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#### Security is a psychological construct- the aff’s scenarios for conflict are products of paranoia that project our violent impulses onto the other. Claims of war and conflict create a false dichotomy between the good us and the evil them, ignoring our role in provoking the aggression.

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(John, former Professor of Psychology at Harvard and Pulitzer Prize Winner, <http://johnemackinstitute.org/1988/08/the-enemy-system-short-version/>) BW

The threat of nuclear annihilation has stimulated us to try to understand what it is about mankind that has led to such self-destroying behavior. Central to this inquiry is an exploration of the adversarial relationships between ethnic or national groups. It is out of such enmities that war, including nuclear war should it occur, has always arisen. Enmity between groups of people stems from the interaction of psychological, economic, and cultural elements. These include fear and hostility (which are often closely related), competition over perceived scarce resources,[3] the need for individuals to identify with a large group or cause,[4] a tendency to disclaim and assign elsewhere responsibility for unwelcome impulses and intentions, and a peculiar susceptibility to emotional manipulation by leaders who play upon our more savage inclinations in the name of national security or the national interest. A full understanding of the “enemy system”[3] requires insights from many specialities, including psychology, anthropology, history, political science, and the humanities. In their statement on violence[5] twenty social and behavioral scientists, who met in Seville, Spain, to examine the roots of war, declared that there was no scientific basis for regarding man as an innately aggressive animal, inevitably committed to war. The Seville statement implies that we have real choices. It also points to a hopeful paradox of the nuclear age: threat of nuclear war may have provoked our capacity for fear-driven polarization but at the same time it has inspired unprecedented efforts towards cooperation and settlement of differences without violence. The Real and the Created Enemy Attempts to explore the psychological roots of enmity are frequently met with responses on the following lines: “I can accept psychological explanations of things, but my enemy is real. The Russians [or Germans, Arabs, Israelis, Americans] are armed, threaten us, and intend us harm. Furthermore, there are real differences between us and our national interests, such as competition over oil, land, or other scarce resources, and genuine conflicts of values between our two nations. It is essential that we be strong and maintain a balance or superiority of military and political power, lest the other side take advantage of our weakness”. This argument does not address the distinction between the enemy threat and one’s own contribution to that threat-by distortions of perception, provocative words, and actions. In short, the enemy is real, but we have not learned to understand how we have created that enemy, or how the threatening image we hold of the enemy relates to its actual intentions. “We never see our enemy’s motives and we never labor to assess his will, with anything approaching objectivity”.[6] Individuals may have little to do with the choice of national enemies. Most Americans, for example, know only what has been reported in the mass media about the Soviet Union. We are largely unaware of the forces that operate within our institutions, affecting the thinking of our leaders and ourselves, and which determine how the Soviet Union will be represented to us. Ill-will and a desire for revenge are transmitted from one generation to another, and we are not taught to think critically about how our assigned enemies are selected for us. In the relations between potential adversarial nations there will have been, inevitably, real grievances that are grounds for enmity. But the attitude of one people towards another is usually determined by leaders who manipulate the minds of citizens for domestic political reasons which are generally unknown to the public. As Israeli sociologist Alouph Haveran has said, in times of conflict between nations historical accuracy is the first victim.[8] The Image of the Enemy and How We Sustain It Vietnam veteran William Broyles wrote: “War begins in the mind, with the idea of the enemy.”[9] But to sustain that idea in war and peacetime a nation’s leaders must maintain public support for the massive expenditures that are required. Studies of enmity have revealed susceptibilities, though not necessarily recognized as such by the governing elites that provide raw material upon which the leaders may draw to sustain the image of an enemy.[7,10] Freud[11] in his examination of mass psychology identified the proclivity of individuals to surrender personal responsibility to the leaders of large groups. This surrender takes place in both totalitarian and democratic societies, and without coercion. Leaders can therefore designate outside enemies and take actions against them with little opposition. Much further research is needed to understand the psychological mechanisms that impel individuals to kill or allow killing in their name, often with little questioning of the morality or consequences of such actions. Philosopher and psychologist Sam Keen asks why it is that in virtually every war “The enemy is seen as less than human? He’s faceless. He’s an animal”.” Keen tries to answer his question: “The image of the enemy is not only the soldier’s most powerful weapon; it is society’s most powerful weapon. It enables people en masse to participate in acts of violence they would never consider doing as individuals”.[12] National leaders become skilled in presenting the adversary in dehumanized images. The mass media, taking their cues from the leadership, contribute powerfully to the process. The image of the enemy as less than human may be hard to dislodge. For example, a teacher in the Boston area reported that during a high school class on the Soviet Union a student protested: “You’re trying to get us to see them as people”. Stephen Cohen and other Soviet experts have noted how difficult it is to change the American perception of the Soviet Union, despite the vast amount of new information contradicting old stereotypes.” Bernard Shaw in his preface to Heartbreak House, written at the end of World War I, observed ironically: “Truth telling is not compatible with the defense of the realm”. Nations are usually created out of the violent defeat of the former inhabitants of a piece of land or of outside enemies, and national leaders become adept at keeping their people’s attention focused on the threat of an outside enemy.[14] Leaders also provide what psychiatrist Vamik Volkan called “suitable targets of externalization”[10] – i.e., outside enemies upon whom both leaders and citizens can relieve their burdens of private defeat, personal hurt, and humiliation.[15] All-embracing ideas, such as political ideologies and fixed religious beliefs act as psychological or cultural amplifiers. Such ideologies can embrace whole economic systems, such as socialism or capitalism, or draw on beliefs that imply that a collectivity owes its existence to some higher power in the universe. It was not Stalin as an individual whom Nadezhda Mandelstam blamed for the political murder of her poet husband Osip and millions of other citizens but the “craving for an all-embracing idea which would explain everything in the world and bring about universal harmony at one go”.[16] Every nation, no matter how bloody and cruel its beginnings, sees its origins in a glorious era of heroes who vanquished less worthy foes. One’s own race, people, country, or political system is felt to be superior to the adversary’s, blessed by a less worthy god. The nuclear age has spawned a new kind of myth. This is best exemplified by the United States’ strategic defense initiative. This celestial fantasy offers protection from attack by nuclear warheads, faith here being invested not in a god but in an anti-nuclear technology of lasers, satellites, mirrors, and so on in the heavens.

#### Catastrophe scenarios program us affectively to accept violence and dehumanization

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Anybody who has experienced immunization will appreciate the violence of the encounter. The whole process begins with the awareness of some vaguely looming threat which promises in the worst case an extremely violent ending. To pre-empt this happening, the subject is physically penetrated by the alien body with a controlled level of the lethal substance which, although producing violent sickness, is a fate less than death. Such violence unto oneself offers to counter violence with violence such that life may carry on living in spite of the dangers we are incapable of securing ourselves against. It is to give over to a form of self-harm albeit in a way that is actively desired and positively conceived. How else may we live otherwise? Resilience follows a similar logic. It encourages that we partake in the violence of the world to keep death at bay. For in the process of learning to live through the insecurity of the times, the subject is asked to incorporate the catastrophic intellectually, viscerally and affectively, thereby providing certain immunization against a more endangering fate. Indeed, since the ultimate litmus test is to bring to question the worst case scenario, the future cannot appear to us as anything other than completely monstrous. What, however, is actually slain as the future is wagered by the violence of the present may only become revealed with the passage of time. None of this operates outside of the realm of power politics. We only have to consider here (a) the moral judgements and political stakes associated with HIV as a pandemic that is more than simply biological, and (b) the development of viral analogies to explain more generally the problems ‘infecting’ societies from terror to criminality to evidence the point. Immunization is precisely about exposing oneself to something that is potentially lethal, thereby raising the threshold level for existence such that violence is normalized on account of our vulnerabilities to that which may be tempered but remains undefeatable. We are drawn here to Stellan Rye's (1913) silent horror movie The Student from Prague (Der Student von Prag) which has inspired a number of compelling literary and cinematic classics. In this tragic tale of poverty and violence, the impoverished student, Balduin, makes a bargain with the Devil as he exchanges the reﬂection of image for more immediate compensations. Upon eventually seeing himself, however, the student is avenged by an angry double that begins to wreak havoc as it seeks out revenge in light of its betrayal. Following an eventual violent confrontation the student has with his double, Balduin shatters the mirror that is central to the plot, and invariably destroys the fantasy of endangerment which also became the source of his afflicted curse. Inevitably, however, since the double was an essential element of this Faustian agreement, in killing the violent double, so the student kills himself. Otto Rank famously related this to the narcissistic self whose very sense of loneliness and alienation is caused by an anguish of a fear of death; even though it is precisely the violence of the pact which pushes the subject further towards the precipice. Whilst it is tempting to read this in familiar dialectical terms, there is a more sophisticated double move at work here, as the violence is already encoded within the initial act of demonic violation before the tragic encounter. For the double merely highlights the self-propelling tendency, from the fantasy of endangerment to the reality of the catastrophic. There is also a semantic interchange at work in Rye's Doppelganger as it stakes out the choice between a violated/violent life and eventual death. Since reason or logic prove utterly incapable of explaining the condition of Balduin's existence, let alone offering any promise of salvation from the oppressive situation to which he is fatefully bound, the double serves as an important metaphor for the narcissism of the times, as the subject wilfully accepts a violation and all the violence this entails in exchange for an illusion or fantasy of security which proves in the end to have been imbued with the catastrophic from the outset. Our understanding of the fundamental tenets of violence is invariably transformed such that we are forced to think about forms of violation/ intervention prior to any sense of dialectical enmity. Premetic Violence René Girard's thesis Violence and the Sacred offers a theory of violence that is exclusively bound to the desire to ‘overcome’ tragedy. To develop this theory, Girard speciﬁcally relates to the classic Greek play by Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, which he uses to illustrate the relationship between tragic dispossession and violence. It is through the tale of Oedipus and his return to reclaim the realm from which he was abandoned that we uncover a genesis of sacriﬁcial violence that is linked to some ‘past tragedy’.3\_9 Oedipus thus epitomizes the motif of the lost prince whose modes of contestation can be understood through competing claims to the ‘same object of desire: The story follows that when two uncompromising entities vie over the same object of desire, violence necessarily erupts. Through Girard's decoding of the Oedipus myth, what we therefore ﬁnd is any attempt to re-possess the object of desire necessarily requires the guilt of those currently in possession - a sacriﬁcial victim. Thus, to overcome tragedy one must come from the ‘outside’ - a violently destined return that can only be justiﬁed by making a claim to the original sin, or what Girard terms a return to the ‘original scene: However, as Sophocles tells it, such violence is more than simply a reclamation of that which has been taken. The violence of the already dispossessed desires to re-establish the authentic order which has been falsely appropriated - the paradise lost. Importantly, for Girard, such violence is not a relation of difference but is more deﬁned by the logic of mimesis: ‘At ﬁrst, each of the protagonists believes that he can quell the violence; at the end each succumbs to it. All are drawn unwittingly into a violent reciprocity - which they always think they are outside of, because they all initially came from outside and mistake this positional and temporary advantage for a permanent and fundamental superiority.40 Plunging into an opposition which ‘reduces the protagonists into a uniform condition of violence’, all claims to ‘difference’ are effectively ‘eclipsed’ by ‘a resurgence of reciprocity.41 It has been common to read Rye's doubling as a clear example of mimetic behaviour. This has found clear applications from Hegelian-inspired revolutionary accounts of dialectical reasoning, to Frantz Fanon's theory of (post)colonial brutality, onto the exceptional violence of Schmitt's sovereign decisionism. While accepting how this logic has played a structural role in the demar- cation of certain regimes of violence which came to hallmark distinct marks of separation, we need to depart from this logic if we are to make sense of the violence of the catastrophic imaginary. What, in other words, becomes of violence once we reconceptualize the idea of the original scene and its logics of exposure such that violence itself becomes virtually ordained? That is to say, what becomes of violence once it begins to precede any dialectical arrangement? Mimetic violence, we have noted, is obj ectiﬁable. Based upon establishing various forms of mystical foundations, it has a distinct materiality to it that permits clear lines of demarcation and embodiment. These work both spatially and temporally. The object for violence is locatable, while the time of its occurrence offers clear (if sometimes contested) conceptions as to its beginning and ending. It beneﬁts, then, from the guarantees of identiﬁcation and the ability to represent that which must be vanquished at a given moment ‘in timei The virtual nature of the violence endured by the resilient subject offers no such guarantees. Collapsing the space-time continuum of mimetic rivalry, it is merely projected into the future without the prospect of bounce-back. Internalized, however, into the very living conditions of the subject now permanently under siege, the violence is no less real. As any author of horror ﬁction will tell, the mind can be a terrifying place to inhabit. Once the source of endangerment becomes unknowable by deﬁnition, everything becomes the potential source of a violent encounter. Resilience challenges the logic of mimetic violence, therefore, in two fundamental ways. Firstly, it shows us that our only way of dealing with endangerment is to absorb its lethal tendencies. That which has the potential to destroy must become part ofsociety's make-up and its epistemic fabric. We too, in the process, become more lethally endowed as a result. Invariably, the more lethal we become, the more we end up embracing the biophysical conditions of our potential undoing as a principle form of human conditioning. The body accepts the lethality on account of preparedness. Secondly, there is an outward projection against that which could potentially threaten our existence. But this projection doesn't connect to any mimetic rival. We have no clear sense of what it is that so endangers in its particular guise, only a generalizable indication that something which is part of the integral whole will eventually bring about our ﬁnal demise. Deprived, then, of the potential to ‘at last stand’ upon a terrain whose forms of endangerment were known in advance, we continue to walk through a veritable mineﬁeld of potential disasters of a multi-dimensional nature, not knowing when the explosion will happen, with little comfort provided by the intellectual comforts of the past, and with no fence on the horizon beyond which relative security may be achieved and freedom from endangerment realized. The only solution, we are told, remains to expose oneself to all its disastrous permutations so that we may be better prepared against those already charged and yet to detonate, along with those yet to even be inserted into this catastrophic topography. But what does it mean to say that violence is now beyond representation? And what type of reality are we producing if we are calling into question the depths of ﬁeld that once gave qualitative and quantitative meaning to our relations to violence? For Paul Virilio, whose work we may connect to the premetic, this inaugurates ‘the futurism of the instant’ whose kairos shatters all metaphysical meaning: This spells disorientation in knowledge acquired over the course of millennia regarding the spatial environment and the cycle of seasons; an integral accident in knowledge of history as well as of the usual concrete geography that goes with it, the unity of place and time of a secular history. No doubt this is the fatal novelty of the historic tragedy befalling humanity and a progress that will no longer be exclusively technologistical and extra-planetary, but merely human, ‘all too human’. Masochism vis-a-vis an abhorred past that no longer passes muster is now symmetrically doubled with a masochism in relation to a future where, for want of fear, we will, this time, have space, all the space of a miniscule planet reduced to nothing, or as good as, by the progress of our discoveries.2 Nihilism Unbound Writing in the nineteenth century, Nietzsche argued that nothing was more deeply characteristic of the modern world than the power of nihilism.E Nietzsche's intervention here allowed us to move beyond the well-rehearsed attack upon Platonic reason or Christian faith, to focus instead upon ‘the radical repudiation of value, meaning and desirabilityiﬁ Nihilism, thus understood, referred to the triumph of reactive thinking. It was all about the negation of life as it appeared to be incapable of afﬁrming that which is properly and creatively different to human existence. Hence, for Nietzsche, nihilism was not simply reducible to some historical event in time, i.e. an exceptional moment in history which could be shamefully written into annals of human suffering. Nihilism was the recurring motor of history as the operation of power leads to a will to nothingness that strips life of any purposeful meaning. Crucially, as Nietzsche understood, this repudiation of the afﬁrmative realm of experience is something we create for ourselveaﬁ Nihilism, in other words, is to be understood through a sophisticated manipulation of desires such that the individual subject depreciates itself to such an extent that it actively participates in a custom of political self- annihilation. Central to Nietzsche's thinking on the perpetuation of nihilism is the notion of ressentiment. In his On the Genealogy of Morality, Nietzsche explains this in terms of the slave mentality. This produces a feeling of impotence which not only translates into vengefulness, but more problematic still, teaches the slave that the only way it can become free is to give over to the prevailing reason mastery has set in place. Sloterdijk equates this ressentiment with rage, the basis of all great theisms.4i Such a condition, as Nietzsche understood, was ‘paralysing’ insomuch as it annuls the possibility of thinking and acting otherwise, and it was ‘exhausting’ insomuch as life was forced to compromise with the very lethality that put its condition originally into question. Through a ‘spirit of revenge’ what is lacking is therefore produced in a double movement, for lack is not some original gesture, it derives out of the ressentiment to deny us the opportunity to bring something different into the world. This raises a number of pressing questions: Could it be that not only have we become slaves to our biological existence, but in claiming false mastery of the earth we have given to ourselves an illusionary sovereignty? For how can we have mastery if that which we claim to be able to dominate as the principle force makes us increasingly vulnerable with each passing moment? Have we not, then, become slaves to ourselves and slaves to the earth, and resentful of them as a result? Nihilism has never been alien to liberal biopolitics. It is arguably its most potent expression. Its early development can be traced to Kant's Copernican revolution of the mind. Placing life at the centre of its universe, Kant forced us to look for meaning beyond the realms of theological destiny. Whilst this moved us beyond the suffering and lament of the Christian subject which so irked Nietzsche, Kant's universal substitute proved to be no substitute at all. The universal was actually denied to us due to the limits of our reason and our imperfections as ﬁnite beings - imperfections that signiﬁcantly proved incapable of moving us beyond the reductionism of metaphysical idealism and its crude representations, towards a more afﬁrmative form of meta- physics that worked in practice. As Drucilla Cornell writes, ‘Martin Heidegger famously wrote that Kant takes us to the limit of the very notion of critique and ultimately raises, but does not fully address, the question of ‘who’ is this ﬁnite being that must think through the transcendental imaginationfﬂ In a remarkably potent yet tragic stroke, Kant wrote the death of the omnipotent God and the types of docile subjects it produced who were rendered immobile due to its vengeance and fury, while putting in its place a fallen subject that was fated to be forever incomplete because of the burdens of its own actions. While Kant's thinking paved the way for new eschatological forms of power to emerge that took leave of traditional sovereign moorings, the fallen subject was compelled to become resentful of its biological existence. Bios were to remain forever imperfect by design and fated to be judged accordingly. With life fated to live a biologically endowed existence, it is stripped of its capacity to have a meaningful existence beyond the limits of its bodily formations, while political strategies operate by governing through the problem of ﬁnitude, even though the ﬁnite inevitably became a philosophical problem too difﬁcult to comprehend. As a result, forced to endure a growing resentment of its unfolding drama, liberalism slowly became morally equipped to continually intervene upon the souls of the living simply by offering to prolong the subject's existence better than any other political rationality. Such was the realization of our ﬁnite entrapment in the bodily form that the ability to philosophically transgress the injunction between life and death became increasingly impossible. Indeed, as we shall point out later, while liberal societies have a particular relationship to the question of dying as our existence is continually put into question, such that with each passing second we learn to survive until we become truly meaningless in the end, the idea of death remains incommensurable to the liberal subject. No longer does the resilient subject solely project its resentfulness onto the souls of ‘Others’. It resents the living world, for it too is radically endangering. It is here that catastrophic imaginaries begin to truly thrive. The resilient subject is shaped and anxiously mobilized by the prospect of the coming catastrophe. It fears the transformation of the subject, just as it fears the transformation of the ecosystem that gives sustenance to life. Our rage as such, to borrow from Sloterdijk, has become truly limitless. As everything becomes the source of our endangerment, we internalize the ressentiment and proliferate our impotence with unrivalled intensity and absolute necessity. Hence this produces a form of nihilism which is ‘unbounded: For no longer do we simply resent the teleological unfolding of history as we phase shift from masters to slaves to masters; there is no mastery to speak of and as a result all our lament ﬁlters into a politics of ressentiment as we are left to simply govern through our continually unfolding state of unending emergency. (111-17)

#### Threat imagery impoverishes scholarship and policy making- their claims can't be evaluated outside of the project of security that created them. Self Fulfilling prophecy outweighs aff predictions offense

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Where, then, does this leave us—in an elevated state of awakening or in a depressed state of confusion and resentment? It is, admittedly, burdensome and intimidating to face a deluge of questions without being afforded the intellectual crutch of an authoritative answer or two. That is the price we pay, though, for having allowed our minds to be crippled by Cold War dogma. Possessed of truth, we ignored, we denied, we disdained anyone or anything that contradicted our certainty. We did not question, we did not seek answers other than the ones we already had. To do so would have been superfluous, and clearly suspect. Now we must undergo corrective surgery. Whatever answers might emerge from the questions posed here, three fundamental issues deserve our attention. The first concerns the very language—the terminology—we use in public discourse. In his rather well-known 1946 essay, "Politics and the English Language," George Orwell drew the link between the debasement of language and the decline of civilization. He was convinced that both conditions were taking place in tandem at the time he wrote. By the same token, he believed the problem could be reversed. By ridding oneself of the many bad habits of English usage we have adopted, one can think more clearly, he said, and thereby take the first step toward political regeneration.74 The use of the word "threat" certainly seems to fit here. Although it is not a new word, the Cold War gave it heightened visibility, broadened and obscured its meaning, and made it part of the lingua franca of contemporary international politics. What should be all too obvious is the adversarial image the term conveys and the Manichean world view it engenders. Threattalk becomes threatthink. The resultant paranoia and intolerance invariably blind us to emerging developments and conditions that truly threaten our well-being but fall outside the bounds of our distorted perception. This brings us to a second fundamental issue: the effect our image of threat has on reality. The late Kenneth Boulding made the astute observation that there is a reciprocal, escalatory dynamic associated with threat imagery. For example, Country A, feeling itself threatened (however and for whatever reasons) by Country B, increases its armaments to reduce its insecurity. This makes B feel threatened, and so B increases its armaments to bolster its security. This makes A feel even more threatened, so A again increases its armaments. This growing threat "forces" B to further increase its armaments. And so on until either war breaks out or some other change (such as internal economic collapse) reverses the process.75 This is how threatthink becomes threat. If there is a single, documentable truth to be derived from an assessment of threat-based thinking, it is that the perception of threat— at least where that threat has a human component—almost invariably becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. For this reason alone—the fact that we have shown ourselves perversely capable of creating unwanted inevitability—we must face up to a third fundamental issue: the more general failure of our overall approach to envisioning the future. Most of us justifiably consider ourselves unqualified to divine the future. We therefore typically defer to experts and authorities—futurists and assorted government technocrats presumably possessed of special powers or information the rest of us do not have—who end up thereby dictating not only our future but our present as well. These are the individuals who tell us not only that there are threats, but what they are and how we must deal with them. What we refuse to recognize is that the future these purported visionaries are able to see is invariably nothing more imaginative than a simple projection of what already is happening. It also is an assured way for them to solidify and perpetuate their own power over us. The future they see, because the rest of us accept it on authority as all but inevitable, closes out any perceived need to pursue other potentially fruitful possibilities; it provides an excuse for ignoring present needs that, if fulfilled, might well produce a markedly different future; it ensures nothing more enlightened or progressive than creeping incrementalism and evolutionary drift; it creates false expectations about what can and will be; and when it fails to materialize—as it so often does because of the unexpected-it produces feelings of helplessness, not among the purveyors of the deception, but among those of us who have so carelessly relinquished our fate to them.76 Threats are in the future. Threat assessment is about the future. Vision is of the future. The Cold War clouded our vision and crippled our ability to determine, objectively, whether there are threats that should concern us, what they are, why they are important, and how we should deal with them. Our future will depend in large measure on our willingness to overcome our Cold War myopia and to demonstrate a newfound degree of individual and collective vision. Whether vision is a gift or an acquired skill, we will have to seek out the visionaries in our midst who can either lead the rest of us less gifted out of our self-imposed darkness or at least stand as models on which we can pattern ourselves. And how will we know vision when we see it? We need not doubt that its presence will be so unlike anything we are used to, we will know. But if we are searching for a standard against which to judge, we could do no better than to recall the surpassing insight Abraham Lincoln demonstrated on at least one occasion at the height of the US Civil War. At an official reception, the president referred to Southerners rather as erring human beings than as foes to be exterminated. An elderly lady, a fiery patriot, rebuked him for speaking kindly of his enemies when he ought to be thinking of destroying them. "Why, madam," said Lincoln, "do I not destroy my enemies when I make them my friends?',77 (86-88)

#### Knowing Nukes- The affirmative’s appeals to survival, like in 1ac PND talking about the dangers of nuclear war, are not neutral but rather naturalize status quo concepts of universal humanity and a return to order – the discourse of the aff makes their impacts inevitable and only the alt solves.

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(William, PoliSci@UniversityOfHawaii, AssocProfPoliSci@UMontana, Knowing Nukes, University of Minnesota Press)

In this chapter, I begin to map that intersection by examining a key universalism contained in most of the politics that engage issues of nuclearism. Survival is a coded position that privileges certain questions and marginalizes others. In this chapter, I want to make aspects of that privilege more explicit, more accessible to controversy. Assigning "survival" the status of summary and goal implies a relatively settled "humanity" that is, one hopes, to survive. One would hardly need to hope that people not survive to bring that code into question (although some radically misanthropic environmentalists playfully take just such a position). Savvy about codes and symbols, the nuclear critic might begin by highlighting what our most universalistic survival codes assume. Survival Perhaps the central political metaphor of antinuclearists involves the appeal to survival of the human species as a principle that can guide social and political response. But after Jonathan SchelPs Fate of the Earth presented that case, the narrowness of this appeal began to draw criticism. As Robert Jay Lifton has noted, the emergence of neo-Nazi survivalists is not without consequence for nuclear opponents who have used the survival language so extensively themselves.3 Schell broadened his metaphors in The Abolition,4 and nuclear opponents in general have tried to define survival in a way that is not individualist. Nonetheless, recent essays by political theorist George Kateb bring even that modified project into question, finding within the "survival" position an indefensible replacement totality.5 Kateb's critique focuses on the political metaphysics implied by the survival position. To turn "existence" into a principle that could inform action is to ignore many other philosophical commitments made in this century. The metaphysical privileging of existence as key to a great and total meaning (that might motivate political action in a classically liberal framework) is unavailable "in an age when the death of God has been announced with adequate plausibility." 6 Existence does not have systemic attributes amenable to univocal judgments. At least some of us cannot accept the validity of revelation, or play on ourselves the Kantian trick of regarding existence as if it were the designed work of a personal God, or presume to call it good, and bless it as if it were the existence we would have created if we had the power, and think that it therefore deserves to exist and is justifiable just as it is. No: these argumentative moves are bad moves; they are transparent tricks.7 Kateb wants to articulate a defensible "attachment to existence" without relying on "any kind of totality." Existence cannot be justified by any "internal" or human standard developed independently of a supposed divine authentication. That is to say, attachment cannot be cultivated by way of a theology . . . or by way of a believable reconciliation to the facts of wickedness, suffering, waste, cruelty, obscenity, and death. The universe . . . is without sponsorship; and existence on earth fails every test that is strenuously pressed. . . . What is needed is precisely a mode that is content not to make the world —human and natural existence on earth —into a story, a picture, an order or a pattern . . . that is, into a self-adequate totality or into a necessary part of a transcendent totality.8 The puzzle we retain, after Nietzsche, is to find a way to establish human value without the aid of an external totality (whether religious, scientific, or merely commonsensical).9 Kateb's strategy is to shift attention to the institutional and philosophical contexts within which this discussion of survival proceeds. Such a broadening of the question could confront the excessive individualism that otherwise makes "survival" a suspect theme. If the extreme individualism of this century cannot be absorbed into metaphysics, Kateb claims, it is still the case that individualism and the institutions of democracy are not easily dismissed: "Individualism in some of its developments after the seventeenth century contains . . . saving thoughts and feelings. The great work of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman comprises the main development, and the phrase 'democratic individuality' perhaps best names their idealism."10 To broaden these saving possibilities within individualism, Kateb (in a surprising move, for him) suggests that we take heart from the "antidemocratic individualist doctrines of Nietzsche and Heidegger," both writers who influence contemporary language approaches. "The best defensive idealism is individualism," but "the self-surpassing of both rightsbased individualism and existentialist individualism is the unique source of a selfless and saving attachment."1! In short, without adopting the categories I am attaching to this position, Kateb poses the possibility of a historical, yet ambivalent and even poststructuralist, individualism —a political form of nuclear criticism —as a response to the broad crisis of meaning in the late modern era.12 Kateb distinguishes himself from Foucault and Derrida when he stresses continuities, arguing that the dilemma for democratic individualism was highlighted by the nuclear age, but was visible previously. Several features of democratic society have long been at tension with the democratic idealism he sees as that society's best protector. Not only this puzzle, but also its resolution, precede nukes. Citing Whitman, Kateb argues that a conventional, democratic individualism could be founded on practice. Being " 'both in and out of the game and watching and wondering at it' ... is far better than being rooted in what is superstitiously regarded as reality. To watch the action as one acts is to play; to play is never to lose sight of others."13 This amounts to a proposal for an individualism defined relatively, justified by social and aesthetic judgments, and implemented on the model of play. Even after the metaphysics of existence has become impossible, politics and thought continue, because "democratic individuality radically changes both action and contemplation."14 Whether or not Kateb specifically intends it as such, this is a poststructuralist reading of democratic individuality —pragmatic, aesthetic, and interpretive. The individual acquires the critical distance necessary to judge his or her existence by acknowledging that the external vantage point previously provided by theology is now absent. On the basis of that understanding, the epistemological standpoint of individual thought and action can shift. Sources of meaning dislodge from supposedly essential, natural "facts" of existence, and instead situate themselves in the interplay of contemplation and action. Thus, "the hidden source of modern democracy may always have been the death of God." But the (nuke-induced) "precariousness of existence now deepens this sense," moving us toward a preferable democratic possibility. "Individualism in its contradictory variety is the best defensive idealism in the nuclear situation."15 Whether or not this is indeed an "idealism" is an issue nuclear criticism would pose to Kateb. In any case, it is an unlikely "idealism" —lacking ideals or a positively structured given practice in which to situate them. Kateb's analysis may be most useful for nuclear criticism's deconstruction of "survival" as a cornerstone of this debate. Still, others interested in the relationships between language and politics will be dubious about Kateb's defense of "idealism," with its implication that a strong role still exists for the intellectual as a speaker of that ideal, a judge of its cases, and an articulator of what "existence" and "survival" might be. Ironically, Michel Foucault's treatment of this possibility also includes this approach's first insights on nuclearism: Some years have now passed since the intellectual was called upon to play this role. A new mode of the 'connection between theory and practice' has been established. Intellectuals have got used to working, not in the modality of the 'universal', the 'exemplary', the 'just-and-truefor- alP, but within specific sectors, at the precise points where their own conditions of life or work situate them (housing, the hospital, the asylum, the laboratory, the university, family and sexual relations).16 This passage should remind us of the roles played by intellectuals in the nuclear opposition. Humanists have learned the physics of power plants in order to object at siting hearings near their cities. Physicists, simultaneously, have learned the language of political opposition, organizing colleagues against Star Wars in their universities and institutes. In the example I will consider in a later chapter, the intellectual contribution was a phrase (the nuclear freeze) and a strategic political approach —not a manifesto of values and ideals. In the interview quoted above, Foucault goes on to make his bestknown comments on nuclear politics. His claim is that the intellectual par excellence is no longer the writer, who brings that "idealism" to concrete form, but the university activist, the "technician, magistrate, teacher." Global significance is not lost in this transformation. Such actors "have become able to participate, both within their own fields and through mutual exchange and support, in a global process of politicisation of intel lectuals."17 Foucault's example of an intellectual who operates in the realm of the specific is a central nuclearist: This figure of the 'specific' intellectual has emerged since the Second World War. Perhaps it was the atomic scientist (in a word, or rather a name: Oppenheimer) who acted as the point of transition between the universal and the specific intellectual. It's because he had a direct and localised relation to scientific knowledge and institutions that the atomic scientist could make his intervention; but, since the nuclear threat affected the whole human race and the fate of the world, his discourse could at the same time be the discourse of the universal.18 Focusing on the discontinuity entailed by nuclear technology (rather than on the search for continuities, as Kateb does), Foucault reconciled the role of the intellectual with the epistemological break required for "survival" to make sense as a political position. In a genealogy of nukes, the displacement of survival as key concept may be the crucial move toward oppositional politics. At least, that displacement marks the seriousness of the break with previous stances. Without that break, "survival" represents, at best, an appeal to a philosophically precarious doctrine of existence. At worst, it could be a selfish preference, little more than a narrowly narcissistic concern for physical health. Survivalists of every political stripe would respond that there is a general issue at stake, whether we like that issue, or whether the philosophical or psychological dimensions of that issue are felicitous or not. In other words, they are appealing to a brute condition, a stark threat that we cannot choose to ignore. The nuke —in league with the antinuke — does make it plain that we have common "species" interests, as the survivalists argue. But the issue is still not that simple. On one hand, this claim of species interest must confront the possibility that it is a vain or opportunistic claim. That is to say, it is not a self-evident condition. The concept of a self-aware species is a political act, inextricably bound to the possibility of political response —the possibility that all survivalist politics requires. On the other hand, such a position also must confront the fact that this species constitutes itself by identifying interests and solutions; there really is no "ordinary life" to return to after we settle survival issues. That political struggle already will have conditioned whatever life one would then resume. In other words, the species may have interests, but it is also the case that such a species is constituted, not found or remembered. In short, the call to survival not only addresses "real" lives (whatever those might be), but also constitutes those lives. What does it matter that this constituting activity has happened? Crucially, this constituted species sees itself as natural (what else could a species be?), but that perception is at odds with its situation. The context is far from "natural" (in the sense that no strong coherence underlies it); a better case can be made that it is contrived, contradictory, rule-bound, and, finally, absurd. Foucault's accomplishment, then, was not only to have joined with existentialists, Dadaists, and others who have so effectively "denaturalized" human history in this century. In addition, Foucault advanced these efforts by showing possibilities for freeing activity available only after history is denatured. For the species to act on the goal of survival embroils us in a simplistic, if still powerful, circle. The species must have always had some motivation to survive as a species, but its commitment to certain practices (especially rationality and science) is both unquestionable and the source of the threat amidst which the species finds itself lodged. Thus, the species must have mutated to produce such a result, and a mutated species might not be able to act on behalf of its survival. The absolutization of humanity proposes to lead us away from the twists, perversities, and gaps that continually preside over the nuclear age. Absurdity and contradiction have become elemental terms in our era. They are "hardened positions," to borrow a term, even if the notion of a hardened irony might be familiar only to Baudrillard. The species survival position cannot be comfortable in emphasizing those absurdities. But unless it does so, the survival position can scarcely discuss the nuclear age at all. From the approach I am taking, then, we might even call this diagnosis of unspeakability a rhetorically determined stance; antinuclearists have been forced to describe the age as unspeakable in order to continue to draw upon and defend an absolutized, natural humanity. As a consequence, the species survival position may not notice the broad effects of the age's distinctively spoken (speakable) character. Nuclear criticism could offer a better political response if it could expose the specific operations of power that enable some politics of opposition. Before considering that possibility, however, we must be more precise about this "unspeakability" that continually haunts talk of nukes.

#### The portrayal of space debris, like in 1ac Boley and Byers 21 talking about how debris causes the Kessler syndrome, is rooted in a militarized approach to the future that culminates in the full-spectrum dominance of the globe.

Reno, Associate Prof. Anthropology @ Binghamton, 20

(Joshua Ozias, PhD from the University of Michigan: “The Wrong Stuff”, chapter 4 of Military Waste: The Unexpected Consequences of Permanent War Readiness Univ of California Press, Feb 4, 2020 Pg. 127-130)DR 19

**Space debris** can be dangerous to orbiting vessels and, as such, it represents an ever-growing hazard to human uses of Earth space. But these objects are hard to track and easy to mistake for something else, even for people who spend all of their time looking up at the night sky. Like space exploration itself, this is a difficult problem to solve, so it is not surprising that **only the most powerful and prominent space agencies imagine they are capable of finding space debris**, let alone clearing it from orbital environments. A core dimension of that power and prominence, moreover, is about having military ambitions that extend beyond the surface of the planet. And, **from the very beginnings**, doing so has meant enrolling amateur or civilian scientists in DoD plans for outer-space. Historically, **solving space-related challenges has meant getting funds and resources from wealthy and powerful nations**. **With the growth of** a permanent war economy, **such expenditure** is very often **tied** **to** imagined or real military applications. Consequently, the history of space exploration has been and continues to be shaped by tensions and networks between **civilian and military** scientific objectives. But these seemingly opposed **groups** also align and become indistinguishable, especially insofar as they embrace a fascination with developing the latest technology and an unrelenting faith in its ability to solve all problems. This is also known as techno-solutionism. Evgeny Morozov (2013) developed this idea related to utopian appraisals of the internet. His account draws heavily on **Hannah Arendt’s** *On Violence* (1970), a book which openly criticizes **US administrations** that thought they could solve global problems through technically ingenuous forms of death and destruction. Broadly defined, techno-solutionism is faith that technical fixes can solve any problem…even when they are targeting a realm like **outer space**, one that is already saturated with the leftovers of generations of technological problem-solving. According to Gökçe Günel (2019, 129), any technical adjustment is not only about “functionality, effectiveness, or use, but rather the ways in which its materially and conceptually indeterminate existence mobilizes potential towards a technically adjusted future.” In this sense, **technical fixes for space debris are more about extending the possibility of future technical intervention in orbital environments**, rather than, for instance, **encouraging ethical reflection** on whether people should create debris at all. Space debris is not just any problem, it is **one that originated** **with** and threatens **space science** and, as such, shows the limits of technical solution-making in general. If it is problematic to see space debris as a technical glitch, as noise in an otherwise perfectly rendered human design, that is because such a view can **mislead us** into thinking that all it takes is a little more ingenuity, a bit more mastery, to solve the problem entirely. But, following Virilio (2007), every new technical innovation and improvement brings a new disaster, an unprecedented act of contamination. If **space debris represents inevitable traces** that human artifacts and projects leave behind in the space beyond Earth, then, whatever the future may hold, this problem is unavoidable. If people want to continue to escape their earthly confines, space debris will have to be reckoned with. Space debris is a possibility that haunts all uses of space *tout court*, rather than an incidental by-product of space exploration and travel. A focus on technical mastery links the cause of space debris with its proposed cure. As a counterpoint, I discuss how amateur astronomers and ham radio operators have engaged with space debris in a different manner and with altogether different goals. Specifically, they tend to look for ways to become attuned with and enliven debris that has been abandoned. Militarizing Civilian Science The possibility of a semiautonomous civilian space agency had defined space exploration from the start, but by the 1970s and ‘80s, funding had dropped precipitously from the heyday of the Apollo missions. By that time, NASA had come under widespread criticism as the country entered recession and other big programs (such as the CIA) and national initiatives (the War on poverty, Civil Rights Legislation, the Vietnam War) were attacked by political representatives and activists across the political spectrum. The prominent images that NASA members used to promote the organization during the 1960s was that of pragmatism, that space efforts would yield scientific benefits. This failed to improve the prestige of the organization within the government, until the Reagan era, when there was a resurgence of nationalist and romanticist rhetoric from earlier in NASA’s history. With the Reagan administration there was an effort, first, to block international efforts to ban weapons use in outer space and, second, to invest new symbolic importance and new financial resources in the militarization of space. Since that time, **solving space debris has become a common pursuit** of space agencies all over the world, both the more militarized and the more civilian among them. By the early 1980s, **satellites were central infrastructure**, particularly for the United States. The militarization of space had already occurred, in other words, and **without extravagant laser weapons**. Consequently, among the most central issues of the time was the testing and development of antisatellite weaponry (ASAT). The use of experimental ASAT has been partly responsible for reorienting international attention to space debris, since ASAT is a spectacular technology, the goal of which is to transform working satellites into unusable waste. Since satellites were so vulnerable to attack, and space treaties did not allow for the defense of particular regions of space as sovereign territory, satellites could be destroyed simply by sending “space mines” to collide with them. This constitutes one clear reason why DARPA and the Air Force are so intent on tracking space debris—they want to know whether satellites colliding with unidentified objects represent coincidental hazards or deliberate attacks. Being able to tell the difference between space debris and an actively launched space mine would be like knowing whether an ocean vessel sank because of an iceberg or a submarine. Even if one cannot capture space debris, being able to detect and identify it might be **necessary to predict or avoid war**. The ambiguities of witnessing discussed in the previous section, not knowing what one is seeing, therefore take on perilous consequences. While Reagan’s “Star Wars” and Trump’s “Space Force” have been heavily discussed and derided, other administrations have had similar designs. Perhaps most enduring has been the Clinton-era concept of *full-spectrum dominance*, first outlined in the United States Space Command “Vision for 2020” released in 1997. This relationship between outer space and defense and security has been so central to US policy that prominent advocates for science, notably Neil deGrasse Tyson, have authored reports suggesting that **NASA could be restored to its former glory by becoming more like DARPA**, that is, the militaristic organization it was partly created ***not to become***. In many ways the DoD’s Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (**DARPA) is the epitome of techno-solutionist practice**. Though the term *defense* was only added to the acronym later (it was termed ARPA until 1972), **the agency was always closely linked to military interests and problem-solving**. In management studies, the concept of problems that are “DARPA-hard” has become widespread, with websites baiting visitors to see whether their company’s challenges would come close to qualifying. According to Leifer and Steinert (2011, 159), there are four criteria for the agency to consider something DARPA-hard: 1. Technically challenging (beyond current limits); 2. Actionable (proof of concept or prototype); 3. Multidisciplinary (complex); and 4. Far-reaching (advances on a grand scale, radical). At the turn of the century, **DARPA** clearly **determined that solving orbital space debris met these criteria**. Space debris fragments **exceeded the capabilities of the Air Force’s Space Surveillance Network** (SSN), it would take work with specialists from various fields, and the achievement of a solution would be legitimately global in impact. The only thing missing was proof of concept. Their first attempt at a solution was to work with MIT aeronautics labs to develop a specialized telescope to detect faint objects. In 2011, DARPA unveiled a massive new telescope, the Space Surveillance Telescope (SST), specially developed with MIT labs to identify space debris. In contrast with what DARPA spokespersons described as the “soda straw approach” of existing telescopes, the SST would allow wide-angle shots of the night sky, made possible by a much larger aperture and an advanced visual processing system. **In at least one report** provided to NBC, moreover, cleaning up space debris was linked directly with military objectives.

#### This narrative of asteroid threat construction, like in 1ac Dreier framing asteroids as extinction causing, draws us towards militaristic ends

Mellor ‘7 (course leader of Imperial College’s Science Communication group, PhD in theoretical physics from Newcastle University, “Colliding Worlds: Asteriod Research and the Legitimization of War in Space”, Social Studies of Science, August 2007, Vol. 37 No. 4, pages 499-531, NB)

Over the past 20 years a small group of astronomers and planetary scientists has actively promoted the idea that an asteroid might collide with the Earth and destroy civilization. Despite concerns about placing weapons in space, the asteroid scientists repeatedly met with scientists from the Strategic Defense Initiative to discuss mitigation technologies. This paper examines the narrative context in which asteroids were constructed as a threat and astronomy was reconfigured as an interventionist science. I argue that conceptualizing asteroids through narratives of technological salvation invoked a 'narrative imperative' that drew the astronomers towards the militaristic endings that their stories demanded. Impact-threat science thus demonstrates both the ways in which scientific research can be framed by fictional narratives and the ideological ends that such narratives can serve.

#### China threat discourse, like in 1ac kulacki talking about China Us war going nuclear, creates a self-fulfilling prophecy

Song, PhD, 15

(Weiqing, *Securitization of the “China Threat” Discourse: A Poststructuralist Account*, China Review 15:1)

The so-called China threat has been widely and consistently enacted in the West as comprehensively endangering the West and the whole world. This article problematizes this issue using a poststructuralist securitization approach. Some people may claim that there is clear evidence of the real “China threat,” such as the ever-increasing Chinese military might, persistent nationalist indoctrination, global hunt for energy, and a market economy. However, a poststructuralist may argue that representation of any political event will always be susceptible to competing interpretations.84 These same events can be represented in a significantly different ways. For example, China has strong reason to increase its national power, for national self-defense and unification and to pursue social and economic development. The inevitable and mutual constitutive nexus of knowledge and power is evident in the various securitization processes. Knowledge of various types is embedded in power relations and the struggle to impose authoritative interpretations of international events, such as the “China threat.” This article identifies the three modes of securitization activity. In all of these modes, securitizing agents communicate the China threat [End Page 164] issue referentially (that is, using the linguistic act of identifying something) to their audiences/subjects in the context of shared knowledge in a particular domain. It can be structurally incorporated into the field of theoretical research, addressed to elites and focused on the security and strategic sectors. It can also be structurally incorporated into ideological debates and conflicts, addressed to an attentive or well-informed public and focused on the political sector. Alternatively, it can be assigned to a broad context of culture and civilization, addressed to the general public and encompassing a comprehensive range of sectors. In these processes, the actors are performing acts with communicative force. Although the intended meanings are not directly signaled, they can be inferred from the contexts of the different modes. The so-called China threat can be predicted as inevitable, based on deductive reasoning from scientific theory. Rhetorical power comes from a specialized domain of scholarly expertise. Following an inductive logic, the same conclusion can be drawn from past experiences and current observations. It can also be inferred from psychological traits and prejudices. In the latter case, the issue of the China threat is securitized by eliciting an intuitive emotional response from the audience that bypasses ordinary justification. In other words, the subject’s perception of the China threat results from immediate a priori knowledge or experiential belief. The agents thereby heighten their audiences’ sense of the seriousness and urgency of the issue. A securitization act succeeds only when it achieves the intended effect. A poststructuralist securitization analysis of the China threat issue in this article reveals the specific ways in which power and knowledge constitute each other through different modes. All types of performative communication, regardless of their domains, attempt to build identities—in this case, that of a “threatening” China—through means such as linking and differentiating. The real aim of this process of securitization is not to identify the cause of the “China threat,” but rather to elicit a reaction from an audience. The China threat thesis may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. If so, this may have very real policy implications and political consequences.

#### Representations must precede policy discussion. Thus, the role of the ballot should be to assume the position of a critical intellectual- debate is primarily an academic activity. The signal sent intellectually outweighs any specific policy proposal

Neta Crawford ,PhD MA MIT, BA Brown, Prof. of poli sci at boston univ. Argument and Change in World Politics, 2002 p. 19-21

Coherent arguments are unlikely to take place unless and until actors, at least on some level, agree on what they are arguing about. The at least temporary resolution of meta-arguments- regarding the nature of the good (the content of prescriptive norms); what is out there, the way we know the world, how we decide between competing beliefs (ontology and epistemology); and the nature of the situation at hand( the proper frame or representation)- must occur before specific arguments that could lead to decision and action may take place. Meta-arguments over epistemology and ontology, relatively rare, occur in instances where there is a fundamental clash between belief systems and not simply a debate within a belief system. Such arguments over the nature of the world and how we come to know it are particularly rare in politics though they are more frequent in religion and science. Meta-arguments over the “good” are contests over what it is good and right to do, and even how we know the good and the right. They are about the nature of the good, specifically, defining the qualities of “good” so that we know good when we see it and do it. Ethical arguments are about how to do good in a particular situation. More common are meta-arguments over representations or frames- about how we out to understand a particular situation. Sometimes actors agree on how they see a situation. More often there are different possible interpretations. Thomas Homer-Dixon and Roger karapin suggest, “Argument and debate occur when people try to gain acceptance for their interpretation of the world”. For example, “is the war defensive or aggressive?”. Defining and controlling representations and images, or the frame, affects whether one thinks there is an issue at stake and whether a particular argument applies to the case. An actor fighting a defensive war is within international law; an aggressor may legitimately be subject to sanctions. Framing and reframing involve mimesis or putting forward representations of what is going on. In mimetic meta-arguments, actors who are struggling to characterize or frame the situation accomplish their ends by drawing vivid pictures of the “reality” through exaggeration, analogy, or differentiation. Representations of a situation do not re-produce accurately so much as they creatively re-present situations in a way that makes sense. “mimesis is a metaphoric or ‘iconic argumentation of the real.’ Imitating not the effectivity of events but their logical structure and meaning.” Certain features are emphasized and others de-emphasized or completely ignored as their situation is recharacterized or reframed. Representation thus becomes a “constraint on reasoning in that it limits understanding to a specific organization of conceptual knowledge.” The dominant representation delimits which arguments will be considered legitimate, framing how actors see possibities. As Roxanne Doty argues, “the possibility of practices presupposes the ability of an agent to imagine certain courses of action. Certain background meanings, kinds of social actors and relationships, must already be in place.” If, as Donald Sylvan and Stuart Thorson argue, “politics involves the selective privileging of representations, “it may not matter whether one representation or another is true or not. Emphasizing whether frames articulate accurate or inaccurate perceptions misses the rhetorical import of representation- how frames affect what is seen or not seen, and subsequent choices. Meta-arguments over representation are thus crucial elements of political argument because an actor’s arguments about what to do will be more persuasive if their characterization or framing of the situation holds sway. But, as Rodger Payne suggests, “No frame is an omnipotent persuasive tool that can be decisively wielded by norm entrepreneurs without serious political wrangling.” Hence framing is a meta-argument.

#### The alternative is to reject the AFF’s security representations as a critical intellectual labor that makes imagination of a more peaceful future possible. Neocleous 08

(Neocleous 8 — Prof of Government @ Brunel University; London (Mark, Critique of Security, pg. 184-5)

Anyone well versed in history or with experience of university life will know about the shameful ways in which large numbers of academics have elevated venality into the cardinal academic virtue, complying with the demands of those in power and the wishes of those with money: witness the political scientists, historians, anthropologists, geographers, cartographers, sociologists, linguists and many others who reworked their disciplines according to the principles and myths, and the principle myths, of fascism.' 'Academic life under fascism', notes Christopher Hutton, 'is a dismal ... episode in an unedifying story of relations between the modem academic and the state, and between academics and power both within and outside the university. But this part of the history of fascism is merely the worst moment in the wider and equally unedifying story of relations between academics and the state more generally, merely one way m which intellectuals have kowtowed to the principles and myths, and the principle myths, concerning security and the state. Spouting the jargon of security and enthralled by the trappings of power, their intellectual labour consists of nothing less than attempts to write hand-books for the princes of the new security state. The death of countless numbers in a more 'efficient' bombing of a city, the stationing of troops halfway around the World in order to bring to an end any attempt at collective self-determination, the use of military machines against civilians, the training of police forces in counter-insurgency practices, but more than anything the key concepts and categories used to explain and justify these things - all defended, supported and even ‘improved” by security intellectuals for whom, ultimately, intelIecua1 labour boils down to little more than the question of the most efficient manner. In which to achieve the security demanded by the state and bourgeois order. In rationalizing the political and corporate logic of security, the security intellectual conceals the utter irrationality of the system as a whole. The security intellectual then is nothing less than the security ideologue, peddling the fetish of our time. The only way out of such a dilemma, to escape the fetish, is perhaps to eschew the logic of security altogether - to reject it as so ideologically loaded in favour of the state that any real political thought other than the authoritarian and reactionary should be pressed to give it up, That is clearly something that can not be achieved within the limits of bourgeois thought and thus could never even begin to be imagined by the security intellectual. It is also something that the constant iteration of the refrain ‘this is an insecure world’ and reiteration of one fear, anxiety and insecurity after another will also make it hard to do, but it is something that the critique of security suggests we may have to consider if we want a political way out of the impasse of security. This impasse exists because security has now become so all-encompassing that it marginalizes all else, most notably the constructive conflicts, debates and discussions that animate political life. The constant prioritizing of a mythical security as a political end - as the political end - constitutes a rejection of politics in any meaningful sense of the term. That is, as a mode of action in which differences can be articulated, in which the conflicts and struggles that arise from such differences can be fought for and negotiated, in which people might come to believe that another world is possible - that they might transform the world and in turn be transformed. Security politics simply removes this; worse, it removes it while purportedly addressing it. In so doing it suppresses all issues of power and turns political questions into debates about the most efficient way to achieve ‘security’, despite the fact that we are never quite told - never could be told – what might count as having achieved it. Security politics is, in this sense, an anti-politics,” dominating political discourse in much the same manner as the security state tries to dominate human beings, reinforcing security fetishism and the monopolistic character of security on the political imagination. We therefore need to get beyond security politics, not add yet more ‘sectors to it in a way that simply expands the scope of the state, and legitimizes state intervention in yet more and more areas of our lives. Simon Dalby reports a personal communication with Michael Williams, co-editor of the important text Critical Security Studies, in which the latter asks: if you take away security, what do you put in the hole that’s left behind? But I’m inclined to agree with Dalby: maybe there is no hole. The mistake has been to think that there is a hole and that this hole needs to be filled with a new vision or revision of security in which it is re-mapped or civilised or gendered or humanised or expanded or whatever. All of these ultimately remain within the statist political imaginary, and consequently end up re-affirming the state as the terrain of modem politics, the grounds of security. The real task is not to fill the supposed hole with yet another vision of security, but to fight for an alternative political language which takes us beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois security and which therefore does not constantly throw us into the arms of the state. That’s the point of critical politics: to develop a new political language more adequate to the kind of society we want. Thus while much of what I have said here has been of a negative order, part of the tradition of critical theory is that the negative may be as significant as the positive in setting thought on new paths. For if security really is the supreme concept of bourgeois society and the fundamental thematic of liberalism, then to keep harping on about insecurity and to keep demanding ‘more security’ (while meekly hoping that this increased security doesn’t damage our liberty) is to blind ourselves to the possibility of building real alternatives to the authoritarian tendencies in contemporary politics. To situate ourselves against security politics would allow us to circumvent the debilitating effect achieved through the constant securitizing of social and political issues, debilitating in the sense that ‘security’ helps consolidate the power of the existing forms of social domination and justifies the short-circuiting of even the most democratic forms. It would also allow us to forge another kind of politics centered on a different conception of the good. We need a new way of thinking and talking about social being and politics that moves us beyond security. This would perhaps be emancipatory in the true sense of the word. What this might mean, precisely, must be open to debate. But it certainly requires recognizing that security is an illusion that has forgotten it is an illusion; it requires recognising that security is not the same as solidarity; it requires accepting that insecurity is part of the human condition, and thus giving up the search for the certainty of security and instead learning to tolerate the uncertainties, ambiguities and ‘insecurities’ that come with being human; it requires accepting that securitizing an issue does not mean dealing with it politically, but bracketing it out and handing it to the state; it requires us to be brave enough to return the gift.

**Interpretation: The 1AC is an object of research. The role of the neg should be to disprove the various meanings of that object.**

**1] Plan focus restricts the debate to a ten second statement and leaves the rest of the aff unquestioned. They should be responsible for the way their knowledge is constructed and used because that produces the best model for activism and ethics in the context of the topic which is a unique education net benefit to our interpretation**

**2] Debate doesn't pass policies but it does alter the way we think about the world and about systems of power – turns their policy research standards because it's a question of how their research is oriented and whether it's for an ethical purpose – only our model of engagement accesses that education**

**3] Begs the question – if we win their justifications are repugnant that necessarily implicates the conclusion which means defense of their research model is a prior question to weighing the material consequences of the aff – also solves plan focus because the links necessarily implicate aff solvency**

## Impact D

### Gen

#### 1] Probability – 0.1% chance of a collision.

Salter 16

Alexander William Salter, Economics Professor at Texas Tech, ’16, “SPACE DEBRIS: A LAW AND ECONOMICS ANALYSIS OF THE ORBITAL COMMONS” 19 STAN. TECH. L. REV. 221 \*numbers replaced with English words

The probability of a collision is currently low. Bradley and Wein estimate that the maximum probability in LEO of a collision over the lifetime of a spacecraft remains below one in one thousand, conditional on continued compliance with NASA’s deorbiting guidelines.3 However, the possibility of a future “snowballing” effect, whereby debris collides with other objects, further congesting orbit space, remains a significant concern.4 Levin and Carroll estimate the average immediate destruction of wealth created by a collision to be approximately $30 million, with an additional $200 million in damages to all currently existing space assets from the debris created by the initial collision.5 The expected value of destroyed wealth because of collisions, currently small because of the low probability of a collision, can quickly become significant if future collisions result in runaway debris growth.

#### 2] Time frame – Kessler effect 200 years away.

Stubbe 17

Peter Stubbe, PhD in law @ Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt, ’17, State Accountability for Space Debris: A Legal Study of Responsibility for Polluting the Space Environment and Liability for Damage Caused by Space Debris, Koninklijke Brill Publishing, ISBN 978-90-04-31407-8, p. 27-31

The prediction of possible scenarios of the future evolution of the debris p o p ulation involves many uncertainties. Long-term forecasting means the prediction of the evolution of the future debris environment in time periods of decades or even centuries. Predictions are based on models84 that work with certain assumptions, and altering these parameters significantly influences the outcomes of the predictions. Assumptions on the future space traffic and on the initial object environment are particularly critical to the results of modeling efforts.85 A well-known pattern for the evolution of the debris population is the so-called Kessler effect’, which assumes that there is a certain collision probability among space objects because many satellites operate in similar orbital regions. These collisions create fragments, and thus additional objects in the respective orbits, which in turn enhances the risk of further collisions. Consequently, the num ber of objects and collisions increases exponentially and eventually results in the formation of a self-sustaining debris belt aroundthe Earth. While it has long been assumed that such a process of collisional cascading is likely to occur only in a very long-term perspective (meaning a time 1 n of several hundred years),87 a consensus has evolved in recent years that an uncontrolled growth of the debris population in certain altitudes could become reality much sooner.88 In fact, a recent cooperative study undertaken by various space agencies in the scope of i a d c shows that the current l e o debris population is unstable, even if current mitigation measures are applied. The study concludes: Even with a 90% implementation of the commonly-adopted mitigation measures [...] the l e o debris population is expected to increase by an average of 30% in the next 200 years. The population growth is primarily driven by catastrophic collisions between 700 and 1000 km altitudes and such collisions are likely to occur every 5 to 9 years.89

#### Squo debris thumps

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\*bracketed numbers because no one likes reading big numbers

Earth orbit is getting more and more crowded as the years go by. Humanity has launched about [twelvethousand one hundred seventy] satellites since the dawn of the space age in 1957, [according to the European Space Agency](https://www.esa.int/Safety_Security/Space_Debris/Space_debris_by_the_numbers) (ESA), and 7,630 of them remain in orbit today — but only about 4,700 are still operational. That means there are nearly [three thousand] defunct spacecraft zooming around Earth at tremendous speeds, along with other big, dangerous pieces of debris like upper-stage rocket bodies. For example, orbital velocity at 250 miles (400 kilometers) up, the altitude at which the ISS flies, is about [seventeen thousand] mph (27,500 kph). At such speeds, even a tiny shard of debris can do serious damage to a spacecraft — and there are huge numbers of such fragmentary bullets zipping around our planet. ESA estimates that Earth orbit harbors at least [thirty six thousand five hundred] debris objects that are more than 4 inches (10 centimeters) wide, 1 million between 0.4 inches and 4 inches (1 to 10 cm) across, and a staggering 330 million that are smaller than 0.4 inches (1 cm) but bigger than 0.04 inches (1 millimeter). These objects pose more than just a hypothetical threat. From 1999 to May 2021, for example, the ISS conducted 29 debris-avoiding maneuvers, including three in 2020 alone, [according to NASA officials](https://www.nasa.gov/mission_pages/station/news/orbital_debris.html). And that number continues to grow; the station performed [another such move in November 2021](https://www.space.com/space-station-dodging-chinese-space-junk-spacex-crew-3), for example. Many of the smaller pieces of space junk were spawned by the explosion of spent rocket bodies in orbit, but others were more actively emplaced. In January 2007, for instance, China intentionally destroyed one of its defunct weather satellites in a much-criticized test of anti-satellite technology that generated [more than 3,000 tracked debris objects](https://swfound.org/media/9550/chinese_asat_fact_sheet_updated_2012.pdf) and perhaps [thirty two thousand] others too small to be detected. The vast majority of that junk remains in orbit today, experts say. Spacecraft have also collided with each other on orbit. The most famous such incident occurred in February 2009, when Russia's defunct Kosmos 2251 satellite slammed into the operational communications craft Iridium 33, producing [nearly 2,000 pieces of debris](https://swfound.org/media/6575/swf_iridium_cosmos_collision_fact_sheet_updated_2012.pdf) bigger than a softball. That 2009 smashup might be evidence that the Kessler Syndrome is already upon us, though a cataclysm of "Gravity" proportions is still a long way off. "The cascade process can be more accurately thought of as continuous and as already started, where each collision or explosion in orbit slowly results in an increase in the frequency of future collisions," [Kessler told Space Safety Magazine in 2012](http://www.spacesafetymagazine.com/space-debris/kessler-syndrome/don-kessler-envisat-kessler-syndrome/).

### Kessler = hype

#### Kessler syndrome is media hype – no risk

Von Fange 17

Daniel von Fange (systems engineer. Fond of charts), 5-21-2017, "Kessler Syndrome is Over Hyped," braino, http://braino.org/essays/kessler\_syndrome\_is\_over\_hyped/, // HW AW

Kessler Syndrome is overhyped. A chorus of online commenters greet any news of upcoming low earth orbit satellites with worry that humanity will to lose access to space. I now think they are wrong. What is Kessler Syndrome? Here’s the popular view on Kessler Syndrome. Every once in a while, a piece of junk in space hits a satellite. This single impact destroys the satellite, and breaks off several thousand additional pieces. These new pieces now fly around space looking for other satellites to hit, and so exponentially multiply themselves over time, like a nuclear reaction, until a sphere of man-made debris surrounds the earth, and humanity no longer has access to space nor the benefits of satellites. It is a dark picture. Is Kessler Syndrome likely to happen? I had to stop everything and spend an afternoon doing back-of-the-napkin math to know how big the threat is. To estimate, we need to know where the stuff in space is, how much mass is there, and how long it would take to deorbit. The orbital area around earth can be broken down into four regions. Low LEO - Up to about 400km. Things that orbit here burn up in the earth’s atmosphere quickly - between a few months to two years. The space station operates at the high end of this range. It loses about a kilometer of altitude a month and if not pushed higher every few months, would soon burn up. For all practical purposes, Low LEO doesn’t matter for Kessler Syndrome. If Low LEO was ever full of space junk, we’d just wait a year and a half, and the problem would be over. High LEO - 400km to 2000km. This where most heavy satellites and most space junk orbits. The air is thin enough here that satellites only go down slowly, and they have a much farther distance to fall. It can take 50 years for stuff here to get down. This is where Kessler Syndrome could be an issue. Mid Orbit - GPS satellites and other navigation satellites travel here in lonely, long lives. The volume of space is so huge, and the number of satellites so few, that we don’t need to worry about Kessler here. GEO - If you put a satellite far enough out from earth, the speed that the satellite travels around the earth will match the speed of the surface of the earth rotating under it. From the ground, the satellite will appear to hang motionless. Usually the geostationary orbit is used by big weather satellites and big TV broadcasting satellites. (This apparent motionlessness is why satellite TV dishes can be mounted pointing in a fixed direction. You can find approximate south just by looking around at the dishes in your northern hemisphere neighborhood.) For Kessler purposes, GEO orbit is roughly a ring 384,400 km around. However, all the satellites here are moving the same direction at the same speed - debris doesn’t get free velocity from the speed of the satellites. Also, it’s quite expensive to get a satellite here, and so there aren’t many, only about one satellite per 1000km of the ring. Kessler is not a problem here. How bad could Kessler Syndrome in High LEO be? Let’s imagine a worst case scenario. **An evil alien intelligence chops up everything in High LEO, turning it into 1cm cubes of death orbiting at 1000km, spread as evenly across the surface of this sphere as orbital mechanics would allow. Is humanity cut off from space? I’m guessing the world has launched about 10,000 tons of satellites total.** For guessing purposes, I’ll assume 2,500 tons of satellites and junk currently in High LEO. If satellites are made of aluminum, with a density of 2.70 g/cm3, then that’s 839,985,870 1cm cubes. A sphere for an orbit of 1,000km has a surface area of 682,752,000 square KM. So there would be one cube of junk per .81 square KM. If a rocket traveled through that, **its odds of hitting that cube are tiny - less than 1 in 10,000**. **So even in the worst case, we don’t lose access to space.** Now though you can travel through the debris, you couldn’t keep a satellite alive for long in this orbit of death. Kessler Syndrome at its worst just prevents us from putting satellites in certain orbits. In real life, there’s a lot of factors that make Kessler syndrome even less of a problem than our worst case though experiment. Debris would be spread over a volume of space, not a single orbital surface, making collisions orders of magnitudes less likely. Most impact debris will have a slower orbital velocity than either of its original pieces - this makes it deorbit much sooner. Any collision will create large and small objects. **Small objects are much more affected by atmospheric drag and deorbit faster**, even in a few months from high LEO. Larger objects can be tracked by earth based radar and avoided. The planned big new constellations are not in High LEO, but in Low LEO for faster communications with the earth. They aren’t an issue for Kessler. Most importantly, all new satellite launches since the 1990’s are required to include a plan to get rid of the satellite at the end of its useful life (usually by deorbiting) So the realistic worst case is that insurance premiums on satellites go up a bit. Given the current trend toward much smaller, cheaper micro satellites, this wouldn’t even have a huge effect. **I’m removing Kessler Syndrome from my list of things to worry about.**

### Nukes!

#### No nuke winter- science and history.

Kroenig, PhD, ‘18

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At this point, some may object to the above attempt to measure gradations of nuclear war by claiming that the effects of any nuclear war would be unimaginable and could potentially even result in “nuclear winter” and complete human extinction. The possibility of nuclear winter, however, has long been dismissed by leading scientists.14 In the early 1980s, the scientist and public intellectual Carl Sagan and colleagues popularized the idea of “nuclear winter.”15 He and other experts argued that the heat from a nuclear explosion would set ablaze wooden structures and other flammable material in cities, sending large quantities of smoke into the Earth’s atmosphere, thus blocking out the sun’s rays. This would have the effect of reducing the Earth’s temperature and wiping out global agricultural production. Crude climate models at the time estimated that the effect could be so large as to result in mass starvation and possibly even human extinction. The arguments had a profound effect on elites and the general public on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Then–Soviet Premier Mikael Gorbachev later admitted that fear of nuclear winter was a factor motivating him to end the Cold War.16 Subsequent research employing more sophisticated climate modeling has demonstrated, however, that early fears about nuclear winter resulting in human extinction were overblown.17 Even scientists who initially proposed the idea, including the physicist Richard P. Turco (the person who coined the phrase “nuclear winter”) disavowed these arguments just a few years later. Climate scientists working in this area today sometimes refer instead to the possibility of “nuclear autumn.” The smoke from a large-scale nuclear exchange could indeed obstruct sunlight and reduce agricultural production, but the effects would be milder than Sagan and others warned in the early 1980s. Evidence against nuclear winter comes not only from better climate models but also from data obtained from analysis of other events that emitted large quantities of smoke into the Earth’s atmosphere, such as the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo during World War II, Saddam Hussein’s ignition of 600 oil wells in Iraq during the first Gulf War, and the volcanic eruptions at Krakatoa and Tambora.18 Tambora, for example, was a 33-gigaton explosion, equivalent to the simultaneous detonation of 2.5 million Hiroshima-size bombs. These events all spewed large amounts of soot into the Earth’s atmosphere, but only Tambora resulted in a noticeable decrease in the Earth’s temperature, and the effects were not catastrophic. (Indeed, it is said that Mary Shelly was inspired to write Frankenstein during an unusually gloomy European summer in 1816 that, unbeknownst to her, was the result of the Tambora volcano in faraway Indonesia).19 Depending on the size, timing, and location of a nuclear attack, agricultural production could be affected and this could result in disruptions to food supplies in vulnerable populations around the world. As such, “nuclear autumn” is included as a possible source of casualties in the above discussion. Most importantly for our purpose in this section, however, nuclear war, at least with nuclear forces heretofore accumulated, would not mean nuclear winter, human extinction, or the end of the world.

#### Asteroids are super unlikely, the last mass extinction was the KT one 65M years ago

#### Their examples of recent asteroids didn’t have that big of an impact, even Tunguska only effected remote Siberia, which proves that even if asteroids are coming the chance of them hitting a big city is small

#### Dreier 21 proves our security link, they say the threat of non-sighted asteroids are a big threat, but we’re still identifying enough asteroids to prevent; they have no ev that says current tech will magically be able to find asteroids