# 1NC- round 5 – cal

## 1

#### CP Text: The appropriation of outer space by private entities in the People’s Republic of China is unjust except for Space Mining

#### The People's republic of China

- de-militarizing its civilian, military, and commercial space industry.

- dismantling and removing ASAT weapons.

- dismantling the People’s Liberation Army.

- ending China-Russian cooperation in Outer Space.

- banning cooperation attempts with Russia on military matters

- adopting a policy of No First Use

#### Is just the Counterplan solves the Case – gets rid of space militarization

#### It competes “appropriation” includes “extraction of resources.” Comprehensive analysis

Leon 18 [Amanda, JD from UVA] “Mining for Meaning: An Examination of the Legality of Property Rights in Space Resources” Vol. 104:497, Virginia Law Review, <https://www.capdale.com/files/24323_leon_final_note.pdf>, 2018 RE

Employing the treaty interpretation tools of ordinary meaning, preparatory materials, historical context, state practice, and state interpretation offers many possible understandings of the obligations imparted by Articles I and II of the OST. For example, while the ordinary meaning of “use” could reasonably include the exploitation of materials, the meeting summaries of the Fifth Session of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space Legal Sub-Committee make clear that no consensus was ever reached regarding whether “use” includes large-scale exploitation of space resources, let alone fee-simple ownership and the ability to sell commercially. State practice dealing with extraterrestrial samples also sheds little light on the confusion, as the examples cited all deal instead with scientific samples of limited quantity. The international community’s rejection of the Moon Agreement also fails to bring clarity. While on the one hand the rejection could be read as a rejection of the idea that the OST prohibits private property rights, it could also be read as a rejection of the common heritage of mankind doctrine. Finally, the prospect of private venture space mining and extraterrestrial resource extraction remained far off and futuristic at the time of the Treaty’s negotiation, making drawing legal conclusions about the legality of these revolutionary activities extremely difficult.

Overall, however, the Treaty’s structure and its purposes (preserving peace and avoiding international conflict in outer space) ultimately indicate that private property rights in space resources are prohibited by Article II’s non-appropriation principle, at least until future international delegation determines otherwise (like in the Antarctic). The Treaty’s structure confirms this interpretation. Article I lays down a general rule for activity in space. Subsequent articles of the Treaty then lay out more specific requirements of and qualifications to this general rule. Much like Article IV restricts the use of nuclear weapons in space, Article II restricts the use of space in ways that might result in potentially controversial property claims. Historically, claims to mineral rights have resulted in just as contentious conflict as those over sovereign lands. Treaty efforts to avoid conflicts in Antarctica and the high seas reflect similar sentiments. The Soviet Union’s representative even hinted at this structural relationship between Articles I and II during Treaty negotiations.232 In light of the imminent need to ease Cold War tensions, the potential for conflict over property, and the final structure of the Treaty, this Note concludes that the large-scale extraction of space resources is incompatible with the non-appropriation principle of Article II of the OST.233 As a result, the United States’ provision of property rights to its citizens to possess, own, transport, use, and sell space and asteroid resources extracted through the SREU Act contravenes its international obligations established by the OST.

The only potential SD they have is this REEs argument because not a single other piece of 1AC ev. even comes close to talking about mining but this scenario comes nowhere near to saying that china mining REEs is bad or would hurt the U.S. just that mining REMs is good which the CP

## 2

#### China’s Asteroid Mining efforts are light-years ahead of everyone else – now is key for Asteroid Mining. Successful Mining solves Warming through Green Transition.

Cohen 21 Ariel Cohen 10-26-2021 "China’s Space Mining Industry Is Prepping For Launch – But What About The US?" <https://www.forbes.com/sites/arielcohen/2021/10/26/chinas-space-mining-industry-is-prepping-for-launch--but-what-about-the-us/?sh=6b8bea862ae0> (I am a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council and the Founding Principal of International Market Analysis, a Washington, D.C.-based global risk advisory boutique.)//Elmer

Exploration of space-based natural resources are on the Chinese policy makers’ mind. The question is, what Joe Biden thinks? In April of this year, China’s Shenzen Origin Space Technology Co. Ltd. launched the NEO-1, the first commercial spacecraft dedicated to the mining of space resources – from asteroids to the lunar surface. Falling costs of space launches and spacecraft technology alongside existing infrastructure provides a unique opportunity to explore extraterrestrial resource extraction. Current technologies are equipped to analyze and categorize asteroids within our solar system with a limited degree of certainty. One of the accompanying payloads to the NEO-1 was the Yuanwang-1, or “little hubble” satellite, which searches the stars for possible asteroid mining targets. The NEO-1 launch marks another milestone in private satellite development, adding a new player to space based companies which include Japan’s Astroscale. Private asteroid identification via the Sentinel Space Telescope was supported by NASA until 2015. As private investment in space grows, the end goal is to be capable of harvesting resources to bring to Earth. “Through the development and launch of the spacecraft, Origin Space is able to carry out low-Earth orbit space junk cleanup and prototype technology verification for space resource acquisition, and at the same time demonstrate future asteroid defense related technologies.” In the end, it will come down to progressively lowering the cost of launched unit of weight and booster rocket reliability – before fundamentally new engines may drive the launch costs even further down. The April launch demonstrates that China is already succeeding while the West is spinning its wheels. The much touted Planetary Resources and Deep Space Industries (DSI) DSI -1% were supposed to be the vanguard of extra-terrestrial resource acquisition with major backers including Google’s GOOG -1.4% Larry Page. But both have since been acquired, the former by block chain company ConsenSys and the latter by Bradford Space, neither of which are prioritizing asteroid mining. This is too bad, given that that supply chain crunches here on Earth – coupled with the global green energy transition – are spiking demand for strategic minerals that are increasingly hard to come by on our environmentally stressed planet. And here China currently holds a monopoly on rare earth element (REE) extraction and processing to the tune of 90%. REE’s 17 minerals essential for modern computing and manufacturing technologies for everything from solar panels to semi-conductors. Resource-hungry China also has major involvement in global critical mineral supply chains, which include cobalt, tungsten, and lithium. As I’ve written before, the Chinese hold of upstream and downstream markets is staggering. Possessing 30% of the global mined ore, 80% of the global processing facilities, and an ever increasing list of high dollar investments around the world, China boasts over $36 billion invested in mining projects in Africa alone. Beijing’s space program clearly indicates that the Chinese would also like to tighten their grip on space-based resources as well. According to research, it is estimated that a small asteroid roughly 200 meters in length that is rich in platinum could be worth up to $300 million. Merrill Lynch predicts the space industry — including extraterrestrial mining industry – to value $2.7 trillion in the next three decades. REEs are fairly common in the solar system, but to what degree remains unknown. The most sought after are M-type asteroids which are mostly metal and hundreds of cubic meters. While these are not the most common, the 27,115 Near Earth asteroids are bound to contain a few. This – and military applications – are no doubt a driving factor of China’s ever increasing space ambitions.

#### Asteroid mining solves water access – only NEOs are sufficiently proximate and hydrated – independently, storing launch fuel on asteroids reduces space debris – turns case

Tillman 19 [(Nola Taylor, has been published in Astronomy, Sky & Telescope, Scientific American, New Scientist, Science News (AAS), Space.com, and Astrobiology magazine, BA in Astrophysics) “Tons of Water in Asteroids Could Fuel Satellites, Space Exploration,” Space, 9/29/2019] JL

When it comes to mining space for water, the best target may not be the moon: Entrepreneurs' richest options are likely to be asteroids that are larger and closer to Earth.

A recent study suggested that roughly 1,000 water-rich, or hydrated, asteroids near our planet are easier to reach than the lunar surface is. While most of these space rocks are only a few feet in size, more than 25 of them should be large enough to each provide significant water. Altogether, the water locked in these asteroids should be enough to fill somewhere around 320,000 Olympics-size swimming pools — significantly more than the amount of water locked up at the lunar poles, the new research suggested.

Because asteroids are small, they have less gravity than Earth or the moon do, which makes them easier destinations to land on and lift off from. If engineers can figure out how to mine water from these space rocks, they could produce a source of ready fuel in space that would allow spacecraft designers to build refuelable models for the next generation of satellites. Asteroid mining could also fuel human exploration, saving the expense of launching fuel from Earth. In both cases, would-be space-rock miners will need to figure out how to free the water trapped in hydrated minerals on these asteroids.

"Most of the hydrated material in the near-Earth population is contained in the largest few hydrated objects," Andrew Rivkin, an asteroid researcher at Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Research Laboratory in Maryland, told Space.com. Rivkin is the lead author on the paper, which estimated that near Earth asteroids could contain more easily accessible water than the lunar poles.

According to the United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs, more than 5,200 of the objects launched into space are still in orbit today. While some continue to function, the bulk of them buzz uselessly over our heads every day. They carry fuel on board, and when they run out, they are either lowered into destructive orbits or left to become space junk, useless debris with the potential to cause enormous problems for working satellites. Refueling satellites in space could change that model, replacing it with long-lived, productive orbiters.

"It's easier to bring fuel from asteroids to geosynchronous orbit than from the surface of the Earth," Rivkin said. "If such a supply line could be established, it could make asteroid mining very profitable."

Hunting for space water from the surface of the Earth is challenging because the planet's atmosphere blocks the wavelength of light where water can be observed. The asteroid warming as it draws closer to the sun can also complicate measurements.

Instead, Rivkin and his colleagues turned to a class of space rocks called Ch asteroids. Although these asteroids don't directly exhibit a watery fingerprint, they carry the telltale signal of oxidized iron seen only on asteroids with signatures of water-rich minerals, which means the authors felt confident assuming that all Ch asteroids carry this rocky water.

Based on meteorite falls, a previous study estimated that Ch asteroids could make up nearly 10% of the near-Earth objects (NEOs). With this information, the researchers determined that there are between 26 and 80 such objects that are hydrated and larger than 0.62 miles (1 km) across.

Right now, only three NEOs have been classified as Ch asteroids, although others have been spotted in the asteroid belt. Most NEOs are discovered and observed at wavelengths too short to reveal the iron band that marks the class. Carbon-rich asteroids, which include Ch asteroids and other flavors, are also darker than the more common stony asteroids, making them more challenging to observe.

Although Ch asteroids definitely contain water-rich minerals, that doesn’t necessarily mean that they will always be the best bet for space mining. It comes down to risk. Would an asteroid-mining company rather visit a smaller asteroid that definitely has a moderate amount of water, or a larger one that could yield a larger payday but could also come up dry?

"Whether getting sure things with no false positives, like the Ch asteroids, is more important or if a greater range of possibilities is acceptable with the understanding that some asteroids will be duds is something the miners will have to decide," Rivkin said.

In addition to estimating the number of large, water-rich asteroids might be available, the study also found that as many as 1,050 smaller objects, roughly 300 feet (100 meters) across, may also linger near Earth. Their small bulk will make them easier to mine because their low gravity will require less fuel to escape from, but they will produce less water overall, and Rivkin expects that the handful of larger space rocks will be the first targets.

"It seems likely that the plan for these companies will be to find the largest accessible asteroid with mineable material with the expectation that it will be more cost-effective than chasing down a large number of smaller objects," Rivkin said. "How 'accessible' and 'mineable material' and 'cost-effective' are defined by each company is to be seen."

#### Inevitable water shortages cause hydro-political conflict escalation which goes nuclear

Jamail 19 [(Dahr, writes for *Truthout* about climate change issues, recipient of the 2008 Martha Gellhorn Prize for Journalism, frequent guest on *Democracy Now!*) “The World Is on the Brink of Widespread Water Wars,” Truth Out, 2/11/2019] JL

But even more conservative organizations have been sounding the alarm. “Water insecurity could multiply the risk of conflict,” warns one of the World Bank’s reports on the issue. “Food price spikes caused by droughts can inflame latent conflicts and drive migration. Where economic growth is impacted by rainfall, episodes of droughts and floods have generated waves of migration and spikes in violence within countries.”

Meanwhile, a study published in the journal Global Environmental Change, looked at how “hydro-political issues” — including tensions and potential conflicts — could play out in countries expected to experience water shortages coupled with high populations and pre-existing geopolitical tensions.

The study warned that these factors could combine to increase the likelihood of water-related tensions — potentially escalating into armed conflict in cross-boundary river basins in places around the world by 74.9 to 95 percent. This means that in some places conflict is practically guaranteed.

These areas include regions situated around primary rivers in Asia and North Africa. Noted rivers include the Tigris and Euphrates, the Indus, the Nile, and the Ganges-Brahmaputra.

Consider the fact that 11 countries share the Nile River basin: Egypt, Burundi, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Sudan, South Sudan, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. All told, more than 300 million people already live in these countries, — a number that is projected to double in the coming decades, while the amount of available water will continue to shrink due to climate change.

For those in the US thinking these potential conflicts will only occur in distant lands — think again. The study also warned of a very high chance of these “hydro-political interactions” in portions of the southwestern US and northern Mexico, around the Colorado River.

Potential tensions are particularly worrisome in India and Pakistan, which are already rivals when it comes to water resources. For now, these two countries have an agreement, albeit a strained one, over the Indus River and the sharing of its water, by way of the 1960 Indus Water Treaty.

However, water claims have been central to their ongoing, burning dispute over the Kashmir region, a flashpoint area there for more than 60 years and counting.

The aforementioned treaty is now more strained than ever, as Pakistan accuses India of limiting its water supply and violating the treaty by placing dams over various rivers that flow from Kashmir into Pakistan.

In fact, a 2018 report from the International Monetary Fund ranked Pakistan third among countries facing severe water shortages. This is largely due to the rapid melting of glaciers in the Himalaya that are the source of much of the water for the Indus.

To provide an idea of how quickly water resources are diminishing in both countries, statistics from Pakistan’s Islamabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry from 2018 show that water availability (per capita in cubic meters per year) shrank from 5,260 in 1951, to 940 in 2015, and are projected to shrink to 860 by just 2025.

In India, the crisis is hardly better. According to that country’s Ministry of Statistics (2016) and the Indian Ministry of Water Resources (2010), the per capita available water in cubic meters per year was 5,177 in 1951, and 1,474 in 2015, and is projected to shrink to 1,341 in 2025.

Both of these countries are nuclear powers. Given the dire projections of water availability as climate change progresses, nightmare scenarios of water wars that could spark nuclear exchanges are now becoming possible.

## 3

#### China’s economy is on the brink.

Lopez 21 Linette Lopez 10-24-2021 "If China's economy keeps stumbling, it won't just take down Beijing - the whoel world will collapse with it" <https://archive.md/M4qjY#selection-2241.0-2250.1> (Linette is the senior finance correspondent at Business Insider, writing a combination of opinions and analysis. She joined BI in the summer of 2011 after graduating from Columbia University's School of Journalism.)//Elmer

**China's economy** — the 2nd-largest in the world — **is teetering on the brink of disaster**. Since this spring, Beijing has **canceled** initial **public offerings**, **fined tech companies** billions for antitrust violations, forcibly **shut down** China's entire for-profit **education industry**, and **sent CEOs running** for the exits to avoid the government's ire. Even more dire, the Chinese megadeveloper Evergrande recently started missing payments on its more than $300 billion in debt, shaking global markets. The convulsions have woken the world up to a startling new possibility — that Beijing may be willing to allow some of its private corporate behemoths to collapse in a bid to reshape the economic model that made China a superpower. The **upheaval**, spanning multiple industries and vast swaths of the country, **is** the result of one giant issue: **China's inability to** **borrow or buy** its **way out of its current economic crisis**. **For decades**, the country **relied on cheap labor** and eye-popping amounts of debt, handed out by government-owned banks, to fuel economic growth — pouring money into massive apartment developments, factories, bridges, and other projects at lightning speed. **Now** the **country** **needs people to actually use**, **and pay for**, **everything that's been built**. But the **bulk of China's population lacks** the **income needed to shift the economy** from one driven by state investments to one sustained by consumer spending.

#### Robust Chinese Space Industry key to Economic rejuvenation.

Goswami 19 Namrata Goswami 2019 "What China Wants in Outer Space" <https://www.thecairoreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/cr33-global-forum.pdf> (Dr. Namrata Goswami is an independent scholar on space policy, great power politics, and ethnic conflicts. She was subject matter expert in international affairs with the Futures Laboratory, Alabama, U.S., and guest lecturer, India Today Class, Emory University. After earning her Ph.D. in international relations from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, she worked as research fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. She has been a visiting fellow at Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway; La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia; and University of Heidelberg, Germany.)//Elmer

Beijing has made it clear that its ambitions for China’s space program are an integral part of its long-term vision for national rejuvenation. In his 2017 address to the Chinese Communist Party’s nineteenth National Congress, President Xi Jinping said that the Chinese space program will play a critical role in elevating the country to a “fully developed, rich, and powerful nation” by 2049—the year the People’s Republic of China celebrates its one-hundredth anniversary. For China, investing in outer space goes beyond simply achieving prestige and reputation—as opposed to the “flags and footprints”-based moon race between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Instead, China aims to establish a permanent space presence, which would offer long-term economic benefits. The global space economy today is worth $350 billion, but is predicted to grow to $2.7 trillion by 2040. The economic returns from future mining of space-based resources like titanium, platinum, water-ice, thorium, and iron-ore far exceed the trillion-dollar mark. Consequently, the Chinese are working to establish a base on the moon with the industrial capacity to build spacecrafts using lunar resources. This would drastically reduce the cost of interplanetary travel. A lunar base would serve the distinctive purpose of providing a testing ground for human space settlement, and building capacity for China’s long-term space ambitions. Beijing’s Lunar Dreams Following the landing of Chang’e 4 (China’s fourth lunar exploration mission) on the far side of the moon on January 3, the China National Space Administration (CNSA) announced follow-on missions to augment the state’s space capacity. By this year’s end, China will launch Chang’e 5 to bring lunar samples back to Earth, followed by Chang’e 6 (2024) to bring samples specifically from the moon’s south pole. Chang’e 7 (2030) will survey the south pole’s composition and Chang’e 8 (2035) will test key technologies like 3D printing to lay the groundwork for the construction of a research station. The moon not only strengthens China’s space-faring capacities but also has resources like iron-ore and water that can be utilized for space-based manufacturing. Meanwhile, a lunar base offers some short-term strategic dominance in cislunar space (the area between the Earth and the moon). Another of China’s major space ambitions is its investment in SpaceBased Solar Power (SBSP) to build a space solar station thirty-six thousand kilometers above Earth. Some Chinese leaders stress that dwindling fossil fuel resources on Earth will make solar energy the most important future energy source. China started construction on the world’s first SBSP experimental plant in Chongqing earlier this year. If successful, the technology would allow China to fully power its lunar base and augment space mining operations. Space mining involves developing technologies to harvest resources from asteroids and the moon—a highly lucrative prospect. For instance, a single asteroid called 2011 UW158, which passed by Earth in 2015, was estimated to contain 5 trillion dollars’ worth of platinum. While still roughly a decade off, space mining is fast becoming a reality. Countries like the United States and Luxembourg have already passed legislation enabling private companies to begin exploration and operations.

#### Chinese Economic Decline spills-over globally.

Rogoff 18 Kennetth Rogoff 11-7-2018 "The Global Impact of a Chinese Recession" <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/global-impact-of-chinese-recession-by-kenneth-rogoff-2018-11?barrier=accesspaylog> (Professor of Economics and Public Policy at Harvard University and recipient of the 2011 Deutsche Bank Prize in Financial Economics, was the chief economist of the International Monetary Fund from 2001 to 2003.)//Elmer

Most economic forecasts suggest that a recession in China will hurt everyone, but that the pain would be more regionally confined than would be the case for a deep recession in the United States. Unfortunately, that may be wishful thinking. CAMBRIDGE – When China finally has its inevitable growth recession – which will almost surely be amplified by a financial crisis, given the economy’s massive leverage – how will the rest of world be affected? With US President Donald Trump’s trade war hitting China just as growth was already slowing, this is no idle question. Typical estimates, for example those embodied in the International Monetary Fund’s assessments of country risk, suggest that an economic slowdown in China will hurt everyone. But the acute pain, according to the IMF, will be more regionally concentrated and confined than would be the case for a deep recession in the United States. Unfortunately, this might be wishful thinking. First, the effect on international capital markets could be vastly greater than Chinese capital market linkages would suggest. However jittery global investors may be about prospects for profit growth, a hit to Chinese growth would make things a lot worse. Although it is true that the US is still by far the biggest importer of final consumption goods (a large share of Chinese manufacturing imports are intermediate goods that end up being embodied in exports to the US and Europe), foreign firms nonetheless still enjoy huge profits on sales in China. Investors today are also concerned about rising interest rates, which not only put a damper on consumption and investment, but also reduce the market value of companies (particularly tech firms) whose valuations depend heavily on profit growth far in the future. A Chinese recession could again make the situation worse. I appreciate the usual Keynesian thinking that if any economy anywhere slows, this lowers world aggregate demand, and therefore puts downward pressure on global interest rates. But modern thinking is more nuanced. High Asian saving rates over the past two decades have been a significant factor in the low overall level of real (inflation-adjusted) interest rates in both the United States and Europe, thanks to the fact that underdeveloped Asian capital markets simply cannot constructively absorb the surplus savings. Former US Federal Reserve chair Ben Bernanke famously characterized this much-studied phenomenon as a key component of the “global savings glut.” Thus, instead of leading to lower global real interest rates, a Chinese slowdown that spreads across Asia could paradoxically lead to higher interest rates elsewhere – especially if a second Asian financial crisis leads to a sharp draw-down of central bank reserves. Thus, for global capital markets, a Chinese recession could easily prove to be a double whammy. As bad as a slowdown in exports to China would be for many countries, a significant rise in global interest rates would be much worse. Eurozone leaders, particularly German Chancellor Angela Merkel, get less credit than they deserve for holding together the politically and economically fragile single currency against steep economic and political odds. But their task would have been well-nigh impossible but for the ultra-low global interest rates that have allowed politically paralyzed eurozone officials to skirt needed debt write-downs and restructurings in the periphery. When the advanced countries had their financial crisis a decade ago, emerging markets recovered relatively quickly, thanks to low debt levels and strong commodity prices. Today, however, debt levels have risen significantly, and a sharp rise in global real interest rates would almost certainly extend today’s brewing crises beyond the handful of countries (including Argentina and Turkey) that have already been hit. Nor is the US immune. For the moment, the US can finance its trillion-dollar deficits at relatively low cost. But the relatively short-term duration of its borrowing – under four years if one integrates the Treasury and Federal Reserve balance sheets – means that a rise in interest rates would soon cause debt service to crowd out needed expenditures in other areas. At the same time, Trump’s trade war also threatens to undermine the US economy’s dynamism. Its somewhat arbitrary and politically driven nature makes it at least as harmful to US growth as the regulations Trump has so proudly eliminated. Those who assumed that Trump’s stance on trade was mostly campaign bluster should be worried. The good news is that trade negotiations often seem intractable until the eleventh hour. The US and China could reach an agreement before Trump’s punitive tariffs go into effect on January 1. Such an agreement, one hopes, would reflect a maturing of China’s attitude toward intellectual property rights – akin to what occurred in the US during the late nineteenth century. (In America’s high growth years, US entrepreneurs often thought little of pilfering patented inventions from the United Kingdom.) A recession in China, amplified by a financial crisis, would constitute the third leg of the debt supercycle that began in the US in 2008 and moved to Europe in 2010. Up to this point, the Chinese authorities have done a remarkable job in postponing the inevitable slowdown. Unfortunately, when the downturn arrives, the world is likely to discover that China’s economy matters even more than most people thought.

#### Accelerating growth is key to outrun technological black balls---caps numerous existential hazards.

Aschenbrenner ’20 [Leopold; September 6; Research Fellow in Economics at the Forethought Foundation and Global Priorities Institute at the University of Oxford, B.A. from Columbia University; Global Priorities Institute, “Existential risk and growth,” no. 6]

Secondly, note that this existential risk Kuznets curve appears in the transition dynamics of the optimal allocation. Considering that existential risk mitigation is a global public good, it is unlikely resources are allocated to safety optimally in the real world. As such, this should not be taken to be a prediction of what a particular country with a particular set of institutions will do with regard to existential risk.

Nevertheless, there are a number of reasons why we might still be interested in the transition dynamics under the (impatient) optimal allocation. For one, since there are very long timescales involved here, it is very hard to know (and thus model) what government and societal institutions will evolve to deal with existential risk. However, the ideal these institutions will likely aim at is the optimal allocation. The optimal allocation might thus be a rough proxy for the real-world allocation.

Moreover, the (impatient) optimal allocation represents what I would call the “democratic possibilities frontier” or the “impatient public possibilities frontier.” Those who are principally concerned about the long-run future of humanity and advocate for a zero rate of pure time preference might want us to spend as much as possible on safety in order to avoid existential catastrophe and enable human flourishing millions of years into the future. Indeed, even in the Hamiltonian of the optimal allocation, the relative value of life ˜vt is a discounted term; the lower your discount rate ρ, the more you would want to spend on safety. However, the broader public is not so patient. As the empirical evidence cited earlier shows, people tend to have a (relatively large) positive rate of pure time preference; the public is impatient. Even perfectly designed institutions that take into account existential risk externalities will ultimately be constrained by the degree to which society actually cares about the future—they will be constrained by an impatient public. The existential risk Kuznets curve illustrates the implications of this impatience. On the one hand, this impatience results in a period of initially rising levels of risk. For example, this might mean that the arguably rising level of existential risk of the past century is not necessarily a market failure, but may well be part of the optimal path given positive pure time preference. On the other hand, rising standards of living lead even the most impatient public to start caring more about safety and averting an existential catastrophe. This leads workers and scientists to be shifted to the safety sector, eventually causing the hazard rate δ to exponentially decline. Even if people are impatient, if you make them well off enough, they will start caring about existential risk.

Seeing the arguably rising levels of existential risk in the past century, some might call for an end to economic growth. Yet this existential risk Kuznets curve indicates that stopping economic growth would be deleterious: it would simply freeze the hazard rate at a high level, leading to a fatal catastrophe sooner or later. Economic growth enables even an impatient public with a high rate of pure time preference to start caring about life, thus ultimately reducing risk and even leading to positive M ∞.

Some prominent thinkers have previously posited that humanity is passing through a unique period with an elevated risk of technological catastrophe. Sagan (1994) calls this the “time of perils.” Parfit (2011, p. 616), concurs:

We live during the hinge of history. Given the scientific and technological discoveries of the last two centuries, the world has never changed as fast. We shall soon have even greater powers to transform, not only our surroundings, but ourselves and our successors. If we act wisely in the next few centuries, humanity will survive its most dangerous and decisive period. Our descendants could, if necessary, go elsewhere, spreading through this galaxy.

This existential risk Kuznets curve provides theoretical evidence that grounds the intuition that we are living in a “time of perils.” We may be economically advanced enough to have created the means for our permanent destruction, but not economically advanced enough to care enough about decreasing this existential risk.

This “time of perils” has profound implications. For instance, those alive today who care about preserving the long-term future of humanity may have extraordinary altruistic leverage. By working to reduce existential risk now (increasing the resources dedicated to safety), they can reduce the area under the “hump” of the hazard rate δ. This in turn increases M∞, unlocking tremendous value. Moreover, since so few resources are dedicated to safety at the moment, there are likely very high marginal value opportunities available to work on safety. This is a unique situation. Suppose existential risk did not decline to zero exponentially: then M∞ = 0 regardless—the existential risk curve would never bend—so reducing risk now would not change the probability of a long and flourishing future of humanity. And if existential risk did not initially increase, it would never be such a substantial challenge and there wouldn’t be such high marginal value opportunities to work on reducing it.

## 4

#### Images of China as a threat are crafted by the military industrial complex and create a self-fulfilling prophecy

Pan 12—Chengxin Pan, Senior Lecturer in International Relations, Deakin University, Australia [*Knowledge, Desire and Power in Global Politics*, pg. 85-86]

With his known enemy, the lucky Inman is in good company. In many ways, the military-industrial complex finds itself in a similar situation, but its lucky star is the perceived certain threat of China. Without knowing this threat, the high-level military spending would be difficult to justify, and without that military spending, the political economy of fear could not function properly, nor could military Keynesianism continue to flourish. This is why Richard N. Haass, President of the Council on Foreign Relations and former Director of Policy Planning in the US State Department, observes that having survived decades of the Soviet challenge, containment might not be able to survive its own success.4 To the military-industrial complex, the absence of a threat/enemy constitutes an ultimate threat.¶ While the lack of an enemy—real or imagined—appears costly indeed for the discursive identity and institutional ‘survival’ of the militaryindustrial complex, I contend that having an enemy, even an imagined one, is by no means cost-free. In fact, in the case of China, it could be very costly in that the construction and treatment of China as a threat could result in China becoming one in reality. In other words, the cost lies in the fact that the ‘China threat’ paradigm could become self-fulfilling in practice.¶ A self-fulfilling prophecy, according to American sociologist Robert Merton, means that ‘a false definition of the situation which makes the originally false conception come true’.5 What is ‘false’ in hindsight or in the eyes of a bystander is frequently defined as real by the actor in question; and ‘if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences’.6¶ In international relations, fear, often based on ‘false’ images, can have precisely such self-fulfilling consequences. Thucydides, the author of a realist ‘great text’ History of the Peloponnesian War, noted a self-fulfilling prophecy of fear in interstate politics. In his account for the war’s outbreak, Thucydides suggested that ‘What made war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta’.7 More than two millennia later, another realist scholar-practitioner, George Kennan ascribed the origin of the Cold War to the paranoid ideology of the Soviet Union.8¶ If so, the fear manifested in the ‘China threat’ paradigm could also become confirmed in reality. Two interrelated processes are at play here. First, the ‘China threat’ paradigm, taken as objective truth, would imply the need for containing China in practice. Second, such practice, given the logic of mutual responsiveness, is more likely than not to be mirrored back by China in either symmetric or asymmetric ways. As the latter’s hardline mimicry apparently ‘confirms’ the initial fear of the China threat, what we are witnessing is a classic case of self-fulfilling prophecy.

#### Colonial desire produces knowledge of China and provides a moral basis for conquest – that means the kritik is a prior question because it underpins how knowledge is produced under the guise of objectivity

Young Chul Cho, The School of International Studies, Chonbuk National University, and Yih-Jye Hwang, Leiden University College, Leiden University, ’19, “Mainstream IR Theoretical Perspectives and Rising China Vis-À-Vis the West: The Logic of Conquest, Conversion and Socialisation,” Published: April 3, 2019, Journal of Chinese Political Science (2020) 25:175–198, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-019-09620-3>

Embedded Orientalism in Mainstream IR

Mainstream IR scholarship, under the cloak of objective scientific knowledge production, thus reflects the identity and interests of the West, specifically the Anglo- American world, by encouraging its scholars to exclude non-Western systems of thought and using its theoretical perspectives to justify and perpetuate Western hegemony ([42, 95]: 167–83). Our analysis of the Self/Other relations in each mainstream IR perspective suggests that realist, liberalist, and constructivist perspectives are ‘problem-solving’ approaches, as opposed to critical approaches ([18]: 204–54). To paraphrase Cox’s [18] renowned statement — ‘Theory is always for someone and for some purpose’ — mainstream IR theoretical perspectives are always for great, hegemonic powers and for the purpose of securing an international system designed for the security and interests of those great hegemonic powers. In international affairs, the Self is the hegemon (often the West), and the Other is the subordinate (often the Rest). The Self is the proactive subject, and the Other is a mere object to be controlled by the Self for the Other’s own good. The Other’s subjectivity is often missing or ignored. Normatively and meta-theoretically, this way of thinking is tied to logocentrism, ‘which at once differentiates one term from another, prefers one to the other, and arranges them hierarchically, displacing the subordinate term beyond the boundary of what is significant and desirable in context’ ([36]: xvi). From Plato through to the present time, logocentrism has been the dominant mode of producing meaning in Western culture. In the context of Jacques Derrida, Delanty [21] says that logocentrism is ethnocentric because it privileges Western thought over all other forms of thought and makes Western reason the sole criterion for ‘correct and universal’ knowledge. It is easily discernible that logocentrism is theoretically akin to Said’s [93] notion of Orientalism, which notices the Orient as the most recurring image of the Other, the West’s ‘contrasting image, idea, personality, and experience’ that helps to define what the ‘West’ is. In critical IR literature on China, Chengxin Pan’s study on Western representations of China’s rise is particularly illuminating. In Knowledge, Desire, and Power in Global Politics [82], Pan first provocatively asserts that ‘China watching rarely watches itself’. He argues that although it is commonly held as ‘objective truth’, Western knowledge of China’s rise is in fact less about ‘China’; rather, it is a reflection of ‘a certain Western self-imagination and its quest for certainty and identity’ ([82]: viii). Pan then persuasively demonstrates the ways in which two prominent Western ‘paradigms’ – namely: China the ‘threat’ and China the ‘opportunity’ – have steered and shaped Western understandings of China, determining ‘certain acceptable ways of making sense of China and facilitate the production of knowledge along those lines’ ([82]: 22). To him, these two paradigms are produced by a longstanding ‘colonial desire’ of the West towards China. Whereas ‘the ‘China threat’ paradigm bears the stamp of fears, the ‘China opportunity’ paradigm can be best seen as manifestations of modern fantasies’ ([82]: 16). In addition, the presumed superiority of the West over its Others suggests that only one single (Western) path leads to the end form of human civilisation or history [31], that is, the one represented by Western civilisation. Western civilisation is thus understood to be not only different from its Eastern counterpart, but far superior to it. Western-centrism in this sense is prescriptively built upon the assumption that the totality of Western culture is universal. External geographical or cultural differences thus come to be represented as Others that could constitute a threat to Western universality. In such a Manichaean world of morality, the Self and the Other are essentially different, and the temptation is strong to translate Self/Other into a logocentric good/evil binary framework that provides a moral basis for conquest, conversion, and socialisation. IR examples of this are US President Ronald Regan’s use of ‘evil empire’ to describe the Soviet Union in 1983 and US President George W. Bush’s 2002 State of the Union Address describing Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as the ‘axis of evil.’ Thus, the logic of conquest, conversion, and socialisation when dealing with Others is often justified by stealth in mainstream IR perspectives. Realism, liberalism, and constructivism never provide value-free IR knowledge; rather, they are normative theories for the hegemon. Logocentrism and Orientalism have here been shown to constitute the hidden normative underpinning of those mainstream IR theoretical perspectives. As Pan [81] rightly noted, the US perception of the Other (i.e., China) as a threat is closely linked to how US policymakers see themselves ‘as representatives of the indispensable, security-conscious nation.’ By tracing mainstream IR’s understanding, explanation, and interpretation of its practices, we have shown how logocentrism and Orientalism manifest themselves in the discipline. Therefore, in the rest of this article, we turn to a case study — the rise of China — to examine our deliberation of Self-Other relations in world politics and test our initial proposition about the mechanisms through which and the conditions under which Self-Other relations function when theorising about international relations.

#### “China Threat” makes war inevitable. Thus the alternative is to interrogate the 1AC’s epistemological failures – that’s a prereq to successful policymaking.

Pan 04, Pan, PhD degree in Political Science and International Relations from the Australian National University, 2K4 [Chengxin, The "China Threat" in American Self-Imagination: The Discursive Construction of Other as Power Politics, Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Vol. 29, 2004]

Not only does this reductionist representation come at the expense of understanding China as a dynamic, multifaceted country but it leads inevitably to a policy of containment that, in turn, tends to enhance the influence of realpolitik thinking, nationalist extremism, and hard-line stance in today's China. Even a small dose of the containment strategy is likely to have a highly dramatic impact on U.S.-China relations, as the 1995-1996 missile crisis and the 2001 spy-plane incident have vividly attested. In this respect, Chalmers Johnson is right when he suggests that "a policy of containment toward China implies the possibility of war, just as it did during the Cold War vis-a-vis the former Soviet Union. The balance of terror prevented war between the United States and the Soviet Union, but this may not work in the case of China." (93) For instance, as the United States presses ahead with a missile-defence shield to "guarantee" its invulnerability from rather unlikely sources of missile attacks, it would be almost certain to intensify China's sense of vulnerability and compel it to expand its current small nuclear arsenal so as to maintain the efficiency of its limited deterrence. In consequence, it is not impossible that the two countries, and possibly the whole region, might be dragged into an escalating arms race that would eventually make war more likely. Neither the United States nor China is likely to be keen on fighting the other. But as has been demonstrated, the "China threat" argument, for all its alleged desire for peace and security, tends to make war preparedness the most "realistic" option for both sides. At this juncture, worthy of note is an interesting comment made by Charlie Neuhauser, a leading CIA China specialist, on the Vietnam War, a war fought by the United States to contain the then-Communist "other." Neuhauser says, "Nobody wants it. We don't want it, Ho Chi Minh doesn't want it; it's simply a question of annoying the other side." (94) And, as we know, in an unwanted war some fifty-eight thousand young people from the United States and an estimated two million Vietnamese men, women, and children lost their lives. Therefore, to call for a halt to the vicious circle of theory as practice associated with the "China threat" literature, tinkering with the current positivist-dominated U.S. IR scholarship on China is no longer adequate. Rather, what is needed is to question this un-self-reflective scholarship itself, particularly its connections with the dominant way in which the United States and the West in general represent themselves and others via their positivist epistemology, so that alternative, more nuanced, and less dangerous ways of interpreting and debating China might become possible.

#### Reps first

Jourde 6 – PhD in Political Science Cedric \* Ph.D., Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Hegemony or Empire?: The redefinition of US Power under George W Bush Ed. David and Grondin p. 182-3

Relations between states are, at least in part, constructed upon representations. Representations are interpretative prisms through which decision-makers make sense of a political reality, through which they define and assign a subjective value to the other states and non-state actors of the international system, and through which they determine what are significant international political issues.2 For instance, officials of a given state will represent other states as 'allies', 'rivals', or simply 'insignificant', thus assigning a subjective value to these states. Such subjective categorizations often derive from representations of these states' domestic politics, which can for instance be perceived as 'unstable\*, 'prosperous', or 'ethnically divided'. It must be clear that representations are not objective or truthful depictions of reality; rather they are subjective and political ways of seeing the world, making certain things 'seen' by and significant for an actor while making other things 'unseen' and 'insignificant'.3 In other words, they are founded on each actor's and group of actors' cognitive, cultural-social, and emotional standpoints. Being fundamentally political, representations are the object of tense struggles and tensions, as some actors or groups of actors can impose on others their own representations of the world, of what they consider to be appropriate political orders, or appropriate economic relations, while others may in turn accept, subvert or contest these representations. Representations of a foreign political reality influence how decision-making actors will act upon that reality. In other words, as subjective and politically infused interpretations of reality, representations constrain and enable the policies that decision-makers will adopt vis-a-vis other states; they limit the courses of action that are politically thinkable and imaginable, making certain policies conceivable while relegating other policies to the realm of the unthinkable.4 Accordingly, identifying how a state represents another state or non-state actor helps to understand how and why certain foreign policies have been adopted while other policies have been excluded. To take a now famous example, if a transnational organization is represented as a group of 'freedom fighters', such as the multi-national mujahideen in Afghanistan in the 1980s, then military cooperation is conceivable with that organization; if on the other hand the same organization is represented as a 'terrorist network', such as Al-Qaida, then military cooperation as a policy is simply not an option. In sum. the way in which one sees, interprets and imagines the 'other\* delineates the course of action one will adopt in order to deal with this 'other'

## Case

### T/L

#### They've read maybe two cards that talk about China's private industry -- every single other piece of 1AC evidence either is about the public or vaguely gestures at the private sector alongside the public -- vote neg on presumption. If space is as essential as they say it is, there’s no reason public sector wouldn’t fill in.

#### Chinese entities are unprofitable, pale in comparison to the U.S. and have ZERO experience. THEIR OWN AUTHOR —Harker in green

**1AC Patel 21**, Neel. (I’m the space reporter for MIT Technology Review, and I also write The Airlock newsletter, your number one source for everything happening off this planet. Before joining, I worked as a freelance science and technology journalist, contributing stories to Popular Science, The Daily Beast, Slate, Wired, the Verge, and elsewhere. Prior to that, I was an associate editor for Inverse, where I grew and led the website’s space coverage.) “China's Surging Private Space Industry Is out to Challenge the US.” MIT Technology Review, MIT Technology Review, 28 Jan. 2021, https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/01/21/1016513/china-private-commercial-space-industry-dominance/. //JQ rhl mk

The rivalry between the US and China, whose space program has surged over the last two decades, is what most people mean when they refer to the 21st-century's space race. China is set to build a new space station later this year and will likely attempt to send its taikonauts to the moon before the decade ends. But these big-picture projects represent just one aspect of the country’s space ambitions. Increasingly, the focus is now on the commercial space industry as well. The nation's growing private space business is less focused on bringing prestige and glory to the nation and more concerned with reducing the cost of spaceflight, increasing its international influence—and making money. “The state is really great at large, ambitious projects like going to the moon or developing a large reconnaissance satellite,” says Lincoln Hines, a Cornell University researcher who focuses on Chinese foreign policy. “But it’s not responsive to meeting market needs”—one big way to encourage rapid technological growth and innovation. “I think the government thinks its commercial space sector can be complementary to the state,” he says. What are the market needs that Hines is referring to? Satellites, and rockets that can launch them into orbit. The space industry is undergoing a renaissance thanks to two big trends spurred by the commercial industry: we can make satellites for less money by making them smaller and using off-the-shelf hardware; and we can also make rockets for less money, by using less costly materials or reusing boosters after they’ve already flown (which SpaceX pioneered with its Falcon 9). These trends mean it is now cheaper to send stuff into space, and the services and data that satellites can offer have come down in price accordingly. China has seen an opportunity. A [2017 report by Bank of America Merrill Lynch](https://www.cnbc.com/2017/10/31/the-space-industry-will-be-worth-nearly-3-trillion-in-30-years-bank-of-america-predicts.html) estimates that the space industry could be worth up to $2.7 trillion by 2030. Setting foot on the moon and establishing a lunar colony might be a statement of national power, but securing a share of such a highly lucrative business is perhaps even more important to the country’s future. “In the future, there will be tens of thousands of satellites waiting to launch, which is a major opportunity for Galactic Energy” says Wu Yue, a company spokesperson. The problem is, China has to make up decades’ worth of ground lost to the West. How did China get here—and why? Until recently, China’s space activity has been overwhelmingly dominated by two state-owned enterprises: the China Aerospace Science & Industry Corporation Limited (CASIC) and the China Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation (CASC). A few private space firms have been allowed to operate in the country for a while: for example, there’s the China Great Wall Industry Corporation Limited (in reality a subsidiary of CASC), which has provided commercial launches since it was established in 1980. But for the most part, China’s commercial space industry has been nonexistent. Satellites were expensive to build and launch, and they were too heavy and large for anything but the biggest rockets to actually deliver to orbit. The costs involved were too much for anything but national budgets to handle. That all changed this past decade as the costs of making satellites and launching rockets plunged. In 2014, a year after Xi Jinping took over as the new leader of China, the Chinese government decided to treat civil space development as a key area of innovation, as it had already begun doing with AI and solar power. It issued a policy directive called [Document 60](http://www.cpppc.org/en/zy/994006.jhtml) that year to enable large private investment in companies interested in participating in the space industry. “Xi’s goal was that if China has to become a critical player in technology, including in civil space and aerospace, it was critical to develop a space ecosystem that includes the private sector,” says Namrata Goswami, a geopolitics expert based in Montgomery, Alabama, who’s been studying China’s space program for many years. “He was taking a cue from the American private sector to encourage innovation from a talent pool that extended beyond state-funded organizations.” As a result, there are now 78 commercial space companies operating in China, according to a [2019 report by the Institute for Defense Analyses](https://www.ida.org/-/media/feature/publications/e/ev/evaluation-of-chinas-commercial-space-sector/d-10873.ashx). More than half have been founded since 2014, and the vast majority focus on satellite manufacturing and launch services. For example, Galactic Energy, founded in February 2018, is building its Ceres rocket to offer rapid launch service for single payloads, while its Pallas rocket is being built to deploy entire constellations. Rival company i-Space, formed in 2016, became the first commercial Chinese company to make it to space with its Hyperbola-1 in July 2019. It wants to pursue reusable first-stage boosters that can land vertically, like those from SpaceX. So does LinkSpace (founded in 2014), although it also hopes to use rockets to deliver packages from one terrestrial location to another. Spacety, founded in 2016, wants to turn around customer orders to build and launch its small satellites in just six months. In December it launched a miniaturized version of a satellite that uses 2D radar images to build 3D reconstructions of terrestrial landscapes. Weeks later, it [released the first images taken by the satellite](https://spacenews.com/spacety-releases-first-sar-images/), Hisea-1, featuring three-meter resolution. Spacety wants to launch a constellation of these satellites to offer high-quality imaging at low cost. To a large extent, China is following the same blueprint drawn up by the US: using government contracts and subsidies to give these companies a foot up. US firms like SpaceX benefited greatly from NASA contracts that paid out millions to build and test rockets and space vehicles for delivering cargo to the International Space Station. With that experience under its belt, SpaceX was able to attract more customers with greater confidence. Venture capital is another tried-and-true route. The IDA report estimates that VC funding for Chinese space companies was up to $516 million in 2018—far shy of the $2.2 billion American companies raised, but nothing to scoff at for an industry that really only began seven years ago. At least 42 companies had no known government funding. And much of the government support these companies do receive doesn’t have a federal origin, but a provincial one. “[These companies] are drawing high-tech development to these local communities,” says Hines. “And in return, they’re given more autonomy by the local government.” While most have headquarters in Beijing, many keep facilities in Shenzhen, Chongqing, and other areas that might draw talent from local universities. There’s also one advantage specific to China: manufacturing. “What is the best country to trust for manufacturing needs?” asks James Zheng, the CEO of Spacety’s Luxembourg headquarters. “It’s China. It’s the manufacturing center of the world.” Zheng believes the country is in a better position than any other to take advantage of the space industry’s new need for mass production of satellites and rockets alike. Making friends The most critical strategic reason to encourage a private space sector is to create opportunities for international collaboration—particularly to attract customers wary of being seen to mix with the Chinese government. (US agencies and government contractors, for example, are barred from working with any groups the regime funds.) Document 60 and others issued by China’s National Development and Reform Commission were aimed not just at promoting technological innovation, but also at drawing in foreign investment and maximizing a customer base beyond Chinese borders. “China realizes there are certain things they cannot get on their own,” says Frans von der Dunk, a space policy expert at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. Chinese companies like LandSpace and MinoSpace have worked to accrue funding through foreign investment, escaping dependence on state subsidies. And by avoiding state funding, a company can also avoid an array of restrictions on what it can and can’t do (such as constraints on talking with the media). Foreign investment also makes it easier to compete on a global scale: you’re taking on clients around the world, launching from other countries, and bringing talent from outside China.

Although China is taking inspiration from the US in building out its private industry, the nature of the Chinese state also means these new companies face obstacles that their rivals in the West don’t have to worry about. While Chinese companies may look private on paper, they must still submit to government guidance and control, and accept some level of interference. It may be difficult for them to make a case to potential overseas customers that they are independent. The distinction between companies that are truly private and those that are more or less state actors is still quite fuzzy, especially if the government is a frequent customer. “That could still lead to a lack of trust from other partners,” says Goswami. It doesn’t help that the government itself is often very cagey about what its national program is even up to. And Hines adds that it’s not always clear exactly how separate these companies are from, say, the People’s Liberation Army, given the historical ties between the space and defense sectors. “Some of these things will pose significant hurdles for the commercial space sector as it tries to expand,” he says. Other challenges None of these new companies are yet profitable, and it will be quite some time before they are. “There isn’t any sign of indication that this industry will flop,” says Hines. “But many experts do think a lot of these companies will go out of business.” Apart from the challenge of attracting customers outside China, many companies are still trying to figure out who exactly their customers ought to be. American companies like SpaceX and Blue Origin had billionaire founders ready to burn cash to take on large risks, push past big failures, and finally get off the ground. And while a Chinese billionaire entered the industry last year, “there is no Chinese Elon Musk to push these riskier ventures forward,” says Hines. It’s also unclear whether Chinese companies, even those supported by wealthy backers, will have that appetite for risk. Zheng says one thing Spacety has offered is exceptional transparency with clients for whom it is developing satellites—something that’s still uncommon for Chinese firms. “Many of them have no kind of spaceflight experience,” he says. “They want to see and learn what goes on, but the large companies won’t allow for that. We’re different.” Lastly, China needs to figure out a legal framework that can guide the commercial industry in more explicit terms, and specify what’s allowed and what is not. It is the only major space power without a specialized space law. (The American version is Title 51 of the United States Code.) While the hope is that free enterprise can generate innovation, national governments are still liable for whatever space activities a country’s private companies conduct. There’s a need to license and approve these missions, ensuring that governments know what they’ve signed up for. Despite all this, China’s space industry is rolling forward. These new startups haven’t just adopted American business practices—they’ve also begun to embrace American startup culture as a way to foster business relationships and grow. During my video call with Spacety’s Zheng, the company’s Beijing CEO, Yang Feng, briefly dropped in to say hello, on his way back from a party where he’d been schmoozing and enjoying drinks with many peers and partners in the industry. “It’s part of the way we do business now,” Zheng said. “Innovation is not just new technology itself—it’s also a new way of doing things.”

#### Chinese space will be dominated by government enterprises — they're far more established making private corporations unprofitable and limits them to a niche role instead of broad capabilities

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"Tapping into China’s Space Program," China Briefing News, https://www.china-briefing.com/news/tapping-into-chinas-space-program/] mk

China’s space program From the launch of China’s space program in the mid-1950s to becoming a complete space power with autonomous access to outer space and to deep-space exploration, China has been very persistent in pursuing a “space dream”, as said by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013. Especially in recent years, China’s space industry has produced remarkable achievements. In 2019, China became the first country to send an uncrewed rover to the far side of the Moon. In 2020, China successfully put into orbit its final Beidou satellite in June, sent an unmanned probe to Mars in July, launched an uncrewed mission called Chang’e-5 with the aim of collecting lunar material in November, and successfully landed the Chang’e-5 probe on the moon’s surface in December. In 2021, China accelerated its Tiangong Space Station program, with the successful launch of the Tianhe core module in April, the Tianzhou-2 cargo craft in May, the Shenzhou-12 manned spaceship in June, and another planned Tianzhou-3 mission in September. A more detailed timeline of China’s space station construction can be found below. China's space station program In the long-term, China has set the following goals for its space program: Improve China’s standing in the world of space science Establish a crewed space station Crewed missions to the Moon Establish a crewed lunar base Robotic mission to Mars Exploit Earth-Moon space for industrial development The two state-owned enterprises behind China’s space program China’s space activity has been overwhelmingly dominated by two state-owned enterprises: China Aerospace Science & Industry Corporation Limited (CASIC) and China Aerospace Science and Technology Corporation (CASC). CASIC and CASC provide the technology and devices required by the state space and military programs, such as launch vehicles, satellites, manned spaceships, cargo spaceships, deep space explorers, space station, nuclear missiles, conventional ground-to-ground missiles, and air and missile defense equipment. The two state-owned corporations have decades of experience, secured state funding, thousands of personnel, dozens of labs and subsidiaries, and an established suite of high-tech products and services. In the years ahead, the Chinese state-owned space titans will continue to lead the country’s space program, while private commercial space companies are likely to serve as “supplements” to China’s broader space activities. Participation of private commercial players The past decade has witnessed an explosive growth in the number of China’s commercial space companies. By November 2020, China was home to over 160 commercial space companies. More than half of them were founded since 2014 – a year after Xi Jinping took over as the new leader of China and the government decided to treat civil space development as a key area of innovation. The private space enterprises boast a range of offerings from satellite manufacturing and rocket launch. FutureAerospace, a state-funded industry think tank, reports that investment in Chinese commercial space firms totaled RMB 3.57 billion (US$550 million) in 2018, and will exceed RMB 30.6 billion (US$4.7 billion) by 2025. The upsurge is fueled by rising demand for launching satellites. In the next decade, China envisions massive constellations of commercial satellites that can offer services ranging from high-speed internet for aircraft to tracking coal shipments. To boost the commercial space industry, China uses government contracts and subsidies to give these companies a foot up. However, state-owned commercial space companies like Expace and China Rocket can have easier access to government funding and Chinese financing. Private commercial space companies either receive government support or seek venture capital. A 2019 report by the Institute for Defense Analyses estimates that VC funding for Chinese space companies reached US$516 million in 2018, although the amount was far shy of the US$2.2 billion American companies raised. Unlike American companies, such as SpaceX and Blue Origin, whose billionaire founders are ready to take on large expensive risks, Chinese companies who are late starters have to consider whether they can be supported by deep-pocked and risk-prone investors. Some private companies like LandSpace and MinoSpace have managed to accrue foreign investment, which could make it easier for them to compete on a global scale, in terms of taking on overseas clients, launching from other countries, and attracting international talents. However, to maintain investor confidence will not be easy. At present, none of the new commercial space companies are profitable. These companies’ launch success rates have been erratic. And they have shown no sign of explosive innovation – the current offerings consist almost solely for small, solid-fuel, single-use rockets. Thus, China’s private commercial space sector is not yet positioned to upend the state-dominated or global space ecosystems any time soon, though eventually new entrants may carve out niche areas for themselves in the domestic market.

#### China's distinct environment guarantee’s private failure independently they're funded by the govt which guarantees circumvention and contracts are given to the public not the private

Waidelich 21 [Brian Waidelich, Brian Waidelich is a Research Analyst with the China and Indo-Pacific Security Affairs Division at CNA, 3-13-2021, "China’s commercial space sector shoots for the stars," East Asia Forum, https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2021/03/13/chinas-commercial-space-sector-shoots-for-the-stars/] mk

Despite the hype surrounding Chinese space startups, the prospects for a Chinese SpaceX are not so optimistic. China’s space startups are hardly commercial, compared to countries like the United States where commercial space ventures are meaningfully supported by private capital. Some of China’s commercial space companies are directly state-owned, such as Expace and China Rocket. Other nominally private companies have received substantial investment from provincial and local governments. The lack of private capital at risk diminishes these companies’ motivation to innovate or lower costs. ‘Private’ Chinese space startups also find themselves facing two massive state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that dominate both the domestic industry and Chinese financing. The state-owned Expace received over one billion RMB (US$154 million) in series A financing, while nominally private Chinese companies like iSpace received around 100 million RMB (US$15 million). This apparent favouritism aligns with Chinese President Xi Jinping’s stated objective of making SOEs ‘stronger, better, and bigger’. Legislative gaps create further uncertainties for the activities of China’s commercial space companies. China still has no comprehensive space law, despite incorporating the need for one in the National People’s Congress’s legislation plan in 2013. New regulations on commercial launches in 2019 were a step forward, but many ambiguities remain. It is still unclear, for example, whether companies can build their own launch sites, or if they must use one of the four military-controlled sites. The launch record of China’s commercial space companies has also been rocky. Two of the three ‘private’ companies to conduct orbital launches — OneSpace and LandSpace — have failed in their sole attempts. Several other companies have fared better, but all three of their most recent launches — two by Expace in July and September 2020, and one by iSpace in February 2021 — ended in failure. These challenges suggest that China’s commercial space industry cannot yet rival its US and European counterparts. Chinese commercial launch companies have shown no signs of explosive innovation; indeed, their current offerings consist almost solely of small, solid-fuel, single-use rockets. Nor have these companies offered prices to challenge global leaders — Expace has announced launches of its Kuaizhou rockets at US$10,000/kg of payload, which will be eventually lowered to US$5000/kg, but this doesn’t even come close to SpaceX’s advertised prices — about US$2720/kg for the Falcon 9, and US$1410/kg for the Falcon Heavy. In the years ahead, breakthroughs in Chinese space technologies will almost certainly come from traditional state-owned contractors, not nominally private firms. CASC and the China Aerospace Science and Industry Corporation have decades of experience, secure state funding, thousands of personnel, dozens of labs and subsidiaries, and an established suite of high-tech products and services. These contractors’ best products and services will be primarily offered to Chinese military and government organisations, rather than private or international clients. The addition of ‘private’ commercial space companies provides China’s traditional contractors with some token competition, and eventually new entrants may carve out niche areas for themselves in the domestic market. But Chinese commercial space firms will not lead China’s space program — indeed, these companies describe themselves as ‘supplements’ to China’s broader space activities. They are not positioned to disrupt the domestic or global space ecosystems with low-cost, innovative offerings any time soon.

### China Rise Good

#### United states is an illiberal revisionist power that will destabilize the asia pacific. Pax sinica key to long term peace.

David Kang, Professor of IR @ USC, ‘20 “THOUGHT GAMES ABOUT CHINA” ISSN: 1598-2408 , 2234-6643; DOI: 10.1017/jea.2020.18 Journal of East Asian studies. , 2020, Vol.20(2), p.135-150 Cambridge University Press.

China is not a rising eighteenth-century European state competing desperately for power in a multipolar system. China is a massive and ancient country with an enduring civilizational influence. From the time of the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), although Chinese power waxed and waned over the centuries, East Asia was a hegemonic system, not a multipolar balance of power system as existed in Europe. As MacKay (2016, 474) observes:

Western Europe = Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, UK (12 W. Europe) Data From: The Maddison Project (2013)

For more than two millennia … a relatively consistent idea persisted of what Imperial China was or should be. When China was ascendant, as during the Han and Ming dynasties, this identity justified Chinese regional dominance. When China was in decline, it provided a source of aspiration. When foreigners occupied the country, as did the Mongols under the Yuan dynasty and the Manchus under the Qing dynasty, they justified their rule by claiming the Mandate of Heaven (tianming) for themselves.

Every other political actor that emerged in the past two thousand years emerged within the reality or idea of Chinese power (Pines 2012). Korea, Japan, Vietnam, the peoples of the Central Asian steppe, the societies of Southeast Asia—all had to deal with China in some fashion and decide how best to organize their own societies and to manage their relations with the hegemon. The reality of Chinese power and Chinese ideas and debates about the proper role of government and state-society relations and the different ways to conduct foreign relations were a fact of life in East Asia. Surrounding peoples could choose to embrace or reject the idea and fact of China, but they had to engage it no matter what they chose.

Thus, even a cursory glance at East Asian history would reveal that the conditions for power transition almost never obtained in East Asian history. China was a hegemon and predominant through much of East Asian history, with virtually no other contender ever coming close to being a peer competitor of China in the past thousand years. China alone comprised 22.6 percent of the world’s GDP and 22 percent of the world’s population in 1000 CE, dwarfing Western Europe’s shares (Table 1).

Compared to any European hegemon, Chinese hegemony in East Asia lasted much longer. Why not look at the far more long-enduring Chinese hegemony for clues about how China might behave while ascendant? Contrary to assumptions that the European experience of constant warfare and continuously rising and declining great powers is universal, East Asia shows a clearly different pattern of long-enduring hegemony. Over the centuries, China expanded in some directions but crafted enduringly stable relations with many countries, as well. As Dincecco and Wang (2018, 342) observe about China, “The most significant recurrent foreign attack threat came from Steppe nomads … external attack threats were unidirectional, reducing the emperor’s vulnerability.” Rarely does anyone ask, however, why these threats were unidirectional and arose mainly from nomads, rather than from powerful states such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Explaining how and why these historical patterns developed over time will likely provide better insight into China’s priorities and how East Asia as a region dealt with China than looking at European history (Kang, Nguyen, Shaw, and Fu 2019).

Indeed, the fact that the historical East Asian system was hegemonic did not rule out the rise and fall of particular regimes. If they did not result from power transitions, then what was the cause? Table 2 provides an overview of the causes of the rise and fall of these dynasties. Strikingly, only three out of twenty dynastic transitions before the nineteenth century came as a result of war. Perhaps the biggest lesson to draw from East Asian histofry are the dangers of internal challenges rather than external threat (Kang and Ma 2017). Also notable is the startling longevity of these countries. In stark contrast to the European experience, there were centuries when most of these countries did not face existential threats from external powers. These four countries—recognizably the same countries today—spent centuries living with each other and interacting with each other, but only rarely fighting with each other. Turning to the question of Chinese intentions, and viewed through the lens of history, China is not a rising power with unknown aims and ambitions. It is a massive and ancient country that is returning to power and stability after a tumultuous century.

An obvious rejoinder is that all the world is Westphalian now, and China is interacting on a global, not regional scale, so even if the theory only applied in Europe at certain times in history, the theory is applicable today. As I argued long ago (Kang 2003, 67), “A century of chaos and change, and the increased influence of the rest of the world and in particular the United States, would lead one to conclude that a Chinese-led regional system would not look like its historical predecessor.” However, states that developed over millennia in vastly different cultural and structural situations than those of Europe perhaps remain different today. There is a robust scholarship that argues that history does not end, and that the past continues to influence politics and society in the present. For example, Seo-hyun Park (2017, 12) uses the term “usable past” for the fact that states create and sustain collective identities and memories and that they join international orders that are not created on a blank canvas.

It is simply not possible to answer these questions without directly addressing the reality of China itself. The question is, how much of this “usable past” influences and informs China today, and how much has changed. Arguably, pre-Qing regimes were more similar to each other than to today’s CCP, given the massive shocks of modernization, the leveling of traditional culture during the Cultural Revolution, and the transition to single party rule. Stated differently, is China still the same China? These shocks may have made China Westphalian, or they may have made China more like a standard autocratic single party regime. Perhaps most likely, China’s behavior may be partially like other countries and partially a function of its own past (Perry 2008).

After all, few contemporary countries have survived over millennia as recognizably the same country as have those in East Asia. Few autocratic single party regimes can call upon the historical and cultural resources that the CCP can. Few countries are massive and centrally located in their regions. Directly researching what has changed and what China is like today would perhaps be a more useful starting point for explaining and predicting Chinese behavior and relations with the United States, rather than the generalizations the four authors reviewed here seek to make based on European historical experience.

Indeed, one of the most intense debates in the contemporary scholarly literature concerns whether China poses a threat to the contemporary Western liberal order (Acharya 2014). As Allan, Vucetic, and Hopf (2018, 839–869) summarize it: “how strong is the US-led Western hegemonic order and what is the likelihood that China can or will lead a successful counterhegemonic challenge?” If China is so different in its identity or goals that it is at best a partial member of the contemporary order, then it follows that it is not clear that China will follow behavioral patterns that only occurred within that order. But if China is completely Westphalian now, and the liberal international order is not simply Western—can China simultaneously be so different that is poses a fundamental threat to that same order?

It is here that MacDonald and Parent, Schake, and Goddard, by focusing on domestic politics, political choices, and national interests and ideas and values, have provided us with all the elements of a truly insightful view of China. Schake’s argument rests on a number of unique American traits. If she is right—that power transitions rest on a host of domestic contingencies—then we cannot predict what will happen without closely examining Chinese traits. But the logical conclusion is thus the opposite of what Schake and Goddard conclude: We have no reason to believe China will behave like a European rising power and fight a power transition war or claim hegemony like the US did. As Allan et al. (2018, 843) argue, “if hegemony is simply leadership of a rule-based order conditioned by elite beliefs, then in the abstract it can incorporate any rising power. But if hegemony is a thick phenomenon … then the substantive ideational content of the order, rather than its abstract form, is crucial.”

China cannot simultaneously be unproblematically and completely Westernized and Westphalian, and yet also pose a fundamental challenge to that same Western, Westphalian order. There is insufficient room in this brief essay to adequately address the extent to which China’s past affects its present. My point is that although it can be argued whether the most relevant characteristics of China today are its capabilities relative to other Great Powers, whether China’s foreign policy is most centrally a function of its institutional makeup as an autocratic single party regime, or whether China’s most relevant characteristics are its history, aims, or nationalism, much social science scholarship points in the direction of looking directly at China itself. Merely recognizing these debates means that it is not clear that power transition theory is the best lens to view China today, and it is not clear that power transition theory can be applied uncritically to contemporary US–China relations.

#### China rise is peaceful

Shifrinson 19 [Joshua Shifrinson is an Assistant Professor of International Relations with the Pardee School of Global Affairs at Boston University. Should the United States Fear China’s Rise? Winter 2019. www.bu.edu/pardeeschool/files/2019/01/Winter-2019\_Shifrinson\_0.pdf]

In short, limited predation—not an overt and outright push to overtake and challenge the United States—is the name of China’s current and highly rational game. As significantly, it appears Chinese leaders are aware of the structural logic of the situation. Despite ongoing debate over the extent to which China has departed from its long-standing “hide strength, bide time” strategy first formulated by Deng Xiaoping in favor a more assertive course seeking to increase Chinese influence in world affairs, Chinese leaders and China watchers have been at pains to point out that Chinese strategy still seeks to avoid provoking conflict with the United States.49 As one analyst notes, China’s decision to carve out a more prominent role for itself in world politics has been coupled with an effort to reassure and engage the United States so as to avoid unneeded competition while facilitating stability.50 Chinese leaders echo these themes, with one senior official noting in 2014 that Chinese policy focused on “properly addressing] conflicts and differences through dialogue and cooperation instead of confrontational approaches.”51 Xi Jinping himself has underlined these currents, arguing even before taking office that U.S.-Chinese relations should be premised on “preventing conflict and confrontation,” and more recently vowing that “China will promote coordination and cooperation with other major countries.”52 Ultimately, as one scholar observes, there is “hardly evidence that [... China has] begun to focus on hegemonic competition.”53 Put another way, China’s leaders appear aware of the risks of taking an overly confrontational stance toward a still-potent United States and have scoped Chinese ambitions accordingly.

### Scenario 1

#### They’re missing an internal link – the Rogin card says NOTHING about nuclear war.

#### China-Russia coop solves nuclear war

Artyom Lukin 20 {Artyom Lukin is Deputy Director for Research at the School of Regional and International Studies, Far Eastern Federal University. He is also Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations. 6-13-2020. “The Russia–China entente and its future.” https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41311-020-00251-7}//JM

China and Russia are the two largest—and neighboring—powers of continental Eurasia. Can two tigers share the same mountain, especially when one great power is rapidly gaining strength and the other is in relative decline? And there seems to be a pattern in the history of international relations that two ambitious major powers that share a land border are less likely to make an alliance, while they are more likely to engage in territorial disputes with one another as well as rivalry over primacy in their common neighborhood. There are at least three major parts of Eurasia—East Asia, the post-Soviet space (mainly Central Asia), and the Arctic—where China’s and Russia’s geopolitical interests intersect, creating potential for competition and conflict. But, on the other hand, if managed wisely, overlapping interests and stakes can also generate opportunities for collaboration. The following sections examine how Russia and China are managing to keep their differences in key Eurasian zones under control while displaying a significant degree of mutual cooperation. East Asia This is China’s ‘home region’, but also one where Russia, by virtue of possessing the Far Eastern territories, is a resident power. Moscow, which has traditionally been concerned with keeping sovereignty over its vulnerable Far East, does not at present see China as a major security risk on Russia’s eastern borders. All border delimitation issues between Moscow and Beijing were resolved in the 1990s and 2000s, while the 2001 Sino-Russian Treaty explicitly states that the two countries have no territorial claims to each other. Furthermore, Moscow is well aware that Chinese military preparations are directed primarily toward Taiwan, the Western Pacific and the South China Sea, not against the Russian Far East. There is the cliché, persistent among the Western media and commentariat, of a Chinese demographic invasion of the Russian Far East. For example, a Wall Street Journal article claimed recently that ‘about 300,000 Chinese, some unregistered, could now be settled in Russia’s Far East’ (Simmons 2019). In reality, the actual number of the Chinese who live more or less permanently in the Russian Far East is far lower, and there are very few cases of illegal Chinese migration. There is no imminent risk of the Russian Far East falling under Chinese control demographically or otherwise. Not sensing any major Chinese menace to the Russian Far East, Russia has refused to engage in rivalry with China in East Asia. On the most important issues of contemporary East Asian geopolitics Moscow has tended to support Beijing or displayed friendly neutrality. On the Korean Peninsula, Moscow has largely played second fiddle to Beijing. On the South China Sea disputes, although Russia’s official stance is strict neutrality, some Russian moves may be seen as favoring Beijing. For example, following the July 2016 Hague tribunal ruling that rejected China’s claims to sovereignty over the South China Sea, Putin expressed solidarity with China, calling the international court’s decision ‘counterproductive’ (Reuters 2016). Russia shares with China the objective of reducing American influence in East Asia and undermining the US-centric alliances in the region. Russian weapon sales are helping China alter the military balance in the Western Pacific to the detriment of the USA and its allies. Russia’s decision to assist China with getting its own missile attack early warning system may have also been partly motivated by the desire to strengthen China vis-à-vis the USA in their rivalry for primacy in East Asia. The Russian ambassador to the US Anatoly Antonov hinted as much by saying that this strategic system will ‘cardinally increase stability and security in East Asia’ (TASS 2019c). Russian deference to China on East Asian issues, albeit somewhat hurting Moscow’s great-power pride, makes geopolitical sense. The Kremlin treats Pacific affairs as an area of lower concern than Europe, the Middle East, or Central Asia. Mongolia, which constitutes Siberia’s underbelly, is the only East Asian nation that can count on Russian security protection in case it finds itself in danger of external aggression, at any rate a purely theoretical possibility so far. It would be incorrect to say that Russia has completely withdrawn from East Asian geopolitics. In some cases, Russia does act against Chinese wishes in the Asia–Pacific. One recent example is Russia’s quiet determination to keep drilling in the areas of the South China Sea on the Vietnamese continental shelf over which China lays sovereignty claims. The Russian state-owned energy company Rosneft operates on Vietnam’s shelf, despite Beijing’s displeasure and periodic harassment by Chinese ships (Zhou 2019). Apart from the desire to make profits from the South China Sea’s hydrocarbons, Russia may be seeking to support its old-time friend Vietnam—to whom it also sells weapons—as well as demonstrate that it is still an independent actor in East Asia. Through such behavior on China’s Southeast Asian periphery, the Kremlin could also be sending the signal to Beijing that, if China gets too closely involved in Russia’s backyard, such as Central Asia or the Caucasus, Russia can do similar things in China’s. Albeit a friction point between Beijing and Moscow, the activities by Russian energy firms in the South China Sea are unlikely to destabilize the Sino-Russian entente, since Moscow and Beijing need each other on much bigger issues. The post-Soviet space Russia has vital stakes in the geopolitical space formerly occupied by the Soviet Union and is willing to go to great lengths to defend those interests. It was, after all, a perceived brazen attempt by Brussels and Washington to draw Ukraine into the EU’s and NATO’s orbit that induced Moscow to take drastic action in Crimea and eastern Ukraine, causing a rupture with the West. When it comes to Moscow–Beijing politics over the post-Soviet space, the most problematic question is certainly about Central Asia, a region composed of five former Soviet republics which shares borders with both Russia and China. Since the nineteenth century, Russia has traditionally considered Central Asia as its sphere of influence. However, in the 2000s China began its economic expansion in the region. It is now by far the biggest trade partner for Central Asian states (Bhutia 2019) as well as its largest source of investments. China also set up a small military presence inside Tajikistan, apparently to secure a sensitive area which borders China’s Xinjiang region and Afghanistan (Lo 2019).

### Scenario 2

#### Hegemony causes nuke war – collapse is inevitable, but peaceful decline is still possible

Pampinella 19 [Stephenis Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the State University of New York (SUNY) at New Paltz. 1/23. "The Internationalist Disposition and US Grand Strategy." https://thedisorderofthings.com/2019/01/23/the-internationalist-disposition-and-us-grand-strategy/]

Why Liberal Internationalism Will Fail (Again)

But in recent weeks, mainstream US foreign policy experts have provided their own spin in progressive internationalism. Advocates and practitioners of a traditional hegemonic foreign policy have sought to co-opt progressive internationalism in a series of essays which argue for the necessity of American power and global influence. These writers embody the post-Cold War centrist foreign policy coalition of liberal internationalists and neoconservatives. For them, that the greatest threat to the democratic “free” world created by the United States remains the autocratic governance model of Russia and China. While Washington should pursue cooperation on transnational governance issues where possible, they argue it cannot do so at the expense of making security concessions which would reward revisionist behavior by great power rivals. As in the past, American exceptionalism remains the identity narrative justifying a return to US hegemony, with Anglo-American norms serving as the basis for hegemonic socialization and cooperation.

The internationalist disposition is a reminder of why a mere social democratic twist on US hegemony will fail to provide actual security for the United States and its allies. Establishment voices continue to rely on state-centric assumptions about IR and ignore how state identities and interests are a function of their relationship with each other. Or, as Jennifer Mitzen and Michelle Murray might argue, the revisionist intentions of Russia and China are a product of their ontological insecurity. A hegemonic United States defending an Anglo-American order denies them recognition of their own great power identities and their right to participate in all deliberations about global order. From this perspective, we should challenge the implicit assumption made by Anthony Blinken and Robert Kagan that Russia is revisionist by nature. An internationalist perspective suggests that Russia has adopted those intentions in relation to a Wilsonian United States which seeks domination over Moscow and the transformation of its political system. The same is true for China, which rejects being cast as a “responsible stakeholder” by Washington which would eventually accept democracy following its internal transformation by global capitalism. In other words, the very terms of US relations with these states over the past 25 years is the source of their revisionist intentions, and not some essentialized feature of their domestic politics.

Further, a liberal exceptionalist narrative that contrasts “Eastern autocracy” with “Western freedom” masks how the United States has perpetuated its own systems of illiberal dominance throughout its history. Those same structures of oppression are the greatest threat to contemporary US democracy and also serve as glaring evidence of US hypocrisy. In his defense of American exceptionalism, Jake Sullivan represents institutional racism as a bug rather than a feature of the American political system by emphasizing the liberal ideals of the Founders and casting Donald Trump’s white ethnonationalism as an aberration. But this telling of the American story whitewashes the long history of an exclusive, white ethnic US identity dating back to the early 19th Century and its role in generating the modern United States. Scholars of American political development and US history have long demonstrated that institutions of slavery and land conquest constituted US society and made possible its economic prosperity rather than some kind of intrinsic tendency toward freedom.

Fast-forward to the present: liberal exceptionalism further denies how economic globalization made possible the rise of authoritarianism. Nils Gilman and David Klion rightly argue that the kleptocratic alliance between autocrats and oligarchs is the true threat to democracy and rule of law. Their ability to concentrate political and economic power has been enabled by the emergence of an integrated global market that privileges the freedom of capital over the needs of ordinary people, one created by the United States when liberal internationalism went global after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Finally, attempts to revive US hegemony will doom transnational efforts to deal with existential non-state threats. Hegemonists like Thomas Wright argue that Russia and China are the greatest threat to the United States, and that Washington should never make concessions to either power as a means of ensuring cooperation on issues of global governance. However, “ring-fencing” global capitalism and climate change as separate issues will fail to achieve the necessary level of cooperation to cope with these threats. National security policymakers cannot recognize that the greatest dangers faced by US citizens are non-state economic and ecological global processes that shape domestic politics from the inside-out, and not rival sovereigns. Economic destitution to the point of embracing fascist dictators coupled with environmental collapse are near-certain non-state threats which transcend our boundaries – in fact, as a global power, the United States has been complicit in creating them.

The internationalist disposition would suggest that the priorities of US foreign policy must change. Regulating global processes should be the primary objective, and it requires that the United States pursue intense macro-levels of cooperation with all other states, including its rivals, to achieve them. Yet it will be unlikely to do so if it remains wedded to liberal hegemony and consumed by great power competition. Short-term incentives to accumulate resources and power will override the long-term need for global governance. The result will be a world whose people live in precarity, ravaged by climate change, and constantly on the verge of great power war.

#### Overstretch makes prolif, econ decline, terror, failed states, war with Russia and China – try or die

Walt 19 [STEPHEN M. WALT is Robert and Renee Belfer Professor of International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School and the author of The Hell of Good Intentions: America's Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy. Foreign Affairs. May/June. “The End of Hubris And the New Age of American Restraint.” <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2019-04-16/end-hubris> My OCR sometimes turns E’s into C’s, I think I got them all, but please let me know if I missed one]

At bottom, liberal hegemony is a highly revisionist strategy. Instead of working to maintain favorable balances of power in a few areas of vital interest, the United States sought to transform regimes all over the world and recruit new members into the economic and security institutions it dominated. The results were dismal: failed wars, financial crises, staggering inequality, frayed alliances, and emboldened adversaries. HEGEMONIC HUBRIS When Clinton took office in 1993, the United States was on favorable terms with the world’s other major powers, including China and Russia. Democracy was spreading, Iraq was being disarmed, and Iran had no nuclear enrichment capacity. The Oslo Accords seemed to herald an end to the Israeli Palestinian conflict, and Washington seemed well positioned to guide that process. The European Union was adding new members and moving toward a common currency, and the U.S. economy was performing well. Americans saw terrorism as a minor problem, and the U.S. military seemed unstoppable. The wind was at the country’s back. Life was good. But those circumstances fueled a dangerous overconfidence among American elites. Convinced that the United States was “the indispensable nation,” as Secretary of State Madeleine Albright famously put it in 1998, they believed they had the right, the responsibility, and the wisdom to shape political arrange ments in every corner of the world. That vision turned out to be a hubris-tic fantasy. Repeated attempts to broker peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians all failed, and the two-state solution sought by three U.S. presidents is no longer a viable option. Al Qaeda attacked the U.S. homeland on September 11, 2001, and Washington responded by launching a global war on terrorism, including invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Those campaigns were costly failures and shattered the U.S. military’s aura of invincibility. Much of the Middle East is now embroiled in conflict, and violent extremists operate from Africa to Central Asia and beyond. Meanwhile, India, Pakistan, and North Korea tested and deployed nuclear weapons, and Iran become a latent nuclear weapons state. The collapse of the U.S. housing market in 2008 exposed widespread corruption in the country’s financial institutions and triggered the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression—a calamity from which the global economy has yet to fully recover. In 2014, Russia seized Crimea, and it has interfered in a number of other countries since then and its relations with the West are now worse than at any time since the Cold War. Chinas power and ambitions have expanded, and cooperation between Beijing and Moscow has deepened. The eurozone crisis, the United Kingdom’s decision to withdraw from the eu, and energetic populist movements have raised doubts about the eu’s future. Democracy is in retreat worldwide; according to Freedom House, 2018 was the 13th consecutive year in which global freedom declined. Illiberal leaders govern in Hungary and Poland, and the Economist Intelligence Unit’s annual Democ-racy Index has downgraded the United States from a “full” to a "flawed” democracy. The United States was not solely responsible for all these adverse developments, but it played a major role in most of them. And the taproot of many of these failures was Washington's embrace of liberal hegemony. For starters, that strategy expanded U.S. security obligations without providing new resources with which to meet them. The policy of “dual containment,” aimed at Iran and Iraq, forced the United States to keep thousands of troops on the Arabian Peninsula, an additional burden that also helped convince Osama bin Laden to strike at the U.S. homeland. Nato expansion committed Washington to defend weak and vulnerable new members, even as France, Germany, and the United Kingdom let their military forces atrophy. Equally important, U.S. efforts to promote democracy, the open-ended expansion of NATO, and the extension of the alliances mission far beyond its original parameters poisoned relations with Russia. And fear of U.S. led regime change encouraged several states to pursue a nuclear deterrent—in the case of North Korea, successfully. When the United States did manage to topple a foreign foe, as it did in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya, the results were not thriving new democracies but costly occupations, failed states, and hundreds of thousands of dead civilians. It was delusional for U.S. leaders to expect otherwise: creating a functional democracy is a difficult process under the best of circumstances, but trying to do it in fractured societies one barely under stands is a fool’s errand. Finally, globalization did not deliver as promised. Opening up markets to trade and investment brought great benefits to lower and middle classes in China, India, and other parts of the developing world. It also further magnified the already staggering wealth of the worlds richest one percent. But lower- and middle-class incomes in the United States and Europe remained flat, jobs in some sectors there fled abroad, and the global financial system became much more fragile.