, which scholars across different disciplines investigate in various ways. I choose to focus this study on one of the most essential social practices that a government must choose: government observance of human rights. I do so not because environmental, social welfare, or labor policies are somehow less important or interesting, but because they themselves depend in some fundamental way on the establishment of basic human rights, without which laws protecting the rainforest or the worker are empty promises. I also make this choice to focus on government observance of human rights because there is an emergent and innovative literature spanning the fields of international relations and sociology that is centrally concerned with explaining how economic globalization of various kinds shapes government repression, cross-nationally. This literature provides a concrete stepping stone to study the linkage between international economic institutions and government repression, a linkagethat might otherwise prove difficult to maneuver without such a theoretical roadmap in place from which to start

#### Economic Engagement solves human rights and democracy promotion

**USA Engage, 98** - USA\*ENGAGE is a broad-based coalition representing American business and agriculture. The coalition currently includes 670 members including 40 National and State Associations and organizations from major sectors of the US economy. “Economic Engagement Promotes Freedom” <http://archives.usaengage.org/archives/studies/engagement.html>)

III. Economic Engagement Advances Freedom, Democracy and Human Rights American values and institutions are attractive throughout the world not because of our power, but because of our prosperity and the appeal of freedom. While the shape of a nation's political and economic institutions ultimately reflects the choices of its own people, American policy can support, or hinder, such choices. Through engagement we advance economic growth and transmit fundamental American values. The United States now has the ability to engage countries that for years were closed to it. The opening of many of the world's economies has created a tremendous opportunity. Poles, Chinese, Slovenes, and Indians all seek American trade, investment, and technology, even though their markets for years were effectively closed to Americans. The World Bank estimates that over 5 billion people -- 87 percent of the world's population -- now live in economies driven by market forces. Just ten years ago the number was only 1 billion.13 By exporting, by investing and operating overseas -- engaging -- American businesses, workers and farmers promote freedom. Trade and the acceptance of democracy and free enterprise worldwide has given hundreds of millions of people a chance to grow, prosper and build free institutions and the rule of law. Through engagement, the United States has a rare opportunity to help build the long term foundations for a better world. Change will not be rapid, and there will be reverses. Oppression will continue for years in many parts of the world. But by engaging, the United States contributes significantly to peace, freedom and the rule of law.

### Frontline

#### -- Human rights cred irrelevant – their ev is all theory

**Moravcsik 2** (Andrew, Professor of Government – Harvard University, Multilateralism & U.S. Foreign Policy: Ambivalent Engagement, Ed. Patrick and Forman, p. 365)

There is **little evidence** that Rwandan, Serbian, or Iraqi leaders would have been more humane if the United States had submitted to more multilateral human rights commitments. The human rights movement has firmly embedded itself in public opinion and NGO networks, in the United States as well as elsewhere, despite the dubious legal status of international norms in the United States. In sum, the consequences of U.S. nonadherence to global norms, while signaling a weakening in theory, is probably of **little import** in practice.

#### -- U.S. human rights promotion fails

**Neier 6** (Aryeh, President – Open Society Institute, “How Not To Promote Democracy and Human Rights”, 9-25,

http://www.humanrights.uconn.edu/rese\_papers/DemocracyHumanRightsANeier.pdf)

From the standpoint of the Arab intellectuals, they feel they have to separate themselves from United States policy in order to have credibility in their region. So, when the United States speaks in the name of democracy and human rights in justifying its policy in the Middle East, Arab intellectuals who are themselves committed to democracy and human rights run away as fast as they can. It tarnishes their effort. That is, I believe, one of the consequences of American military policy that is proving very destructive. The very terms democracy and human rights are increasingly associated in many parts of the world with American willingness to impose our government’s will by its superior force, and to act in a way that seems to disregard all international agreements and international conventions in the process of imposing its will. A second way that the Bush Administration’s policies have helped to give human rights a bad name has to do with our own practices since September 11, 2001. The United States always had something of a checkered record in promoting human rights internationally. There were parts of the world where we were very vigorous in promoting human rights, and there were parts of the world where we were allies of those who were abusing human rights. On balance, however, the United States was a force worldwide for the human rights cause, and part of that had to do with our own reputation as a government that was respectful of human rights. The United States’ own practices were widely admired worldwide, and those who criticized United States policy complained that we were willing to ally ourselves with governments that were not similarly respectful of human rights. The chapters in this volume by Carol Greenhouse and Neil Hicks expand on this point. What has happened since September 11, 2001, is that the image of the United States worldwide is now the image of a human rights violator, rather than the image of a respecter of human rights. Everywhere in the world people know about Guantanamo Bay, and Guatanamo has become a symbol of American policy. The idea that the United States would arbitrarily hold a large number of people in a legal black hole for a period of years with no access to attorneys, no access to families, and no charges, was beyond anything that anyone could have expected. Several other democratic countries have had terrorist problems. Britain has had the IRA, Spain has had the ETA, India has had terrorism related to Kashmir, Israel has had suicide bombing and other forms of terrorism. None of the democratic countries elsewhere in the world that have experienced terrorism did anything that is comparable to Guantanamo in the manner that they dealt with terrorism. There were delays in bringing detainees before judges in various places, and periods of time when they did not have access to lawyers and families, but Guantanamo exceeded what any other democratic government has done in dealing with those persons it accused of terrorism. Though the U.S. Supreme Court’s 2004 decisions in Padilla and Hamdi have now limited, to some degree, the extent of the arbitrariness with which the United States may hold prisoners at Guantanamo, most of the detainees there have not yet seen a lawyer, nor have they yet had contact with members of their families. The prolongation of detention without charges is likely to be a factor for a good while to come. In addition, of course, the Abu Ghraib scandal and the images that went around the world of American soldiers engaged in the intentional humiliation and torture of detainees is another part of America’s new image. The consequence is that when the United States now attempts to lecture other governments about human rights, the images that come to mind worldwide are the images from Abu Ghraib and the images from Guantanamo. The United States is seen as hypocritical in its advocacy of human rights. That perception of hypocrisy is another factor that tends to give the human rights cause, as espoused by the United States, a bad name.

## K

### 2ac- Normal

#### The Role of the Ballot is to simulate the enactment of the plan—specifically beneficial in the context of Latin America

Baxter 10 (Jorge, Education Specialist, Department of Education and Culture in the Organization of American States, Former Coordinator of the Inter-American Program on Education for Democratic Values and Practices at the OAS, PHD in International Comparative Education and Policy from University of Maryland College Park, “Towards a Deliberative and Democratic Model of International Cooperation in Education in Latin America”, Inter-American Journal of Education for Democracy, 3(2), 224-254, <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/ried/article/viewFile/1016/1307>, Accessed: 7/30/13)OG

In the context of international¶ education cooperation and international¶ development in Latin America, where**¶** there are great asymmetries in power and¶ resources, it seems that this critique could¶ have some validity. However, rather than**¶** concluding that deliberation and participation**¶** should be reduced, one could conclude (as¶ is argued in this paper) that they should**¶** be enhanced and expanded. Those that¶ advocate for a “thicker” democratization in¶ the region would likely advocate for a more**¶** substantive approach to deliberation in policy¶ which establishes certain parameters such¶ as “education is an intrinsic human right,”¶ and which would place an emphasis on¶ achieving quality education outcomes¶ for all as the goal. This does not mean that¶ they would not advocate for deliberation but¶ rather would set parameters for deliberation¶ in order to ensure that the outcomes do not¶ lead to “unjust” policy (e.g., a policy that¶ might promote more inequity in education).¶ Those that advocate for a “thinner” approach¶ to democratization would tend to advocate¶ for a procedural approach to deliberation in¶ education policy and would most likely place¶ emphasis on equal opportunity of access¶ to quality education.¶ Instability critique: Education in Latin¶ America suffers from too much instability and¶ is too politicized. Increasing participation and¶ deliberation would only further politicize the¶ situation and polarize those who advocate for¶ educational reform and those who block it.¶ The average term of a minister of education¶ is one-and-a-half years; each time a new¶ minister comes to office, new policies are¶ passed which, according to deliberative¶ democratic theory, would need to be reasoned¶ and debated with citizens. Deliberation in this¶ context would promote even more instability¶ and would lead to further politicization of¶ education reform.¶ Response: Political instability and¶ lack of continuity in policy reform are serious¶ limitations that to some degree are inherent¶ in democratic institutions and processes. The¶ reality is that if any education reform is to¶ succeed in the long term, it needs more than¶ the efforts of governments or international¶ organizations. It needs the sustained support¶ of stakeholders across sectors (public,¶ private, and civil society) and over time. It¶ has been argued that the main problem in¶ basic education in Latin America is the lack¶ of a broad social consensus, recognizing¶ that there is a problem of equity and quality¶ in the provision of education (Schiefelbein,¶ 1997). This lack of broad social consensus¶ is especially challenging where there is, as¶ noted in the critique, a lack of continuity¶ in education reform. Reform in education¶ takes time, sometimes decades. Ensuring¶ continuity in education reform policies is¶ therefore crucial, and this requires public¶ consensus. Deliberative forums convening**¶** government, private sector, and civil society**¶** groups can contribute to developing this public**¶** consensus and to providing more continuity**¶** in policy. Deliberative forums combined**¶** with collaborative projects can help promote**¶** learning, distribute institutional memory,**¶** support capacity-building efforts, and bring**¶** more resources to bear on the education**¶** reform process. Creating a space for citizens¶ to deliberate on the role of education is¶ fundamental for promoting broad social¶ consensus around education reforms. In Latin**¶** America, the most innovative and successful**¶** reforms have all created multiple and**¶** continuous opportunities for diverse groups**¶** across the education sector and society to¶ provide input and to have opportunities for¶ meaningful collaborative action. International¶ organizations, leveraging their regional and¶ international position, can contribute by¶ promoting policy dialogue and collaborative¶ actions among ministries and also with key¶ stakeholders across sectors. The challenge¶ is to develop a better understanding of how¶ deliberation can be used to promote more¶ collaborative as opposed to more adversarial¶ and partisan forms of politics. This is perhaps¶ one area which deliberative theorists need to¶ explore more.¶ 5. Power critique: The final critique relates¶ the possibility that increasing deliberation¶ and participation can lead to increased¶ inequality. Fung and Wright (2003) note¶ that deliberation can turn into domination¶ in a context where “participants in these¶ processes usually face each other from¶ unequal positions of power.” Every reform**¶** in education creates winners and losers, and**¶** very few create “win-win” situations. Those¶ in power would have to submit to the rules of¶ deliberation and relinquish “control” over the¶ various dimensions of democratic decisionmaking.¶ This is naïve and not politically¶ feasible.¶ Response: This is a valid critique¶ worth considering. Structural inequalities**¶** and asymmetries of power in governments**¶** and international institutions in Latin America**¶** have facilitated domination by elites in terms**¶** of authority, power, and control in politics.**¶** Asymmetries of power in international¶ cooperation in education are also clear,¶ especially when powerful financial (World¶ Bank, IDB, IMF) or political (OAS, UNESCO)¶ organizations engage with local stakeholders¶ and condition policy options with funding¶ or political support. What this paper has¶ argued is relevant again here: that instead of**¶** rejecting further democratization in the face**¶** of these challenges, including the challenge**¶** of elite “domination,” what is needed is more**¶** and better democracy, defined in terms of its**¶** breadth, depth, range, and control. Finally,¶ dealing with elite domination in international**¶** deliberative forums will require conscious and¶ skilled facilitation on the part of international¶ organizations, which themselves are often¶ elitist and hegemonic.¶ Final Thoughts: So What?¶ Perhaps the most critical question¶ that emerges in the argument for increased¶ democratization and deliberation is simply:¶ So what? Does increased democratization and¶ deliberation actually lead to better outcomes¶ in education? More empirical research on this¶ critical question is needed. However, experiments**¶** in deliberative democracy in education reform¶ in Brazil through the UNESCO and Ministry of¶ Education Coordinated Action Plan and Porto¶ Alegre‘s Citizen School, and also to some degree¶ at the international level with the OAS pilot¶ experiment in developing a more democratic¶ model of international cooperation from 2001-¶ 2005, have shown that deliberative processes**¶** can enhance learning on the part of those**¶** participating. Fung and Wright (2003) refer to¶ these experiments in deliberation as “schools¶ of democracy” because participants exercise**¶** their capacities of argument, planning, and¶ evaluation. Deliberation promotes joint reflection¶ and consideration of others’ views. Citizens**¶** who participate in deliberative forums develop**¶** competencies that are important not only for**¶** active citizenship (listening, communication,¶ problem-solving, conflict resolution, selfregulation skills) but also crucial for managing**¶** change and school reform. Many of the same**¶** skills that are developed through citizen**¶** deliberation and participation are also essential**¶** for transforming school cultures, promoting**¶** “learning organizations” (Senge, 2000), fostering**¶** communities of reflective practitioners (Schon,¶ 1991) and developing communities of practice**¶** (Wenger, 2001). There is evidence from some¶ research that democratic interactions can create**¶** knowledge that is more rigorous, precise, and**¶** relevant than that produced in authoritarian**¶** environments (Jaramillo, 2005). Another¶ important aspect of enhancing deliberative¶ democracy and democratization is that it moves¶ from a focus on individuals and their own¶ preferences towards more collective forms of¶ learning and collaboration.¶ Up to now, international organizations¶ have endorsed a “thin” version of democratization¶ that is content with formal and centralized¶ mechanisms of “representation” and “policy¶ dialogue.” If a new, more deliberative and¶ democratic model of cooperation in education in¶ the region were to emerge, what would it look¶ like?¶ First of all, a more deliberative and¶ democratic model of international cooperation in¶ education would involve more direct and deeper**¶** forms of participation from everyday citizens,**¶** including teachers, school directors, families,¶ school communities, students, and mesolevel**¶** actors such as civil society organizations.**¶** This participation would move beyond simple**¶** consultation to more authentic forms of joint**¶** decision-making and deliberation. The model¶ would involve more accountability on the¶ part of international organizations in terms¶ of transparency, and would require injecting**¶** ethical reasoning into policies and programming.¶ In addition, a new more democratic model of**¶** international cooperation would expand the**¶** range of policy options available to countries**¶** through devolution of authority, power, and¶ control, combined with oversight and horizontal¶ accountability mechanisms. A more democratic**¶** model of international cooperation would stress**¶** valuing, systematizing, and disseminating**¶** local knowledge and innovation. Finally,**¶** democratization and deliberation in international**¶** cooperation in education would lead to enhanced**¶** learning and agency on the part of participating**¶** countries, groups, and individuals, and thus**¶** contribute to better outcomes in terms of quality**¶** and equity in education at national and local¶ levels.

#### Debating about policy towards Latin America is valuable – without it change is impossible and their discourse gets coopted

Ried Ijed ’10- Ried Ijed is the Revista interamericana de Educación para la Democracia Interamerican Journal of Education for Democracy, (“Towards a Deliberative and Democratic Model of International Cooperation in Education in Latin America”, Vol 3 No. 2, December 2010)

While the discourse of international organizations has changed over the past decade to emphasize more local participation, there continues to be a disjuncture between “explicit” statements embodying democratic values and ideals, and the actual practices within these organizations (Samoff, 2004). There are potentially several factors (both political and technical) that lead to disjuncture between policy and practice. Among the most commonly cited of political factors is the tendency for international organizations to co-opt discourses about participation in order to gain legitimacy, but without showing any real commitment to a democratic transformation and the devolution of power, authority, and control (see Klees, 2002). Democratization policies in these contexts are merely “symbolic,” in that at a public level the problem is recognized but at the implementation level they are neither supported with adequate resources nor sufficiently specific enough to be operationalized (Stromquist, 2003). Technical factors may include the inherent limitations on representation in democratic processes, or the lack of financial resources, technical know- how, and skills required to implement changes and mechanisms that would allow for more democratic participation.

#### Evaluate our impacts- big impacts control trickle down to structural forms of violence

#### Plan key to reforms

### AT Ethics First – 2ac

#### Ethics are not relativistic and recognizing this allows us to avoid mass violence – the alternative devolves into nihilism

**Fasching 93** Darrell, professor of religious studies at the University of South Florida, The Ethical Challenge of Auschwitz and Hiroshima: Apocalypse or Utopia

As long as the social order was believed to have "sacred origins" established "in the beginning," its order was the unchangeable fate of humanity. Once that order was desacralized, society was open to being shaped and changed. But to the degree that the values which shaped public order were understood to be part of the sacred normative order of nature, secularization destroyed the normative horizon of order and left human beings naked and adrift in Nietzsche's horizonless world where only a demonic and unchecked will to power reigns. The task of social ethics today is to discover those norms that transcend any given culture, in order to critique the present order of society and imagine and outline a new world in which the human is realizable through its utopian capacity for self-transcendence. And the effecting of social ethics today is the personal, political and managerial task of a shaping a public policy capable of sustaining the utopian order of an open society where, in the face of finitude and tragedy, we can remain willing and able to make new beginnings.

### New – 2ac

#### Squo is structurally improving---health, environment and equality

Bjorn Lomborg 10/16, Adjunct Professor at the Copenhagen Business School, "A Better World Is Here", 2013, www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/on-the-declining-costs-of-global-problems-by-bj-rn-lomborg

COPENHAGEN – For centuries, optimists and pessimists have argued over the state of the world. Pessimists see a world where more people means less food, where rising demand for resources means depletion and war, and, in recent decades, where boosting production capacity means more pollution and global warming. One of the current generation of pessimists’ sacred texts, The Limits to Growth, influences the environmental movement to this day.¶ The optimists, by contrast, cheerfully claim that everything – human health, living standards, environmental quality, and so on – is getting better. Their opponents think of them as “cornucopian” economists, placing their faith in the market to fix any and all problems.¶ But, rather than picking facts and stories to fit some grand narrative of decline or progress, we should try to compare across all areas of human existence to see if the world really is doing better or worse. Together with 21 of the world’s top economists, I have tried to do just that, developing a scorecard spanning 150 years. Across ten areas – including health, education, war, gender, air pollution, climate change, and biodiversity – the economists all answered the same question: What was the relative cost of this problem in every year since 1900, all the way to 2013, with predictions to 2050.¶ Using classic economic valuations of everything from lost lives, bad health, and illiteracy to wetlands destruction and increased hurricane damage from global warming, the economists show how much each problem costs. To estimate the magnitude of the problem, it is compared to the total resources available to fix it. This gives us the problem’s size as a share of GDP. And the trends since 1900 are sometimes surprising.¶ Consider gender inequality. Essentially, we were excluding almost half the world’s population from production. In 1900, only 15% of the global workforce was female. What is the loss from lower female workforce participation? Even taking into account that someone has to do unpaid housework and the increased costs of female education, the loss was at least 17% of global GDP in 1900. Today, with higher female participation and lower wage differentials, the loss is 7% – and projected to fall to 4% by 2050.¶ It will probably come as a big surprise that climate change from 1900 to 2025 has mostly been a net benefit, increasing welfare by about 1.5% of GDP per year. This is because global warming has mixed effects; for moderate warming, the benefits prevail.¶ On one hand, because CO2 works as a fertilizer, higher levels have been a boon for agriculture, which comprises the biggest positive impact, at 0.8% of GDP. Likewise, moderate warming prevents more cold deaths than the number of extra heat deaths that it causes. It also reduces demand for heating more than it increases the costs of cooling, implying a gain of about 0.4% of GDP. On the other hand, warming increases water stress, costing about 0.2% of GDP, and negatively affects ecosystems like wetlands, at a cost of about 0.1%.¶ As temperatures rise, however, the costs will rise and the benefits will decline, leading to a dramatic reduction in net benefits. After the year 2070, global warming will become a net cost to the world, justifying cost-effective climate action now and in the decades to come.¶ Yet, to put matters in perspective, the scorecard also shows us that the world’s biggest environmental problem by far is indoor air pollution. Today, indoor pollution from cooking and heating with bad fuels kills more than three million people annually, or the equivalent of a loss of 3% of global GDP. But in 1900, the cost was 19% of GDP, and it is expected to drop to 1% of GDP by 2050.¶ Health indicators worldwide have shown some of the largest improvements. Human life expectancy barely changed before the late eighteenth century. Yet it is difficult to overstate the magnitude of the gain since 1900: in that year, life expectancy worldwide was 32 years, compared to 69 now (and a projection of 76 years in 2050).¶ The biggest factor was the fall in infant mortality. For example, even as late as 1970, only around 5% of infants were vaccinated against measles, tetanus, whooping cough, diphtheria, and polio. By 2000, it was 85%, saving about three million lives annually – more, each year, than world peace would have saved in the twentieth century.¶ This success has many parents. The Gates Foundation and the GAVI Alliance have spent more than $2.5 billion and promised another $10 billion for vaccines. Efforts by the Rotary Club, the World Health Organization, and many others have reduced polio by 99% worldwide since 1979.¶ In economic terms, the cost of poor health at the outset of the twentieth century was an astounding 32% of global GDP. Today, it is down to about 11%, and by 2050 it will be half that.¶ While the optimists are not entirely right (loss of biodiversity in the twentieth century probably cost about 1% of GDP per year, with some places losing much more), the overall picture is clear. Most of the topics in the scorecard show improvements of 5-20% of GDP. And the overall trend is even clearer. Global problems have declined dramatically relative to the resources available to tackle them.¶ Of course, this does not mean that there are no more problems. Although much smaller, problems in health, education, malnutrition, air pollution, gender inequality, and trade remain large.¶ But realists should now embrace the view that the world is doing much better. Moreover, the scorecard shows us where the substantial challenges remain for a better 2050. We should guide our future attention not on the basis of the scariest stories or loudest pressure groups, but on objective assessments of where we can do the most good.

### Heg Good – 2ac

**Heg is good – it makes the world more peaceful**

**Busby 12** [Get Real Chicago IR guys out in force, Josh, Assistant Professor of Public Affairs and a fellow in the RGK Center for Philanthropy and Community Service as well as a Crook Distinguished Scholar at the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law. <http://duckofminerva.blogspot.com/2012/01/get-real-chicago-ir-guys-out-in-force.html>]

Is Unipolarity Peaceful? As evidence, Monteiro provides metrics of the number of years during which great powers have been at war. For the unipolar era since the end of the Cold War, the United States has been at war 13 of those 22 years or 59% (see his Table 2 below). Now, I've been following some of the discussion by and about Steven Pinker and Joshua Goldstein's [work](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/18/opinion/sunday/war-really-is-going-out-of-style.html?pagewanted=all) that suggests the world is becoming more peaceful with interstate wars and intrastate wars becoming more rare. I was struck by the graphic that Pinker used in a Wall Street Journal [piece](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424053111904106704576583203589408180.html) back in September that drew on the Uppsala Conflict Data, which shows a steep decline in the number of deaths per 100,000 people. How do we square this account by Monteiro of a unipolar world that is not peaceful (with the U.S. at war during this period in Iraq twice, Afghanistan, Kosovo) and Pinker's account which suggests declining violence in the contemporary period? Where Pinker is focused on systemic outcomes, Monteiro's measure merely reflect years during which the great powers are at war. Under unipolarity, there is only one great power so the measure is partial and not systemic. However, Monteiro's theory aims to be systemic rather than partial. In critiquing Wohlforth's early work on unipolarity stability, Monteiro notes: Wohlforth’s argument does not exclude all kinds of war. Although power preponderance allows the unipole to manage conflicts globally, this argument is not meant to apply to relations between major and minor powers, or among the latter (17). So presumably, a more adequate test of the peacefulness or not of unipolarity (at least for Monteiro) is not the number of years the great power has been at war but whether the system as a whole is becoming more peaceful under unipolarity **compared** to previous eras, including wars between major and minor powers or wars between minor powers and whether the wars that do happen are as violent as the ones that came before. Now, as Ross Douthat pointed [out](http://douthat.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/17/steven-pinkers-history-of-violence/), Pinker's argument isn't based on a logic of benign hegemony. It could be that even if the present era is more peaceful, unipolarity has nothing to do with it. Moreover, Pinker may be wrong. Maybe the world isn't all that peaceful. I keep thinking about the places I don't want to go to anymore because they are violent (Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, Nigeria, Pakistan, etc.) As Tyler Cowen [noted](http://marginalrevolution.com/marginalrevolution/2011/10/steven-pinker-on-violence.html), the measure Pinker uses to suggest violence is a per capita one, which doesn't get at the absolute level of violence perpetrated in an era of a greater world population. But, if my read of other [reports](http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/20092010/graphs-and-tables.aspx) based on Uppsala data is right**,** war is becoming more rare and less deadly (though later [data](http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/charts_and_graphs/) suggests lower level armed conflict may be increasing again since the mid-2000s). The apparent violence of the contemporary era may be something of a presentist bias and reflect our own lived experience and the ubiquity of news media .Even if the U.S. has been at war for the better part of unipolarity, the deadliness is declining, even compared with Vietnam, let alone World War II. Does Unipolarity Drive Conflict? So, I kind of took issue with the Monteiro's premise that unipolarity is not peaceful. What about his argument that unipolarity drives conflict? Monteiro suggests that the unipole has three available strategies - defensive dominance, offensive dominance and disengagement - though is less likely to use the third. Like Rosato and Schuessler, Monteiro suggests because other states cannot trust the intentions of other states, namely the unipole, that minor states won't merely bandwagon with the unipole. Some "recalcitrant" minor powers will attempt to see what they can get away with and try to build up their capabilities. As an aside, in Rosato and Schuessler world, unless these are located in strategically important areas (i.e. places where there is oil), then the unipole (the United States) should disengage. In Monteiro's world, disengagement would inexorably lead to instability and draw in the U.S. again (though I'm not sure this necessarily follows), but neither defensive or offensive dominance offer much possibility for peace either since it is U.S. power in and of itself that makes other states insecure, even though they can't balance against it.

### Infinitely Regressive – 2ac

#### Their assertions of colonial subjectivity enforces an endless cycle of confrontation – the alt will never reach an endpoint

**Grossberg 10**(Distinguished Professor of Communication Studies and Cultural Studies, and Adjunct Distinguished Professor of American Studies, Anthropology, and Geography at the University of North Carolina)

(Lawrence, Cultural Studies in the Future Tense, pg. 265-66)

This exteriority is, it seems to me, further compromised by the assumption that the other is constituted as a subject. Thus, the argument moves from coloniality as a complex political relation to the colonial difference as a matter of subjectivity.5 The colonial difference slides between a space of productive possibility, a notion of a prior indigenous way of living/subject, and a wounded yet celebrated identity/subject position occupied by spe- cific people who have been the ''victims" of colonization. On the one hand, that position offers a vision of a hybridized colonial subject, which is, in its very extremity, the very inescapability of its violent subordination, and therefore offers a clearer experience---and critique---of modernity from its extremity. And on the other hand, the position also offers the possibility of alternatives to modernity. Presumably, the assumption is that the colo- nial subject is more than just the colonized subject, that their very hybridity points to another space-time of their existence (in another place, another time) that opens the possibilities not of going back but of imagining new futures. But the excluded, subalternized other is never outside of modernity, since it is a necessary aspect of modernity' itself, since modernity cannot be sepa- rated from coloniality. There must be something more, for the critique of modernity is also ''from the exterior of the modern/colonial world." There seems to be no reason why that exteriority which, as quoted above, interpellates the Other, must always and only be located within modernity/coloniality or as subjectivity. While it is important to recognize that there are vibrant alternatives to modernity, might such alternatives not also come from other spaces of social possibility and political imagination? Might they not also open up the possibility of other modernities? Might not the possibility that the M/C group seeks a ''positive affirmation of the alternative ordering of the world" (Escobar 2 0 0 7 , r88) open up the multiplicity of modernities as well as alternatives to modernity?

### Collateral Damage Bad – 2ac

#### War will always exist—our obligation should be to ensure collateral damage is reduced via tech

Ethical Publishing 07, ethical lifestyle magazine concerning environmental and social concerns, 9-13-2K7 (“Ethics and the Advancement of Military Technology” http://www.ethicapublishing.com/ethical/3CH9.pdf)

Since the beginning of time, mankind has constantly developed more effective ways to destroy each other in war. Looking to history as a benchmark, World War II served as a stepping stone for the development of technology. During those days, it took 108 B-17s dropping 678 „dumb‟ bombs to destroy an objective, and over 540 airmen put in harms way to destroy one target. These bombs were not accurate, to say the least. Wind speed, velocity, and weather were all factors in whether or not a bomb reached its target. Present day, it takes 1 plane and 1 pilot to destroy a similar target. Air-to-air missiles can be fired and effectively strike a target from over 100 miles away. Drones can be sent into a combat zone thus, keeping pilots out of harms way. Most importantly, non-combatant lives are spared as a result of these advanced technologies. None of this could be accomplished without the development of technology via micro processing guidance systems, GPS, and other technological advancements to make these weapons more accurate and effective. The calculating and processing of the variable factors are now taken over by the developed technology, which makes them more effective and therefore minimizes collateral damage. In our discussion of the ethics of advancing military technology, we argued that ethically, we must continue to develop advanced military technology in order to limit collateral damage in warfare. We explained our reasoning using ethical frameworks such as Consequentialism, Deontology, and Virtue ethics with a focus on moral duty and the “best possible consequences”. Ethics, like all other forms of philosophy, has no definite right or wrong answer. Because war will always exist, it is our responsibility to make the means by which we conduct war as ethical and responsible as possible. Since our ultimate goal is zero collateral damage in warfare, we have the legal, moral, and ethical obligation to continue to develop advanced military technology that limits collateral damage.

### State Solves Racism – 2ac

#### Too sweeping to say working-through-State never counters racism – here’s 7 concrete examples:

Seligman 11

Brad Seligman – Lead Counsel, Dukes v. Wal-Mart Stores, Inc – The nationwide class action gender

discrimination case against Wal-Mart Stores and founder of the Impact Fund, which provides financial and technical

assistance and representation for complex public interest litigation – Clearinghouse REVIEW Journal of Poverty Law and Policy – January–February 2011 – http://www.impactfund.org/downloads/Resources/UsingLawForChange-Seligman.pdf

Litigation as a tool for social change has a long and proud tradition in the United States. In the nineteenth century cases were brought to challenge discriminatory laws such as the Chinese Exclusion Act and to advance labor rights and the rights of women and people of color. In the twentieth century the epic battle to dismantle Jim Crow laws and the “separate but equal” doctrine culminated in the famous Brown v. Board of Education decision. In the 1960s federal rules were developed to make class action litigation more feasible, and courts approved massive institutional-change cases against industries and governmental units.1 In the 1970s environmental litigation, aided by the passage of federal laws such as the National Environmental Policy Act, became common. Starting in the 1980s, however, social justice litigation has become more challenging to pursue due to more conservative judges, tougher class certification and substantive law decisions, more demanding attorney-fee and cost-recovery requirements, the decline in federal enforcement of civil rights and environmental laws, and cutbacks and restrictions on legal services funding.2 Still, such litigation remains a potent weapon for change. In recent years the environmental justice and disability rights movements have shown that the path remains open for innovative litigation. Today we nevertheless must be more strategic and thoughtful about how we use litigation. Here I describe a holistic model of social justice litigation that includes adroit use of the media, coalitions, and working partnerships with community and grassroots organizations and other forms of advocacy. I explore the range of procedural devices in the social justice litigator’s tool box. And I remind readers to take pride in and enjoy their work.

## CIR

### 2ac – solves

#### Plan solves impact

O’Neal ’13 - Shannon K. O’Neil is a senior fellow for Latin America Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) a nonpartisan foreign-policy think tank and membership organization, (“Two Nations Indivisible”, it’s a book)

Mexico has come a long way in the last three decades, shifting from a closed to an open economy, from booms and busts to macroeconomic stability, and from a poor to a middle class nation. But it has yet to unlock its true growth potential, or to match the economic gains and growth rates seen in many of its emerging market peers—China, South Korea, Brazil, and Peru. One might sum up U.S. interest as friendly concern for a neighbor, and it is indeed that. But the U.S. economic future is also increasingly tied to Mexico. A real economic partnership between the two neighbors can be more than just an engine for Mexico’s economic middle; it can help protect and expand America’s middle class. The United States’ economic reliance on Mexico is no less real just because it is overlooked. Already twenty-two of the fifty U.S. states claim Mexico as their first or second destination for exports. Leading the pack are the border states. Each month Texan companies send over US$7 billion and their Californian counterparts almost US$2 billion in goods to their neigh bor.82 But this bonanza isn’t limited just to the border. ‘The economies of states such as South Dakota, Nebraska, and New Hampshire now depend on exports to Mexico as well. U.S. companies in industries as diverse as elec tronic equipment, household appliances, paper products, red meat, pears, and grapes rely today on Mexican industry and consumers for their livelihoods. Because of these ties, economic expansion to the south will boost growth to the north. The opposite is also true; future downturns in Puebla will mean layoffs in Peoria. This dependence through economic integration with Mexico is only deepening as companies worldwide transform the way they make things. American businesses such as Ford, General Electric, Honeywell, Intel, and Hewlett-Packard have rebounded by “near-shoring” or opening fac tories in nearby Mexico. Less recognized, this has saved many U.S. jobs in the process.83 Studies estimate that roughly 40 percent of Mexican-made products value is actually “made in the U.S.A.”—ten times that of Chinese-made goods.84 In this age of inexorable globalization, U.S. eco nomic cooperation with Mexico holds out the hope—and indeed the promise—of stopping the wholesale decampment of manufacturing firms to trans-Pacific locales. Misunderstood by U.S. politicians and pundits alike, NAFTA, and Mexican outsourcing more generally, can he a good thing for U.S. work ers and the U.S. middle class. With a different mindset and approach, U.S.-Mexico economic ties can help boost America’s chances in the global economic race. Using raw data collected confidentially from thousands of large U.S. multinational manufacturing firms, two Harvard Business School professors, along with a colleague from the University of Michigan, upend the conventional wisdom, finding that as companies ramp up investment and employment abroad they also invest and hire more people at home.8 Companies become more productive—and more competitive—and with their better products, lower prices, and higher sales, they create new jobs all around.86 The study shows that, on average, when a firm hires ten employees abroad, it will actually hire, not lay off at least two employees at home. This means that efforts to stop “oftshoring” might actually have the reverse and perverse effect of undermining U.S. jobs.

#### Our interpretation of fiat is that the plan gets attached as a rider to CIR

#### US-Mexico relations are key to solve cyber-security threats – engagement is key

Downie, Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University, 11

(Dr. Richard, deputy director and fellow with the CSIS Africa Program, master’s degree in international public policy from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, “Critical Strategic Decisions in Mexico: the Future of US/Mexican Defense Relations,” July 2011, http://www.ndu.edu/chds/docuploaded/Dr\_Downie\_OCP\_2011.pdf, ara)

2). Impact on US/Mexico Defense Relationship. The “stay the course” option would potentially offer an additional “sexenio” during which the US and Mexican militaries could expand and mature in the conduct of shared missions. If so, the growing relationship could potentially lead to a network or infrastructure of activities and agreements. Military forces from both countries would continue to exchange intelligence and sensitive information and share operational experiences while working toward a common purpose and objectives. Perhaps eventually, the United States and Mexico could engage in exercises as well as combined operations that would permit the development of tactics, techniques, and procedures that align their efforts not only in the fight against the TCOs, but also in other functional areas such as disaster or humanitarian relief operations, cooperative responses to terrorism, or proliferation of WMDs. Beyond mere confidencebuilding measures, this process could ideally lead to the establishment of protocols or standard operating procedures through which the forces of the two countries could operate in a common framework and ultimately achieve a level of functional interoperability. Although the US/Mexican defense relationship has advanced significantly in the past few years— certainly more quickly than any analyst would have predicted—the relationship is still not mature, stable, or consolidated. The strong US/Canada defense relationship offers a useful example of how military-to-military relations can mitigate the long-term impact of political decisions made on the basis of short-term disagreements between nations. The defense relationship with Canada, for example, involves a rich tradition of agreements and joint commissions, including a bi-national command, such as the US/Canada Permanent Joint Board on Defense, established in 1948; the Military Cooperation Committee (MCC), since 1945; and the North America Aerospace Defense Command, based in Colorado Springs, Colorado, which is literally a two-nation command. While cooperative US/Mexican military-to-military initiatives seem to increase almost monthly, there is a long way to go before the United States and Mexico can achieve the kind of mature defense partnership that characterizes the US/Canada relationship. The US/Mexico defense relationship is not yet at a point in which institutional factors can help mitigate political tensions between the two countries. Time is the key element in advancing toward a more institutionalized structure of bilateral or even trilateral cooperation. At a minimum, a sustained process is needed for the US and Mexican militaries to continually enhance their relationship in a manner that benefits both countries. Continuing on the present course would probably entail more and more intrusive U.S. cooperation, both for equipment and training of Mexican law enforcement personnel, as well as for intelligence and other tactical support. The lofty, ultimate goal of such a process from a US viewpoint could be the establishment of a bi-national or even tri-national command in Mexico, addressing humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, as well as protection of critical infrastructure intelligence sharing, cyber security, counterterrorism, and perhaps support for counter-TCO efforts. Ideally, this multinational security organization could be under the leadership of a Mexican military or civilian official.36 While international military organizations such as NATO or even NORAD could serve as models, even in the most optimistic of scenarios that level of US/Mexican, and potentially Canadian, cooperation would require many years—even decades—of sustained effort and interaction. As increasing numbers of Mexican military personnel work closely with their US counterparts for longer periods of time, there could be a corresponding reduction in the stigma and barriers to a closer US/Mexico defense relationship arising from our past history.

### 2ac

#### The Media is still fighting the new years hangover optimism- Not a chance CIR passes

A. All their evidence is biased because of optimism of the new year B. empirics prove that Boehner always falls flat on his face

Hrafnkell Haraldssonmore, 1/2/14 (“Don’t Expect 2014 to Bring Any Meaningful Change in Immigration Reform”, http://www.politicususa.com/2014/01/02/expect-2014-bring-meaningful-change-immigration-reform.html)

If you’re taking stock of the year just past, you would have to say 2013 left something to be desired. The Republican Party, trying for years to derail our first black president, finally succeeded in shutting down the government. The year ended with cries for his impeachment, assassination, and citizen’s arrest. Things are not likely to get better in 2014.¶ What just happened, New Years Day, is an artificial break in time that has no effect on the forces at play in our nation. Haters are still going to hate, and the Republican Party has demonstrated its hatred not only of the U.S. Constitution but of the United States and all Americans who do not fit into their neat little Evangelical white male box.¶ News outlets are talking about John Boehner and immigration reform. Don’t kid yourself. In The New York Times we find that Boehner’s hints provide “new hope that 2014 might be the year that a bitterly divided Congress reaches a political compromise to overhaul the sprawling system.” You do remember what has happened each and every time Boehner has tried to do anything, right? The extremists yank the carpet out from beneath him. Boehner cries, blah, blah, blah.¶ When will the mainstream media learn that what Boehner wants, or says he wants, means nothing at all? And we shouldn’t assume that “‘step by step’ moves to revise immigration laws” mean steps in the right direction, or big enough steps to make a difference. Boehner, for his part, seems anxious to throw water on the very idea of meaningful reform. As usual, failing to understand what Americans want (as the year closed, a majority of Americans wanted immigration reform), he told reporters,¶ Thoughtful and deliberate are conservative buzzwords for don’t expect change any time soon. This is the party of the status quo, after all, and lately, American conservatism has demonstrated a desire to not only block change but to actually turn the clock back. At times it has seem they want not only to return the 1950s but to rollback the European Enlightenment itself on the way to the 13th century.¶ Ask yourselves this: in what way will allowing more “icky brown people” into the country going to improve election prospects for Republican candidates who preach an America for white Evangelical males? Remember, it was a Republican, Paul Broun, who said in August that “these people” (his term for icky brown people, who are to be contrasted with “freedom loving Americans” – i.e. white Evangelicals) will “vote for the Democrats and keep Democrats in power for perpetuity.”¶ Louie Gohmert’s answer to the immigration problem is not to figure out some way to appeal to Latinos but to reject legislation reform. He thinks Republican tough love – assimilate and learn English or else – will stir warm and fuzzy feelings of love and devotion in immigrants. Whether he really believes this or not, he and Broun are far from alone in rejecting reform.¶ You need look no further than Broun and Gohmert and the evidence of the past two years to see what “thoughtful” and “deliberate” really mean as we head toward the 2014 midterms, but you can, if you want to consider the racist Republican base and people like William Gheen, president of Americans for Legal Immigration PAC (ALIPAC) who warns that if the Tea Party can’t stop immigrant “invasion” there will be violent revolution. That is the measure of how much the Republican base rejects the idea of icky brown people living next to them as equals.¶ If you need an example of how “real Americans” feel about their cherished franchise, look back to Jim Crow. Look, this is the party of xenophobia after all, where immigration reform necessitates an embrace of the “demonization” of white Christian males in the same way that “Happy Holidays” = a War on Christmas. Expect more rhetoric than substance. After all, as Bud Kennedy wrote in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram on the last day of the last year, “Some Republicans still want to turn back.”¶ The New York Times and others might want to realize that reform can as easily mean a step backward as a step forward. They certainly seem to forget who we are dealing with. It was Boehner’s party, after all, which refused to vote on immigration reform in 2013 “because Obama was mean to them.”¶ Do you really think they’re going to suddenly feel Obama is not being mean to them? In what way is this same group of white males going to have a mass change of heart about the “icky brown people” who threaten their comfortable franchise?¶ Meaningful change in 2014? More than likely, what 2014 will bring is John Boehner, assuming he backs any reform at all, falling flat on his face, and how is that a change, let alone meaningful change? It’s not even news.

#### No CIR Until after midterms

A. Legislation won’t go through until after midterms because GOP afraid what immediate consequences may follow

REBECCA KAPLAN, 12-26-13 (political reporter for CBSNews.com. ,“Can immigration reform pass in 2014?”, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/can-immigration-reform-pass-in-2014/ )John Feehery, a Republican strategist and former congressional aide, said getting immigration done will be important for the GOP in the long run if they can do it on their own terms – in a series of shorter bills. But he also predicted that legislation won’t move for several months until the primaries for the 2014 elections have concluded House members will less concerned about challenges from the right.**¶** “The timing on this is very important,” Feehery said. “What was stupid to do becomes smart to do a little bit later in the year.”

#### CIR Won’t Pass- Ideology

A. Republicans and Obama unwilling to make any compromises

ASKIA MUHAMMAD -SENIOR EDITOR @ The Final Call, 12-31-13 ( “Obama's burden”, http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/National\_News\_2/article\_101094.shtml)

By February or March 2014, Congress will have to approve another extension of the U.S. debt ceiling, an agreement which was not included in the recently enacted bi-partisan two-year budget agreement. Republicans have promised to extract further spending cuts, aiming now for entitlement programs like Social Security. Mr. Obama has warned that he will not negotiate with the intransigent House Republican, Tea Party-faction over an agreement to pay for debts already incurred and agreed to by Congress.¶ “It’s difficult to see what kind of recovery Mr. Obama can make in 2014,” said Dr. Horne. “It’s difficult to see immigration reform emerging, not least since the White-right is adamantly opposed to immigration reform since as they see it, it will bring more Latinos and Asians into the country.

#### Obamacare Thumps It

A. Obamacare sucking all of Obama’s PC B. Immigration reform put on backburner as result

JULES WITCOVER, Tribune Content Agency, 12-29-13 (“Witcover: Fight over Obamacare isn't going away”, http://www.newsday.com/opinion/witcover-fight-over-obamacare-isn-t-going-away-1.6681953)

But then, like some ghost out of the political past, Obamcare came rushing back as an issue with its calamitous rollout failure, fanning new life into the opposition.¶ All through the president's successful re-election campaign and thereafter, he had been busy touting the act's benefits and castigating its opponents as bearers of inaccurate information about how the law would work. Suddenly, the tables were turned on him as he was caught overselling parts of it. His oft-quoted line -- that if you liked the insurance plan you had, you could keep it -- backfired on him. Insured Americans started receiving cancellation notices from insurers whose plans did not meet ACA standards.¶ Obama found himself scrambling to assure them that they could qualify for better coverage at less cost, a claim that he was hard-pressed to justify. Obamacare foes were thrown lifeline with which to resurrect their opposition.¶ As a result, as the president approaches his last three years in office, more of his own political energies are being required to get Obamacare back on track, by cobbling together a more workable registration website and a renewed and revamped sales pitch on the details of the law.¶ As for the Republicans, fearful before the rollout fiasco that their ill-conceived role in the government shutdown would cost them votes in next November's congressional elections, instead are looking optimistically toward them. The chances are good that the midterm voting will be seen as a referendum on Obamacare, obliging the Democrats to fight all over again the battle they thought they had won in Obama's re-election.**¶** If so, the president's year-end objectives of reviving such stalled legislative initiatives as immigration reform and tougher background checks on gun purchasing may have to give way. Much, to be sure, will ride on the public response to the efforts to re-sell Obamacare in this suddenly more uncertain climate.

### 2ac – pc

#### Political capital doesn’t exist and isn’t key – winners win

Michael Hirsch 12, chief correspondent for National Journal. He also contributes to [2012 Decoded](http://decoded.nationaljournal.com/contributors/michael-hirsh). Hirsh previously served as the senior editor and national economics correspondent for Newsweek, based in its Washington bureau. He was also Newsweek’s Washington web editor and authored a weekly column for Newsweek.com, “The World from Washington.” Earlier on, he was Newsweek’s foreign editor, guiding its award-winning coverage of the September 11 attacks and the war on terror. He has done on-the-ground reporting in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other places around the world, and served as the Tokyo-based Asia Bureau Chief for Institutional Investor from 1992 to 1994. <http://www.nationaljournal.com/magazine/there-s-no-such-thing-as-political-capital-20130207>

On Tuesday, in his State of the Union address, President Obama will do what every president does this time of year. For about 60 minutes, he will lay out a sprawling and ambitious wish list highlighted by gun control and immigration reform, climate change and debt reduction. In response, the pundits will do what they always do this time of year: They will talk about how unrealistic most of the proposals are, discussions often informed by sagacious reckonings of how much “political capital” Obama possesses to push his program through. Most of this talk will have no bearing on what actually happens over the next four years. Consider this: Three months ago, just before the November election, if someone had talked seriously about Obama having enough political capital to oversee passage of both immigration reform and gun-control legislation at the beginning of his second term—even after winning the election by 4 percentage points and 5 million votes (the actual final tally)—this person would have been called crazy and stripped of his pundit’s license. (It doesn’t exist, but it ought to.) In his first term, in a starkly polarized country, the president had been so frustrated by GOP resistance that he finally issued a limited executive order last August permitting immigrants who entered the country illegally as children to work without fear of deportation for at least two years. Obama didn’t dare to even bring up gun control, a Democratic “third rail” that has cost the party elections and that actually might have been even less popular on the right than the president’s health care law. And yet, for reasons that have very little to do with Obama’s personal prestige or popularity—variously put in terms of a “mandate” or “political capital”—chances are fair that both will now happen. What changed? In the case of gun control, of course, it wasn’t the election. It was the horror of the 20 first-graders who were slaughtered in Newtown, Conn., in mid-December. The sickening reality of little girls and boys riddled with bullets from a high-capacity assault weapon seemed to precipitate a sudden tipping point in the national conscience. One thing changed after another. Wayne LaPierre of the National Rifle Association marginalized himself with poorly chosen comments soon after the massacre. The pro-gun lobby, once a phalanx of opposition, began to fissure into reasonables and crazies. Former Rep. Gabrielle Giffords, D-Ariz., who was shot in the head two years ago and is still struggling to speak and walk, started a PAC with her husband to appeal to the moderate middle of gun owners. Then she gave riveting and poignant testimony to the Senate, challenging lawmakers: “Be bold.” As a result, momentum has appeared to build around some kind of a plan to curtail sales of the most dangerous weapons and ammunition and the way people are permitted to buy them. It’s impossible to say now whether such a bill will pass and, if it does, whether it will make anything more than cosmetic changes to gun laws. But one thing is clear: The political tectonics have shifted dramatically in very little time. Whole new possibilities exist now that didn’t a few weeks ago. Meanwhile, the Republican members of the Senate’s so-called Gang of Eight are pushing hard for a new spirit of compromise on immigration reform, a sharp change after an election year in which the GOP standard-bearer declared he would make life so miserable for the 11 million illegal immigrants in the U.S. that they would “self-deport.” But this turnaround has very little to do with Obama’s personal influence—his political mandate, as it were. It has almost entirely to do with just two numbers: 71 and 27. That’s 71 percent for Obama, 27 percent for Mitt Romney, the breakdown of the Hispanic vote in the 2012 presidential election. Obama drove home his advantage by giving a speech on immigration reform on Jan. 29 at a Hispanic-dominated high school in Nevada, a swing state he won by a surprising 8 percentage points in November. But the movement on immigration has mainly come out of the Republican Party’s recent introspection, and the realization by its more thoughtful members, such as Sen. Marco Rubio of Florida and Gov. Bobby Jindal of Louisiana, that without such a shift the party may be facing demographic death in a country where the 2010 census showed, for the first time, that white births have fallen into the minority. It’s got nothing to do with Obama’s political capital or, indeed, Obama at all. The point is not that “political capital” is a meaningless term. Often it is a synonym for “mandate” or “momentum” in the aftermath of a decisive election—and just about every politician ever elected has tried to claim more of a mandate than he actually has. Certainly, Obama can say that because he was elected and Romney wasn’t, he has a better claim on the country’s mood and direction. Many pundits still defend political capital as a useful metaphor at least. “It’s an unquantifiable but meaningful concept,” says Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute. “You can’t really look at a president and say he’s got 37 ounces of political capital. But the fact is, it’s a concept that matters, if you have popularity and some momentum on your side.” The real problem is that the idea of political capital—or mandates, or momentum—is so poorly defined that presidents and pundits often get it wrong. “Presidents usually over-estimate it,” says George Edwards, a presidential scholar at Texas A&M University. “The best kind of political capital—some sense of an electoral mandate to do something—is very rare. It almost never happens. In 1964, maybe. And to some degree in 1980.” For that reason, political capital is a concept that misleads far more than it enlightens. It is distortionary. It conveys the idea that we know more than we really do about the ever-elusive concept of political power, and it discounts the way unforeseen events can suddenly change everything. Instead, it suggests, erroneously, that a political figure has a concrete amount of political capital to invest, just as someone might have real investment capital—that a particular leader can bank his gains, and the size of his account determines what he can do at any given moment in history. Naturally, any president has practical and electoral limits. Does he have a majority in both chambers of Congress and a cohesive coalition behind him? Obama has neither at present. And unless a surge in the economy—at the moment, still stuck—or some other great victory gives him more momentum, it is inevitable that the closer Obama gets to the 2014 election, the less he will be able to get done. Going into the midterms, Republicans will increasingly avoid any concessions that make him (and the Democrats) stronger. But the abrupt emergence of the immigration and gun-control issues illustrates how suddenly shifts in mood can occur and how political interests can align in new ways just as suddenly. Indeed, the pseudo-concept of political capital masks a larger truth about Washington that is kindergarten simple: You just don’t know what you can do until you try. Or as Ornstein himself once wrote years ago, “Winning wins.” In theory, and in practice, depending on Obama’s handling of any particular issue, even in a polarized time, he could still deliver on a lot of his second-term goals, depending on his skill and the breaks. Unforeseen catalysts can appear, like Newtown. Epiphanies can dawn, such as when many Republican Party leaders suddenly woke up in panic to the huge disparity in the Hispanic vote. Some political scientists who study the elusive calculus of how to pass legislation and run successful presidencies say that political capital is, at best, an empty concept, and that almost nothing in the academic literature successfully quantifies or even defines it. “It can refer to a very abstract thing, like a president’s popularity, but there’s no mechanism there. That makes it kind of useless,” says Richard Bensel, a government professor at Cornell University. Even Ornstein concedes that the calculus is far more complex than the term suggests. Winning on one issue often changes the calculation for the next issue; there is never any known amount of capital. “The idea here is, if an issue comes up where the conventional wisdom is that president is not going to get what he wants, and he gets it, then each time that happens, it changes the calculus of the other actors” Ornstein says. “If they think he’s going to win, they may change positions to get on the winning side. It’s a bandwagon effect.”¶ ALL THE WAY WITH LBJ¶ Sometimes, a clever practitioner of power can get more done just because he’s aggressive and knows the hallways of Congress well. Texas A&M’s Edwards is right to say that the outcome of the 1964 election, Lyndon Johnson’s landslide victory over Barry Goldwater, was one of the few that conveyed a mandate. But one of the main reasons for that mandate (in addition to Goldwater’s ineptitude as a candidate) was President Johnson’s masterful use of power leading up to that election, and his ability to get far more done than anyone thought possible, given his limited political capital. In the newest volume in his exhaustive study of LBJ, The Passage of Power, historian Robert Caro recalls Johnson getting cautionary advice after he assumed the presidency from the assassinated John F. Kennedy in late 1963. Don’t focus on a long-stalled civil-rights bill, advisers told him, because it might jeopardize Southern lawmakers’ support for a tax cut and appropriations bills the president needed. “One of the wise, practical people around the table [said that] the presidency has only a certain amount of coinage to expend, and you oughtn’t to expend it on this,” Caro writes. (Coinage, of course, was what political capital was called in those days.) Johnson replied, “Well, what the hell’s the presidency for?” Johnson didn’t worry about coinage, and he got the Civil Rights Act enacted, along with much else: Medicare, a tax cut, antipoverty programs. He appeared to understand not just the ways of Congress but also the way to maximize the momentum he possessed in the lingering mood of national grief and determination by picking the right issues, as Caro records. “Momentum is not a mysterious mistress,” LBJ said. “It is a controllable fact of political life.” Johnson had the skill and wherewithal to realize that, at that moment of history, he could have unlimited coinage if he handled the politics right. He did. (At least until Vietnam, that is.) And then there are the presidents who get the politics, and the issues, wrong. It was the last president before Obama who was just starting a second term, George W. Bush, who really revived the claim of political capital, which he was very fond of wielding. Then Bush promptly demonstrated that he didn’t fully understand the concept either. At his first news conference after his 2004 victory, a confident-sounding Bush declared, “I earned capital in the campaign, political capital, and now I intend to spend it. That’s my style.” The 43rd president threw all of his political capital at an overriding passion: the partial privatization of Social Security. He mounted a full-bore public-relations campaign that included town-hall meetings across the country. Bush failed utterly, of course. But the problem was not that he didn’t have enough political capital. Yes, he may have overestimated his standing. Bush’s margin over John Kerry was thin—helped along by a bumbling Kerry campaign that was almost the mirror image of Romney’s gaffe-filled failure this time—but that was not the real mistake. The problem was that whatever credibility or stature Bush thought he had earned as a newly reelected president did nothing to make Social Security privatization a better idea in most people’s eyes. Voters didn’t trust the plan, and four years later, at the end of Bush’s term, the stock-market collapse bore out the public’s skepticism. Privatization just didn’t have any momentum behind it, no matter who was pushing it or how much capital Bush spent to sell it. The mistake that Bush made with Social Security, says John Sides, an associate professor of political science at George Washington University and a well-followed political blogger, “was that just because he won an election, he thought he had a green light. But there was no sense of any kind of public urgency on Social Security reform. It’s like he went into the garage where various Republican policy ideas were hanging up and picked one. I don’t think Obama’s going to make that mistake.… Bush decided he wanted to push a rock up a hill. He didn’t understand how steep the hill was. I think Obama has more momentum on his side because of the Republican Party’s concerns about the Latino vote and the shooting at Newtown.” Obama may also get his way on the debt ceiling, not because of his reelection, Sides says, “but because Republicans are beginning to doubt whether taking a hard line on fiscal policy is a good idea,” as the party suffers in the polls.¶ THE REAL LIMITS ON POWER¶ Presidents are limited in what they can do by time and attention span, of course, just as much as they are by electoral balances in the House and Senate. But this, too, has nothing to do with political capital. Another well-worn meme of recent years was that Obama used up too much political capital passing the health care law in his first term. But the real problem was that the plan was unpopular, the economy was bad, and the president didn’t realize that the national mood (yes, again, the national mood) was at a tipping point against big-government intervention, with the tea-party revolt about to burst on the scene. For Americans in 2009 and 2010—haunted by too many rounds of layoffs, appalled by the Wall Street bailout, aghast at the amount of federal spending that never seemed to find its way into their pockets—government-imposed health care coverage was simply an intervention too far. So was the idea of another economic stimulus. Cue the tea party and what ensued: two titanic fights over the debt ceiling. Obama, like Bush, had settled on pushing an issue that was out of sync with the country’s mood. Unlike Bush, Obama did ultimately get his idea passed. But the bigger political problem with health care reform was that it distracted the government’s attention from other issues that people cared about more urgently, such as the need to jump-start the economy and financial reform. Various congressional staffers told me at the time that their bosses didn’t really have the time to understand how the Wall Street lobby was riddling the Dodd-Frank financial-reform legislation with loopholes. Health care was sucking all the oxygen out of the room, the aides said. Weighing the imponderables of momentum, the often-mystical calculations about when the historic moment is ripe for an issue, will never be a science. It is mainly intuition, and its best practitioners have a long history in American politics. This is a tale told well in Steven Spielberg’s hit movie Lincoln. Daniel Day-Lewis’s Abraham Lincoln attempts a lot of behind-the-scenes vote-buying to win passage of the 13th Amendment, banning slavery, along with eloquent attempts to move people’s hearts and minds. He appears to be using the political capital of his reelection and the turning of the tide in the Civil War. But it’s clear that a surge of conscience, a sense of the changing times, has as much to do with the final vote as all the backroom horse-trading. “The reason I think the idea of political capital is kind of distorting is that it implies you have chits you can give out to people. It really oversimplifies why you elect politicians, or why they can do what Lincoln did,” says Tommy Bruce, a former political consultant in Washington. Consider, as another example, the storied political career of President Franklin Roosevelt. Because the mood was ripe for dramatic change in the depths of the Great Depression, FDR was able to push an astonishing array of New Deal programs through a largely compliant Congress, assuming what some described as near-dictatorial powers. But in his second term, full of confidence because of a landslide victory in 1936 that brought in unprecedented Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, Roosevelt overreached with his infamous Court-packing proposal. All of a sudden, the political capital that experts thought was limitless disappeared. FDR’s plan to expand the Supreme Court by putting in his judicial allies abruptly created an unanticipated wall of opposition from newly reunited Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats. FDR thus inadvertently handed back to Congress, especially to the Senate, the power and influence he had seized in his first term. Sure, Roosevelt had loads of popularity and momentum in 1937. He seemed to have a bank vault full of political capital. But, once again, a president simply chose to take on the wrong issue at the wrong time; this time, instead of most of the political interests in the country aligning his way, they opposed him. Roosevelt didn’t fully recover until World War II, despite two more election victories. In terms of Obama’s second-term agenda, what all these shifting tides of momentum and political calculation mean is this: Anything goes. Obama has no more elections to win, and he needs to worry only about the support he will have in the House and Senate after 2014. But if he picks issues that the country’s mood will support—such as, perhaps, immigration reform and gun control—there is no reason to think he can’t win far more victories than any of the careful calculators of political capital now believe is possible, including battles over tax reform and deficit reduction. Amid today’s atmosphere of Republican self-doubt, a new, more mature Obama seems to be emerging, one who has his agenda clearly in mind and will ride the mood of the country more adroitly. If he can get some early wins—as he already has, apparently, on the fiscal cliff and the upper-income tax increase—that will create momentum, and one win may well lead to others. “Winning wins.” Obama himself learned some hard lessons over the past four years about the falsity of the political-capital concept. Despite his decisive victory over John McCain in 2008, he fumbled the selling of his $787 billion stimulus plan by portraying himself naively as a “post-partisan” president who somehow had been given the electoral mandate to be all things to all people. So Obama tried to sell his stimulus as a long-term restructuring plan that would “lay the groundwork for long-term economic growth.” The president thus fed GOP suspicions that he was just another big-government liberal. Had he understood better that the country was digging in against yet more government intervention and had sold the stimulus as what it mainly was—a giant shot of adrenalin to an economy with a stopped heart, a pure emergency measure—he might well have escaped the worst of the backlash. But by laying on ambitious programs, and following up quickly with his health care plan, he only sealed his reputation on the right as a closet socialist. After that, Obama’s public posturing provoked automatic opposition from the GOP, no matter what he said. If the president put his personal imprimatur on any plan—from deficit reduction, to health care, to immigration reform—Republicans were virtually guaranteed to come out against it. But this year, when he sought to exploit the chastened GOP’s newfound willingness to compromise on immigration, his approach was different. He seemed to understand that the Republicans needed to reclaim immigration reform as their own issue, and he was willing to let them have some credit. When he mounted his bully pulpit in Nevada, he delivered another new message as well: You Republicans don’t have to listen to what I say anymore. And don’t worry about who’s got the political capital. Just take a hard look at where I’m saying this: in a state you were supposed to have won but lost because of the rising Hispanic vote. Obama was cleverly pointing the GOP toward conclusions that he knows it is already reaching on its own: If you, the Republicans, want to have any kind of a future in a vastly changed electoral map, you have no choice but to move. It’s your choice.

# 1ar

## Kritik

### 1ar – maquilas good

#### Aerospace maquilas are good – provide stable jobs

Guidi 12 – competitive set in the larger media and information landscape consists of organizations focused on creating, partnering and providing global news and cultural perspectives content (Ruxandra, “US Aerospace and Defense Companies Set Up Shop in Mexico”, PRI, 1/6/12, http://pri.org/stories/2012-01-06/us-aerospace-and-defense-companies-set-shop-mexico)//javi

"People's perception about what cross-border manufacturing, what maquiladoras are like, is still based upon what was happening in the 70s and maybe the 1980s," said Kenn Morris, president of Crossborder Group, a San Diego-based market research firm. Morris said the aerospace industry along Mexico's north-western border is nothing like the stereotype of overcrowded, low-skilled factories. "The fact is that a lot of the factories," he said, listing medical devices, aerospace, and electronics, "they're building in such a way these days, and they're managed in such a way, that they can be put anywhere on the planet. But they're coming to Mexico." In the past five to 10 years, more than 50 aerospace and defense companies have started operations in Baja California, according to Mexico's trade ministry. Most of them are American, and they produce everything from electronic components to steel bolts for commercial and military aircraft. These companies employ more than 10,000 high-tech workers, many of them engineers, technicians and software developers. The companies choose this region for its proximity to the US and to western ports catering to Asian markets. But the main reason they come here is simple: the cost of even highly skilled labor is roughly half of what it is in the United States. In San Diego, a senior aerospace engineer makes on average $90,000. In Tijuana, an engineer with similar skills earns $35,000 to $45,000. Cobham, which produces defense systems, made the move to Tijuana in 1997. Inside its factory, workers dressed in royal blue coveralls sit in groups, looking into microscopes, holding tiny tweezers. "Over here we do the tuning and testing of the product," said Javier Urquizo, a plant manager at Cobham. But Urquizo can't tell me exactly what the product is. That's classified information. "So after we finalize the assembly, we need to tweak around some components to get the electrical responses required on the different frequencies," he said. The company has to apply for special licenses from the State Department to build those components here in Mexico – that's to make sure the raw materials and parts and the technology don't get into the wrong hands. Teresa Jesus Rio Ramos, a production supervisor here, said that aerospace and defense companies offer the most stable, best paid jobs of all the Tijuana maquilas. She makes around $1,800 a month. "I think our company is pretty financially stable," she said, "I don't have to worry from month to month whether I'll have a job or not. But that's not true for all maquilas in Tijuana; people get fired and rehired elsewhere all the time."