## \*\*Space Link Toolbox\*\*

### L- Generic- Space Management

#### Space management cannot be understood outside of settler colonialism. The infrastructure, institutions, and Eurocentric values of space policy are considered the hallmarks of science and progress, which become weaponized against Indigenous resistance.

Matson and Nunn 17

(Zannah Mae Matson is a PhD student in Human Geography at the University of Toronto, Neil Nunn is a PhD candidate in the Department of Geography and Planning at the University of Toronto, 10-3-17, SPACE INFRASTRUCTURE, EMPIRE, AND THE FINAL FRONTIER: WHAT THE MAUNA KEA LAND DEFENDERS TEACH US ABOUT COLONIAL TOTALITY, Society and Space, <https://societyandspace.org/2017/10/03/space-infrastructure-empire-and-the-final-frontier-what-the-mauna-kea-land-defenders-teach-us-about-colonial-totality/>, JKS)

Mauna Kea is a dormant volcano and the highest point on the archipelago of Hawai’i. When measured from its base at seafloor, it is the tallest mountain on earth. These towering heights, in a region of the world with minimal light pollution has also earned Mauna Kea recognition of being one of the best spots on the planet for examining the cosmos. Long before the development of modern space infrastructure, however, the peak of Mauna Kea was regarded by native Hawaiians as among the most sacred places on the archipelago of Hawai’i. The place where earth meets the heavens. These divergent perspectives are embedded within a larger relationship of imperial domination that has seeded a century of unrest. While the primary focus of the protest was to challenge a half-century disregard for this sacred site by numerous entities and interests, the Battle for Mauna Kea cannot be understood outside Hawaii’s 125 year-long history of colonial occupation. In 1893, the Hawaiian Kingdom and its Queen, Lydia Kamaka’eha Lili’uokalani, were overthrown by a US led military coup (Long, 2017). Speaking to a spirit of resistance that has existed on the islands since the coup, scholar-activist K. Kamakaoka’ilima Long (2017: 15) states: “four decades of land struggles and cultural historical recovery… have grown a Hawaiian sovereignty movement… playing out in both land defense and as a movement to re-realize Hawaiian political independence as a sovereign state.” This recent assertion of self-determination, now known as the battle for Mauna Kea, has grown to become a global movement with broad support from high-profile figures and the hashtags #Wearemaunakea, #ProtectMaunaKea, and #TMTshutdown trending widely on social media. More than just a source of inspiration for the groundswell anti-colonial movements around the world, this story provides a context to better understand ongoing colonial occupation that is reinforced through the constitutive power of space infrastructure. Working from decades of resistance that culminated in the “battle for Mauna Kea,” we engage the notion of colonial totality to conceptualize the resistance to space infrastructure and the ongoing US occupation of Hawaii, reflecting on what this movement provides for better understanding totality and the relationship between space infrastructure and the shifting nature of colonial occupation more broadly. The notion of totality describes the process by which occupied spaces are coded with Western values in the form of normalized cultures, epistemologies, and institutions that produces an “atomistic image of social existence” (Quijano, 2007: 174). The institutions, ideologies and systems that advocate for the construction of space infrastructure exemplify this process. Astronomers frame the building of the observatory infrastructure as an essential piece in advancing our knowledge of outer space and ultimately achieving ‘universal’ progress. The resistance to development of these infrastructural systems is an invitation to consider the relationship between space as a frontier of discovery and ongoing questions of settler colonialism; the blockade has made visible the inherent relationship between the infrastructure of scientific exploration and the logic of totalizing colonial rationality that enables the development of massive telescopes on occupied land. While these perspectives of colonial totality provide a useful understanding of power and institutions that shape this conflict, we suggest that the Hawaiian land defenders’ refusal of the normalizing force of space infrastructure demonstrates the complexities and conditions relating to the notion of totality and ultimately the inadequacies of the concept. During a public comment period at 2015 University of Hawai‘i Board of Regents meeting, Dr. Pualani Kanaka’ole Kanahele gestures to both the totalizing colonial discourse that suppresses her cultural beliefs and the importance of fighting back against these systems: … we believe in the word of our ancestors…they say we are the products of this land and that is our truth…and that is what we are fighting for. This is our way of life. This is not our job. We don’t earn money from doing this. But for generations after generations, we will continue to be doing what we are doing today. What Dr. Kanahele speaks of goes beyond the physical destruction of the sacred ancestral site, to describe a hegemonic normalization and occupation that actively effaces traditional Hawaiian ways of being in the world. The words and actions of the land defenders challenge totalizing structures that classify space according to a narrow set of beliefs about the world. Working from these acts of resistance, we want to suggest that the Hawaiian sovereignty movement illuminates how systems of scientific thought and the project of space exploration rely on Euro-western values being the standard by which all other values are measured. It is this wide acceptance of these structures and principles of reasoning that serve to justify the construction of infrastructure that at once reproduces and fortifies these myths. This self-reinforcing relationship between the production of space infrastructure and the logics that justify it speaks to a powerful aspects of colonial totality: the way it gains power by rendering illegible the very elements relied upon to actively produce the other. The generally unquestioned salience of space infrastructure is a powerful example of this. As Quijano (2007: 174) describes, the relationship between colonialism and scientific discourse is a mutually reinforcing and “part of, a power structure that involved the European colonial domination over the rest of the world.” In Hawai’i, we see the settler colonial process of cultural attrition operating through a totalizing force of colonial knowledge systems that extend beyond physical occupation of land to include an erasure of Indigenous Hawaiian ways of knowing. Although the spatialities and technologies associated with this form of stellar navigation are radically dissimilar, we suggest that on a basic level, this form of space exploration is continuous with a lineage of Euro-western projects of discovery. In short, space as the ‘final frontier’ is not simply a metaphor but speaks to the role of astronomy in upholding the ongoing projection of values onto new territories and extending power and acquisition of territory to those complicit in colonial processes. This extends both to the world’s highest peaks and into the heavens. Space infrastructure is central to this ongoing frontier process that seeks to code ‘new’ territories as knowable according to certain values and, as a result, casts inhabitants who fall outside this paradigm as irrational, less-than-human, and exploitable. However, as Lowe (2015: 2) warns, these abstract promises of human freedoms and rational progress are necessarily discordant with the “global conditions on which they depend.” Which is to say that these atomistic systems dispose of the very relationships and elements of life that make them possible. A belief in respecting the sacredness of the world is just one example of this. It is also essential to recognize the process of establishing colonial totality is one that imperial forces have worked tirelessly to instill. Recognizing this helps to disrupt an appearance of givenness that colonial occupation relies upon. The land defenders have been vocal about this, reminding of us of the fact that since the arrival of James Cook to the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, settler colonial campaigns have been advancing longstanding patterns of cultural removal, fueled by beliefs in colonial supremacy. Following the coup and overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by US-led forces, a colonial oligarchy banned Hawaiian languages from schools and formalized English as the official language for business and government relations (Silva, 2004: 2-3). This legislation eroded language, culture, and sacred practice; and is an example of what Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (cited in Silva, 2004: 3) describes as a “cultural bomb” of settler colonialism that serves to “annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves.” According to Chickasaw theorist Jodi Byrd, continually reflecting on the historical and ongoing work that maintains the conditions of settler colonialism is essential to resisting the tendency for colonial constraint to appear inevitable, unresolvable, and complete (Byrd, 2011; see also Simpson, 2014). There was nothing, easy, given, or natural about processes of colonial occupation. While we acknowledge the usefulness of totality for thinking about colonial supremacy, we have concerns about its tendency to inscribe an inaccurate depiction of Euro-western superpower with total ideological control over subjugated Indigenous population. Put differently, we are cautious of the work that the notion of totality does to reinforce a too widely accepted view of Indigenous populations as helplessly dominated, or even anachronistic. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement demonstrates that this is not the case. What the battle at Mauna Kea has shown—akin to other efforts of refusal, such as those at Standing Rock—is that the war against colonialism is ongoing. At present, it appears the land protectors have been successful in their goals of halting construction, as the development team behind the project has begun considering secondary sites for the telescope. The resistance at Mauna Kea, then, is a powerful symbol of the possibility of rupturing the normative totality of Modernist scientific rationality, but it also underscores the recalcitrance of the structures of control and the challenges of pushing back against colonial occupation. However, despite this rupturing of hegemonic ideas of science and progress through the resistance movement, the dominant response from the scientific community has been largely one of confusion and perplexity. This reaction to the uprising speaks to the power of the narratives that cement the Western framework as ‘truth,’ ‘natural,’ and ‘given.’ For these representatives of state and international institutions, violent control is re-framed as co-existence to achieve Modernist notions of progress, while the claims of Indigenous people are reduced to frivolous demands with primitive and irrational connections to the past. This, of course, exists with little consideration of the irony of how this frenzy to build infrastructure that works to “know” the cosmos may be read as equally irrational. This essay has sought to consider the relationship between infrastructure and colonialism, emphasizing that even the most futuristic space telescopes have embedded within them a lineage of Euro-western cultural supremacy. It is important to recognize the extant materiality of these infrastructures as a manifestation of hegemonic systems that perpetuate myths of rationality and Euro-western cultural supremacy. The battle for Mauna Kea movement highlights the importance of remembering the long historical processes and extensive exertion of colonial constraint and cultural removal that has been necessary to maintain control of the land. Despite the social processes that naturalize colonial infrastructure, there is nothing essential, necessary, or pre-ordained about enormous telescopes. The success of the land defenders at Mauna Kea, and the support the movement gained around the world, shows us that Euro-western forces and the infrastructure that is central to maintaining their normative influence, are replete with fissures and contradictions worth pushing against. In spite of the hegemonic forces of modernity and rationality behind the construction of the TMT and a continued attempt to assert colonial totality, the battle at Mauna Kea indicates these hegemonic forces have been far from totalizing. The colonial powers do not have the final word. The land defenders at Mauna Kea have demonstrated a powerful vision for disrupting normative ways of occupying land and knowing the cosmos inspiring us to think further on the complexities of mobilizing infrastructure to resist colonialism. It is within these ruptures that we see a potential for a continued learning from the stars and our social existence.

### L – Debris

#### Debris is our ally against empire!

Reno, Associate Prof. Anthropology @ Binghamton, 18

(Joshua Ozias, PhD from the University of Michigan: “Making Time with Amateur Astronomers and Orbital Space Debris: Attunement and the Matter of Temporality” in Journal of Contemporary Archaeology 5.1 (2018) 4–18)DR 19

For one thing, space debris is potentially dangerous to spacecraft. Space debris is partly assessed by treating returning spacecraft in a way they were never intended for: as a “hypervelocity impact capture medium”, as they are dented more by artificial objects than natural meteorites (Bernhard et al. 1997). The impetus for tracking and modeling space debris thus comes from the temporal possibilities they threaten. Alice Gorman (2015) describes space debris as an emergent assemblage that takes on new spatio-temporal properties, even when compared with other objects orbiting the Earth. This is most clearly represented in the idea of the Kessler Syndrome (Kessler and Cour-Palais 1978). This theory predicts a “cascade of random collisions that create so much debris the Earth is enveloped and cut off from space” (Gorman 2015, 42). This includes **a feedback process whereby objects continually collide and spread out**, **converting Earth orbits**, especially in LEO, **into** **a hazardous environment filled with tiny fragments**. Space debris would circle eternally overhead like a cloud of bullets awaiting a target, trapping us in fear on the surface. Gorman points out that it is unclear that such a dire situation has emerged or necessarily will. Whether it is likely to take hold or not, the Kessler Syndrome actually reflects anxiety about the unexpected and emergent spacetime of materials orbiting the Earth. The time they threaten is increasingly incorporated into fantasies of space travel. For example, this provided an element of horror in the recent and very successful science-fiction film Gravity (2013), where space debris was depicted as a monstrous threat – like a swarm of abiotic locusts – that cycled the Earth with an alien regularity: without warning they descend and annihilate spacecraft or slaughter hapless astronauts. It may be that these risks are being somewhat amplified by filmmakers and space agencies; yet, the threat of damage from orbital space debris is at least somewhat real. The ISS had to perform approximately eight evasive maneuvers during its first decade of operation in order to avoid collisions with debris. Calculations are normally performed at least three times a day to determine risks of collision over the subsequent 72 hours; if the chance of collision with a large enough object is determined to be greater than one in ten thousand, then maneuvers are planned and executed (see Johnson and Klinkrad 2009). Here is an account of a recent incident, written by representatives from the ESA and NASA assigned to space debris: The last collision avoidance maneuver by ISS occurred on 27 August 2008 when a fragment from the Kosmos 2421 spacecraft was projected to pose a collision risk of 1 in 72, i.e., 0.014 […]. This piece of debris was one of more than 500 cataloged debris released from Kosmos 2421 during three major fragmentation events from March to June 2008. At the time of these fragmentations, Kosmos 2421 was only about 60 km above the orbit of the ISS. As these debris decayed down through the ISS orbit, the number of potentially threatening conjunctions each month increased by a factor of three. (Johnson and Klinkrad 2009, 5) Occasionally, these objects also fall from the sky, as occurred in December of 2016 when a large object came seemingly out of nowhere and smashed a man’s van in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Lemoine 2016). Wisconsin is also where a fragment of Sputnik 4 crashed down from the sky in 1962. The occasion is still celebrated in one town as “Sputnikfest”, including a pageant to determine the annual “Miss Space Debris” (David 2013). According to Dickens and Ormrod (2007, 153), space debris **is arguably even more meaningful as both** barrier **and bridge to desirable futures**. **These hoped-for futures involve**, for instance, further **exploration and exploitation beyond LEO** and **into the very valuable and legally contested domain of geostationary orbit**, **where satellites can more easily analyze** from and transmit data to the entire planet (Collis 2009). This also includes NewSpace initiatives that seek to extend capitalism and empire beyond the limits of the Earth, whether to mine asteroids or colonize Mars (Dickens and Ormrod 2007; Dickens 2009). **These initiatives** provide a clear motivation to clean up the polluted and risk-filled environment in the vicinity of Earth. From this admittedly interested perspective, the presence of space debris limits the utilization of LEO, MEO and GEO, **creating risks for** any state and/or capital investment. Insofar as space debris influences assessments concerning the utilization of outer space for various ends, it directly mediates the futures that space agencies and industries imagine **possible** and **desirable**. To manage these risks requires attunement. Space agencies must first be able to find the objects and predict their strange movements. As with contract archaeologists, experts are called upon to manage those materials that might otherwise interfere with the success of productive enterprises of extraction, construction and consumption. The primary difference is that, where contract archaeology, and cultural resource management generally, endeavor to protect the objects they curate from destruction by human industry, in astronomical CRM the risks are reversed: it is those voyaging into space who potentially have something to fear from leftover remains, and not the other way around. As Gorman makes clear, the primary difficulty with an archaeological analysis of space debris is the issue of distance and a lack of “direct field experience” (Gorman 2015, 33). Remote sensing can only provide fragmentary glimpses of objects large enough to capture. In short, the objects are too small and space is too big. In this regard, archaeology becomes much like astronomy. Amateur astronomers could be seen as ideally positioned to aid in such research, in fact, as they can cover more of the spacescape than even a very large centralized government telescope (Marshall et al. 2015). Beginning after the launch of Sputnik 1, amateur citizen scientists known as “Moonwatchers” (named after Operation Moonwatch, a Smithsonian project), helped form a global network of satellite trackers who provided crucial information to space agencies and governments throughout the Cold War (see McCray 2008). Given the secrecy that has surrounded a great many satellites, furthermore, such efforts arguably also help to democratize scientific knowledge. A more recent example is the crowd-sourced effort to scan space in search of the elusive and acclaimed Planet 9. And, perhaps more importantly, amateur astronomers have developed the patience to undertake this, having had to routinely undergo attunement to multiple temporal constraints in order to follow their passion. It therefore is not surprising that in 2012, DARPA (Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, the US Department of Defense’s projects agency created after Sputnik 1 launched) proposed to enroll amateur astronomers in their hunt for space debris. The goal, they claimed, was to supplement the DoD’s Space Surveillance Network with a new program called SpaceView. Astronomers would help DARPA track the debris so that they could launch a satellite recycling robot, called the Phoenix; initially, it was hoped that this would be ready by 2017, although it is still in development. The Phoenix would find the debris identified by astronomers and use the parts to support new space missions. The European Space Agency and NASA have announced a similar goal, without any mention of the use of amateur astronomers. The appeal of recycling space debris is that it turns the threat into a resource that can make up for the enormous terrestrial funds and resources that are needed to launch objects into Earth’s orbit and beyond. With the help of amateur astronomers, space debris would not only be a form of cultural resource to manage – as it is typically imagined within the archaeology of outer space – **but a material foundation for new and emergent futures.** Precisely because amateur astronomers are used to undergoing attunement to terrestrial and cosmic temporalities, however, they may not answer the call. Those astronomers that I have met are skeptical of DARPA’s plans (which, like many proposals to capture and clean up the orbital environments of Earth, have yet to materialize). Amateur astronomers are too aware of the trials undergone to peer through the media of sky and space, the time it would take to find something small and unexpected. Perhaps more importantly, this is free labor that they would rather use for more satisfactory ends. Space debris, after all, is usually thought of as noise that disrupts their careful efforts at observation. Conclusion There is a sense in which both astronomical and archaeological practice share a peculiar temporal multiplicity or polychronicity. They are both material practices directed at traces in the present, about things in the past, for the sake of the future. That is, no matter what form they take, their true object is not the actual rays of light or fragments of material they have access to in the present, but the past reality these stand for and enable us to better imagine (whether distant celestial objects or human societies as they once were). And no matter whether the goal of what they do is preserving a memory or engaging in positive social change, they are striving toward a hoped-for future where the memory lasts and/or people are better off (cf. McGuire 2008). I have argued that amateur astronomy in general, and the observation of space debris in particular, demonstrate how materials can do more than stand for time’s passing, but also produce a temporality all their own, with which one can become more or less attuned. This raises the question of whether such time is uniform or multiple. Adam (1995, 1998) and Connolly (2013) both argue that the universe consists of multiple, nested and semi-autonomous temporalities. Similarly, the heirs of Einsteinian relativity in contemporary astronomy have developed not one master clock but a “family of time scales” which include Universal Time, International Atomic Time, Coordinate Universal Time and “apparent time”, among others (Seidelmann and Seago 2011). By contrast, Ingold and Hallam (2007) and Ingold (2012, 2014) usefully direct our attention to the role of the nonhuman as productive of temporality. However, according to Georgina Born, they rely on a “monotemporality of becoming” that fails to acknowledge “the plural temporalities in operation both in human and nonhuman life and in cultural production” (Born 2015, 365). Based on the experiences of amateur astronomers and the phenomenon of orbital space debris, one could argue not only that materials are time, but that these times are multiple, nested and emergent. The tendency in the growing archaeology of outer space has been to look at documented evidence from the vantage point of the ground – but, unlike amateur astronomers, not through telescopes. This does not make the evidence they have gathered less important, but it does mean that the material practices involved, of observing and becoming attuned, is different. The archaeological curation of objects in outer space not only consists of a new form of cultural resource management or heritage research, although it is that as well (see Barclay and Brooks 2009; Idziak 2013). Rather than helping us merely to record the past, it may, as Gorman (2014, 2015) argues, help us understand the emergence of new temporalities. In particular, she associates observation of outer space with the Anthropocene, which “cannot be understood without reference to space. **The Sun**, **Moon**, and **electromagnetic environment shape and drive the climate of the Earth**” (Gorman 2014, 90). To reckon with such unsettling temporal possibilities, one need only turn to astronomical practice, which has long facilitated new ways of imagining the universe’s ultimate beginnings and endings… from the Big Bang and Big Crunch, to the Milky Way’s eventual collision with the Andromeda Galaxy, and the inevitable incineration of the Earth as it is engulfed by our aging Sun, which itself will eventually die. If anything, **astronomers must be open to many futures**, **many endings**. The difference between these disastrous, imagined futures **and** those associated with space debris is that, by limiting the exploitation of orbital regions and the exploration of the universe, space debris serves as a temporal blockage of sorts – one that not only frustrates us in the present but delays or eliminates possibilities, including the possibility of future escape from the climatic and climactic disasters that await a humanity that may be prevented from ever safely leaving Earth behind. Perhaps space debris can never be mastered and will only multiply. If so, it would have to be attuned to as yet another constraining nonhuman force, mediating access to desired and hoped-for views of, and futures in, space. One might assume that the main limitation confronting the archaeology of outer-space exploration is the lack of access to the remains floating in orbit or crashing into the earth. Archaeologists of outer space have developed novel ways to study what they rarely can grasp and handle, measure and collect, but amateur astronomers have far more experience, being passionate about things to which they have no direct access. I have no reason to endorse DARPA’s view, that amateur astronomers are interested or able to provide new data, per se. What I think they represent, instead, is an alternative sensibility, one cultivated over many generations, **whereby knowledge practices are undergone rather than mastered.** This is true not only of amateurs, those I have focused on, but of professionals as well. Exoplanet astronomers, for instance, are tasked with imagining worlds from the slightest glimpse of planets many light-years away (Messeri 2016). Not only do archeologists of space debris have a closer target, in space and in time: they also know much more about the world from which these metal pests emerged. If they became more familiar with an astronomical sensibility, one **premised on distance and attunement**, restraint and constraint, they might discover a set of practices that has grown in the absence of such relative mastery, subject to processes of formation and deformation not unlike what conventional archaeologists encounter amid the Earth’s beguiling surface.

## \*\*Alternative\*\*

### 1NC- Indigenous Internationalism

#### This debate is not private space good/bad, but instead a question of Native sovereignty and the power to invoke the plan. The 1AC eclipses the authority of Native nations, so in response we affirm the long tradition of Indigenous internationalism across colonial borders.

Estes 19

(Nick Estes is a citizen of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe. He is an Assistant Professor in the American Studies Department at the University of New Mexico. In 2014, he co-founded The Red Nation, an Indigenous resistance organization. For 2017-2018, Estes was the American Democracy Fellow at the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History at Harvard University. Chapter 6: Internationalism, Our History Is the Future: STANDING ROCK VERSUS THE DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE, AND THE LONG TRADITION OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE, 2019, hardback, JKS)

The Treaty Council, however, was not the first or only version of what historian Daniel Cobb calls a “global Indigenous identity.” Rather, it belonged to and drew from a long tradition of Indigenous internationalism.5 Prior to European contact, Indigenous nations had often entered into relations with each other for alliance, kinship, war, peace, or trade. As shown in previous chapters, agreements were made not solely between human nations, but also among nonhuman nations as well, such as the buffalo and the land. Such treaties were, and continue to be, the basis of diplomacy and the evidence of a prior and continuing status of Indigenous nationhood. Sovereign nations do not enter into international relations or treaties with domestic or “internal” populations. On the contrary, the very basis of sovereignty is the power to negotiate relationships between those who are seen as different— between other sovereigns and nations. But concepts of “sovereignty” and “nation” possess different meanings for Indigenous peoples than for their European-derived counterparts. And they are not entirely consistent, either, with the aspirations for a nation-state that came to define decolonization movements in the Third World. While doing important defensive work, on face value these Western and Third World concepts only partially reflect traditions of Indigenous resistance. Far beyond the project of seeking equality within the colonial state, the tradition of radical Indigenous internationalism imagined a world altogether free of colonial hierarchies of race, class, and nation. This vision allowed revolutionary Indigenous organizations such as the Treaty Council to make relatives, so to speak, with those they saw as different, imagining themselves as part of Third World struggles and ideologies, and entirely renouncing the imperialism and exceptionalism of the First World (while still living in it). They were in the First World but not of it—much like American Indians are in, but not entirely of, the United States. Indigenous peoples across North America and the world have fought, died, and struggled to reclaim, restore, and redefine these powerful ideas. Their goal has been to take their proper place in the family of nations. Radical Indigenous internationalism, however, predates AIM and the Treaty Council. Contemporary pan-Indigenous movements were a result of more than a decade of Red Power organizing that began in the early 1960s, nearly a decade before the creation of AIM. Earlier, in the 1950s, Flathead scholar and writer D’Arcy McNickle and the National Congress of American Indians had explored a similar intellectual and political terrain of internationalism. And before that, the Society of American Indians advocated for a seat at the table during the 1919 Paris peace talks and representation at the League of Nations. Each distinct instance posed a similar question: If Indigenous peoples are nations, why are they not afforded the right to self-determination? Two strands of thinking about self-determination for the colonial world prevailed following the First World War. In the first, US President Woodrow Wilson argued for self-determination with a limited set of rights that would not radically upset the colonial order. Such liberal internationalism, however, glaringly omitted Indigenous peoples, as they understood themselves as nations that existed prior to the formation of settler states. Rarely were Wilson’s principles applied to North America or the United States; nor were they ever intended to extend to Indigenous peoples. A second, more radical vision put forward by Communist revolutionary V. I. Lenin argued for the right of colonized nations to secede and declare independence from their colonial masters. This view was echoed by the Third World decolonization movement, as part of a global Socialist and Communist revolution, and it has frequently been applied in the Asian, African, and South American contexts. But this view remained almost entirely absent in North America, except among radical Indigenous, Black, Asian, Caribbean, and Chicanx national liberation movements. The Treaty Council advocated Indigenous nationhood as part of this global anti-colonial movement and in line with Third World liberation movements. After decades of experiencing land loss, enduring bare survival, attempting to work with federal programs, filing court cases, defeating termination legislation, and facing mass relocation, an assertion of Oceti Sakowin sovereignty went from ambition to prescription. Few avenues remained other than the pursuit of international treaty rights. Treaties made with the United States were proof of nationhood. But what legal institution would uphold this position if the United States refused to? If the goal was to reverse the unjust occupation of an entire continent, the advancement of Indigenous rights through the very legal and political systems that justified that occupation in the first place had proven limited in some instances, and hopeless in others. To survive, AIM and the Treaty Council therefore had to look elsewhere to make their case—beyond the confines of the most powerful political construct in world history, the nation-state. Prior to and during colonization, Indigenous nations had self-organized into deliberate confederacies, alliances, and governments. The Nation of the Seven Council Fires (the Oceti Sakowin), for instance, is a confederacy of seven different nations of Lakota-, Dakota-, and Nakota-speaking peoples in the Northern Plains and Western Great Lakes. They are hardly unique; in North America alone there are the Creek Confederacy in the Southeast, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy of Six Nations in the Northeast, the Council of Three Fires (made up of Ojibwes, Odawas, and Potawatomis) in the Great Lakes region, the United Indian Nations in the Ohio River valley (under the Shawnee leadership of Tecumseh), the All Indian Pueblo Council of the Southwest, and the Iron Confederacy of the Northern Plains. Many other political confederacies also flourished prior to, alongside, and in spite of settler states in North America. And their legacies are hardly relegated to the primordial past. Modern Oceti Sakowin internationalism, for instance, traces its origins to the early twentieth century, an era generally viewed as a low point for Indigenous activism and resistance. In North America alone, an estimated precolonial population of tens of millions of Indigenous peoples had been reduced to about 300,000, and for Flathead historian D’Arcy McNickle, writing in 1949, two processes contributed greatly to this decimation: the institution of private property and the destruction of Indigenous governance that once held land in common. Indigenous nations at the time also possessed little in the way of either collective property or political power, as Indigenous territory had been drastically diminished, and the reservation system had overthrown or almost entirely dissolved customary governments. If Indigenous peoples once constituted the tree of the Americas, whose roots deeply entwined in the land, the cultivation of “growth from the severed stump,” McNickle argued, was the pivotal challenge of the twentieth century.7 Physical extermination and the repression of Indigenous political power verified the United States’ genocidal intent, but these had not accomplished their purpose. And despite otherwise stating pluralistic claims to inclusion, McNickle concluded that the United States simply “can not tolerate a nation within a nation.” If Natives were to be assimilated, they would be assimilated as individuals and not as nations. In the popular imaginary, Natives disappeared into the wilderness of history, were never truly nations, and had been overpowered by a superior civilization. If they were nations, they were eclipsed and replaced by the real nation—the United States. Such erasure notwithstanding, vibrant Indigenous political traditions persisted. But to the untrained eye, nothing was awry. From the severed stump began to regrow the tree of life—the tree of resistance that would blossom into revolt decades later.

### 1NC- Alt Framing

#### The process and agents of political change matter. Indigenous internationalism must be asserted through Native sovereignty and organizing. The plan and the perm still collude with settlerism, which trades-off with meaningful resistance.

Simpson 16

(Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, renowned Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar. She holds a PhD from the University of Manitoba, and teaches at the Dechinta Centre for Research & Learning in Denendeh. An Interview with Eve Tuck (Unangax̂), Indigenous Resurgence and Co-resistance, Critical Ethnic Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall 2016), pp. 19-34, JKS)

PLACE-BASED INTERNATIONALISM

Eve: One idea that Wayne and I floated in our call for papers is that how a person or community understands the roots or source of injustice will have implications for how they go about undoing that injustice. Does this make sense to you? Might it be too simplistic or problematic?

Leanne: I think we need to be a bit careful here, particularly in the academy. I think Indigenous peoples understand pretty well injustice in their own lives whether or not they can articulate it using the language of colonialism or decolonization. I think movements that link social realities with political systems and focus on creating real-world-on-the-ground alternatives are powerful. I worry that too much of our energy goes into trying to influence the system rather than creating the alternatives. It matters to me how change is achieved. Change achieved through struggle, organizing, and creating the alternatives produces profoundly different outcomes than change achieved through recognition-focused protest, and pressuring the state to make the changes for us. That is a recipe for co-option. I think it is important to understand root causes of injustice, but it is also important to understand think strategically and intelligently about approaches to undoing that injustice. I think that diagnosis and strategic action must be done within grounded normativity. Indigenous thought has a tradition of place-based internationalism that I think is this beautifully fertile spot because it links place-based thinking and struggle with the same decolonial pockets of thinking throughout the world. Nishnaa- beg have been linking ourselves to the rest of the world since the beginning of time, and throughout our resistance to colonialism we have our people traveling throughout the world to link with other communities of resistors. Grassy Narrows First Nation comes to mind in their nearly four- decade fight against mercury poisoning in their river system and the relationship they have made with the Japanese community in Mnimata.6 We need to use our experiences in the past to think critically about how we respond to injustice today. Right now, Indigenous peoples in Canada need to be thinking critically about the implications of seeking recogni- tion within the colonial state because we have a government that is very good at neoliberalism and seducing our hope for their purposes. Again, Glen Sean Coulthard, in Red Skin, White Masks, using the Dene nation’s experience in the 1970s, provides a blistering critique of the pitfalls of seeking political recognition within state structures. He makes the point that continually seeking recognition with the settler-colonial state is a process of co-option and neutralization, and is a way of bringing Indigenous peoples into the systems that guts our resistance movements, for instance, and we get very little in return.7 In fact, in terms of dispossession—that is, the removal, murdering, displacement, and destruction of the relation- ship between Indigenous bodies and Indigenous land—this serves only to facilitate land loss, not improve things. Engagement with the system changes Indigenous peoples more than it changes the system. This can be destructive in terms of resurgence because resurgent movements are trying to do the opposite—we are trying to center Indigenous practices and thoughts in our lives as everyday acts of resistance, and grow those actions and processes into a mass mobilization. I think it is useful to apply this same critique of recognition to orga- nizing and mobilizing with the purpose of making a switch from mobi- lizing around victim-based narratives—that is, publically demonstrating the pain of loss as a mechanism to appeal to the moral and ethical fabric of Canadian society (which has over and over again proven to be morally bankrupt when it comes to Indigenous peoples)—to using that same pain and anger to fuel resurgent actions. This organizing from within grounded normativity has always fueled Indigenous resistance and continues to happen all the time in Indigenous communities—it is just often misread by others. The community of Hollow Water First Nation created the Community Holistic Circle of Healing as a Nishnaabeg restoration of relationships, or a restorative justice model to address sexual violence in their community.8 Christi Belcourt’s Walking with Our Sisters exhibit has created a traveling display of 1,800 moccasin vamps as a way of honoring and commemorating missing and murdered Indigenous women and children in Canada and the United States. The exhibit does not rely on state funding.9 Thousands of volunteers made the vamps. The exhibit works with local communities and their cultural and spiritual practices to install the exhibit and do the necessary ceremony and community processes. Walking with Our Sisters works with local organizers a year in advance of installation, using Indigenous processes to embed the art in community on the terms of the local community. There is also the work of countless urban Indigenous organizations supporting the families of MMIWG2S people. The Native Youth Sexual Health Network provides on-the-ground, community-embedded, peer-to-peer support around sex- ual health and addiction for youth.10 The Akwesasne Freedom School provides Mohawk education for Mohawk children.11 The Iroquois national and Haudenosaunee women’s lacrosse teams travel using Haudenosau- nee passports instead of American or Canadian ones.12 The Unist’ot’en Camp pursues land protection resurgent action and the reclamation of the original name of Mount Douglas, PKOLS, in the city of Victoria, British Columbia.13

#### ROB-> vote for the team that best represents indigenous scholarship since in round impacts o/w

## Restaurant PTX DA

#### Restaurant package coming now, but floor time is key and in short supply

Mcpherson 1-15-22

Lindsey Mcpherson, (Senior reporter [@rollcall](https://twitter.com/rollcall) covering House and Senate legislative maneuvering. ), jan 15 2022, "Restaurants could get another $40 billion financial lifeline," press reader, https://www.pressreader.com/usa/rome-news-tribune/20220115/282372632976658, // HW AW

WASHINGTON — A bipar­tisan Sen­ate group is nego­ti­at­ing a bill to provide about $40 bil­lion in fresh fund­ing for pan­demic-battered res­taur­ants, Sen­ate Small Busi­ness Chair­man Ben­jamin L. Cardin said Wed­nes­day. While the details aren’t final, the Mary­land Demo­crat told report­ers that sen­at­ors are con­sid­er­ing an aid pack­age for strug­gling busi­nesses that could more than double the amount of pan­demic aid funneled to res­taur­ants, bars and oth­ers in the food ser­vice industry. “It’s pretty urgent to get done,” Cardin told report­ers. “**The prob­lem is floor time** and how do you get to it, and also mak­ing sure we have adequate bipar­tisan sup­port.” “It’s pretty urgent to get done,” Cardin told report­ers. “The prob­lem is floor time and how do you get to it, and also mak­ing sure we have adequate bipar­tisan sup­port.” The res­taur­ant industry has been clam­or­ing for more fed­eral aid since burn­ing through $28.6 bil­lion Con­gress provided as part of a pan­demic relief pack­age last year. Only about a third of the res­taur­ants that applied for aid last year received a grant under the Res­taur­ant Revital­iz­a­tion Fund, leav­ing nearly 200,000 res­taur­ants and bars strug­gling to stay afloat without aid. More than 90,000 res­taur­ants and bars nation­wide have closed since the begin­ning of the pan­demic and **more than 86% of own­ers say they may close if they don’t receive a grant,** accord­ing to a recent sur­vey from the Inde­pend­ent Res­taur­ant Coali­tion. Law­makers of both parties intro­duced vari­ous bills last year offer­ing up to $120 bil­lion for res­taur­ant aid, But none gained enough trac­tion to win a floor vote in either cham­ber. Cardin intro­duced a bill last sum­mer that would have provided $48 bil­lion in addi­tional Relief. Cardin declined to give many details about the dis­cus­sions but said $40 bil­lion is the ball­park fig­ure law­makers have dis­cussed for new res­taur­ant aid. He said the new pack­age would include aid to other busi­nesses, includ­ing live enter­tain­ment ven­ues and gyms. “We are look­ing bey­ond just res­taur­ants,” he said, while declin­ing to offer a price tag for the entire pack­age. The Com­munity Gyms Coali­tion poin­ted out in a state­ment Wed­nes­day that gyms and fit­ness stu­dios haven’t got­ten any fed­eral relief, unlike res­taur­ants and live enter­tain­ment ven­ues. “Small gyms are con­tinu­ing to suf­fer dis­pro­por­tion­ately from the pan­demic,” the coali­tion said. “We are count­ing on both Con­gress and the Biden admin­is­tra­tion to move quickly to save tens of thou­sands of gyms and fit­ness stu­dios across the coun­try.” “Mis­sis­sippi Sen. Roger Wicker, Cardin’s chief Repub­lican part­ner in the new effort, declined to com­ment Wed­nes­day. “There’s one issue and one issue only I’m talk­ing about this week, and that’s sav­ing the Sen­ate from attack on 200 years of tra­di­tion,” he said, refer­ring to the upcom­ing fight over the Sen­ate’s fili­buster rule relat­ing to vot­ing rights legis­la­tion. Cardin wouldn’t say what legis­lat­ive vehicle would be used, whether a stand-alone bill or as part of a lar­ger spend­ing pack­age. Law­makers are con­sid­er­ing attach­ing pan­demic-related aid such as more money for test­ing, vac­cine dis­tri­bu­tion and school ret­ro­fits in an omni­bus fiscal 2022 appro­pri­ations bill. **“We are mak­ing a lot of pro­gress,” Cardin said. “The ques­tion is, how will it come to the floor?”**

#### The plan is a political firestorm---regulating private space is unpopular---lawmakers want to encourage private space industries to encourage innovation and avoid government liability.

Loren Grush 15, science reporter for The Verge, the technology and culture brand from Vox Media, where she specializes in news about Space and Space law, 2015, “Private space companies avoid FAA oversight again, with Congress' blessing,” https://www.theverge.com/2015/11/16/9744298/private-space-government-regulation-spacex-asteroid-mining

The Senate passed the bill [H.R. 2262](https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-bill/2262), also known as the US Commercial Space Launch Competitiveness Act, last week, and both the House and the Senate have expressed support for it. House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy has [scheduled the bill for final approval this afternoon](http://www.majorityleader.gov/floor/#daily). After it passes, it goes to the president for his official signature. PRIVATE SPACE TRAVEL IS STILL CONSIDERED YOUNG Many prominent commercial space companies — including SpaceX, Blue Origin, and Virgin Galactic — [have applauded H.R. 2262](https://science.house.gov/sites/republicans.science.house.gov/files/documents/FINAL%20WTS_SPACE%20Act%20of%202015.pdf). The legislation means that private space travel is still considered young, and lawmakers have given the industry more time to experiment and gather data."It allows the industry to grow, to test, and to develop without this overshadow of the regulatory hammer coming down on them," Eric Stallmer, president of the Commercial Spaceflight Federation, a non-profit aimed at promoting commercial spaceflight development, told *The Verge*. It also means that people participating in private spaceflight do so at their own risks, and there are no government regulations in place specifically to keep them safe. Space travel isn’t that safe, of course; nearly 1 in 10 rockets fail, though most vehicles that go into space these days don’t have crew members on board. The FAA is concerned about the spacecraft that will carry people, though, which is why the agency doesn’t seem supportive of the learning period extension. In February of 2014, George Nield, head of the FAA Office of Commercial Space Transportation, [testified before the House Subcommittee on Space](http://docs.house.gov/meetings/SY/SY16/20140204/101703/HHRG-113-SY16-Wstate-NieldG-20140204.pdf) that he thinks it's time for the period to expire. Nield said he understands that many in the industry fear overregulation by the FAA, but that his office is more concerned with ensuring crew safety than issuing "burdensome" standards. "We want to enable safe and successful commercial operations," he testified. REGULATORY LEARNING PERIOD The advent of private spaceflight began in the 1960s, but the industry has only started growing rapidly this decade. To address this expansion, Congress passed the Commercial Space Launch Amendments Act in 2004. It granted the private sector a "learning period" free of regulation. The learning period was set to expire in December 2012 but was granted two short extensions. H.R. 2262 will extend the period for a further eight years, through September 30th, 2023. THE FAA STILL HAS SOME AUTHORITY TO REGULATE THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR During the learning period, the FAA still has some authority to regulate the commercial sector. The agency is responsible for issuing licenses for rocket launches and for vehicles re-entering Earth's atmosphere. The agency’s main concern is to ensure that launch vehicles aren’t immediate threats to the uninvolved public and property. Under this legislation, the FAA is restricted from issuing licenses specifically pertaining to the safety of a spacecraft's crew or passengers. Right now, people who participate in commercial spaceflight do so through "informed consent" — meaning they know that they're partaking in an endeavor that could [easily kill them](http://www.popsci.com/article/technology/virgin-galactic-crash-may-lead-new-regulations-private-spaceflight). Before these participants can fly, they must sign a document that says spaceflight is inherently dangerous and they understand the risks associated with it. The end of the learning period would allow the FAA to issue standards related to crew safety — but it also means the agency could issue standards for anything else in relation to commercial spaceflight. For example, the agency could dictate specifically how engines or vehicles should be designed and built, similar to how the FAA oversees the commercial aviation industry. *NTSB investigators stand next to the crash site of SpaceShipTwo. (NTSB)* The FAA hasn't expressed interest in doing this, but Nield noted in his 2014 testimony that the agency wants to regulate spaceflight activities that take place in orbit; for instance, the FAA wants to issue standards for collision avoidance. The agency also hinted it might try to regulate commercial crew safety following last year's Virgin Galactic crash, in which a pilot was killed during a test flight of the company's SpaceShipTwo vehicle. The initial regulatory learning period allowed the FAA to issue regulations in direct response to a serious commercial space travel accident, and the SpaceShipTwo crash was the first commercial flight to result in a fatality. [The FAA told *Bloomberg*](http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-11-07/should-space-travel-be-like-climbing-everest-or-airlines-) that the agency may want additional regulations following an accident investigation, without saying what those might entail. H.R. 2262 still maintains the FAA's ability to issue regulations in the event of a fatal accident, however those regulations must specifically address the accident itself and wouldn't apply to the entire industry. Stallmer, of the Commercial Spaceflight Federation, argued that there will be a time when more regulations are needed — after this learning period is over, without saying when that would be. He hopes that any new standards will stem from extensive dialogue between the government and commercial sectors, as companies continue to learn more about the business of rocket science. "And as the industry grows, we’ll have the knowledge we need so we can eventually have efficient and common sense regulations," said Stallmer. SPACE STATION AND ASTEROID MINING *The International Space Station (NASA)* H.R. 2262 also issues a number of other key provisions, [which can be found here](http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-114hr2262eas/pdf/BILLS-114hr2262eas.pdf). For one, the bill officially extends operations of the International Space Station through 2024. President Obama had already approved this ISS extension, but Congress must sign off on it in order for it to be final. "A new president could come and say, 'To hell with this space station,'" said Stallmer. "This puts into law that the space station will continue to be a national laboratory." And then there’s the asteroid mining. Under one provision of H.R. 2262 called the Space Resource Exploration and Utilization Act of 2015, commercial companies get the rights to any resources that they collect from celestial bodies. The provision is important for companies like the asteroid mining company Planetary Resources, which recently partnered with Virgin Galactic. "Now, if you go out somewhere in space and you pick [something] up, it’s yours," said Chris Lewicki, the president and chief engineer of Planetary Resources. "IF YOU GO OUT SOMEWHERE IN SPACE AND YOU PICK [SOMETHING] UP, IT’S YOURS." The bill mostly refines what was originally laid out in the Outer Space Treaty, a document signed by 104 companies in 1967 that eventually became the basis for international space law. The treaty forbids anyone from claiming asteroids or planets as new government territories, but it does grant non-government entities the rights "explore and use" outer space. That means companies can go collect any space materials they can find and bring back home with them. Now, H.R. 2262 guarantees that they will own those materials.

#### Restaurants failing means collapse of the economy – it takes other sectors down with it

CAEDC 21

Cumberland Area Economic Development Corporation, (a company which decides which parts of the economy are most important. They have a bunch of articles about what different sectors mean to the economy), 4-1-2021, "The Importance of Restaurants to Local Community," https://cumberlandbusiness.com/news/the-importance-of-restaurants-to-local-community/, // HW AW

The Importance of Restaurants to Local Community In an increasingly complicated economic reality, restaurants are a stronghold of local communities. The restaurant industry fosters regional job growth, supports [local agriculture](https://cumberlandbusiness.com/news/the-importance-of-agribusiness/) and keeps your hard-earned money in your community. When you choose to shop or dine at a local business or restaurant, you generate almost four times more economic benefits for your local community. Choose a local restaurant and make memories while supporting your hometown’s economic development. Local restaurants are an impactful gathering place for communities, where relationships form and memories are made. They preserve agriculture and recipes from generation to generation and are the lifeblood of regional food culture. When you choose to dine at a local restaurant, you invest your money right back into the hands of your community and preserve local recipes and agriculture. The benefits of a restaurant don’t end there, either. Local eateries have a big impact on all of the following factors. Local Taxes **Approximately 10% of America’s economy is affected by the restaurant industry alone, which is a massive financial power**. When you choose to support local restaurants, you’re putting those funds toward strengthening your hometown. Eating at local restaurants allows them to stay open and thrive in your area. As a result, the restaurants’ tax revenue will benefit your local economy. Local Jobs Restaurants are an industry that is continually hiring and creating new jobs. **The restaurant industry employs as much as 10% of the American workforce,** so spending your money at a local restaurant goes straight into feeding members of your community. The restaurant industry is also currently creating new middle-class jobs at three times the growth of any other industry. Local restaurants are **community cornerstones where many young people get their first jobs and where adults begin fulfilling careers**. Agriculture As food becomes more mass-produced and imported from other countries, local varieties of produce begin dying out and the American agriculture sector takes a hit. Local restaurants promote regional produce production and help farms near you. Eating at a local restaurant gives you the opportunity to taste the most delicious ingredients your area has to offer. Local restaurants may even switch out their menus regularly to highlight seasonal produce.

#### Economic decline causes global nuclear war

Stein Tønnesson 15, Research Professor, Peace Research Institute Oslo; Leader of East Asia Peace program, Uppsala University, 2015, “Deterrence, interdependence and Sino–US peace,” International Area Studies Review, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 297-311

Several recent works on China and Sino–US relations have made substantial contributions to the current understanding of how and under what circumstances a combination of nuclear deterrence and economic interdependence may reduce the risk of war between major powers. At least four conclusions can be drawn from the review above: first, those who say that interdependence may both inhibit and drive conflict are right. Interdependence raises the cost of conflict for all sides but asymmetrical or unbalanced dependencies and negative trade expectations may generate tensions leading to trade wars among inter-dependent states that in turn increase the risk of military conflict (Copeland, 2015: 1, 14, 437; Roach, 2014). The risk may increase if one of the interdependent countries is governed by an inward-looking socio-economic coalition (Solingen, 2015); second, the risk of war between China and the US should not just be analysed bilaterally but include their allies and partners. Third party countries could drag China or the US into confrontation; third, in this context it is of some comfort that the three main economic powers in Northeast Asia (China, Japan and South Korea) are all deeply integrated economically through production networks within a global system of trade and finance (Ravenhill, 2014; Yoshimatsu, 2014: 576); and fourth, decisions for war and peace are taken by very few people, who act on the basis of their future expectations. International relations theory must be supplemented by foreign policy analysis in order to assess the value attributed by national decision-makers to economic development and their assessments of risks and opportunities. If leaders on either side of the Atlantic begin to seriously fear or anticipate their own nation’s decline then they may blame this on external dependence, appeal to anti-foreign sentiments, contemplate the use of force to gain respect or credibility, adopt protectionist policies, and ultimately refuse to be deterred by either nuclear arms or prospects of socioeconomic calamities. Such a dangerous shift could happen abruptly, i.e. under the instigation of actions by a third party – or against a third party. Yet as long as there is both nuclear deterrence and interdependence, the tensions in East Asia are unlikely to escalate to war. As Chan (2013) says, all states in the region are aware that they cannot count on support from either China or the US if they make provocative moves. The greatest risk is not that a territorial dispute leads to war under present circumstances but that changes in the world economy alter those circumstances in ways that render inter-state peace more precarious. If China and the US fail to rebalance their financial and trading relations (Roach, 2014) then a trade war could result, interrupting transnational production networks, provoking social distress, and exacerbating nationalist emotions. This could have unforeseen consequences in the field of security, with nuclear deterrence remaining the only factor to protect the world from Armageddon, and unreliably so. Deterrence could lose its credibility: one of the two great powers might gamble that the other yield in a cyber-war or conventional limited war, or third party countries might engage in conflict with each other, with a view to obliging Washington or Beijing to intervene.