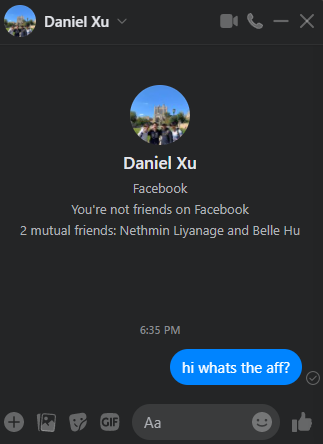
# Neg Policy Case

#### Interpretation: Debaters must disclose affirmative frameworks, advocacy texts, and advantage areas thirty minutes before round if they haven’t read the affirmative before

#### Violation: They didn’t – screenshots

****

**Resolved: The appropriation of space by private entities is unjust.**

## Definitions

**Appropriation –** the act of taking or using something (merriam-webster)

**Outer space –** space immediately outside the earth’s atmosphere (merriam-webster)

**Private entities –** any person or private group, organization, , partnership, trust, cooperative, corporation, or other commercial or nonprofit entity, including an officer, employee, or agent thereof. (cornell law)

## Framework

#### The standard is maximizing well-being. Prefer util:

#### Pain and Pleasure are intrinsic. If you touch a hot stove, you immediately retract your hand because of the pain you feel. Thus, we naturally avoid pain and seek pleasure.

**Moen 16** [Ole Martin Moen, Research Fellow in Philosophy at University of Oslo “An Argument for Hedonism” Journal of Value Inquiry (Springer), 50 (2) 2016: 267–281] SM

Let us start by observing, empirically, that a widely shared judgment about intrinsic value and disvalue is that pleasure is intrinsically valuable and pain is intrinsically disvaluable. On virtually any proposed list of intrinsic values and disvalues (we will look at some of them below), pleasure is included among the intrinsic values and pain among the intrinsic disvalues. This inclusion makes intuitive sense, moreover, for there is something undeniably good about the way pleasure feels and something undeniably bad about the way pain feels, and neither the goodness of pleasure nor the badness of pain seems to be exhausted by the further effects that these experiences might have. “Pleasure” and “pain” are here understood inclusively, as encompassing anything hedonically positive and anything hedonically negative.2 The special value statuses of pleasure and pain are manifested in how we treat these experiences in our everyday reasoning about values. If you tell me that you are heading for the convenience store, I might ask: “What for?” This is a reasonable question, for when you go to the convenience store you usually do so, not merely for the sake of going to the convenience store, but for the sake of achieving something further that you deem to be valuable. You might answer, for example: “To buy soda.” This answer makes sense, for soda is a nice thing and you can get it at the convenience store. I might further inquire, however: “What is buying the soda good for?” This further question can also be a reasonable one, for it need not be obvious why you want the soda. You might answer: “Well, I want it for the pleasure of drinking it.” If I then proceed by asking “But what is the pleasure of drinking the soda good for?” the discussion is likely to reach an awkward end. The reason is that the pleasure is not good for anything further; it is simply that for which going to the convenience store and buying the soda is good.3 As Aristotle observes: “We never ask [a man] what his end is in being pleased, because we assume that pleasure is choice worthy in itself.”4 Presumably, a similar story can be told in the case of pains, for if someone says “This is painful!” we never respond by asking: “And why is that a problem?” We take for granted that if something is painful, we have a sufficient explanation of why it is bad. If we are onto something in our everyday reasoning about values, it seems that pleasure and pain are both places where we reach the end of the line in matters of value.

#### Util is a perquisite to any other framework because survival and security come first. Without life, actors cannot follow their philosophies and there would be no philosophies in the first place. Since util prioritizes life, it comes first and my offense outweighs my opponent’s under their own framework.

## DA – war impacts

#### Russia is challenging US dominance in Africa

**Smith 9-13**-2021 [Elliot Smith, September 13, 2021, CNBC, “Russia is building its military influence in Africa, challenging U.S. and French dominance” <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/09/13/russia-is-building-military-influence-in-africa-challenging-us-france.html>] //neth

In the past two months alone, Russia has signed military cooperation agreements with Nigeria and Ethiopia, Africa’s two most populous nations. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute estimates that Africa accounted for 18% of Russian arms exports between 2016 and 2020. Russian mercenaries have also provided direct assistance to governments in Libya and the Central African Republic, according to the U.N. However, the Kremlin has denied links to the Wagner Group, a paramilitary organization alleged by the U.N. to be aiding human rights abuses in the region. “A group of Russian instructors was sent to the CAR at the request of its leaders and with the knowledge of the UN Security Council Sanctions Committee on the CAR established by Resolution 2127,” a Russian foreign ministry statement said in July. “Indicatively, none of them has taken part in combat operations.” Reuters reported in July that U.S. lawmakers had stalled a planned $1 billion weapons sale to Nigeria over allegations of human rights abuses by the government. Less than a month later, Russia signed a deal with President Muhammadu Buhari’s administration to supply military equipment, training and technology to Nigerian forces. Although historically a key diplomatic and trade partner of the U.S., Buhari’s government found itself at odds with Washington amid the #EndSARS protests in 2020, and again after a recent fallout with Twitter. Meanwhile, Islamist militant groups such as Boko Haram and the Islamic State’s West Africa Province have cotinued to wreak havoc in the northeast of the country. This confluence of factors paving the way for Russian influence-building was also at play in Ethiopia. Russia has provided support for Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s government after Western governments balked at his forces’ military response to an insurgency in northern Tigray. Ethiopia felt the U.S. in particular was aligning with Egypt in the ongoing dispute over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam. U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken further evoked the ire of Addis Ababa in March by accusing forces in Tigray of “ethnic cleansing.” Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov then met with Ethiopian counterpart Demeke Mekonnen in June. Moscow proceeded with the deployment of election observers to Ethiopia, whereas the EU withdrew its observers, citing “ongoing violence across the country, human rights violations and political tensions, harassment of media workers and detained opposition members.” Russia has supplied strategic weapons both as a potential defense against any Egyptian strike on the GERD and to aid government forces in Tigray. “Gains by the Tigray Defence Force (TDF), which has captured parts of the Afar and Amhara regions in recent weeks, make the provision of desperately needed weapons all the more important for Addis Ababa, and Moscow is likely to oblige to such a request, possibly on a buy-now-pay-later basis,” said Louw Nel, senior political analyst at NKC African Economics. In what Nel flagged as a “sign of things to come,” Ethiopia and Russia signed a military cooperation agreement in July, focused specifically on knowledge and technology transfers. However, Nel noted that Ethiopia will be “wary of allowing Russian personnel to be deployed there in anything other than a training capacity.” Russia’s foreign ministry was not immediately available for comment when contacted by CNBC.

#### US private economic involvement in the African space race results in hard power advantages against Russia – the aff gets rid of this possibility

**Devermont & Oniosun 2020** [Judd Devermont and Temidayo Oniosun, June 23, 2020, War On The Rocks, “IS THE UNITED STATES LOSING THE AFRICAN SPACE RACE?,” <https://warontherocks.com/2020/06/is-the-united-states-losing-the-african-space-race/>] //neth

Advancing American economic and development goals in Africa will translate into influence in harder national security spheres. Africa’s space industry is projected to grow to over $10 billion in the next five years, according to Space in Africa’s African Space Industry Annual Report. This is a significant opportunity for the United States to expand bilateral trade with African countries, which rested at a mere $40 billion in 2018. U.S. companies are well-positioned to sell space equipment and services to African governments. Specifically, the U.S. private sector could build new satellites, sell ground station equipment, provide capacity training, and offer launch services. These investments in the region’s space sector could support America’s goal of substantially increasing two-way trade. The nascent space industry in several African countries also furthers USAID’s efforts to foster self-reliance, boosting growth and employment in sectors such as telecommunications, navigation, and Earth observation. These systems and services help to address major societal challenges including imperfect markets, climate change, scarce resources, health systems, and an aging population. For example, about 61 percent of Africans do not have access to the internet, a problem communications satellites could address. The entire satellite value chain has important implications for U.S. political influence in Africa. The technology transfer process, access to technologies and data, and support for development have the potential to increase U.S. political influence and to deepen national security ties between the United States and African partners. The United States has historically used space diplomacy in Africa to display U.S. commitment. These ties have the potential to translate into African support for U.S. positions on data-sharing, safety coordination, and other international space norms. Currently, Burkina Faso is a vice-chair of the U.N. General Assembly’s First Committee, which oversees disarmament issues in space; Cameroon is vice-chair on the Fourth Committee, which moderates international cooperation in space; and South Africa is chair of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee of the ad hoc U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. African support, for example, could add momentum to the U.S. government’s new legal framework, known as the Artemis Accords, to govern the behavior of countries and companies in space and on the moon. NASA administrator Jim Bridenstine recently underscored the importance of these norms, pointing out that debris from a spent Chinese rocket stage landed in Cote d’Ivoire. It also may blunt Chinese and Russian efforts, via state-owned companies, to strengthen their geopolitical influence and surveillance capacity in the region. According to the Defense Intelligence Agency, China uses its commercial sales “to bolster relationships with countries around the world” and “lead the space community.” Russia & China will use weaknesses in US hard power as opportunities to strike

**Michta 12-14**-2021 [Andrew A. Michta, December 14 2021, “Russia and China’s Dangerous Decline,” Wall Street Journal, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/russia-and-china-dangerous-population-decline-indo-pacific-pivot-research-development-taiwan-ukraine-11639497466>] //neth

The risk of confrontation between the U.S. and China is greater than it has been in decades, and a broader war, triggered by a Chinese action against Taiwan, is a possibility. In “Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides’s Trap?” (2017), Graham Allison likened the situation to the Peloponnesian War, which the Athenian historian thought inevitable because Sparta feared the rising power of Athens. Yet the real reason for the current tensions has less to do with the decline and rise of great powers than with threat perceptions, balance-of-power estimates, autonomous assessments and internal decisions that have been driving China—and Russia—for several years now. (They have increasingly aligned in their opposition to the U.S. and the post-Cold War international order.) The rising threat of high-intensity state-on-state war is driven by the growing elite conviction in Beijing and Moscow that their power disadvantage relative to the U.S. and its allies will worsen unless they move soon, making victory increasingly unattainable. There are three principal reasons why China and Russia may want to confront the U.S. and its allies sooner rather than later, possibly within five years. First, the U.S. military will require time to restructure and refit away from counterterrorism and toward high-intensity state-on-state great-power conflict. The Army Modernization Strategy published in 2019 sets 2035 as the deadline for transforming the Army into a multidomain-capable force. From a Russian or Chinese perspective, that means each additional year will shift imbalances, which currently favor them in some areas, in America’s favor. The second factor is domestic conditions in the U.S. and Europe. Western democracies are buffeted by the trifecta of Covid-19; increasingly brazen mass in-migration, to which their governments seem unable to respond effectively; and the cresting cultural revolution, especially in the U.S., which is likely to peak within the next two years. All have strained national cohesion across the West, fed distrust in government, and sowed seeds of doubt that legacy democratic institutions and processes are able to meet the basic requirements of governance and satisfy the citizenry. Once America has moved beyond its current internal 1970s-style turbulence, a reconsolidated U.S., with its key manufacturing supply chains re-shored back from China, will present Beijing and Moscow with a far more formidable foe than today. A good indicator is the recent reports that the U.S. has made a qualitative leap in hypersonic missile technology, likely to nullify the edge Russia and China had hoped to maintain through the investment in their own programs. Notwithstanding their blustery propaganda, Beijing and Moscow are keenly aware that America’s research-and-development base can be mobilized to improve U.S. capabilities. Time is on America’s side when it comes to the quality and sophistication of its weapon systems. The third factor: internal pressures building within Chinese and Russian societies. For both countries, population trends and current projections paint a devastating picture. In 2021 China reported its first projected population decline since the famine that accompanied Mao Zedong’s “Great Leap Forward” in the late 1950s. With the official birthrate of 1.3 children per woman—far below the replacement rate of 2.1, and in part a result of the now-relaxed one-child policy—there are credible projections that China’s population will peak in 2022, and that births will continue to decline and deaths will surpass births by six million in 2025. Russia’s population is projected to decline from 146 million today to 121 million in 2050. Historically, wars have often started because of miscalculations based on unsound intelligence estimates and underestimating the enemy. In the case of U.S. strategic competition with China and Russia, the risk of war has grown not because of their rise but because of how China and Russia assess the real near-term implications of Washington’s decision to refocus its defense strategy on the fundamentals of great-power competition and conflict instead of counterterrorism and nation building. Whether war breaks out will depend on how badly Beijing and Moscow fear the global power shift in the next decade and how eager they will be to exploit their perceived current relative advantages to remake the world.

#### US-Russia nuclear war causes nuclear winter, blocks out sunlight, kills life on earth

**Monzon 2019** [Inigo Monzon, August 20, 2019, “US, Russia Nuclear War Would Cause 'Nuclear Winter' And 'Human Extinction,' Study Reveals,” International Business Times, <https://www.ibtimes.com/us-russia-nuclear-war-would-cause-nuclear-winter-human-extinction-study-reveals-2815921>] //neth

A new study has confirmed that the world will be plunged into a nuclear winter following a nuclear war between the U.S. and Russia. According to the study, the war between these two superpowers would trigger a global environmental event that can last for several years. The new study was conducted by a team of researchers from the University of Colorado, Rutgers University and the National Center for Atmospheric Research. It was published in the Journal of Geophysical Research: Atmospheres. For the study, the researchers created a model depicting what would happen to Earth if the U.S. and Russia engaged in an all-out nuclear war. As part of the simulation, the researchers observed what would happen if a large number of nuclear bombs were detonated in urban areas near the U.S. and Russia. In the simulation, the two countries used all of their nuclear weapons. According to the findings of their model, dubbed as the Community Earth System Model – Whole Atmosphere Community Climate Model version 4, the explosions from the nuclear bomb detonations would create a massive amount of smoke that would cover up the Earth’s atmosphere. The smoke, which scientists predict would linger for years, will block out sunlight, leading to a significant drop in Earth’s temperature. According to the scientists, the winter-like season that will be caused by the nuclear war will last for a long time. It will also trigger other environmental events such as changes to the monsoon and El Niño seasons. The scientists noted that the results of their study agree with the findings of a previous research published in 2007. The similarity between these two studies clearly indicates the inevitability of a nuclear winter following a massive nuclear war. “Despite having different features and capabilities, both models produce similar results,” the scientists stated in the study

#### CP text: we advocate for public-private partnerships in space in line with the ISS model or a sponsored program model

**ISS National Lab** [International Space Station National Laboratory – Center for the Advancement of Science in Space, “Research on the ISS, No Date, <https://www.issnationallab.org/research-on-the-iss/public-private-partnerships-in-space/>] //neth

Public-private partnerships are a key component to driving innovation and national leadership. With the potential to address a wide array of modern challenges from technology development to infrastructure modernization, and from education to the economic development of space, public-private partnerships unlock new possibilities unavailable when we rely solely on public or private investment. The International Space Station (ISS) National laboratory is a great example of a public-private partnership model that is working in space. The ISS National Lab opens up the incredible possibilities of the space station research environment to a diverse range of researchers, entrepreneurs, and innovators that could create entirely new markets in space. The ISS National Laboratory – Accelerating Utilization of the ISS The ISS offers a unique research and development platform, unlike any on Earth, enabling research that benefits both exploration and life on Earth. In an effort to expand the research opportunities this unparalleled platform provides to the nation, the ISS United States Orbital Segment, through bipartisan legislation, was designated as a U.S. National Laboratory in 2005, enabling research and development access to a broad range of commercial, academic, and government users. After final assembly of the ISS in 2011, the Center for the Advancement of Science in Space, a (501)(c)(3) organization, was selected by NASA to manage the ISS U.S. National Laboratory. The ISS National Lab fulfills its mission to accelerate space-based research by engaging a variety of nontraditional space users, operating in the fields of life science, physical science, technology development, and remote sensing. The ISS National Lab engages primarily with organizations that pay toward the value obtained on the ISS, as well as with other organizations addressing national science and research priorities. This research serves commercial and entrepreneurial needs and other important goals such as the pursuit of new knowledge and education. Since 2011, the ISS National Lab has stewarded more than 200 ISS research projects, ranging from developing new drug therapies, to monitoring tropical cyclones, to improving equipment for first-responders, to producing unique fiber-optics materials in space. Working together with NASA, the ISS National Lab aims to advance the nation’s leadership in commercial space, pursue groundbreaking science not possible on Earth, and leverage the space station to inspire the next generation. Prior to the ISS National Lab model, NASA traditionally funded all aspects of ISS research, whether it was research needed to further exploration, or discovery-based space research that expanded upon its scientific agenda. As the ISS evolved into a National Laboratory, the ISS National Lab has increased the diversity of users by accelerating utilization of the ISS as an innovation platform for a wide variety of partners. These include Fortune 500 organizations, small businesses, educational institutions, philanthropic and research foundations, federal and state government agencies, and other thought leaders in pursuit of groundbreaking technology and innovation who are interested in leveraging microgravity to solve complex research problems on Earth. The ISS National Lab plays a role in not only attracting a diverse set of users, including private companies, to utilize the ISS, but also in engaging the private sector through various research and cost-sharing arrangements. Sponsored Programs – Accelerating Third-Party Funding for Space Research The ISS National Lab has developed a successful Sponsored Program model that attracts third-party funding from private industry and other government agencies to solve big problems or address target challenges. These programs translate into projects on the ISS National Lab. The Sponsored Program model enables an organization to ask new questions and explore key variables, using the ISS National Lab environment as a tool in their innovation portfolio. In return, the organization creates opportunities for targeted research and development projects and STEM education projects or fosters novel ideas of startup companies. Fortune 500 companies, government agencies, and regional incubators have successfully used the ISS National Lab Sponsored Program model. This unique research and development model is flexible to meet the needs and budget of a partnering organization. Successful Sponsored Programs include Boeing Mass Challenge, Massachusetts Life Sciences Center, National Science Foundation (NSF) fluid dynamics and combustion Sponsored Program, and the National Institutes of Health (NIH) National Center for Advancing Translational Sciences (NCATS) organ-on-chip technologies Sponsored Program, totaling more than $20 million in third-party funding over the last two years. Additional Sponsored Programs totaling close to $5 million in 2017 with Fortune 500 organizations are imminent and will target major challenges to humankind as well as STEM education initiatives.

#### Creates competitive markets and has the net benefit of increasing the amount of research we can do

**ISS National Lab** [International Space Station National Laboratory – Center for the Advancement of Science in Space, “Research on the ISS, No Date, <https://www.issnationallab.org/research-on-the-iss/public-private-partnerships-in-space/>] //neth

Commercial Services Providers – A Competitive Marketplace for Space Services As the demand for space research and development projects increases, the supply of access to space and research and development facilities will need to be augmented. In space, private-sector commercial research and development facility operators are on the forefront of a new era of space research on the ISS and future space platforms. These organizations operate their facilities internally and externally on the ISS. They provide users with more choices to address unique research needs and are the pathfinders for a marketplace in low Earth orbit. Many of these companies have used their own resources to invest in in-orbit research and development facilities, reducing the risk for the federal sector to develop these facilities and services. In its first five years, the ISS National Lab has supported growth in the number of these research and development, materials testing, molecular biology, and tissue culture. Companies are exploring how these capabilities might transition onto future low Earth orbit platforms, from free-flying spacecraft to expandable modules. Through support of such companies, the ISS National Lab and NASA are enabling the International Space Station National Laboratory to serve as an incubator for the low Earth orbit market and U.S. private sector spaceflight interests, and are using public-private partnership funding models to share the risk and benefits of these emerging human space flight activities.

#### Hence, in order to best uphold my value criterion of maximizing expected well-being, I negate.

Responses

MAD

**SA 22** https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/will-mutual-assured-destruction-continue-to-deter-nuclear-war/

**A deterrence strategy like MAD is not a long-term sustainable solution because of escalation, accidents and crazies**, and efforts have been made over the past two decades to reduce the world's stockpiles, from a peak of around 70,000 in 1986 to about 17,300 today, only 4,200 of which are operationally active nuclear warheads**.With the ongoing terrorist threat and the lack of trust between nuclear nations (Russia comes to mind), nuclear zero is not yet in the cards.**

### Otherization

#### Creation of a “common enemy” and otherization of those who are unfamiliar creates justifications for securitizing

**Chernus, no date** [Ira Chernus, Professor of Religious Studies at University of Colorado – Boulder, “Fighting Terror in the National Insecurity State, no date, <https://spot.colorado.edu/~chernus/WaronTerrorismEssays/FightingTerror.htm>] //neth

Every war needs a good story. No one will go out to kill or to be killed without a persuasive story to explain why the bloodshed and sacrifice are necessary. The story need not be true, of course. War stories are rarely more than half-true; in storytelling as in war, truth is the first casualty. The story simply has to be satisfying. Why one story satisfies, while others do not, is the question at the heart of every war. On September 11, 2001, most Americans wanted to hear the story of World War II. Pearl Harbor had come again, and the fight was on. In this corner: the waving flags, the crowds singing "America the Beautiful," the heroic young people vowing to go when ordered. In that corner: the sneer of bin Ladin on every newsstand, the gas masks and antidote kits, the universal lament: "I no longer feel safe in my own homeland." Only Muslims were surprised when George W. Bush declared a new crusade to rid the world of the evildoers. Nine days later, in his major address to Congress and the nation, Bush narrated the official story of the war on terrorism. Although he spoke of "a new kind of war," it looked a lot like World War II: Al Qaeda’s "goal is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.¼ They follow in the path of fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism¼ Freedom itself is under attack.¼ This is civilization's fight." The evil was easy to explain: "Americans are asking ‘Why do they hate us?’ They hate our freedoms." Bush offered no evidence to back up this explanation for the attacks. But it hardly mattered, since few Americans were looking for evidence. It seemed self-evident that, now as in the past, civilization and freedom are beset by enemies. If anyone cares to know why they hate us, evidence is easy enough to find. Osama bin Laden, for one, has been telling the U.S. for years why he hates us. He hates U.S. policies that dominate and oppress Muslims. Above all, he hates U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, Islam’s holiest land. Secondarily, he hates U.S. bombing and sanctions in Iraq, and (recently, at least) U.S. support for Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory. But all this has no place in the official story. In the peace movement’s alternative story, bin Laden’s words matter. There is no excuse for the murder of thousands, that story goes. The murderers must be condemned. Still, their complaints have some validity. Unless we listen to those complaints, more deaths are likely. If we simply strike back, without reconsidering the policies that caused the problem, we only insure that more innocents, including many Americans, will die. Two very different stories are available. One offers evidence. The other asks for none, because it needs none. Why is the official story, based on no evidence, so much more popular? Some of the reasons are obvious. The official story puts no responsibility on the U.S. It assumes the U.S. is wholly innocent. So it asks for no self-criticism, much less any change in policies. Moreover, since the official story invokes no facts to support its claim, it can not be falsified, or even disputed. So it puts America’s righteousness beyond dispute. The world is divided clearly between absolute good and absolute evil. And that requires an inhuman enemy, driven to world conquest out of irrational, inexplicable, implacable evil¾ just like the Nazis of World War II. If this was Pearl Harbor, Bush would be FDR, demanding unconditional surrender, waging apocalyptic war to purify the world. The flirtation with Armageddon was surprisingly brief, however. By the time Bush pronounced the official story, his administration was already backing away from the idea of destroying terrorism forever. Now terrorism would merely be brought under control, contained at an acceptable level. World War II was no longer the operative story. Its apocalyptic rhetoric and imagery remained. But they took on new meaning because, as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld acknowledged, the new war "undoubtedly will prove to be a lot more like a cold war than a hot war.'' The American public, by and large, accepted this change without blinking an eye. So the power of the official story does not lie merely in its echoes of World War II. There is something about the cold war story that makes it just as satisfying as the "good war" story¾ or even more satisfying. Certainly the cold war, as much as World War II, offered the clarity of absolute moral dualism. Since the end of the cold war, many commentators have bemoaned the loss of a single paradigm that could unify U.S. foreign policy and the U.S. public. When Bush’s speechwriters had him say, "We have found our mission and our moment," they were surely hoping to unite the nation again behind a seemingly clear but open-ended, ongoing mission. No doubt they were also thinking of Harry Truman announcing the cold war, in his Truman Doctrine speech of 1947. They hoped to depict Bush not only as the new FDR, but also as the new Truman: a president widely perceived as weak, overcoming that perception by launching a multi-decade crusade to save global freedom from an insidious international threat. This is the kind of war Bush’s advisors know best: dividing the whole world into friends and enemies of freedom, with no neutrals allowed, because (in Bush’s words) "we know that God is not neutral"’; supporting police states as "friends of freedom"’; expanding federal powers and military budgets; restricting civil liberties; pursuing demons, abroad and at home, over decades. Once again, the enemy is personified by demonizing individual leaders. Just as Stalin gave way to Mao, Ho, and Castro, so bin Ladin will give way to as-yet-unknown others. And once again, as in the era of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the price of unity is still suspicion of our neighbors (upwards of eight million of whom are Muslim).

### “axis of evil”

#### Representations of an “axis of evil” serve as justifications for the continued war on terror

**Yongtao 2010** [Liu Yongtao, Center for American Studies, Fudan University, China /ITESM. Campus Guadalajara, Mexico, Discourse, Meanings and IR Studies: Taking the Rhetoric of "Axis of Evil" As a Case, February 24, 2010, <http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1870-35692010000100005>] //neth

On January 29, 2002, American president George W. Bush went to Capitol Hill to deliver his first State of the Union Address. The main content of the address is about the U.S.-led anti-terrorist war after 9/11. Even U.S. domestic issues were framed and interpreted within the context of the "war on terror". In that address, President Bush coined a term of "axis of evil". He asserted that there were some States backing terrorism and pursuing for weapons of mass destructions, and that especially North Korea, Iraq and Iran as well as their terrorist cliques constitute an "axis of evil" which are threatening peace and stability of the world.22 Soon the rhetoric of "axis of evil" was officially introduced into the system of post-9/11 U.S. foreign policy discourse. In order to extend the scope of the "war on terror" and launch a new era of global fighting against terrorism, the Bush administration deliberately designed the rhetoric of "axis of evil". It not only reflects the Bush administration's awareness of the complexities and difficulties of the global war on terrorism, but also heralds a signal of shifting U.S. national security strategy after 9/11. Despite seeking to avoid further violence by destroying preemptively enemies and rivals before they could obtain lethal weapons and means of launching attacks, the Bush administration employed the rhetoric of "axis of evil" and "did" following things.23 First, the rhetoric drew an exclusive boundary of binary images between an "evil world" and a "civilized world", and there was no room for a "gray zone" in between. Second, the rhetoric successfully allowed the U.S. to create new enemies in its extended scope of "war on terror". By doing so the U.S. could maintain its political identity as 'civilized' and its enemies as the "uncivilized" of the world. Third, the rhetoric helped "justify" and "legitimize" the U.S. government's acts of exerting physical power to tackle the "evil" States. U.S. presidents in modern eras have become increasingly aware that production of political identities of the 'Good'-and the 'Evil' in IR can help construct conflicting values between the U.S. and the States it does not like, and thus it is easier for the U.S. government to unify domestic public opinions and mobilize ready-for-war resources. It is believed by most American people that the 'evil' as God's archenemy must be confronted and eradicated. However, the things that were done through discourse by the Bush administration faced challenges. First, there are doubts about whether the existence of an 'axis of evil' in world politics today is a reality. North Korea in Northeast Asia is culturally and ideologically distant from Iran and Iraq in Middle East, and has no direct link with them in this sense. Moreover, Iran and Iraq were mutually hostile and waged a cruel and tragic war each other for eight years in the 1980s. The allegation of the two Arabian States' connection with terrorist Al-Qaeda was also under question. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was a "secular" leader and imposed harsh rules and measures on religious issues at home, the harshness causing relationships between Iraq and terrorist Al-Qaeda to be "tense and antagonistic". Iran, labeled by the U.S. as a key supporter of Islamic terrorism, identifies the majority of its people as Shiites, who are fundamentally different from Taliban and Al-Qaeda whose members and followers are mainly Sunnites. So a linkage between Iran and Al-Qaeda is ethnically not quite "probable".24If there is some similarity among these three States —North Korea, Iran and Iraq— it is that they are all enlisted by the United States as 'States supporting terrorism', and they share strong anti-U.S. sentiments by complaining about its hegemonism in the world. Second, although North Korea, Iran and Iraq are all "rogue" States in the eyes of the United States, they are not in serious opposition to U.S. appealing for a global war against terrorism. North Korean government issued an announcement of its anti-terrorist position in the wake of 9/11 and signed an international agreement of not supporting terrorism. In Iran, its president and many other groups of people also denounced the 9/11 attacks and expressed sympathy for the victims of American people. Moreover, the Iranian government unexpectedly backed U.S. military campaigns in Afghanistan and arrested some Al-Qaeda members and even authorized "American search-and-rescue operations on its soil".25 Iraq was probably the only Muslim country that did not denounce the 9/11 attacks, but there was not clear evidence to show that Iraqi regime had direct contacts with terrorist Al-Qaeda. Third, in the name of crusading "evil" forces, the United States launched a war against Iraq as a sovereign State, and is ethically and morally unacceptable in the world. Putting North Korea, Iran and Iraq together by coining the term of "axis of evil" has worsened the politics of insecurity in both Northeast Asia and Middle East, and dragged post-9/11 U.S. foreign and security policy into difficult positions in these two regions. In Northeast Asia, for instance, North Korea was implementing gradually the U.S.-North Korea Framework Agreement signed in 1994 and was expected to reduce and finally cease its nuclear weapon program. The shift of U.S. foreign policy discourse and practice towards North Korean during the Bush administration triggered further insecurity and instability on the Korean peninsula, which turns out to be one of the most difficult and dangerous issues in the first decade of the 21st century world politics. In Middle East, Iraq's nuclear program had been severely damaged during the first Gulf War in 1991 and was under watchful eyes and close supervisions of the United Nations. However, the Bush administration was determined to launch a military invasion of Iraq in 2003, causing untold numbers of people falling into the victims of the unwanted war and the occupation of the country. As to Iran, as mentioned above, shortly after 9/11 Iran did cooperate with U.S. military maneuvers in Afghanistan. But the rhetoric of "axis of evil" ruined the chance for further improvement of the bilateral relations between the two countries and in the end damaged Iran's domestic politics agenda as well. Upon entering the 21st century, the whole world found itself in a scenario with relative peace and stability. The United States was still enjoying its status of sole superpower in a post-cold war era. Despite his alleged inexperience in international affairs, George W. Bush was easily elected as U.S. president in 2001 albeit with some controversy. However, in the time when Bush was re-elected in 2004, the whole world, the United States and Bush himself had changed fundamentally. The politics of (in)security, especially in Middle East and Northeast Asia, turned to be more fragile and risky. In the United States, due to neoconservative policies in launching wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq and hawkish positions towards North Korea nuclear issue, many American people felt again that they themselves, their families, and their country were in a less secured environment. Although the U.S. was still regarded as the most powerful in the world, it became increasingly aware that a superpower had both advantages of pursuing its own (inter)national interests and disadvantages of confronting constant challenges and risks. As to Bush himself, he began to identify himself as a "war time president" during the 2004 presidential campaign. Apparently, by employing the rhetoric of "axis of evil" to extend the scope of "war on terror", the United States made new enemies and triggered its renewed hostilities and conflicts with the concerned States. Actually, when the United States put a lexical label on North Korea, Iran and Iraq, these States would interpret its meaning and respond to it negatively and operatively, for the rhetoric of "axis of evil" was understood as constituting part of American foreign and security policy ideology and practice after 9/11. The fact that the Bush administration later cast away the rhetoric from U.S. foreign and security policy discourse indicates that American government finally realized that such kind of the term had caused more troubles and dilemmas than security.