# 2NR

# Octas – NC

### 1NC – OFF

#### Interp: The affirmative must defend the ban of private actor appropriation of Outer Space - not a reduction.

#### Unjust means dialectically contrary to law – only ban does that.

The Law Dictionary, ND, Def of Unjust, URL: <https://thelawdictionary.org/unjust/#:~:text=Contrary%20to%20right%20and%20justice,conduct%20furnished%20by%20the%20laws>, KR

Contrary to right and justice, or to the enjoyment of his rights by another, or to the standards of conduct furnished by the laws.

#### Unjust means opposed to law.

FreeDictionary [TheFreeDictionary, Unjust, xx-xx-xxxx,https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Unjust, 12-17-2021 amrita]

**UNJUST.** That which is done against the perfect rights of another; that which **is against the established law**; that which is opposed to a law which is the test of right and wrong.

#### Violation: They defend a reduction- that’s not oppositional to the law because it means that there’s a world where the law would permit private appropriation.

#### Standards:

#### 1] Predictable Limits – there’s hundreds of other ways in which the affirmative can defend the restriction of private entities in Outer space – they can make some fines, do a dance, etc, which makes it impossible for the negative to predict what process the affirmative is going to defend to mandate a ban of private actor appropriation of space. Our interp is the most predictable because it’s grounded in the topic wording.

#### 2] Topic ed – Bans are one of the most common and is most germane to the literature – increases the amount of ground and ability to have deep debates on the model which the majority of the literature is centered around as opposed to an irrelevant model that kills critical thinking abilities.

#### Topicality is a voting issue that should be evaluated through competing interpretations—it tells the negative what they do and do not have to prepare for. Reasonability is arbitrary and unpredictable, inviting a race to the bottom and we’ll win it links to our offense. No RVIs—it’s your burden to be fair and T—same reason you don’t win for answering inherency or putting defense on a disad.

### 1NC – OFF

#### Indian Private entities are on the brink of breaking into the global space market—plan reverses this & revitalizes the ISRO.

Chakrabarti 9-26 [Angana Chakrabarti, India's private space sector is rising, but wait for Bezos-like 'joy rides' will be longer, 09-26-2021,ThePrint,https://theprint.in/science/indias-private-space-sector-is-rising-but-wait-for-bezos-like-joy-rides-will-be-longer/739619/, 12-7-2021 amrita]

Challenges for Indian players **Experts say the road to liberalisation of India’s space sector has been filled with challenges**, including flawed policy-making and lack of domestic investors**.** A big reason is that even though New Space companies are mushrooming, the sector **remains monopolised by ISRO, leading to lack of access to a market.** According to Prasad**,** there are about 50 companies in the sector today that are working in the “downstream” segment, which uses space technology to develop an application, product or service, and “upstream” segments that are focused on sending objects into space and space exploration**.** Two-thirds of companies are working in the downstream segment. For instance, Kawa Space, a space tech company, is working to make satellite data accessible so it can be used for a variety of purposes, including agriculture and demographic assessment. Blue Sky Analytics, a geospatial data intelligence company, catalogues environmental datasets using satellite data. Companies like Skyroute Aerospace, AgniKul, Digantara, and Bellatrix are involved in the more capital-intensive segment of building rockets and satellites. But **despite the boom in newer companies, the industry is still dominated** and monopolised **by ISRO**, explains Ranjana Kaul, a Delhi-based advocate who specialises in the international law of outer space. “I **don’t see anything from any governmental bodies** orDepartment of Space about **enlargement of the private sector in outer space activities,** which is where a lot of our young start-ups want to expand, like building and launching satellites and providing services from orbit,”Kaul says. **Enabling more private participation requires full cooperation of the publicly-funded** space **agency,** which has only initiated early talks. There is also a lack of data around this rising sector. “There is no way of gauging how many jobs are being created in the country through this, the sector’s contribution to GDP, number of engineers employed, exports being done, amount of taxpayer money within the system, or even evidence that these things are improving, which will help with the policymaking,” Prasad says. However, satellite industry body Satcom Industry Association’s chairman, Subba Rao, doesn’t concur. **“**Many start-ups have been working on new technologies and the new ways of doing business in the space sector. That’s the most welcome step … but if I were to put numbers into an economy immediately, that’s going to be very difficult,” Rao says. “When I started out, I also faced similar resistance and challenges. For example, the banks wouldn’t come forward to support us … a lot of start-ups will eventually contribute immensely. We can’t calculate all this today itself,” he says.

#### Private appropriation for Indian private entities is key for investor confidence.

This card is so good #amritaisthebest

Sen 20 [Nilanjan Sen, who is an experienced lawyer, specialising in International Law and Arbitration, 07-26-2020,Business Insider,https://www.businessinsider.in/science/space/news/the-fault-in-our-stars-indias-bid-at-privatizing-space/articleshow/77182064.cms, 12-7-2021 amrita]

With the creation of the Indian National Committee for Space Research (now ISRO) in 1962, India has been an active patron to mankind’s space efforts. From Aryabhata to Chandrayaan-2, India has launched 113 satellites, including the first privately built and funded satellite ExceedSat-1 which was launched from USA, as a part of Elon Musk’s Space X project Falcon-9. Up **until 2016, India’**s space activities **have been the exclusive domain of the State, however, the launch of the IRNSS-1H** in 2017 was the herald of a new era in India’s Space endeavours. The IRNSS-1H **marked the** beginning of **privatisation in this area** by being the first Indian satellite, to be designed in collaboration with the private parties. In the following year, the ExseedSat-1 was to become the first privately funded and built satellite launched in collaboration with the private Space X project. Interestingly, **up until now**, all **missions have been conducted for** purposes of research, reconnaissance as well as for augmenting communication systems since there wa**s a substantial State monopoly**. With the recent announcement ofthe creation of the Indian National Space Promotion and Authorization Centre or IN-SPACeby the Government of India as part of its atma nirbhar Bharat scheme, which aims at providing a “level playing field” and a supportive regulatory regime to allow Indian private enterprises to grow and carve their own niche in the so-called “fast-growing global space sector”**, India has** in fact **shown an inclination to capitalise** on the US strategy of opening up the avidly touted space “sector” to private participation. While the initiative **sounds exhilarating** and will definitely go a long way in defining India’s image as an emerging global technology powerhouse**, it is** extremely **difficult to fathom why private players, would** be willing to readily come forward and **invest billions,** by confining their activities for research purposes alone, **without any expectation of commercial gains** or simply, return on their investment. This is so because, matters concerning space and space exploration are subject of a special branch of customary international law, that are mainly centred around five treaties and eleven agreements. The most significant of these is the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies or the Outer Space Treaty (OST) which India ratified in 1967, and which specifically lays down under Article I that outer space and space exploration including that on the moon and other celestial bodies, are to be carried out solely for, and in the interest of all countries, and that they are the province of all mankind. **Article II restricts** claims of sovereignty and national **appropriation** by any means whatsoever, Article VI **places international responsibility on all activities carried on by** governmental or by **non-governmental entities**, as well as mandates authorization and continuing supervision by the appropriate State Party. While there is considerable debate surrounding the applicability of the OST especially Article VI to private parties, since the US Supreme Court ‘s ruling in Medellin v Texas (2008) which held that Article VI is not self-executing in nature, regard must be had to the fact that these are domestic Court rulings and the fact that Space law is part of Customary International law which is affirmed by decades of State practise, cannot be denied, and neither can the fact that it is settled principle of international law that a State cannot, under the excuse of changes in domestic law, including subsequent Court rulings, renege from treaty obligations once ratified. In effect, the OST places strict checks upon the objectives behind exploring this uncharted territory by State and Non-State actors, far less allowing the possibility of even claiming rights of any kind. Moreover, it is no secret that **private corporations operate predominantly with** the object of individual gains **and** unless driven by the zeal to serve mankind and share profits with all countries, **chances are** that the **investments** made by private parties **will have little** to nil **returns,** far less any substantive protection**.**

#### Investor confidence is necessary for strong Indian private space-tech—that spills over, boosts Indian military heg, and turns case.

Prasad 16 [Narayan Prasad has a Master of Space & Telecommunications Law, May 2016, National Academy of Legal Studies and Research University of Law Hyderabad, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305402089\_A\_POLICY\_REVIEW\_TOWARDS\_THE\_DEVELOPMENT\_OF\_A\_SPACE\_INDUSTRY\_ECOSYSTEM\_IN\_INDIA/link/578dbd2908ae5c86c9a65d05/download, 12-8-2021 amrita]

As India ramps up its space defence capabilities, **lack of a mature space industrial base will** potentially **hurt** its ambitions**.** **India** counts among the top nations in the world in terms of government space investment 4 , but **is far behind** when it comes to **creating successful private industry** that is globally reputed. India’s space budget has increased in size (Figure 2) and is one of the largest space budgets in the world; however, the lack of an active space industry at turnkey level might have an immense opportunity cost for India in manufacturing satellites and launch vehicles to service the global market.5 This in effect is also due to absence of a single Indian company among the top space companies in the world (which in itself is an alarming statistic) that needs to be addressed urgently through policy push under the several grand schemes announced by the current government, such as ‘Make in India’ and ‘Digital India’. Most of **the apprehensions** for private investment in space industry **come from** the **requirements** of high capital investment, **and** the long gestation periods of space projects to get substantial Return on Investment (RoI) for the investors. These trends have been put aside by a new breed of space companies calling themselves ‘NewSpace’, which thrive on new business models of low cost access to space by capitalising on the advancements made in recent years in small satellite technology, consumer electronics, and computing power. Tiny modular satellites called ‘CubeSats’, weighing 1-4 kgs and costing under $100,000 have revolutionised the way space products and services are delivered to end users. The movement began in Europe and US simultaneously as a by-product of university and space agency collaborated research, but it was the US which took the lead in successfully commercialising these technologies developed in laboratories. Figure 3 shows the forecast of nano satellites weighing between 1-50 kg, which are scheduled to be launched during 2014-16 globally.6The high number arises from the fact that such nano satellites have short development timelines, and provide the necessary agility for satellite operators to develop large constellations that can cater to a larger customer base with high service quality. These NewSpace companies have ushered in widespread changes in the traditional satellite manufacturing and launch services industry, with companies like RocketLabs and Firefly Systems building new launchers cheaply using innovative techniques like additive manufacturing, to reduce the cost to orbit for these satellites. The impact of these companies has been felt within the space industry, as practices from these ‘NewSpace’companies have been adopted to keep the costs low and have a factory type approach in building systems in order to cater to the increasing demand. The NewSpace revolution has now led to companies such as Google, Virgin, and Qualcomm investing in small satellite-based communication technologies. India, however, has remained shielded from the rapid changes that have happened in the global space industry over the past decade. **ISRO** has been **slow to respond on** both **commercial** and academic **fronts,** with only a handful of university-level small satellite missions being launched during the same period, none of which could transform into a full-fledged commercial opportunity for the people involved in these projects. Lack of clarity on space policy in India is to blame, and partly the lack of willingness of DoS to take up additional responsibility of creating an ecosystem that disrupts their own traditional one, without any visible incentives. In the following sections, the need and motivation to develop a strong private industry ecosystem is detailed with necessary arguments. 1.2 Motivations to Develop a Private Industry Ecosystem in India Presently, **India has inherent advantages** over other countries **due** the availability of **skilled workforce**, a stable and business friendly **government,** positive investor climate and low cost of operations**.** Because India was an early mover in space technology, it is **poised to become a major space power albeit** slight policy push towards **greater commercialisation** of the industry. Table 1 shows the PESTLE analysis of India, in lieu of the motivation to develop a strong private space industry. The PESTLE analysis shows high suitability for services-based business models to operate out of India. The government’s encouragement for private space industry within the country to develop capacity and capability in pursuing space activities should thereby be directed to both the spectrums across the industry value chain. A focused space policy mandate can have multiple direct and fringe benefits to the government, especially in the defence sector which has been the current government’s area of interest through its ‘Make in India’ initiative. Some of the direct and indirect benefits of space technology include: Civilian and Commercial **Space industry has the potential to emerge as the third** technological **success** front following the successes of the Information Technology (IT) and Biotechnology in the country. Space **has an important role in** the overall **economic development** of the country **and** in the success of the government initiatives such as Digital India and Make in India. The development of the private space industry shall **aid in rural connectivity, e-governance and** setting up of **manufacturing facilities** base for products of high technology in India, creating headways in the overall emergence of the country at the world stage. The success of the space industry will enhance capacities within the country and complement the government-driven programme, which has been historically proven in advanced space faring countries such as the US. Capacity building in the private industry at a turnkey level for both upstream and downstream shall assist theeconomic development of the country by keeping up to the pace of requirement of the marketplace (e.g. Direct-to-Home TV, Broadband Internet), while reducing the inherent dependence on foreign assets. For example, as per a recent Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) report, only one among the seven DTH providers is leasing transponder from the INSAT system**. The** primary **reason for this disparity is** the **slow pace** at which **ISRO has added** satellite transponders **to the commercial market.** The net effect is that the DTH providers are incurring higher transponder costs on foreign satellites when INSAT could have been an equally reliable, and more cost efficient, alternative. Space has its bearings over the imagination of youth and a strong emerging local industry can revolutionise the mindset of the national talent pool and can potentially aid in reversal of brain drain from the country. Public outreach, awareness, and STEM education are some of the intangible impact that investment in space technology produces. The capacity built up within the industry shall foster Business-to-Business (B2B) collaborations within the country and with enterprises across the globe and create also a strong focus on Business-to-Customer (B2C) applications which moves from the traditional Government-to-Government (G2G) flow of development of capacity and application of technology. The B2B, B2C ecosystem in the space industry has immense potential of tapping the much successful IT infrastructure of the country and extending the IT knowledge base to core software based applications of spacebased information such as Geographical Information Systems (GIS).It shall create an environment of technological innovation which when supported and encouraged can sustain to create a secondary source of development of high-tech hardware, software and applications for the government. An ecosystem of technological innovation in space technology has the potential of creating the next generation Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) in India which shall 17 leverage the frugal nature of engineering and can create products and services independently for local and global requirements. Military **In the development of space technology with several dual use capabilities, there exists a case for the building up a sustained indigenous industry ecosystem that shall support the safety and security apparatus of the country**. These range **from development of capabilities in upstream** such as satellite, launch vehicle development **to** creating specific downstream applicationssuch as Automatic Identification of Ships (AIS), Electronic Intelligence (ELINIT), Communication Intelligence (COMMINT) and other Command, Control, Communications, Computers, Intelligence, Information, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (C4I2SR) applications. Space Situational Awareness (SSA) is **the ability to view, understand and predict the physical location of natural and man-made objects orbiting the Earth. SSA is a prominent concern for both military and commercial systems, mainly because of the increasing military reliance on space assets**. The debris created by the anti-satellite testing by China in 2007 and the Kosmos-Iridium collision in 2009 has raised additional concerns about the safety of space assets. India currently relies on NASA’s data, and will operationalise its own system of Multi Object Tracking Radar (MOTR) by 2017.7 Meanwhile in the US, commercial operators have established the Space Data Association (SDA) for providing satellite operators reliable and efficient data for increased safety of satellite operations; this is in addition to the Department of Defense’s (DoD) own surveillance network. **The changing space security environment and the rising international concerns over the rapid growth of military assets in space makes space security one of the most important issues to address.** The need to have a space security policy is being 7 increasingly debated in India **and** the IDSA Task force in 2009 produced a report which attempted to conceptualise such a policy. However, there is reluctance to talk about use of space for national security needs including its military applications. Though efforts are being made to synchronize the activities of ISRO which is responsible for India’s civilian space programme and the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) which works on the use of space for national security needs, **the lack of a strong private industry that can meet heightened needs for such sophisticated missions hampers the progress in this direction,** apart from the bureaucratic delay that is normally associated when two high security government agencies interact. Capacity building within the space industry shall not only drive commercial applications, but shall aid the government in situations of emergencies (e.g. natural disasters, intelligence gathering for fighting against terrorism) and can eventually develop into a foundation that could potentially contribute as a part of a strong foreign policy drive. Studying the impact of space technology on civilian life is a complicated task, especially when it comes to quantifying the tangible and intangible impact. **The spill-over of space technology is in sectors as varied as defence, agriculture and education.** There exist many ways to show the impact of investment in space technology; some of them illustrated above. **Thus, the technological and knowledge backbone for space technology creates opportunities in the marketplace to create and explore commercial applications on a global scale, which** traditionally might not be the fundamental focus a governmental space agency, as well as **create multiple intangible impacts** across various sectors such as defence, education, agriculture, energy, transportation and environment**.** India has made substantial investment in its government space programme over the years, but it is **a sustained policy push towards investments in the private space industry ecosystem that will create commercial space applications**, complementing the societal benefits motivation currently being pursued by the government.

#### Indian space military heg checks and limits Chinese heg in the Indo-Pacific.

Bommakanti 7-15-20[Kartik Bommakanti is a Fellow with the Strategic Studies Programme. Kartik specialises in space military issues and his research is primarily centred on the Indo-Pacific region. He also works on emerging technologies as well as nuclear, conventional and sub-conventional coercion, particularly in the context of the Indian subcontinent and the role of great powers in the subcontinent’s strategic dynamics. He has published in peer reviewed journals., The enduring significance of space weapons for India, 7-15-2020,ORF,https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/the-enduring-significance-of-space-weapons-for-india/, 12-8-2021 amrita]

Regardless of the Americans protestations about the Russian test**, there are important underlying implications for India particularly in the context of Chinas’ growing space and counterspace capabilities as well as the repercussions that are likely to ensue if New Delhi were to pursue a weak response to Chinese space military power.** India will need a whole set of additional KEW tests. This author made the case for sea-launched and air launched KEWs in an extensive analysis. However, it was focused mostly on earth to space KEW systems and Directed Energy Weapons (DEWs). Confining India to the acquisition of KEWS and Directed Energy Weapons (DEWs) or cyber and electronic weapons can be expanded to include co-orbital KEWs. The Russian test also illustrates why co-orbital KEWs are also critical. Investment in additional KEW capabilities assumes considerable importance especially for India because of the long-term defence related challenges presented by the People’s Republic of China (PRC). **The ongoing boundary crisis should only lend greater urgency to India’s space weapons programme, simply because space assets in India’s inventory are vital to the prosecution of a potential military campaign whether on land, sea or air against the People’s Republic China (PRC).** The PRC is known to have developed the accoutrements necessary to conduct co-orbital test. For instance, in 2008 the Chinese BX-1 microsatellite while orbiting in close proximity to its mother satellite, executed a maneuver within 45 kilometers of the International Space Station (ISS). While BX-1 did not definitively establish a PRC co-orbital ASAT capability, it did indicate the PRC’s latent capability to conduct co-orbital kinetic tests and mount attacks against a potential adversary’ space assets. India must avoid what one leading Indian space analyst prior to India’s March 2019 KEW test observed: “To date, India’s interests in space have been restricted to using space assets for reconnaissance, navigation and communication. However, China’s ASAT test could influence India’s policies in the field of counter-space capabilities. To address the concerns raised at the regional and global level about this Chinese bravado, the best option for India could be to follow the disarmament and arms control route.” The statement is a non-sequitur, **while India has conducted only but one direct ascent KEW test, it has not matched China** in developing and executing non-destructive earth to space KEW tests, let alone fully match Chinese KEW, DEW, electronic and cyber weapon capabilities to target space assets. **Pursuing the arms control and disarmament route by India will be premature** in response to the PRC’s extensive development of space **and** counterspace capabilities**.** Reinforcing this point is that the PRC’s current and evolving space weapons programme deserve a sustained response. Bringing closure to the development of space and counterspace capabilities **would imply surrender that is completely unwarranted in light of Beijing’s recent and ongoing aggressiveness,** which India is evidently bearing the brunt. Very likely Beijing will be emboldened even more in deducing that India’s skittish response to its space weapons programme should be treated as weakness **and India subjected to further aggression, not just terrestrially, but equally in space.** The External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar stated there is an imperative for India and China to achieve some “equilibrium”, although he never fully elaborated what exactly it would look like. However, if equilibrium or more precisely a stable balance of power is to be achieved in the Indo-Pacific, military power is crucial. **Space military power has grown in importance** from reconnaissance, navigation and communications to space weapons **and will be crucial to generating an equilibrium.** Ignoring the eventual deployment of weapons in space would be foolhardy for a state such as India when pitted against the PRC**. Consequently, space military power is a key constituent element in India’s capacity to contribute to the Asian balance of power**. Thus, **investing in a direct ascent and co-orbital KEWs as well as DEWS and cyber and electronic weapons geared for destroying or disabling spacecraft is crucial**. If India were to deprive itself of offensive space weapons to take Chinese or other enemy spacecraft, New Delhi would be putting itself at a considerable disadvantage by leaving it at the mercy of a wide variety of Chinese counterspace capabilities and measures against its Imagery Intelligence (IMINT), Communications (COMMINT), Electronic Intelligence (ELINT) and Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR) satellites. Indeed, it is perplexing to see arguments that call for India to restrain itself, strive for disarmament and arms control when China makes no significant effort to do so beyond rhetorical commitments. The Russian co-orbital test has underlined the importance of space borne weapons despite entreaties for the non-weaponisation of space. The Modi government must see the emerging space military competition as an opportunity to bolster India’s counterspace capabilities. **It will help cement India as a major space military power and prevent Chinese hegemony over the Indo-Pacific.** Chinese hegemony on the other hand will become a certainty, if New Delhi lapses into self-doubt and remains unduly restrained in the testing, integration and deployment of space weapons.

#### China heg is revisionist and offensive-- in the Indo-Pacific that causes draw-in.

Brands 19 [Hal Brands is the Henry A. Kissinger Distinguished Professor of Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. Zack Cooper is a research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, an associate at Armitage International, and an adjunct assistant professor at Georgetown University, "After the Responsible Stakeholder, What? Debating America’s China Strategy." Texas National Security Review. Volume 2, Issue 2. February 2019k <https://tnsr.org/2019/02/after-the-responsible-stakeholder-what-debating-americas-china-strategy-2/> 12-10-2021 amrita]

The responsible-stakeholder paradigm offered a coherent “theory of victory”: It identified a desired outcome and employed all elements of American power to bring about that outcome. Over time, the strategy produced greater Sino-American cooperation on a range of issues, from counter-piracy to climate change. **It is increasingly clear, however, that the responsible-stakeholder strategy failed. Two of its core assumptions now appear misplaced: the idea that China’s intentions would become more benign over time, and the belief that Washington had the power to keep Chinese ambitions in check until that shift occurred.** What happened instead was that, as China rose, the Chinese Communist Party became more willing to use its newfound power in coercive and disruptive ways.3 Confounding Western hopes that China would liberalize, **the Chinese Communist Party embraced more repressive policies**, especially after Xi Jinping became general secretary in 2012. **Meanwhile, Beijing sought to control the Indo-Pacific region by** coercing its neighbors, undermining U.S. alliances, practicing mercantilist policies, steadily **increasing its presence** and influence in the South China Sea**, and modernizing its military. In the Indo-Pacific and beyond, moreover, China has engaged in a range of behaviors that challenge American interests: supporting authoritarian regimes, engaging in widespread corruption, pursuing predatory trade practices and major geo-economic projects meant to project Chinese influence further afield,** seeking to stifle international criticism of its human rights abuses, practicing massive intellectual property theft, and striving for technological dominance in critical emerging fields such as artificial intelligence.Recently, China’s confidence has been on display, with Xi stating in 2018 that “no one is in a position to dictate to the Chinese people,” after declaring in 2017 that China is ready to “take center stage in the world.”4 Rather than becoming a responsible stakeholder in a U.S.-led system, **China appears increasingly determined to compete with Washington for primacy in the Indo-Pacific and beyond.** These more assertive policies have been made possible by China’s surprisingly rapid growth**.** Between 1990 and 2016, China’s constant-dollar gross domestic product increased roughly twelve-fold and its military spending grew tenfold.5 The People’s Liberation Army rapidly developed the tools — anti-ship missiles, quiet submarines, advanced fighter aircraft, and integrated air defenses — needed to contest American supremacy in the Western Pacific and give China greater ability to shape events in its region and beyond. Surging national wealth also led to an explosion of Chinese trade, lending, and investment abroad, which enabled far more ambitious geo-economic statecraft**.** All told, **this expansion of Chinese national power is unprecedented in modern history.** It has dramatically narrowed the gap between China and the United States and made it far more difficult for Washington to shape Beijing’s behavior. No strategy can survive the invalidation of its central premises: By the end of the Obama presidency, the responsible-stakeholder concept was living on borrowed time. The Trump administration drove the final stake through the concept in its 2017 National Security Strategy. The document slammed Beijing for attempting to “shape a world antithetical to U.S. values and interests” and declared the failure of China’s “integration into the post-war international order.”6 In particular, **China’s behavior increasingly threatens three enduring U.S. interests. First, the United States seeks to maintain a favorable balance of power in the Indo-Pacific region** and to deter a military conflict — over Taiwan, Korea, or maritime Asia — that could undermine the regional order and cost American or allied lives. Second, **U.S. leaders have an interest in ensuring an open international economy conducive to American prosperity and competitiveness.** Third, **the United States seeks to preserve an international environment in which democracy, human rights, and the rule of law can** flourish, and it seeks to **strengthen** — where possible — the prevalence of those practices abroad. As Chinese power has grown and Chinese behavior has become more assertive, U.S. policymakers have come to see all three of these interests as being imperiled.

#### That goes nuclear—that causes mass death

Hayes 18 [Peter John Hayes is the Executive Director of the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability, a non-governmental policy-oriented research and advocacy group. He graduated from the University of Melbourne with a degree in History, and from University of California, Berkeley with a Ph.D. in energy and resources. #gobears, Trump and the Interregnum of American Nuclear Hegemony, November 8, 2018. [https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/25751654.2018.1532525 recut 12-10-2021](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/25751654.2018.1532525%20recut%2012-10-2021) amrita]

During a post-hegemonic era, long-standing **nuclear alliances are** likely to be **replaced by** ad hoc nuclear **coalitions**, aligning and realigning around different congeries of threat and even actual nuclear wars, **with** much **higher levels of** uncertainty and **unpredictability** than was the case in the nuclear hegemonic system. There are a number of ways that this dynamic could play out during the interregnum, and these dynamics are likely to be inconsistent and contradictory. In some instances, the sheer momentum of past policy combined with bureaucratic inertia and the potency of political, military service and corporate interests, may ensure that residual aspects of the formerly hegemonic postures are adhered to even as formal nuclear alliances rupture. Even as they reach for the old anchors, these **states may be forced to adjust** and retrench **strategically, or start** to take their own nuclear risks by **making** increasingly explicit **nuclear threats** and deployments **against nuclear-armed adversaries** – as Japan has begun to do with reference to its “technological deterrent” since about 2012.9 This period could last for many years until and **when** nuclear **war breaks out** and leads to a post-nuclear war disorder; or **a** new, post-hegemonic strategic **framework is established** to manage and/or abolish nuclear threat. Under full-blown American nuclear hegemony, fewer states had nuclear weapons, the major nuclear weapons states entered into legally binding restraints on force levels and they learned from nuclear near-misses to promulgate rules of the road and tacit understandings. The lines drawn during full-blown collisions involving nuclear weapons were stark and concentrated the minds of leaders greatly. In a nuclear duel, it was clear that only one of two sides could fire first; the only question was which one. **Now, with nine** nuclear weapons **states, and conflicts** conceivably **involving** three, four or **more of them**, no matter how much leaders concentrate, **it will not be evident** who is aiming at who, **who may fire** first, and during a volley, who fired first and even who hit whom. In a highly proliferated world, **nuclear-armed states** may **feel driven to obtain larger** nuclear **forces** able **to deter multiple adversaries** at the same time, sufficient to conduct not only a few nuclear attacks but **configured to fight more than one** protracted **nuclear war at a time, especially in** nuclear **states torn apart by civil war** and post-nuclear attack reconstruction. The first time nuclear weapons are used since 1945 will be shocking, the second time, less so, the third time, the new normal.

### 1NC – OFF

**Genocidal disposition is not an event but on an ongoing process that functions through a tripartite structure of elimination, replacement, and indoctrination. Debate as a competitive research activity is not isolated from said violence, but works to iteratively indoctrinate settler ideologies which is necessary to maintain the broader process of genocide.**

**Patel 14** [Lisa (Leigh) Patel (2014), Countering Coloniality in Educational Research: From Ownership to Answerability, Educational Studies, 50:4, 357-377, DOI: 10.1080/00131946.2014.924942, Accesed via Taylor Francis Online]//itsnagisa

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AS SETTLER COLONIALISM

The United States, in addition to many other places such as Australia, Canada, and Israel, is ongoing project of settler colonialism (Byrd 2011; A. Smith 2010; Wolfe 1991). Rather than a single event, settler colonialism is a continuous process and logic with three mutually dependent components (Tuck and Yang 2012), all of which work in tandem and rely on each other to maintain the structure of colonialism. The first practice is to seize the land, resources, cultural practices, and goods of a desired location. Beginning with land grabs in the 14th century and continuing through contemporary times, the United States was founded on the practice of outsiders claiming land and resources. However, in settler colonialism, there can never be enough land to satisfy the thirst of a few. The logic of physical invasions and opportunistic treaties with Native peoples echo in contemporary times with private takeover of public, potentially collective, spaces (Martusewicz, Edmondson, and Lupinacci 2011). In education, this is most notable through the dismantling of public education (Fine and Fabricant 2012) for the proliferation of privatized venture philanthropy in education and teacher education, leveraged through educational metrics measuring teacher, school, and pupil performance (Kumashiro 2010). As one of the last public spaces in the United States, education has experienced a surge of privatization that acts in keeping with a genealogy of land grabs. What were once public schools, with names like Washington Elementary School or Paul J. Robeson High School, are increasingly renamed and claimed for private interests, with many locations simultaneously claimed and linked through private ownership, under the names of Harlem Children's Zone, Kipp Academy, and MATCH (e.g. http://www.matcheducation.org/). Au and Ferrare's (2014) network analysis reveals the small number of educational reformers who leverage disproportionately large symbolic and material sponsorship to establish private-like charters and claim those lands.

But to sustain this land grab, the peoples already residing there must be eliminated for settlers to replace them, whereby state-sanctioned violence occurs as a second conjoining practice of settler colonialism. As Smith (2012) put it, “This logic holds that indigenous peoples must disappear. In fact, they must always be disappearing, in order to enable non-indigenous peoples’ rightful claim to land. Through this logic of genocide, non-Native peoples then become the rightful inheritors of all that was indigenous—land, resources, indigenous spirituality, and culture.” A key trope through which settler colonialism operates is erasing to replace. The land grabs relied on, and continue to rely on, codified blood quantum laws to ensure the gradual diminishment of Native peoples. This logic is present in the land grabs of public schooling spaces that use the law and metrics of achievement as codified strategies to claim property, specifically through the marginalizing and eroding of histories and place-based knowledges of communities (Fenwick 2013). K–12 schools are also connected to the tertiary education and the forms of knowledge and knowledge production sanctioned therein.

Higher education, as key companion pillar with the church and state in the establishment of this settler colony as a nation (Wilder 2013), further reflects these move of settling, including erasing to replace. The settler colonial project first constructed colleges as places for ministerial education for wealthy men, with strict focus on Greek, Latin, geometry, ancient history, logic, ethics and rhetoric, with few discussions, or as Freire (1970) termed, a banking approach to education wherein students, even the privileged male students allowed to enjoy this property, were seen as vessels in which the culture of the colony should be sown. For White men, though, this planting of knowledge was with home codes and perspectives. For Indigenous communities, this banking approach erased their lived experiences with Eurocentric epistemologies, which can never be made home because of the dispossession it is premised upon (Anzaldúa 1999). This project of erasure is found throughout many of the historical manifestations of IHEs’ curricula, a logic that grounded Indian boarding schools in the philosophy of **“kill the Indian to save the man**” (Pratt 1892, 214). Contemporary manifestations of this logic include the maintained and protected use of euro-centric curricula and pedagogy as common core to a solidified banking approach to higher education (Spring 2010). As Wilder points out in his historical analysis of the roles elite institutions of higher education played in supporting, exploiting, and perpetuating slavery in the United States, studies that unproblematically investigate how to best and most efficiently teach academic standardized English to nonnative speakers are complicit in this erase to replace colonial trajectory. It is important to note here that the deepest investment of settler colonialism is to erase Indigenous peoples. The erasure of culture and language of minoritized peoples, such as migrants, works in tandem with replacing Indigenous peoples with others, such as migrant workers, but not as landowners.

The erasure of Indigeneity is also apparent in the knowledge production more specifically located in educational research that names White, Black, and Latino populations, sometimes Asian, but rarely Indigenous peoples in statistics of school-based achievement. Although the White center of achievement gap studies problematically reifies Whiteness as normal and desirable (Leonardo 2009), the failure to name Indigenous peoples acts echoes this need to erase. Even though the recent US federal policy of No Child Left Behind (NCLB 2002), prompted states and districts to disaggregate achievement data according to racial groups, including Indigenous students, the prevailing trope in educational research, particularly well-funded educational research, is the achievement gap between White and Asian to that of Black and Latino students. This binary leverages a linked achievement rate of glossed-over statistics of various Asian Americans’ achievement to standards of White achievement to fundamentally locate deficit within Black and Latino populations while also erasing Indigenous peoples. Additionally, the US federal policies of NCLB and its follower, Race to the Top ([RTTP] 2001) demand identification to punish so-identified delinquent populations, rather than to redress a system based on colonial stratification (Leonardo 2009). By organizing research around these policies and pursuing their funding streams, not only has federally sanctioned educational research contributed to this construction of Whiteness, it has also supported the almost constant conflation between test scores and learning, an abrogation of responsibility to which I return in the conclusion of the article.

A third necessary practice of settler colonialism, and one that conjoins tightly with White supremacy in the United States, is to import slave labor in chains and render human beings as chattel. In this process, humanity is immediately put in tension with, and ultimately subjugated to, property. African slaves became chattel long before the transporting ships reached their destinations, with bodily treatment of the captured Africans becoming the first in an ongoing stripping away of humanity (Spillers 1987). Continuing through the contemporary prison industrial complex and the low-wage locations of forced migrants (Ngai 2005), slave labor is necessary to become chattel, harvest the resources of the land and, through economic stratification and sequestering, ensure that land and property rights are reserved for a much smaller group of settlers. Higher education is, like other social fields in capitalist-anchored settler colonies, predicated on individuals holding differential status so that many are competing for the limited resources of higher status, reflected in salary and reputation. Within that field, publications and grant procurement (Daza, 2012, 2013a) represent the forms of capital most readily translated into higher status. By reflecting rather interrupting hierarchies based on competition and status, the academy has sustained problematic relationships with vulnerabilized communities (Tuck 2009). Part of this has transpired through scholarship that has worked from and validated racist premises of societal difference (Wilder 2013), as well as the relationships between researcher and researched (Tuck and Guishard 2013). For applied fields, such as educational research, these patterns manifest themselves in who is researched and what theoretical frames drive the data gathering, analysis, and implications.

**Their framing of “extinction”, “the end of the world”, and “existential risk calculus” is a false form of white neutrality positing the 1AC as modernity’s hero mystifying the disparate impact of settlement and racialized violence. We will be explicitly clear – this is not a question of yes no security, but rather an indict to the 1AC’s research agenda and citational practice**

**Mitchell, Chaudhury 20** [Audra; Balsillie School of International Affairs; Aadita; York University – Keele Campus; “Worlding beyond ‘the’ ‘end’ of ‘the world’: white apocalyptic visions and BIPOC futurisms”; https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0047117820948936; pages 3-7]//itsnagisa

Discourses that predict the imminent ‘end of the world’ are not as universal as they often claim to be. The **futures they fear for**, seek to protect and work to construct are **rooted in** a particular set of global social structures and subjectivities: **whiteness**. Whiteness is not reducible to skin pigmentation, genetics or genealogy. It is a set of cultural, political, economic, normative, and subjective structures derived from Eurocentric societies and propagated through global formations such as colonization and capitalism. These multi-scalar structures work by segregating bodies through the inscription of racial difference, privileging those they recognize or construct as ‘white’4 and unequally distributing harms to those that they do not.5 Whiteness is also a form of property6 that accrues benefits – including material, physical, and other forms of security – and pervasive forms of power, across space, time, and social structures. Due in part to its trans-formation through long-duration, global patterns of violence and conquest, whiteness takes unique forms wherever and whenever it coalesces, so it should not be treated as universal – despite its own internal claims to this status. Most of the leading contributors to mainstream ‘end of the world’ discourses discussed in this article are rooted in Euro-American cultural contexts, and in particular in settler colonial and/or imperial states such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. As such, the forms of whiteness they embody are linked to particular histories of settlement, frontier cultures, resource-based imperialisms, genocides of Indigenous communities, histories of slavery, and modes of anti-Blackness. Whiteness is remarkable in its ability to render itself invisible to those who possess and benefit from it. Many, if not most, of the (often liberal humanitarian) authors of ‘end of the world’ discourses seem unaware of its integral influence on their thinking, and would almost certainly be horrified at the thought of their work entrenching racialized injustices. We are not suggesting that these authors espouse explicit, intentional and/or extreme racist ideals, on which much public discussion by white people of racism tends to focus.7 Nor do we wish to homogenize or present as equivalent all of the viewpoints discussed in this paper, which display a range of expressions of whiteness and levels of awareness thereof.8 On the contrary, we work to center broad, everyday, structural ways in which underlying 4 International Relations 00(0) logics of whiteness and white supremacy frame and permeate mainstream paradigms and discourses, including those identified as liberal, humanitarian, or progressive. Even amongst white people who consciously and explicitly disavow racism, unconscious, habitual, normalized, structurally-embedded assumptions circulate, and are reproduced in ways that perpetuate race9 as a global power structure. This includes one of the authors of this paper (Mitchell), who, as a white settler,10 continues to benefit from and participate – and thus ‘invest’11 – in structures of whiteness, and therefore has a continual responsibility to confront them (although total divestment is not possible).12 **The ‘habits’ of racism**13 are **reflected strongly in the way that contemporary ‘end of the world’ narratives frame their protagonists**: those attributed with meaningful agency and ethical status in the face of global threats; those whose survival or flourishing is prioritized or treated as a bottom line when tradeoffs are imagined and planned; and, crucially, **those deemed capable of and entitled to ‘save the world’ and determine its future**. This is **expressed in** several key features of the genre, including its **domination by white thinkers**; the forms of subjectivity and agency it embraces; **and the ways it contrasts its subjects against BIPOC communities**. First, **contributors to fast-growing fields like the study of ‘existential risk’ or ‘global catastrophic risk’ are overwhelmingly white**. As we will see, almost all of the authors identified by the literature review on which this paper is based, and certainly the most influential thinkers in the field, are white. For example, the seminal collection Global Existential Risk, 14 which claims to offer a comprehensive snapshot of this field, is edited by two white male Europeans (Nick Bostrom and Milan Circovic) and authored by an almost entirely white (and all-male) group of scholars. Likewise, the most senior positions within influential **think tanks promoting** the **study of ‘existential risk’**, such as the Future of Humanity Institute, the Cambridge Center for the Study of Existential Risk and Humanprogress.org, are **dominated by white men**, with few exceptions.15 Another expression of this tendency toward epistemic whiteness is found in the habit, prominent amongst white academics, of citing all or mostly-white scholars, which entrenches a politics of citation16 that privileges whiteness and acknowledges only some intersectionalities as relevant.17 As mentioned above, Mitchell’s (2017)18 work offers an example of this tendency: while it engages critical, feminist, and queer postapocalyptic visions written by white authors, it does not center BIPOC perspectives or knowledge systems. These examples do not simply raise issues of numerical representation, nor can whiteness necessarily be dismantled simply by altering these ratios. More importantly, all-white or majority white spaces create epistemes in which most contributors share cultural backgrounds, assumptions, and biases that are rarely challenged by alternative worldviews, knowledge systems or registers of experience. In such epistemes the perceived boundaries of ‘human thought’ are often elided with those of Euro-centric knowledge. For example, influential American settler journalist David Wallace-Wells19 contends that there exists no framework for grasping climate change besides ‘mythology and theology’. In so doing, he ignores centuries of ongoing, systematic observation and explicit articulations of concern by BIPOC knowledge keepers about climactic change. The bracketing of BIPOC knowledges not only severely limits the rigor of discourses on global crises, but also, as bi-racial organizer and thinker adrienne maree brown20 argues, it produces distorted outcomes. Mitchell and Chaudhury 5 For instance, it **smuggles normative judgments that ‘turn Brown bombers into terrorists and white bombers into mentally ill victims’ into apparently ‘objective’ claims**. Similarly, the influential work of Black American criminologist Ruth Wilson Gilmore21 demonstrates how **white imaginaries of the threat posed by BIPOC bodies has produced the massive global penal complex and the radically unequal distribution of life chances**. In short, imaginaries create worlds, so it matters greatly whose are privileged, and whose are excluded. Further, emerging narratives of the ‘end of the world’ explicitly center figures of whiteness as their protagonists – as the survivors of apocalypse, the subjects capable of saving the world from it, and as those most threatened. In these discourses, ‘survivors’ are framed as saviors able to protect and/or regenerate and even improve Western forms of governance and social order by leveraging resilience, scientific prowess, and technological genius. For example, the cover of American settler scientists Tony Barnosky and Elizabeth Hadley’s book Tipping Points for Planet Earth features a stylized male ‘human’ whom they identify as former California governor Jerry Brown (a powerful white settler politician) holding the earth back from rolling over a cliff.22 Similarly, presenting a thought experiment about the planet’s future, Homer-Dixon23 asks his readers to imagine ‘an average male – call him John’ (in fact, the most popular male name globally at the time of writing was Mohammed). This is followed by images of a Caucasian male dressed in safari or hiking gear – both emblematic of symbols colonial conquest24 – tasked with choosing from two forks on a path, as imagined by white American poet Robert Frost. This image of rugged masculine whiteness, embodied in physical strength, colonial prowess, and the ability to dominate difficult landscapes is mirrored in his framing of his former co-workers on oil rigs in the Canadian prairies25 as models of resilience. Similarly, American settler science writer Annalee Newitz26 proposes the Canadian province of Saskatchewan as a ‘model for human survival’, based on her perceptions of the resilience, persistence and collaborative frontier attitudes of its people. Saskatchewan is a notoriously racist part of Canada, in which violence against Indigenous people continues to be integral to its white-dominated culture27 – yet this polity and its culture are held up by Newitz as a model of ‘human’ resilience. **By imagining subjects in whom whiteness is elided with resilience and survival**, these **discourses not only normalize and obscure the modes of violence and oppression through which** perceived ‘resilience’ – or, in blunt terms, **preferential access to survival – is achieved**. **They also work to displace the threat of total destruction ‘onto others who are seen as lacking the resourcefulness of the survivor’**.28 In addition, **many ‘end of the world’ narratives interpellate subjects of white privilege by assuming that readers are not (currently) affected by the harms distributed unequally by global structures** of environmental racism. For instance, Barnosky and Hadley29 (italics ours) state, ‘if you are anything like we are, you probably think of pollution as somebody else’s problem. . . you probably don’t live near a tannery, mine dump or any other source of pollution’. For many people of color, living near a source of pollution may be nearly inescapable as a result of structural-material discrimination, including zoning practices and the accessibility of housing.30 Viewing ecological harms as ‘someone else’s problem’ is a privilege afforded to those who have never been forced contemplate the destruction of their communities or worlds.31 At the same time, **these authors** – along with many others working in the genre – **invoke narratives** **akin to ‘all lives matter’** or 6 International Relations 00(0) ‘colour-blindness’32 **that erase unequal distributions of harm and threat**. For instance, during their international travels for scientific research and leisure, Barnosky and Hadley (italics ours) describe a dawning awareness that ‘the problems we were writing about. . . were everybody’s problems. . .**no one** was **escaping the impacts**. . . including us’. They go on to frame as equivalent flooding in Pakistan that displaced 20million people and killed 2000 with the inconveniences caused by the temporary flooding of the New York subway system in 2012. In addition, they cite evidence of endocrine disruption in American girls caused by pollution, stating that the youngest of the cohort are African American and Latina but that ‘the most dramatic increase is in Caucasian girls’33 (italics ours). In this framing, **even though BIPOC children remain most adversely affected**, **white children are pushed to the foreground and framed as more urgently threatened in relative terms**. These comparisons background the disproportionate burden of ecological harm born by BIPOC, and **reflect a stark calculus of the relative value of white and BIPOC lives**. The ‘all **lives matter’ logic** employed here **constructs** ‘a **universal human frailty**’34 **in which responsibility** **for** ecological threats is **attributed to ‘humans’ in general**, **and** the **assignment of specific culpability is avoided**. While Newitz avers that ‘assigning blame [for ecological harm] is less important than figuring out how to. . . survive’,35 we argue that accurately attributing responsibility is crucial to opening up futures in which it is possible to dismantle the structural oppressions that unequally distribute harms and chances for collective survival. Preoccupation with the subjects of whiteness in ‘end of the world’ discourses is also reflected in the framing of BIPOC communities as threats to the survival of ‘humanity’. These fears are perhaps most simply and starkly expressed in anxieties over population decline within predominantly white countries, paired with palpable fear of rising birth rates amongst BIPOC communities. Chillingly, such fears are often connected to the mere biological survival of BIPOC, and the reproductive capacities of Black and Brown bodies – especially those coded as ‘female’, and therefore ‘fertile’ within colonial gender binaries.36 For instance, in his treatise on ‘over’-population, American settler science writer Alan Weisman addresses the ‘problem’ raised by the likely significant increase of survival rates (especially amongst children) as a result of widely-available cures for illnesses such as malaria or HIV. Since, he avers, it would be ‘unconscionable’ to withhold these vaccines, Weisman suggests that malaria and HIV research funding should also promote family planning – that is, control of BIPOC fertility – since ‘there’s no vaccine against extinction’.37 Here, BIPOC survival and reproductivity is literally – even if not strictly intentionally – framed as an incurable disease that could culminate in ‘extinction’. Although some of these discussions examine total growth in human populations globally,38 much of this research focuses on relative population sizes, usually of BIPOCmajority places to those inscribed as white. For instance, British doctor John Guillebaud predicts a ‘birth dearth’ in Europe while likening ‘unremitting population growth’ in other parts of the world to ‘the doctrine of the cancer cell’.39 Although these regions are described in various ways throughout the genre – for instance, as ‘poor’ or ‘developing’, the areas slated for growth are almost always BIPOC-majority. For example, Hungarian demographer Paul Demeny (italics ours) argues that Europe’s population is steadily shrinking ‘while nearby populations explode’.40 Drawing on Demeny’s work, HomerDixon warns of a future 3:1 demographic ratio between North Africa/West Asia and Mitchell and Chaudhury 7 Europe, along with 70% growth in Bangladesh, 140% growth in Kenya, and a doubling of the populations of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Nigeria. Directly after sharing these statistics, he appends a list of international news reports referring to, for example, clashes between Indigenous communities in Kenya, riots in Shanghai, and murder rates in Mexico.41 In so doing, he directly juxtaposes BIPOC population growth with stereotypes of violence and ‘incivility’. BIPOC are often represented in these narratives as embodiments of ecological collapse and threat, embedding the assumption that ‘black people don’t care about the environment’,42 and that the global ‘poor’ will always prioritize short-term economic needs above ecological concerns. This belief is reflected in travelogue-style descriptions of ecological devastation, including Barnosky and Hadley’s musings, while on holiday in Utah, that the ancient Puebloan society collapsed because they had run out of water – a situation which they project onto future Sudan, Somalia, and Gaza. In addition, they diagnose the fall of what they call the ‘extinct’ Mayan community to overpopulation and over-exploitation of resources – despite the survivance43 of over 6million Mayan people in their Ancestral lands and other places at the time of writing.44 These descriptions chime with the common refrain on the part of settler states that BIPOC are unable to care properly for their land, even in the absence of conflicting data. This constructed ignorance allows those states to frame BIPOC territories as ‘wasteland’ awaiting annexation or improvement, or as dumping grounds for the externalities of capitalism.45 What’s more, the use of BIPOC communities as cautionary tales for planetary destruction strongly suggests that the redistribution of global power, land ownership, and other forms of agency toward BIPOC structures would result in ecological disaster.

#### Reject their analysis of public trust- it relies on the notion that there is a mutually negotiated agreement between the US government and its citizens. This is not a mutually negotiated agreement as Indigenous populations are never and were never given a say over their land or their own bodies. Their forfronting of the PTD moves colonialized form of law into outerspace and cements a legal system that devalues indigenous population.

#### Settler colonialism maintains itself through the everyday, repetitive acts of practices, presences, and speech acts. Thus, refuse the affirmative’s as a repudiation of the Settler subject’s ongoing attempt to achieve the end of Indigenous life. Only by cultivating cracks in the Settler psyche can we disrupt settler colonial formations and create an ethic of decolonization.

Henderson 15 (Phil, Doctoral Student at the University of Victoria "Imagoed communities: the psychosocial space of settler colonialism" Settler Colonial Studies DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2015.1092194, pp. 10-14) NIJ

Facing assertive indigenous presences within settler colonial spaces, settlers must answer the legitimate charge that their daily life – in all its banality – is predicated upon the privileges produced by ongoing genocide. The jarring nature of such charges offers an irreconcilable challenge to settlers qua settlers.64 Should these charges become impossible to ignore, they threaten to explode the imago of settler colonialism, which had hitherto operated within the settler psyche in a relatively smooth and benign manner. This explosion is potentiated by the revelation of even a portion of the violence that is required to make settler life possible. If, for example, settlers are forced to see ‘their’ beach as a site of murder and ongoing colonization, it becomes more difficult to sustain it within the imaginary as a site of frivolity.65 As Brown writes, in the ‘loss of horizons, order, and identity’ the subject experiences a sense of enormous vulnerability.66 Threatened with this ‘loss of containment’, the settler subject embarks down the road to psychosis.67 Thus, to parlay Brown’s thesis to the settler colonial context, the uncontrollable rage that indigenous presences induce within the settler is not evidence of the strength of settlers, but rather of a subject lashing out on the brink of its own dissolution. This panic – this rabid and insatiable anger – is always already at the core of the settler as a subject. As Lorenzo Veracini observes, the settler necessarily remains in a disposition of aggression ‘even after indigenous alterities have ceased to be threatening’. 68 This disposition results from the precarity inherent in the maintenance of settler colonialism’s imago, wherein any and all indigenous presences threaten subjective dissolution of the settler as such. Trapped in a Gordian Knot, the very thing that provides a balm to the settler subject – further development and entrenchment of the settler colonial imago – is also what panics the subject when it is inevitably contravened.69 We might think of this as a process of hardening that leaves the imago brittle and more susceptible to breakage. Their desire to produce a firm imago means that settlers are also always already in a psychically defensive position – that is, the settler’s offensive position on occupied land is sustained through a defensive posture. For while settlers desire the total erasure of indigenous populations, the attendant desire to disappear their own identity as settlers necessitates the suppression of both desires, if the subject’s reliance on settler colonial power structure is to be psychically naturalized. Settlers’ reactions to indigenous peoples fit, almost universally, with the two ego defense responses that Sigmund Freud observed. The first of these defenses is to attempt a complete conversion of the suppressed desire into a new idea. In settler colonial contexts, this requires averting attention from the violence of dispossession; as such, settlers often suggest that they aim to create a ‘city on the hill’. 70 Freud noted that the conversion defense mechanism does suppress the anxiety-inducing desire, but it also leads to ‘periodic hysterical outbursts’. Such is the case when settlers’ utopic visions are forced to confront the reality that the gentile community they imagine is founded in and perpetuates irredeemable suffering. A second type of defense is to channel the original desire’s energy into an obsession or a phobia. The effects of this defense are seen in the preoccupation that settler colonialism has with purity of blood or of community.71 As we have already seen, this obsession at once solidifies the power of the settler state, thereby naturalizing the settler and simultaneously perpetuating the processes of erasing indigenous peoples. Psychic defenses are intended to secure the subject from pain, and whether that pain originates inside or outside the psyche is inconsequential. Because of the threat that indigeneity presents to the phantasmatic wholeness of settler colonialism, settlers must always remain suspended in a state of arrested development between these defensive positions. Despite any pretensions to the contrary, the settler is necessarily a parochial subject who continuously coils, reacts, disavows, and lashes out, when confronted with his dependency on indigenous peoples and their territory. This psychic precarity exists at the core of the settler subject because of the unending fear of its own dissolution, should indigenous sovereignty be recognized.72 Goeman writes as an explicit challenge to other indigenous peoples, but this holds true to settler-allies as well, that decolonization must include an analysis of the dominant ‘self-disciplining colonial subject’. 73 However, as this discussion of subjective precarity demonstrates, the degree of to which these disciplinary or phenomenological processes are complete should not be overstated. For settler-allies must also examine and cultivate the ways in which settler subjects fail to be totally disciplined. Evidence of this incompletion is apparent in the subject’s arrested state of development. Discovering the instability at the core of the settler subject, indeed of all subjects, is the central conceit of psychoanalysis. This exception of at least partial failure to fully subjectivize the settler is also what sets my account apart from Rifkin’s. His phenomenology falls into the trap that Jacqueline Rose observes within many sociological accounts of the subject: that of assuming a successful internalization of norms. From the psychoanalytical perspective, the ‘unconscious constantly reveals the “failure”’ of internalization.74 As we have seen, within settler subjects this can be expressed as an irrational anxiety that expresses itself whenever a settler is confronted with the facts regarding their colonizing status. Under conditions of total subjectification, such charges ought to be unintelligible to the settler. Thus, the process of subject formation is always in slippage and never totalized as others might suggest.75 Because of this precarity, the settler subject is prone to violence and lashing out; but the subject in slippage also provides an avenue by which the process of settler colonialism can be subverted – creating cracks in a phantasmatic wholeness which can be opened wider. Breakages of this sort offer an opportunity to pursue what Paulette Regan calls a ‘restorying’ of settler colonial history and culture, to decanter settler mythologies built upon and within the dispossession of indigenous peoples.76 The cultivation of these cracks is a necessary part of decolonizing work, as it continues to panic and thus to destabilize settler subjects. Resistance to settler colonialism does not occur only in highly visible moments like the famous conflict at Kanesatake and Kahnawake,77 it also occurs in reiterative and disruptive practices, presences, and speech acts. Goeman correctly observes that the ‘repetitive practices of everyday life’ are what give settler spaces their meaning, as they provide a degree of naturalness to the settler imago and its psychic investments.78 As such, to disrupt the ease of these repetitions is at once to striate radically the otherwise smooth spaces of settler colonialism and also to disrupt the easy (re)production of the settler subject. Goeman calls these subversive acts the ‘micro-politics of resistance’, which historically took the form of ‘moving fences, not cooperating with census enumerators, sometimes disrupting survey parties’ amongst other process.79 These acts panic the subject that is disciplined as a product of settler colonial power, by forcing encounters with the sovereign indigenous peoples that were imagined to be gone. This reveals to the settler, if only fleetingly, the violence that founds and sustains the settler colonial relationship. While such practices may not overthrow the settler colonial system, they do subvert its logics by insistently drawing attention to the ongoing presence of indigenous peoples who refuse erasure. Today, we can draw similar inspiration from the variety of tactics used in movements like Idle No More. From flash mobs in major malls, to round dances that block city streets, and even projects to rename Toronto locations, Idle No More is engaged in a series of micro-political projects across Turtle Island.80 The micro-politics of the movement strengthen indigenous subjects and their spatialities, while leaving an indelible imprint in the settler psyche. Predictably, rage and resentment were provoked in some settlers;81 however, Idle No More also drew thousands of settler-allies into the streets and renewed conversations about the necessity of nation-to-nation relationships. With settler colonial spaces disrupted and a relationship of domination made impossible to ignore, in the tradition of centuries of indigenous resistance, Idle No More put the settler subject into serious flux once more. Conclusion Settler colonialism has been distinguished from colonialism proper by what Wolfe calls its ‘logic of elimination’, which requires the erasure of indigenous peoples from the colonized territory. This is accomplished through a variety of mechanisms that range from outright violence to policies of gradual elimination. Ultimately, settler colonialism is perpetuated through a double move: to erase indigenous peoples and then to disappear settlers by naturalizing the violence inherent their existence in colonized territory. This is accomplished through the production of spatialities bereft of indigeneity. Out of this spatial logic, an imago of settler society is produced that binds settlers both psychically and socially to each other and to the colonized spaces. The continual (re)production of a settler colonial imago is necessary to secure the psychic horizons of the settler subject; it is also inextricably bound up with an insatiable need to constantly renew the erasure of indigenous peoples. Thus, in order to secure its continued survival as a subject, the settler must always strive to maintain the conditions of settler colonialism. Total erasure of indigeneity is the grotesque desire of the settler that must be constantly disrupted. Where indigenous peoples have persisted as an insurgent presence in the settler imago, they are always already threatening this disruption of the settler subject at its very core. For while the affirmation of indigeneity can induce panic, and subsequently rage, in the settler, it also opens a crack within the imago – that is, within the settler subject itself – through which an ethic of decolonization can emerge. While it seems that settler colonialism is propelled by a tightly circuitous movement of subject formation, projection, and (re)formation, the presence of indigenous peoples in ongoing and sovereign relationship with the land serves as a powerful blockage of to the smoothness of this process.

### Case

#### Turn – space wars are more likely when governments are the only ones with vested interest in space, because they’re the ones with military interests.

**Bender 18** [Bryan, “Space war is coming – and the US is not ready”, Futurism. 6 April 2018 https://www.politico.com/story/2018/04/06/outer-space-war-defense-russia-china-463067] //DebateDrills LC

W**ar is coming to outer space, and the Pentagon warns it is not yet ready**, following years of underinvesting while the military focused on a host of threats on Earth.

Russia and China are years ahead of the United States in developing the means to destroy or disable satellites that the U.S. military depends on for everything from gathering intelligence to guiding precision bombs, missiles and drones.

Now **the Pentagon is** trying to catch up — **pouring billions more dollars into hardening its defenses against anti-satellite weapons, training troops to operate in the event their space lifeline is cut, and honing ways to retaliate against a new form of combat that experts warn could affect millions of people**, cause untold collateral damage and spread to battlefields on Earth.

“We are now approaching a point where ‘Star Wars’ is not just a movie,” said Steve Isakowitz, CEO of The Aerospace Corp., a government-funded think tank that serves as the military’s leading adviser on space. He said **the U.S. can no longer afford to take its dominance for granted.**

#### Space wars are impossible and can’t escalate --- debris, high monetary costs, and lack of lift capabilities

Handberg, 17 – Faculty and Research, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs, UCF Roger Handberg, “Is space war imminent? Exploring the possibility,” Comparative Strategy. 2017. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01495933.2017.1379832?needAccess=true>

--Space wars were discounted in 1960s – things haven’t changed now – environment still hostile – moreso now bc debris is worse

--Costs a ton to send stuff up there

--Lift capabilities are weak which means war can’t be sustained

--Replacements are slow so war has to be ended

Why now?

Recently, there has been an ongoing resurgence of interest in the possibilities for actual combat in outer space, effectively war in a new domain. Why this would become plausible now is interesting, since the physical realities present in the early days of space activity have not changed. Spacecraft remain vulnerable to attack from the ground by anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons, while the debris issue grows exponentially worse now, given the proliferation of such objects in space as part of the normal operations in outer space: used boosters, dead satellites, pieces of broken spacecraft and satellites, and small particles with deadly impact on other spacecraft. The space shuttles routinely returned to Earth with dings and scars from space debris, while the International Space Station (ISS) several times has been lifted out of harm’s way due to oncoming debris. More critically for assessing space-war possibilities, the sheer cost of conducting such operations remains extremely high, while the possibilities for sustaining combat in space are suspect due to lack of lift capability. The difficulty in orbiting replacement satellites to restore functionality remains, assuming the environment is not too hostile due to expanding debris fields. Replacement satellites or other space hardware are still slow-production items, although that in principle could be placed on more of an assembly-line basis, as was done with the Iridium satellite flotilla of 66 comsats plus multiple spares.19 Or, smaller cube satellites with more limited functionality could be orbited as gap fillers while larger, more functional satellites are built and flown if time exists to do so.

#### Private space corporations are key to increasing safety in space technology.

**Kennedy 18** [Brian, “Many in US have confidence in what private space companies will accomplish”, Pew Research Center. 22 June 2018. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/06/22/many-in-u-s-have-confidence-in-what-private-space-companies-will-accomplish/] //DebateDrills LC

Most **Americans express confidence that private space companies will make meaningful contributions in** developing **safe and reliable spacecraft or conducting research to expand knowledge of space**, according to [a recent Pew Research Center survey](https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2018/06/06/majority-of-americans-believe-it-is-essential-that-the-u-s-remain-a-global-leader-in-space/).

**Private companies** such as SpaceX, Blue Origin and Virgin Galactic **are becoming increasingly important players in space exploration.** The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (**NASA) has**[**paid private companies $6.8 billion**](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/business/wp/2018/06/15/feature/what-does-it-mean-to-be-a-nasa-astronaut-in-the-celebrity-space-age-of-elon-musk-and-richard-branson/?utm_term=.b1045d9e9863)**to develop launch systems that might send astronauts into space** as early as this year. These companies are also [setting their sights](https://www.popsci.com/who-wants-to-go-to-mars) on going to the moon or Mars in the future.

(81%) are confident that private space companies will make a profit from these ventures. Some 44% of **Americans have a great deal of confidence that private space companies will be profitable**, and an additional 36% have a fair amount of confidence.

But Americans are also cautiously optimistic that private companies will make contributions that benefit U.S. exploration efforts. **At least two-thirds of Americans have a great deal or a fair amount of confidence that private space companies will build safe and reliable rockets and spacecraft** (77%), **conduct** basic **research to increase knowledge and understanding** of space (70%) **or control costs for developing rockets and spacecraft** (65%).

#### The affirmative has no enforcement mechanism – private corporations can just circumvent since they have the funding to launch rockets on their own.

**Sheetz 21** [Michael, “Elon Musk’s SpaceX raised about $850 million, jumping valuation to about $74 billion”, CNBC. 16 February 2021. https://www.cnbc.com/2021/02/16/elon-musks-spacex-raised-850-million-at-419point99-a-share.html] //DebateDrills LC

**SpaceX completed another monster equity funding round of $850 million last week**, people familiar with the financing told CNBC, sending **the company’s valuation skyrocketing to about $74 billion.**

**The company raised the new funds at $419.99 a share**, those people said — or just 1 cent below the $420 price that [Elon Musk](https://www.cnbc.com/elon-musk/) [made infamous in 2018](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/09/28/sec-says-elon-musk-at-tesla-chose-420-price-as-pot-reference.html) when he declared **he had “funding secured” to take**[**Tesla**](https://www.cnbc.com/quotes/TSLA)**private** at that price.

The latest round also represents **a jump of about 60% in the company’s valuation** from its previous round in August, when [S**paceX raised near $2 billion at a $46 billion valuation**](https://www.cnbc.com/2020/10/14/tesla-investor-ron-baron-spacex-has-a-chance-to-be-just-as-large.html).

SpaceX did not immediately respond to CNBC’s request for comment. In addition to SpaceX further building a war chest for its ambitious plans, **company insiders and existing investors were able to sell $750 million in a secondary transaction**, one of the people said.

The people spoke on condition of anonymity because SpaceX is not a publicly traded company and the fundraising talks were private. SpaceX raised only a portion of the funding available in the marketplace, with one person telling CNBC that **the company received “insane demand” of about $6 billion in offers over the course of just three days**.

#### Space isn’t insulated---terrestrial politics come prior---Soyuz proves

Koren 19 – staff writer at *The Atlantic*.

Marina Koren, “The Chill of U.S.-Russia Relations Creeps into Space,” *The Atlantic*, 11 January 2019, <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2019/01/nasa-roscosmos-russia-bridenstine-rogozin/579973/>

Space exploration is indeed insulated at times from politics, but it is not immune. In the middle of the 20th century, when nations began trying to reach orbit, space policy was foreign policy, thanks to the two-faced nature of the effort; rockets could launch both science instruments and bombs. But even as the focus of space policy has shifted to scientific discovery, world events and political changes have often derailed the United States’ and Russia’s best intentions.

As early as 1962, at the height of the space race between the United States and the Soviet Union, President John F. Kennedy and Premier Nikita Khrushchev exchanged letters about working together on uncomplicated space matters, such as weather satellites. But earnest cooperation didn’t emerge until 1970, after Americans had landed on the moon and there was little left to compete over. President Richard Nixon had a new policy of closer relations with the Soviet Union, and he thought an international space project would be a political winner. (The world may have Hollywood to thank for this, too: According to historians, the Soviets warmed up to the idea after U.S. officials invoked Marooned, the 1969 film in which Soviet cosmonauts help rescue stranded American astronauts.)

Soon, talks led to a high-flying maneuver between American and Soviet spacecraft in 1975. Two capsules launched 10,000 miles apart, rendezvoused in space, and locked onto each other somewhere over the Atlantic Ocean. Astronauts and cosmonauts on either side opened the hatches and exchanged handshakes.

The mission was heralded as a historic moment of unity between spacefaring nations, and plans for collaboration picked up. Officials discussed the possibility of docking an American launch vehicle, the Space Shuttle, to the Russian space station, Salyut. But the election of Jimmy Carter slowed these plans. Unlike his predecessor, Carter disliked the idea of exchanging technical information. Then, in 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and by the next summer the U.S. government was boycotting the Olympic Games in Moscow instead of brainstorming space missions.

Only after the dissolution of the Soviet Union did the most significant partnerships begin to take shape. In the early 1990s, the United States sought to build an international space station and invited Russia to join, along with Japan, Canada, and nine European nations. It was a self-serving decision; while showing support for a country in crisis, the United States would also gain access to impressive space technology, reduce costs, and employ former Soviet scientists and engineers who might otherwise work for enemy governments. That politically motivated choice, though, has led to decades of productive collaboration. Today the International Space Station has been continuously occupied, by rotating crews from both nations, for 18 years.

The American-Russian partnership was tested in the spring of 2014, though. After Russia’s unlawful annexation of Crimea, the United States cut Putin out of global meetings and imposed punitive measures against his cronies. The disintegrating diplomatic relations raised concerns about the International Space Station. By then, the space shuttles that had transported Americans to space for decades were sitting in museums. The U.S. government now relied on the Russian Soyuz system, which cost American taxpayers $70 million a seat. nasa officials, flooded with questions, tried to assuage concerns, while Rogozin, in response to U.S. sanctions prohibiting work with Russian aerospace companies, wrote, “After analyzing the sanctions against our space industry, I suggest the U.S. delivers its astronauts to the ISS with a trampoline.”

Before he traveled to Russia last year, Bridenstine was asked about this and other inflammatory tweets, including one in which Rogozin, annoyed that the United States had asked Romania to bar his plane from entering the country’s airspace, joked that he would fly in on a bomber next time. Bridenstine downplayed Rogozin’s combative remarks as the grit of any elected official, whether in the House of Representatives or the Duma. “Some of his language has historically been aggressive about the United States,” he told SpaceNews. “Some of my language has been aggressive about activities of Russia.”

Bridenstine’s professional relationship with Rogozin began with a beguiling incident last summer. The International Space Station crew discovered a tiny hole in the Russian segment that was leaking pressurized air into space. It appeared to have been drilled. While Russian officials investigated, Rogozin speculated to the press: “What was it: a defect, or some intentional acts? Where were these acts carried out? On the Earth or already on the orbit? Yet again, I am saying: We are not dismissing anything.”

The remarks quickly mutated into rumors of sabotage. Bridenstine and Rogozin scheduled a phone call, their first, and released a joint statement that promised no further speculation until an investigation was complete. Russian cosmonauts patched up the hole and even conducted a spacewalk to investigate it, but the cause remains unknown.

After Bridenstine’s bungled invitation to Rogozin, though, the burgeoning relationship between the space-agency leaders may be under strain. A Roscosmos spokesperson told Russian media that Bridenstine hadn’t talked to Roscosmos before the Post ran a story about Bridenstine’s decision to cancel. Rogozin criticized the decision in a television interview on Thursday, according to The Moscow Times, calling it a “disgrace” and “complete international lawlessness.” “We are waiting for an explanation,” he said, adding that Bridenstine is welcome to return to Russia.

The nasa administrator’s office did not respond to a request for comment on this claim.

This tension is particularly awkward in light of the precarious future of American spaceflight. Today Russia has leverage. The U.S. government still pays to launch nasa astronauts to the ISS, at $80 million a seat now. This arrangement has persisted far longer than American politicians would like, and in 2014, nasa awarded two American companies, Boeing and SpaceX, billions of dollars to develop transportation systems that would launch from U.S. soil. This effort, known as the Commercial Crew Program, is scheduled to finally get off the ground this year. The first SpaceX test flight, without a crew, is expected in February. If those flights go well, the United States could ditch its reliance on Russia.