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### Adv

#### Hospitals are agreeing to no-strike clauses now, and have huge staffing shortages, while simultaneously ruining patient care. Neg arguments concerning “patient abandonment” are rooted in hypocritical neoliberal ideologies. Mercy Hospital proves.

Pappas et al 10/23 [Mike Pappas is an activist and medical doctor working in New York City. Luigi Morris is a freelance photographer, socialist journalist and videographer. He is an activist for immigrants' rights. Olivia Wood is a writer and editor at Left Voice and an adjunct English lecturer in the NYC metropolitan area. October 23, 2021. “Buffalo Healthcare Workers Strike for Better Patient Care and Fair Wages” <https://www.leftvoice.org/buffalo-healthcare-workers-strike-for-better-patient-care-and-fair-wages/> Accessed 10/28 //gord0]

<https://www.leftvoice.org/buffalo-healthcare-workers-strike-for-better-patient-care-and-fair-wages/>

More than 2,000 healthcare workers — including nurses, technicians, clerical workers, and custodians — at Mercy Hospital in Buffalo, New York have been on strike since October 1. Similar to other [healthcare workers around the country](https://www.leftvoice.org/healthcare-workers-are-fed-up-and-hitting-the-picket-lines/), the striking workers’ main demand is improved staffing ratios to allow for safer care for patients. In addition, workers are fighting for better wages to attract more qualified staff, to prevent their health insurance plan from being converted to a high deductible plan, and to prevent their pension plans being converted to a 401(k).

Mercy Hospital is owned by Catholic Health System (CHS), which also owns other hospitals in the area. The striking workers at Mercy Hospital are part of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) union and were originally supposed to strike with two other hospitals, the Sisters of Charity Hospital and Kenmore Mercy Hospital. However, as reported by[Labor Notes](https://labornotes.org/2021/10/two-thousand-hospital-workers-strike-buffalo), “recognizing the potential strength of bargaining together against the chain, Locals 1133 and 1168 sought to coordinate the expiration dates of their contracts and force a master agreement in the last round of negotiations in 2019.” CHS tried to push back against this tactic, and a no-strike clause was eventually agreed to for two out of three of the hospitals, leaving Mercy Hospital as the one location able to strike on behalf of all three.

Although negotiations were supposed to begin in the middle of last year, healthcare workers agreed to delay bargaining during Covid-19 as the hospital claimed to be struggling financially — despite the CEO’s $2 million per year salary. The union healthcare workers agreed to continue working and accepted a temporary contract extension with a raise of just half a percent for the year. But despite these sacrifices, the hospital continues to refuse to give healthcare workers what they need. Hospital management’s proposals do not go nearly far enough: they proposed to add 250 new positions, similar to a proposal made back in 2016, which did nothing to resolve staffing crises.

Management Lies

It is clear that CHS management is trying to frame the ongoing lack of a contract as the fault of the workers and the union itself. In a [recent interview with local press](https://www.wivb.com/catholic-health-hospital-strike/live-catholic-health-ceo-addresses-contract-negotiations-amid-strike/), CHS CEO Mark Sullivan stated he was optimistic a deal would be reached, but “only CWA can end the strike.” Nurses Left Voice spoke with say that when they initially announced the plan to strike, the hospital tried to frame it as workers abandoning patients, putting press releases out to the community.

But healthcare workers know how hypocritical this rhetoric is, and they know they care about their patients more than anyone. Workers put their lives on line throughout the pandemic — the striking healthcare workers created Covid-19 Memorial Walls around each of the picket areas commemorating both those who became ill and those who lost their lives during the pandemic’s peaks — and were called “heroes” when the label could be used as propaganda by management. Workers were even given “healthcare heroes” shirts from CHS, but now, they say they’re seen as “zeroes” and are told they are “abandoning” patients. These claims of abandoning patients are especially ironic because, as one nurse pointed out, not only are these striking healthcare workers the ones who actually care about patient well-being — hence their resistance to the continual drive to cut staffing and costs to increase profits — but the hospital’s CEO, Mark Sullivan, who makes between $1.5-2 million a year, was planning on abandoning contract negotiations midway for vacation to Europe.

It appears the hospital’s rhetoric backfired, as there has been an outpouring of community support, with many residents of the neighborhoods around the hospital putting union signs in their front lawns. Healthcare workers from the two other hospitals not currently striking have been working in solidarity, raising money at Buffalo Bills games and other community events for the union strike fund. Healthcare workers want to get back to work, but they refuse to accept horrible working conditions that lead to poor patient outcomes. Contrary to CHS’s claims, healthcare workers actually care so much about patients that they are willing to strike to see their demands met. They refuse to let the hospital force them into a poor contract that will ultimately threaten the health of patients.

The Hospital System’s Response: Scabs and Security Firms

Those who run hospital firms like CHS know what the threat of striking and winning demands could mean for other hospital systems in the area or the country, so instead of simply meeting the healthcare workers’ demands, they continue to resist. CHS has hired the global parasitic, blood-sucking, anti-strike firm Huffmaster to not just provide scabs, but also provide security. Per their [website](https://huffmaster.com/), “Huffmaster is a master staffing agency for healthcare, security, and other industries. Specializing in rapid strike staffing, we keep business in business.” Huffmaster advertises for job fulfillment and provides housing, travel, and meals for scabs in order to break strikes. As [WNYLaborToday.com reported](https://www.wnylabortoday.com/news/2021/10/04/buffalo-and-western-new-york-labor-news/as-striking-cwa-represented-nurses-continue-to-walk-the-picket-line-outside-south-buffalo-s-mercy-hospital-in-a-battle-over-patient-care-how-can-catholic-health-not-pay-them-but-bring-in-nearly-200-out-of-town-caregivers-at-150-an-hour/), CHS is paying Huffmaster to pay these scabs between $100 and $150 an hour, plus $45 per day for their meals, but they are not willing to pay their regular unionized employees anywhere near as much. Even the pay for the X-ray technicians, one of the higher-paid positions among the striking workers, only reaches $80 per hour — far less than the scabs are being paid.

In their effort to claim the title for one of the worst companies in the world, not only does Huffmaster provide scab healthcare workers, but also violent security personnel. Healthcare workers at Mercy Hospital showed Left Voice reporters video footage and photos of how the security personnel at Mercy are the same security that were hired to help break the [Nabisco strike](https://www.leftvoice.org/nabisco-workers-face-pay-cuts-while-the-company-doubles-its-profits/) and brutally attacked workers. Now there is an injunction from New York State Attorney General Letitia James claiming the company is not licensed to do work in New York State, but as of October 21, Left Voice observed Huffmaster security personnel still on the hospital property, protecting scabs and using fake badges to hide their company logo. In addition to the hired security, Buffalo police were also present and coordinated with the drivers of the scab vehicles.

CHS CEO Trying to Deflect: CEOs Gonna CEO

In the early days of the strike, [CEO Mark Sullivan said](https://www.wivb.com/catholic-health-hospital-strike/live-catholic-health-ceo-addresses-contract-negotiations-amid-strike/) healthcare staffing is a struggle across the nation, not just at Catholic Health: “One in five healthcare workers, since the pandemic has started, has left healthcare. This is not a Mercy Hospital staffing crisis, this is not a Catholic Health staffing crisis, this is a national staffing crisis. Healthcare, overall, is broken.” And he’s right: Healthcare is “broken,” but not because of the workers. Rather, healthcare is broken because under capitalist healthcare, the primary goal is to maximize profit from people’s bodies. Everything else, [including patient care](https://www.leftvoice.org/capitalist-healthcare-killed-my-grandparent-and-hurts-all-elderly/), is secondary. Therefore, under this model, it becomes logical to cut costs whenever possible — for example, by decreasing staffing ratios. Healthcare workers have left the industry because they are tired of working in a system that does not care about patient well-being and continues to put money over lives. They joined their workplaces hoping to help others, but many workers soon find out that the system itself does not hold this priority.

Healthcare is “broken” because the system as it stands was never meant for the maintenance of health for health’s sake — instead, its origins lie in [racism](https://www.leftvoice.org/the-racist-history-of-medical-research/), white supremacy, and [maintaining worker wellbeing just enough to be tools of labor](https://books.google.com/books?id=2MYwMb9hApQC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false). In some respects it isn’t “broken” but functions just how CEOs like Sullivan — along with the heads of other sectors of the medical industrial complex such as insurance companies, device manufacturers, and pharmaceutical companies — want it to, as they have the main same goal: profit maximization at all cost. This leads them to constantly work to uphold a destructive healthcare system, while the actual maintenance of health and well being remains secondary. Since a CEO like Sullivan can’t say “I am horrible and part of upholding a horrible system,” he must resort to a refrain like “healthcare is broken” to misdirect the public gaze. Executives like to pretend everyone is “on the same team” wanting to care for patients, but this is not the case. It is the healthcare workers who actually care for patients and communities, and CEOs like Sullivan who are a barrier to providing adequate care.

#### Staff shortages are high, and pay inequality among temporary and permanent staff only exacerbates the issue

Hwang 10/19 [Kristen Hwang reports on health care and policy for CalMatters. She is passionate about humanizing data-driven stories and examining the intersection of public health and social justice. Prior to joining CalMatters, Kristen earned a master’s degree in journalism and a master’s degree in public health from UC Berkeley, where she researched water quality in the Central Valley. She has previously worked as a beat reporter for The Desert Sun and a stringer for the New York Times California COVID-19 team. October 19, 2021. “Hospitals brace for strikes as California workers protest staff shortages” [https://www.ivpressonline.com/news/state/hospitals-brace-for-strikes-as-california-workers-protest-staff-shortages/article\_e8023a82-3094-11ec-a2f2-230b2ba54887.html Accessed 10/28](https://www.ivpressonline.com/news/state/hospitals-brace-for-strikes-as-california-workers-protest-staff-shortages/article_e8023a82-3094-11ec-a2f2-230b2ba54887.html%20Accessed%2010/28) //gord0]

Labor advocates are calling it “Striketober.”

As weary health care workers across California enter the 19th month of the pandemic, thousands are walking off the job and onto the picket line, demanding more staffing.

The strikes and rallies threaten to cripple hospital operations that have been inundated by the COVID-19 Delta surge as well as patients seeking long-delayed care.

More than two dozen hospitals across the state — including some Kaiser Permanente and Sutter Health facilities and USC Keck Medicine — have experienced strikes by engineers, janitorial staff, respiratory therapists, nurses, midwives, physical therapists and technicians over the past four months.

This week, nearly a third of all California hospitals reported “critical staffing shortages” to the federal government, with more predicting shortages in the coming week. Hospitals are unable to meet the state’s required staff-to-patient ratios for nurses or schedule adequate numbers of other critical personnel.

In the Central Valley, the region hit hardest by the Delta surge, National Guard medics have been deployed since September to assist area hospitals.

The reason for the shortages? Record patient volumes at the same time that many workers have been driven away from the bedside by burnout, early retirement and the seemingly unending stress of the pandemic.

SEIU-United Healthcare Workers West estimates that about 10 percent of its members — close to 10,000 people — have retired, left the profession, or taken extended leaves of absence during the pandemic.

“What’s really important is that 10 percent doesn’t turn into 15 percent, does not turn into 20 percent. There’s not enough temporary staff out there to fix what’s going on,” said Dave Regan, president of SEIU-UHW.

The shortages are an untenable scenario, unions say — one that has persisted for many years brought to a boiling point by the pandemic.

Since the pandemic began, union grievances with hospitals are increasingly about inadequate staffing, although bargaining over pay remains a key issue.

Money matters when it comes to holding onto workers, they say, especially because temporary staff brought on for pandemic response often make more than regular employees. In some instances, traveling nurses have been paid $10,000 per week at California hospitals with severe staffing needs.

“You’re paying exorbitant amounts for travelers while the existing workforce makes exactly the same amount (as before the pandemic),” Regan said.

**Striking to 'stop the bleeding'**

Early in the pandemic, Gov. Gavin Newsom announced efforts to expand the healthcare workforce through a volunteer health corps. Although tens of thousands signed up, most people didn’t have the necessary medical skills, and only 14 volunteers worked out.

The California Department of Public Health also signed a $500 million contract to help hospitals pay for emergency health care workers like traveling nurses. That contract expired in June.

Unions say those efforts are a Band-aid on a larger problem. Instead, they say policymakers should get hospitals to try harder to retain their current employees.

“Right now, hospitals, the health industry, the state of California, you need to do a lot more so that it doesn’t get worse,” Regan said. “We’re doing very little as a state to support this workforce that has been under a really unique set of pressures.”

In an early attempt to stop the churn, SEIU-UHW sponsored a bill that would have provided hazard pay retention bonuses to health workers. Opposed by the hospital association. the bill stalled before it was voted upon by the Assembly and did not make it to the Senate.

Assemblymember Al Muratsuchi, a Democrat from Torrance who introduced the bill, said the hospitals’ claims that they couldn’t afford hazard pay were unfounded since they received billions in federal pandemic funds, some “specifically earmarked for hazard pay and bonuses for frontline workers.”

“The state made a decision that they were not going to provide financial incentives to recognize and retain healthcare workers, and we think that’s shortsighted,” Regan said.

Over the summer, hundreds of nurses at hospitals, including USC’s Keck Medicine, San Francisco’s Chinese Hospital and Riverside Community Hospital, staged strikes over inadequate staffing and safety concerns.

Now more than 700 hospital engineers employed by Kaiser Permanente facilities in Northern California have been striking for four weeks, demanding higher wages.

In Antioch, more than 350 workers at Sutter Delta ended a week-long strike over inadequate staffing Friday but have yet to reach a contract agreement with their employer.

In the Victor Valley and Roseville, hundreds of workers staged recent rallies and vigils to highlight what they’re calling a “worker crisis.” Advocates say their upcoming schedules are packed with pickets planned in solidarity with other unions.

And perhaps the strongest flexing of union muscle has come in Southern California, where members of the United Nurses Associations of California/Union of Health Care Professionals, or UNAC/UHCP, voted overwhelmingly to approve a strike against Kaiser Permanente if negotiations remain at a standstill. Should a strike materialize in the coming weeks, more than 24,000 members would walk out of the health care giant’s medical centers and clinics in more than a dozen cities.

Although the dollars and cents of bargaining vary from union to union, the common thread is clear: They want employers to “stop the bleeding” of health care workers fleeing the profession and invest more in recruiting and retaining staff.

The union found 72 percent of its members — which includes nurses, occupational and physical therapists, midwives and other medical staff — were struggling with anxiety and burnout, and between 42 percent and 45 percent reported depression and insomnia. About 74 percent said staffing was a primary concern.

#### Understaffing harms patient safety and increases mortality rates. Also causes further staff absence because of mental and physical health issues, which results in cyclical staffing shortages.

EMU 19 [Eastern Michigan University. October 10, 2019. “How Nurse Staffing Affects Patient Safety and Satisfaction” <https://online.emich.edu/articles/rnbsn/nurse-staffing-affects-patient-safety-satisfaction.aspx#:~:text=This%20lack%20of%20focus%20can%20lead%20to%20medical,postoperative%20complications%2C%20and%20a%20greater%20number%20of%20falls>. Accessed 10/28 //gord0]

When healthcare facilities have insufficient nurses on staff, the welfare of patients can be compromised. Moreover, overwhelmed nurses could overlook details or not fully engage with patients. This can leave patients feeling dissatisfied with nurse performance.

Why Does Understaffing Occur?

Budget cuts, nurses reaching retirement age and a shortage of nurse faculty to prepare new nurses are just a few reasons for understaffing.

Is There a Link Between Understaffing and Negative Patient Outcomes?

Healthcare facilities that do not keep an adequate number of nurses on duty can jeopardize the safety of their patients. Overworked nurses may suffer from fatigue or burnout which can impair their ability to focus on tasks. This lack of focus can lead to medical errors, a lack of engagement and missed nursing care. Patients in understaffed facilities face an increased rate of in-hospital mortality, a higher risk of infection, a rise in postoperative complications, and a greater number of falls.

How Does Understaffing Affect Nurses?

When a healthcare facility is understaffed, the same amount of work falls to fewer nurses who typically end up working longer hours. Doing so with little to no relief can cause a breakdown in mental, emotional and physical health. Nurses who are sick or injured may be absent from work, which can also compound the staffing problem. In addition, nurses who face constant stress can develop a number of health issues, including anxiety, exhaustion, depression, heart disease, hypertension and musculoskeletal disorders.

Does Inadequate Nurse Staffing Affect Patient Satisfaction?

A scarcity of available nurses can affect patient satisfaction. In a [study](https://bmjopen.bmj.com/content/8/1/e019189) cited by the British Medical Journal, negative patient perceptions of nursing care relate to missed care, which can be a result of a shortage of nursing staff. Patients can also lose confidence in the care they receive when RNs are too rushed to explain medications or coordinate care with other team members.

Why Is Patient Satisfaction Important to the Healthcare Industry?

The healthcare industry is moving toward patient-centered care, so good satisfaction ratings are important. As consumers, patients can boost or damage the reputation of a facility with their opinions. Satisfied patients could become loyal patrons, contributing to the financial stability of a healthcare organization.

What Can Healthcare Organizations Do to Improve Nurse Staffing?

Healthcare organizations need to focus on retaining nurses by maintaining an effective and supportive work environment. The [American Nurses Association](https://www.nursingworld.org/practice-policy/work-environment/nurse-staffing) (ANA) recommends that employers allow RNs to work together to create flexible staffing schedules for their units. ANA suggests that employers should consider these factors when determining nurse staffing:

Condition of patients based on complexity, acuity or stability

Number of discharges, admissions or transfers to the unit

The staff's level of nursing preparation, expertise and skills

Size of the nursing unit

Technical support and additional resources

Given that nurses provide care and safeguard the well-being of patients, it is imperative for employers to keep qualified nurses from exiting the workforce. Nurses who not only have proper nursing preparation but are also empathetic, dedicated and vigilant can help improve patient outcomes and ensure that patients are satisfied with their care.

#### Causes burnout for nurses and prevents effective pandemic response – covid proves

Lasater et al 20 [Karen B Lasater Center for Health Outcomes and Policy Research, School of Nursing, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA. Linda H Aiken Center for Health Outcomes and Policy Research, School of Nursing, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA. Douglas M Sloane Center for Health Outcomes and Policy Research, School of Nursing, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA. Rachel French Center for Health Outcomes and Policy Research, School of Nursing, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA. Brendan Martin National Council of State Boards of Nursing, Chicago, Illinois, USA. Kyrani Reneau National Council of State Boards of Nursing, Chicago, Illinois, USA. Maryann Alexander National Council of State Boards of Nursing, Chicago, Illinois, USA. Matthew D McHugh Center for Health Outcomes and Policy Research, School of Nursing, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA. Published August 18, 2020. “Chronic hospital nurse understaffing meets COVID-19: an observational study” <https://qualitysafety.bmj.com/content/30/8/639> Accessed 10/28 //gord0]

**Introduction** Efforts to enact nurse staffing legislation often lack timely, local evidence about how specific policies could directly impact the public’s health. Despite numerous studies indicating better staffing is associated with more favourable patient outcomes, only one US state (California) sets patient-to-nurse staffing standards. To inform staffing legislation actively under consideration in two other US states (New York, Illinois), we sought to determine whether staffing varies across hospitals and the consequences for patient outcomes. Coincidentally, data collection occurred just prior to the COVID-19 outbreak; thus, these data also provide a real-time example of the public health implications of chronic hospital nurse understaffing.

**Methods** Survey data from nurses and patients in 254 hospitals in New York and Illinois between December 2019 and February 2020 document associations of nurse staffing with care quality, patient experiences and nurse burnout.

**Results** Mean staffing in medical-surgical units varied from 3.3 to 9.7 patients per nurse, with the worst mean staffing in New York City. Over half the nurses in both states experienced high burnout. Half gave their hospitals unfavourable safety grades and two-thirds would not definitely recommend their hospitals. One-third of patients rated their hospitals less than excellent and would not definitely recommend it to others. After adjusting for confounding factors, each additional patient per nurse increased odds of nurses and per cent of patients giving unfavourable reports; ORs ranged from 1.15 to 1.52 for nurses on medical-surgical units and from 1.32 to 3.63 for nurses on intensive care units.

**Conclusions** Hospital nurses were burned out and working in understaffed conditions in the weeks prior to the first wave of COVID-19 cases, posing risks to the public’s health. Such risks could be addressed by safe nurse staffing policies currently under consideration.

#### Thus, the Plan: A just government ought to recognize an unconditional right of healthcare workers to strike.

#### The plan is effective – emergency duty workers stay and organizers will reveal flexibility and organization

Świątkowski 17 [Andrzej Marian Świątkowski. Polish lawyer, professor of legal sciences, full professor at the Jagiellonian University and the Ignatianum Academy in Krakow, specialist in the field of labor law. Pronounced “Swat-cow-ski”. December 20, 2017. “The Right To Strike in Health Service” [https://www.humanitas.edu.pl/resources/upload/dokumenty/Wydawnictwo/Roczniki%20AiP%20-%20pliki/Podzielone/Roczniki%20AiP%202017%20z2/RAiP\_2\_2017-303-314.pdf Accessed 10/28](https://www.humanitas.edu.pl/resources/upload/dokumenty/Wydawnictwo/Roczniki%20AiP%20-%20pliki/Podzielone/Roczniki%20AiP%202017%20z2/RAiP_2_2017-303-314.pdf%20Accessed%2010/28) //gord0]

SPECIFIC SITUATION OF THE MEDICAL PERSONNEL DURING A STRIKE The discussion on the ban on strike expressed in Art. 19 section 1 of the Act of 23.5.1991 should be illustrated by an example concerning a specific substantive strike of hospital staff - medical staff: doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians.8 In order to assess the situation about the compliance or unlawfulness of a specific strike organized in a hospital, the number of people striking in each of the three mentioned substantive groups of medical personnel is significant. Certainly, the general participation in the strike of all employees belonging to the hospital medical staff would pose a threat to the health or life of patients, because there would not be a single employee in the hospital who would be able to take and carry out the necessary medical activities in the case of an emergency situation. The common practice used by trade unions organizing strikes of medical staff in hospitals is to refrain from performing the work of medical personnel except those who perform “emergency duty” – they are on standby to take the necessary rescue procedures in sudden and unexpected situations. “Emergency duty” is a commonly used technique of caring for health and life of hospital patients on days and hours non-working for medical personnel. Then pre-planned medical procedures are not performed. A hospital is an institution which should guarantee its patients that the obligation of the treatment will be carried out. With reference to the above the organizer of the strike is under the obligation to decide how many employees who belong to the substantive medical staff must be excluded from the planned strike in each of the three above mentioned occupational categories (doctors, nurses, lab technicians) so that the intended strike could be carried out according to the law without endangering the health and life of those treated. The evaluation of this situation may change. The organizer of the strike must reveal flexibility, involving the exclusion from the category of strikers and including in the group a certain number of employees of the medical personnel necessary to enable the management to carry out both scheduled and emergency activities related to the protection of health and life of patients. Most likely for these reasons in the Act of 5.12. 1996 on the professions of a doctor and a dentist9did not include the provisions on the right of doctors to strike. The Code of Medical Ethics passed in 1993, a set of ethical norms not recognized as the provisions of applicable law10 requires the striking doctor to provide the patient with professional assistance in a situation where failure to comply with a moral obligation could endanger health or life. Each physician, both strikers and those who perform work, have a moral duty to care for the well-being of the patient under their care. Doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, staying with a hospital in an employment relationship or employed there on a different basis than a contract of employment, participating in a legal strike, are obliged to provide the employer with all necessary information about the patient’s situation, so that during their absence at work because of the strike, it was possible to ensure continuity of treatment without undue delay. According to labor law, the employee’s participation in a legal strike is a justified reason for the absence of an employee at work. Only few criminal lawyers share the above view of specialists in the field of labor law11. A different approach to the strike of medical staff is made by other lawyers dealing with criminal law. According to some of them, the striking doctor may be released from responsibility for deterioration of health, serious damage to health, death of the patient under his care after finding that the hospital manager had a real opportunity to provide proper care to patients12. Thus, it is not clear whether the participation of medical staff in a strike organized in accordance with the law is only treated as a case of exercising the right guaranteeing the strikers a release from the obligation to perform work, or also acts as an immunity that protects the doctor from criminal liability.

### Framing

#### 1] Prioritize probability.

Kessler 08 (Oliver; April 2008; PhD in IR, professor of sociology at the University of Bielefeld, and professor of history and theory of IR at the Faculty of Arts; Alternatives, Vol. 33, “From Insecurity to Uncertainty: Risk and the Paradox of Security Politics” p. 211-232)

The problem of the second method is that it is very difficult to "calculate" politically unacceptable losses. If the risk of terrorism is defined in traditional terms by probability and potential loss, then the focus on dramatic terror attacks leads to the marginalization of probabilities. The reason is that even the highest degree of improbability becomes irrelevant as the measure of loss goes to infinity.^o The mathematical calculation of the risk of terrorism thus tends to overestimate and to dramatize the danger. This has consequences beyond the actual risk assessment for the formulation and execution of "risk policies": If one factor of the risk calculation approaches infinity (e.g., if a case of nuclear terrorism is envisaged), then there is no balanced measure for antiterrorist efforts, and risk management as a rational endeavor breaks down. Under the historical condition of bipolarity, the "ultimate" threat with nuclear weapons could be balanced by a similar counterthreat, and new equilibria could be achieved, albeit on higher levels of nuclear overkill. Under the new condition of uncertainty, no such rational balancing is possible since knowledge about actors, their motives and capabilities, is largely absent. The second form of security policy that emerges when the deterrence model collapses mirrors the "social probability" approach. It represents a logic of catastrophe. In contrast to risk management framed in line with logical probability theory, the logic of catastrophe does not attempt to provide means of absorbing uncertainty. Rather, it takes uncertainty as constitutive for the logic itself; uncertainty is a crucial precondition for catastrophes. In particular, catastrophes happen at once, without a warning, but with major implications for the world polity. In this category, we find the impact of meteorites. Mars attacks, the tsunami in South East Asia, and 9/11. To conceive of terrorism as catastrophe has consequences for the formulation of an adequate security policy. Since catastrophes hap-pen irrespectively of human activity or inactivity, no political action could possibly prevent them. Of course, there are precautions that can be taken, but the framing of terrorist attack as a catastrophe points to spatial and temporal characteristics that are beyond "rationality." Thus, political decision makers are exempted from the responsibility to provide security—as long as they at least try to preempt an attack. Interestingly enough, 9/11 was framed as catastrophe in various commissions dealing with the question of who was responsible and whether it could have been prevented. This makes clear that under the condition of uncertainty, there are no objective criteria that could serve as an anchor for measuring dangers and assessing the quality of political responses. For ex- ample, as much as one might object to certain measures by the US administration, it is almost impossible to "measure" the success of countermeasures. Of course, there might be a subjective assessment of specific shortcomings or failures, but there is no "common" currency to evaluate them. As a consequence, the framework of the security dilemma fails to capture the basic uncertainties. Pushing the door open for the security paradox, the main problem of security analysis then becomes the question how to integrate dangers in risk assessments and security policies about which simply nothing is known. In the mid 1990s, a Rand study entitled "New Challenges for Defense Planning" addressed this issue arguing that "most striking is the fact that we do not even know who or what will constitute the most serious future threat, "^i In order to cope with this challenge it would be essential, another Rand researcher wrote, to break free from the "tyranny" of plausible scenario planning. The decisive step would be to create "discontinuous scenarios ... in which there is no plausible audit trail or storyline from current events"52 These nonstandard scenarios were later called "wild cards" and became important in the current US strategic discourse. They justified the transformation from a threat-based toward a capability- based defense planning strategy.53 The problem with this kind of risk assessment is, however, that even the most absurd scenarios can gain plausibility. By constructing a chain of potentialities, improbable events are linked and brought into the realm of the possible, if not even the probable. "Although the likelihood of the scenario dwindles with each step, the residual impression is one of plausibility. "54 This so-called Othello effect has been effective in the dawn of the recent war in Iraq. The connection between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda that the US government tried to prove was disputed from the very beginning. False evidence was again and again presented and refuted, but this did not prevent the administration from presenting as the main rationale for war the improbable yet possible connection between Iraq and the terrorist network and the improbable yet possible proliferation of an improbable yet possible nuclear weapon into the hands of Bin Laden. As Donald Rumsfeld famously said: "Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence." This sentence indicates that under the condition of genuine uncertainty, different evidence criteria prevail than in situations where security problems can be assessed with relative certainty.

#### 2] Structural violence is the most important impact – ignoring them actively exacerbates exclusion

Winter and Leighton 99 |Deborah DuNann Winter and Dana C. Leighton. Winter|Psychologist that specializes in Social Psych, Counseling Psych, Historical and Contemporary Issues, Peace Psychology. Leighton: PhD graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Arkansas. Knowledgable in the fields of social psychology, peace psychology, and justice and intergroup responses to transgressions of justice “Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century.” Pg 4-5

Direct violence is horrific, but its brutality usually gets our attention: we notice it, and∂ often respond to it. Structural violence, however, is almost always invisible, embedded in∂ubiquitous social structures, normalized by stable institutions and regular experience.∂ Structural violence occurs whenever people are disadvantaged by political, legal,∂ economic, or cultural traditions. Because they are longstanding, structural inequities∂usually seem ordinary—the way things are and always have been. But structural violence∂ produces suffering and death as often as direct violence does, though the damage is∂ slower, more subtle, more common, and more difficult to repair. The chapters in this∂ section teach us about some important but invisible forms of structural violence, and alert∂ us to the powerful cultural mechanisms that create and maintain them over generations.∂ Johan Galtung originally framed the term “structural violence” to mean any constraint∂ on human potential caused by economic and political structures (1969). Unequal accessto resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence. When inner-city children have inadequate schools while∂ others do not, when gays and lesbians are fired for their sexual orientation, when laborers∂ toil in inhumane conditions, when people of color endure environmental toxins in their∂ neighborhoods, structural violence exists. Unfortunately, even those who are victims of∂ structural violence often do not see the systematic ways in which their plight is∂ choreographed by unequal and unfair distribution of society’s resources. Such is the∂ insidiousness of structural violence.∂ Structural violence is problematic in and of itself, but it is also dangerous because it∂frequently leads to direct violence. The chronically oppressed are often, for logical∂ reasons, those who resort to direct violence. Organized armed conflict in various parts of∂ the world is easily traced to structured inequalities. Northern Ireland, for example, has∂ been marked by economic disparities between Northern Irish Catholics—who have∂ higher unemployment rates and less formal education—and Protestants (Cairns & Darby,∂ 1998). In Sri Lanka, youth unemployment and underemployment exacerbates ethnic∂ conflict (Rogers, Spencer, & Uyangoda, 1998). In Rwanda, huge disparities in both∂ income and social status between the Hutu and Tutsis eventually led to ethnic massacres.∂ While structural violence often leads to direct violence, the reverse is also true, as∂ brutality terrorizes bystanders, who then become unwilling or unable to confront social∂ injustice. Increasingly, civilians pay enormous costs of war, not only through death, but∂ through devastation of neighborhoods and ecosystems. Ruling elites rarely suffer from∂ armed conflict as much as civilian populations do, who endure decades of poverty and∂ disease in war-torn societies.ecognizing the operation of structural violence forces us to ask questions about how∂ and why we tolerate it, questions that often have painful answers. The first chapter in this∂ section, “Social Injustice,” by Susan Opotow, argues that our normal perceptual/cognitive∂ processes lead us to care about people inside our scope of justice, but rarely care about∂ those people outside. Injustice that would be instantaneously confronted if it occurred to∂ someone we love or know is barely noticed if it occurs to strangers or those who are∂ invisible or irrelevant to us. We do not seem to be able to open our minds and our hearts∂ to everyone; moral exclusion is a product of our normal cognitive processes. But Opotow∂ argues convincingly that we can reduce its nefarious effects by becoming aware of our distorted perceptions. Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships,∂ communication, and appreciation of diversity.∂ One outcome of exclusionary thinking is the belief that victims of violence must in∂ some way deserve their plight. But certainly it is easy to see that young children do not∂ deserve to be victims. The next two chapters in this section address the violence∂ experienced by children. In the first, “The War Close to Home: Children and Violence in∂ the United States,” Kathleen Kostelny and James Garbarino describe the direct and∂ structural violence which children in Chicago and other urban areas of the United States∂ endure, paralleling that experienced by children who live in countries at war. Children∂ who endure these environments often become battle weary, numb, hopeless, and/or∂ morally impaired. But children not only suffer directly from violence, they also suffer∂ from the impaired parenting and communities which poverty inflicts. The authors∂ describe how community and family support mechanisms can mitigate these effects. For xample, home visitation and early childhood education programs provide crucial family∂ and community support.∂ While Kostelny and Garbarino focus on community intervention techniques, Milton∂ Schwebel and Daniel Christie, in their article “Children and Structural Violence,” extend∂ the analysis of structural violence by examining how economic and psychological∂ deprivation impairs at-risk children. Children living in poverty experience diminished∂ intellectual development because parents are too overwhelmed to be able to provide∂ crucial linguistic experiences. Schwebel and Christie’s discussion concludes that∂ economic structures must provide parents with living-wage employment, good prenatal∂ medical care, and high-quality child-care if we are to see the next generation develop into∂ the intelligent and caring citizens needed to create a peaceful world.∂ If children are the invisible victims of society’s structural violence, so are their∂ mothers. In the chapter “Women, Girls, and Structural Violence: A Global Analysis,”∂ Diane Mazurana and Susan McKay articulate the many ways in which global sexism∂ systematically denies females access to resources. From health care and food to legal∂ standing and political power, women and girls get less than males in every country on the∂ planet. Mazurana and McKay argue that patriarchy-based structural violence will not be∂ redressed until women are able to play more active roles making decisions about how∂ resources are distributed.∂ Patriarchal values also drive excessive militarism, as Deborah Winter, Marc Pilisuk,∂ Sara Houck, and Matthew Lee argue in their chapter “Understanding Militarism: Money,∂ Masculinism, and the Search for the Mystical.” The authors illuminate three motives ueling excessive military expenditures: money, which, because of modern market forces,∂ leads half the world’s countries to spend more on arms than on health and education∂ combined; masculinism, which leads societies to make soldiering a male rite of passage∂ and proof of manhood; and the search for the mystical, as men attempt to experience∂ profound human processes of selfsacrifice, honor, and transcendence through war. Like∂ William James, these authors argue that we will need to find a moral equivalent to war, in∂ order to build lasting peace.

#### 3] Large scale extinction impacts are impossible to predict or simulate and will almost always be wrong – prefer impacts we know are happening

Matheson 15 (Calum Matheson – This is his PhD dissertation at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, “Desired Ground Zeros: Nuclear Imagination and the Death Drive”, https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/indexablecontent/uuid:4bbcb13b-0b5f-43a1-884c-fcd6e6411fd6, pgs. 77 – 86, EmmieeM)

Herman Kahn and Bernard Brodie, perhaps the most prominent American strategists of the early Cold War, tried to make nuclear war “thinkable” in the sense that they tried to explain how such a war might start and what options would exist for national leaders. At the same time, both acknowledged that the outcome of a full-scale nuclear war was indescribable. In Brodie’s words, to “make an intellectual prediction of the likelihood of war is one thing, to project oneself imaginatively and seriously into an expected war situation is quite another” (Ghamari-Tabrizi 149). The unwillingness or inability to think “seriously” about a nuclear war—in other words, to understand it instrumentally rather than through dislocating language of the sublime—was met by organizations like the RAND Corporation with an attempt to systematize nuclear strategy and develop the intellectual and technical means to actually fight and control a nuclear war. Before RAND exercised its power through the “Whiz Kids” of the Kennedy Administration, the Strategic Air Command’s “Sunday punch” nuclear plan, enshrined in SIOP-62, was an all-out nuclear attack on the USSR, Eastern Europe, and the People’s Republic of China. It might have killed 285 million people in the initial attack (Kaplan 269). Despite its intricate planning and detailed execution strategies, SIOP was immensely inflexible. Asked whether the U.S. had any options to attack without striking China, which might not even be a combatant in the war, General Thomas Power replied “Well yeh [sic], we could do that, but I hope nobody thinks of it because it would really screw up the plan” (Kaplan 270, emphasis in original). Starting in the 1960s, a set of war games of various complexity was developed to test a broader range of nuclear theories and attack options at RAND and elsewhere (Arbella 35). Games like them continue to be used for strategic military planning today (Raatz). Most of these games—or at least their results—are classified, as they became the basis for US nuclear plans. In politicomilitary games, a number of military officers, civilians, and generally mid- to lowranking government officials would play various roles as US and/or foreign. decisionmakers. Another group, “control,” would feed them information about the actions of countries or groups not played by the participants or about world events that might influence the context of their actions. In more limited military simulations, extant or proposed war plans would be evaluated by computer or human players to identify possible flaws and improvements. The games themselves never had a guarantee of accuracy and were often quite obviously flawed. In one Navy game, American aircraft carriers were declared to be unsinkable. In others, the Soviet Union was assumed to have no effective airpower. Because factors like air pressure, prevailing winds, defense effectiveness, early warning, and missile failure rate were largely random or incalculable, a “fudge factor” simply declared estimated success. Even their designers sometimes admitted that the games were inaccurate, unprovable, or simply wishful thinking (Ghamari-Tabrizi 8; Allen 78). Especially in the case of nuclear war, these games cannot possibly be understood as accurate simulations of a real-world system, because there is no empirical data on the compound effects of many near-simultaneous nuclear explosions and no data on what factors cause states to cross the nuclear threshold against other similarly-armed states, a fact that bedevils nuclear planning in general and always has (Kaplan 87). By the admission of many of those who create and play them, they are “social science fiction” with no tangible effect other than that they are entertaining (Ghamari-Tabrizi 160-1). Some contemporary social science work supports this claim especially in the context of extinction-level events. Human beings simply aren’t wired to think at such a scale, and they perform very poorly assessing probability and calculating magnitude (Yudkowsky). Others have suggested that warfare is a stochastic system that we could never identify laws for, no matter how diligent we might be, because its initial conditions are simply too complex a model and they do not conform to linear causality (Beyerchen; Buchanan 62). Indeed, military planners tended to be far less willing to predict the conduct and outcome of a conventional war—despite an enormous data set spanning thousands of years—than a nuclear war fought between two superpowers, an event that has never occurred in recorded history. Fred Iklé, former RAND strategists who was at times head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, criticized these semi-mathematical abstractions in harsh terms that deserve to be quoted at length: The prominence of the calculations continues because we know how to make them…we have tailored the problem to our capability to calculate. The seemingly rigorous models of nuclear deterrence are built on the rule: "What cannot be calculated, leave out’”…Such thoughts, especially those focusing on deterrence, lack real empirical referents or bases. No other field of human endeavor demands—absolutely compels—one to work out successful solutions without obtaining directly relevant experience, without experimenting. There can be no trial and error here, no real learning. Curiously, we are far more skeptical in accepting the calculations of traditional conventional military campaigns than the calculations of nuclear warfare. In fact, the more battle experience and information military analysts have, the more modest they become in predicting the course of conventional war. Such modesty is missing for nuclear war, where pretentious analyses and simplistic abstractions dominate and blot out the discrepancies existing between abstractions and possible reality—a reality that for so many reasons is hard even to imagine. (Iklé 246). Iklé is drawing attention to two unique aspects of nuclear war planning: first, that no empirical date (or at least very little) can be gathered for the species of war that planners concerned themselves with, and second, that unlike other military problems where little data exists, defense intellectuals were willing to display great confidence in untested (and untestable) theories. Despite this lack of empirical grounding, nuclear war simulations have been repeated again and again over the decades while nuclear doctrine has remained fundamentally the same (McKinzie et al. ix-xi). There has been some dispute in military circles about whether these exercises should be called simulations or games, with “simulations” becoming more popular by the 1980s (Allen 7). To call politico-military exercises “roleplaying games” conjures images of adolescent boys rolling dice and weaving fantasies about orcs and dragons. To call battle simulations “war games” might associate them with videogames produced for entertainment. Still, even military officers responsible for the creation of these artifacts had trouble distinguishing between game, model, and simulation and used them interchangeably. In his comprehensive history of U.S. wargaming, Thomas Allen writes that the three words “hover over imaginary battlefields like a mysterious, ever-shifting concept of the Trinity” (64, emphasis added). Berger, Boulay and Zisk, writing in the journal Simulation & Gaming acknowledge that “[d]efinitions of simulation are legion,” but center on representations of a system that allow users to model behavior (Berger et al. 416). Brewer and Shubik define games as a subset of simulation and simulation as a subset of modelling, the key defining feature of a game being the inclusion of human beings playing roles. Still, their extended attempt to define these terms results in the acronym MSG, grouping them all together (3-8). The difficulty in Brewer and Shubik’s definition is that all models and simulations require that human beings make decisions at least indirectly, at a minimum defining the independent variables and the parameters of the exercise. As a result, they all create some possibility for investment in the outcome. In common usage, the difference between simulations and models, on the one hand, and games, on the other appears to be a ludic dimension. Games are for play, with an agent making decisions within a set of prescribed rules to change the outcome, while simulations and models may simply represent the rules of a system. The least common denominator is that one rules-bound system—the game— stands in for another. Games, simulations, and models therefore have a metaphorical quality to them.10 In his work on videogames, Ian Bogost has identifies what he calls procedural rhetoric as “the practice of persuading through processes in general and computational processes in particular…a technique for making arguments with computational systems and for unpacking computational arguments others have created” (3). Whereas oral rhetoric attempts to persuade an audience to adopt a particular viewpoint through speech and written rhetoric does the same through writing, procedural rhetoric has its own unique goals and characteristics suited to the medium of games. Videogames create a digital process that simulates a real-world process, allowing the player to model something extant in the world of flesh, blood, steel and glass that exists outside of the game. Procedural rhetoric is the persuasive aspect of simulation. Bogost’s argument might be adapted to this understanding of metaphor. The replacement of the tenor (the thing represented) with the vehicle (the signifier standing in for it) makes an enthymematic argument that draws the audience to do the work of cathexis in connecting the two based on the shared principle that allows the substitution. This does not suggest that we read games as texts. Games require their players to invest in a specific way because they are called on to make choices that alter the outcome. Players identify with their characters in a powerful way: what is shared is not just a set of traits, but decisions over time that, to maintain the interest that keeps players playing, require at least some minimal attachment. One can identify deeply with Sauron, but no reading of Lord of the Rings can make him finally subjugate his haughty human and elven foes, let alone order the Scourging of the Shire and its disgustingly bourgeois hobbits when he still has a chance to succeed.11 This is the procedural element of Bogost’s theory: it is the procedure that links the system with its representation in the game, and the sense of control that binds us, something that differentiates this medium from others. One doesn’t have to decide that play matters and narrative doesn’t—it is the interaction between the two that channels the player’s investment in a game. In war games, attachments are formed even when a computerized Sam fights a computerized Ivan to test the SIOP and RSIOP.12 Allen’s book is full of examples of war game players becoming emotionally tied to their games, sometimes in perverse ways. Failing in a game that he was allowed to play, Allen himself described his team reacting with shock, real shock, not just a reaction to a bad break in a game. We were really feeling upset about what was happening in our imaginary world. ‘What is happening to our institutions?’ someone indignantly asked, as if real institutions were really going through what the situation paper had described. I had an unreasonable feeling of helplessness and failure. Some of us spoke softly to each other about having failed. (18). The prevalence of this reaction is confirmed in more recent scholarship by Paul Bracken, himself a war game participant. Bracken puts the case simply: “People get emotionally involved in games” (20).