## 1 – util

#### The standard is maximizing expected wellbeing. Pleasure and pain are intrinsic value and disvalue – everything else regresses – robust neuroscience.

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**Pleasure** is not only one of the three primary reward functions but it also **defines reward.** As homeostasis explains the functions of only a limited number of rewards, the principal reason why particular stimuli, objects, events, situations, and activities are rewarding may be due to pleasure. This applies first of all to sex and to the primary homeostatic rewards of food and liquid and extends to money, taste, beauty, social encounters and nonmaterial, internally set, and intrinsic rewards. Pleasure, as the primary effect of rewards, drives the prime reward functions of learning, approach behavior, and decision making and provides the basis **for hedonic** theories of reward function. We are attracted by most rewards and exert intense efforts to obtain them, just because they are enjoyable [10]. Pleasure is a passive reaction that derives from the experience or prediction of reward and may lead to a long-lasting state of happiness. The word happiness is difficult to define. In fact, just obtaining physical pleasure may not be enough. One key to happiness involves a network of good friends. However, it is not obvious how the higher forms of satisfaction and pleasure are related to an ice cream cone, or to your team winning a sporting event. Recent multidisciplinary research, using both humans and detailed invasive brain analysis of animals has discovered some critical ways that the brain processes pleasure [14]. Pleasure as a hallmark of reward is sufficient for defining a reward, but it may not be necessary. A reward may generate positive learning and approach behavior simply because it contains substances that are essential for body function. When we are hungry, we may eat bad and unpleasant meals. A monkey who receives hundreds of small drops of water every morning in the laboratory is unlikely to feel a rush of pleasure every time it gets the 0.1 ml. Nevertheless, with these precautions in mind, we may define any stimulus, object, event, activity, or situation that has the potential to produce pleasure as a reward. In the context of reward deficiency or for disorders of addiction, homeostasis pursues pharmacological treatments: drugs to treat drug addiction, obesity, and other compulsive behaviors. The theory of allostasis suggests broader approaches - such as re-expanding the range of possible pleasures and providing opportunities to expend effort in their pursuit. [15]. It is noteworthy, the first animal studies eliciting approach behavior by electrical brain stimulation interpreted their findings as a discovery of the brain’s pleasure centers [16] which were later partly associated with midbrain dopamine neurons [17–19] despite the notorious difficulties of identifying emotions in animals. Evolutionary theories of pleasure: The love connection BO:D Charles Darwin and other biological scientists that have examined the biological evolution and its basic principles found various mechanisms that steer behavior and biological development. Besides their theory on natural selection, it was particularly the sexual selection process that gained significance in the latter context over the last century, especially when it comes to the question of what makes us “what we are,” i.e., human. However, the capacity to sexually select and evolve is not at all a human accomplishment alone or a sign of our uniqueness; yet, we humans, as it seems, are ingenious in fooling ourselves and others–when we are in love or desperately search for it. It is well established that modern biological theory conjectures that **organisms are** the **result of evolutionary competition.** In fact, Richard Dawkins stresses gene survival and propagation as the basic mechanism of life [20]. Only genes that lead to the fittest phenotype will make it. It is noteworthy that the phenotype is selected based on behavior that maximizes gene propagation. To do so, the phenotype must survive and generate offspring, and be better at it than its competitors. Thus, the ultimate, distal function of rewards is to increase evolutionary fitness by ensuring the survival of the organism and reproduction. It is agreed that learning, approach, economic decisions, and positive emotions are the proximal functions through which phenotypes obtain other necessary nutrients for survival, mating, and care for offspring. Behavioral reward functions have evolved to help individuals to survive and propagate their genes. Apparently, people need to live well and long enough to reproduce. Most would agree that homo-sapiens do so by ingesting the substances that make their bodies function properly. For this reason, foods and drinks are rewards. Additional rewards, including those used for economic exchanges, ensure sufficient palatable food and drink supply. Mating and gene propagation is supported by powerful sexual attraction. Additional properties, like body form, augment the chance to mate and nourish and defend offspring and are therefore also rewards. Care for offspring until they can reproduce themselves helps gene propagation and is rewarding; otherwise, many believe mating is useless. According to David E Comings, as any small edge will ultimately result in evolutionary advantage [21], additional reward mechanisms like novelty seeking and exploration widen the spectrum of available rewards and thus enhance the chance for survival, reproduction, and ultimate gene propagation. These functions may help us to obtain the benefits of distant rewards that are determined by our own interests and not immediately available in the environment. Thus the distal reward function in gene propagation and evolutionary fitness defines the proximal reward functions that we see in everyday behavior. That is why foods, drinks, mates, and offspring are rewarding. There have been theories linking pleasure as a required component of health benefits salutogenesis, (salugenesis). In essence, under these terms, pleasure is described as a state or feeling of happiness and satisfaction resulting from an experience that one enjoys. Regarding pleasure, it is a double-edged sword, on the one hand, it promotes positive feelings (like mindfulness) and even better cognition, possibly through the release of dopamine [22]. But on the other hand, pleasure simultaneously encourages addiction and other negative behaviors, i.e., motivational toxicity. It is a complex neurobiological phenomenon, relying on reward circuitry or limbic activity. It is important to realize that through the “Brain Reward Cascade” (BRC) endorphin and endogenous morphinergic mechanisms may play a role [23]. While natural rewards are essential for survival and appetitive motivation leading to beneficial biological behaviors like eating, sex, and reproduction, crucial social interactions seem to further facilitate the positive effects exerted by pleasurable experiences. Indeed, experimentation with addictive drugs is capable of directly acting on reward pathways and causing deterioration of these systems promoting hypodopaminergia [24]. Most would agree that pleasurable activities can stimulate personal growth and may help to induce healthy behavioral changes, including stress management [25]. The work of Esch and Stefano [26] concerning the link between compassion and love implicate the brain reward system, and pleasure induction suggests that social contact in general, i.e., love, attachment, and compassion, can be highly effective in stress reduction, survival, and overall health. Understanding the role of neurotransmission and pleasurable states both positive and negative have been adequately studied over many decades [26–37], but comparative anatomical and neurobiological function between animals and homo sapiens appear to be required and seem to be in an infancy stage. Finding happiness is different between apes and humans As stated earlier in this expert opinion one key to happiness involves a network of good friends [38]. However, it is not entirely clear exactly how the higher forms of satisfaction and pleasure are related to a sugar rush, winning a sports event or even sky diving, all of which augment dopamine release at the reward brain site. Recent multidisciplinary research, using both humans and detailed invasive brain analysis of animals has discovered some critical ways that the brain processes pleasure. Remarkably, there are pathways for ordinary liking and pleasure, which are limited in scope as described above in this commentary. However, there are **many brain regions**, often termed hot and cold spots, that significantly **modulate** (increase or decrease) our **pleasure or** even produce the opposite of pleasure— that is disgust and fear [39]. One specific region of the nucleus accumbens is organized like a computer keyboard, with particular stimulus triggers in rows— producing an increase and decrease of pleasure and disgust. Moreover, the cortex has unique roles in the cognitive evaluation of our feelings of pleasure [40]. Importantly, the interplay of these multiple triggers and the higher brain centers in the prefrontal cortex are very intricate and are just being uncovered. Desire and reward centers It is surprising that many different sources of pleasure activate the same circuits between the mesocorticolimbic regions (Figure 1). Reward and desire are two aspects pleasure induction and have a very widespread, large circuit. Some part of this circuit distinguishes between desire and dread. The so-called pleasure circuitry called “REWARD” involves a well-known dopamine pathway in the mesolimbic system that can influence both pleasure and motivation. In simplest terms, the well-established mesolimbic system is a dopamine circuit for reward. It starts in the ventral tegmental area (VTA) of the midbrain and travels to the nucleus accumbens (Figure 2). It is the cornerstone target to all addictions. The VTA is encompassed with neurons using glutamate, GABA, and dopamine. The nucleus accumbens (NAc) is located within the ventral striatum and is divided into two sub-regions—the motor and limbic regions associated with its core and shell, respectively. The NAc has spiny neurons that receive dopamine from the VTA and glutamate (a dopamine driver) from the hippocampus, amygdala and medial prefrontal cortex. Subsequently, the NAc projects GABA signals to an area termed the ventral pallidum (VP). The region is a relay station in the limbic loop of the basal ganglia, critical for motivation, behavior, emotions and the “Feel Good” response. This defined system of the brain is involved in all addictions –substance, and non –substance related. In 1995, our laboratory coined the term “Reward Deficiency Syndrome” (RDS) to describe genetic and epigenetic induced hypodopaminergia in the “Brain Reward Cascade” that contribute to addiction and compulsive behaviors [3,6,41]. Furthermore, ordinary “liking” of something, or pure pleasure, is represented by small regions mainly in the limbic system (old reptilian part of the brain). These may be part of larger neural circuits. In Latin, hedus is the term for “sweet”; and in Greek, hodone is the term for “pleasure.” Thus, the word Hedonic is now referring to various subcomponents of pleasure: some associated with purely sensory and others with more complex emotions involving morals, aesthetics, and social interactions. The capacity to have pleasure is part of being healthy and may even extend life, especially if linked to optimism as a dopaminergic response [42]. Psychiatric illness often includes symptoms of an abnormal inability to experience pleasure, referred to as anhedonia. A negative feeling state is called dysphoria, which can consist of many emotions such as pain, depression, anxiety, fear, and disgust. Previously many scientists used animal research to uncover the complex mechanisms of pleasure, liking, motivation and even emotions like panic and fear, as discussed above [43]. However, as a significant amount of related research about the specific brain regions of pleasure/reward circuitry has been derived from invasive studies of animals, these cannot be directly compared with subjective states experienced by humans. In an attempt to resolve the controversy regarding the causal contributions of mesolimbic dopamine systems to reward, we have previously evaluated the three-main competing explanatory categories: “liking,” “learning,” and “wanting” [3]. That is, dopamine may mediate (a) liking: the hedonic impact of reward, (b) learning: learned predictions about rewarding effects, or (c) wanting: the pursuit of rewards by attributing incentive salience to reward-related stimuli [44]. We have evaluated these hypotheses, especially as they relate to the RDS, and we find that the incentive salience or “wanting” hypothesis of dopaminergic functioning is supported by a majority of the scientific evidence. Various neuroimaging studies have shown that anticipated behaviors such as sex and gaming, delicious foods and drugs of abuse all affect brain regions associated with reward networks, and may not be unidirectional. Drugs of abuse enhance dopamine signaling which sensitizes mesolimbic brain mechanisms that apparently evolved explicitly to attribute incentive salience to various rewards [45]. Addictive substances are voluntarily self-administered, and they enhance (directly or indirectly) dopaminergic synaptic function in the NAc. This activation of the brain reward networks (producing the ecstatic “high” that users seek). Although these circuits were initially thought to encode a set point of hedonic tone, it is now being considered to be far more complicated in function, also encoding attention, reward expectancy, disconfirmation of reward expectancy, and incentive motivation [46]. The argument about addiction as a disease may be confused with a predisposition to substance and nonsubstance rewards relative to the extreme effect of drugs of abuse on brain neurochemistry. The former sets up an individual to be at high risk through both genetic polymorphisms in reward genes as well as harmful epigenetic insult. Some Psychologists, even with all the data, still infer that addiction is not a disease [47]. Elevated stress levels, together with polymorphisms (genetic variations) of various dopaminergic genes and the genes related to other neurotransmitters (and their genetic variants), and may have an additive effect on vulnerability to various addictions [48]. In this regard, Vanyukov, et al. [48] suggested based on review that whereas the gateway hypothesis does not specify mechanistic connections between “stages,” and does not extend to the risks for addictions the concept of common liability to addictions may be more parsimonious. The latter theory is grounded in genetic theory and supported by data identifying common sources of variation in the risk for specific addictions (e.g., RDS). This commonality has identifiable neurobiological substrate and plausible evolutionary explanations. Over many years the controversy of dopamine involvement in especially “pleasure” has led to confusion concerning separating motivation from actual pleasure (wanting versus liking) [49]. We take the position that animal studies cannot provide real clinical information as described by self-reports in humans. As mentioned earlier and in the abstract, on November 23rd, 2017, evidence for our concerns was discovered [50] In essence, although nonhuman primate brains are similar to our own, the disparity between other primates and those of human cognitive abilities tells us that surface similarity is not the whole story. Sousa et al. [50] small case found various differentially expressed genes, to associate with pleasure related systems. Furthermore, the dopaminergic interneurons located in the human neocortex were absent from the neocortex of nonhuman African apes. Such differences in neuronal transcriptional programs may underlie a variety of neurodevelopmental disorders. In simpler terms, the system controls the production of dopamine, a chemical messenger that plays a significant role in pleasure and rewards. The senior author, Dr. Nenad Sestan from Yale, stated: “Humans have evolved a dopamine system that is different than the one in chimpanzees.” This may explain why the behavior of humans is so unique from that of non-human primates, even though our brains are so surprisingly similar, Sestan said: “It might also shed light on why people are vulnerable to mental disorders such as autism (possibly even addiction).” Remarkably, this research finding emerged from an extensive, multicenter collaboration to compare the brains across several species. These researchers examined 247 specimens of neural tissue from six humans, five chimpanzees, and five macaque monkeys. Moreover, these investigators analyzed which genes were turned on or off in 16 regions of the brain. While the differences among species were subtle, **there was** a **remarkable contrast in** theneocortices, specifically in an area of the brain that is much more developed in humans than in chimpanzees. In fact, these researchers found that a gene called tyrosine hydroxylase (TH) for the enzyme, responsible for the production of dopamine, was expressed in the neocortex of humans, but not chimpanzees. As discussed earlier, dopamine is best known for its essential role within the brain’s reward system; the very system that responds to everything from sex, to gambling, to food, and to addictive drugs. However, dopamine also assists in regulating emotional responses, memory, and movement. Notably, abnormal dopamine levels have been linked to disorders including Parkinson’s, schizophrenia and spectrum disorders such as autism and addiction or RDS. Nora Volkow, the director of NIDA, pointed out that one alluring possibility is that the neurotransmitter dopamine plays a substantial role in humans’ ability to pursue various rewards that are perhaps months or even years away in the future. This same idea has been suggested by Dr. Robert Sapolsky, a professor of biology and neurology at Stanford University. Dr. Sapolsky cited evidence that dopamine levels rise dramatically in humans when we anticipate potential rewards that are uncertain and even far off in our futures, such as retirement or even the possible alterlife. This may explain what often motivates people to work for things that have no apparent short-term benefit [51]. In similar work, Volkow and Bale [52] proposed a model in which dopamine can favor NOW processes through phasic signaling in reward circuits or LATER processes through tonic signaling in control circuits. Specifically, they suggest that through its modulation of the orbitofrontal cortex, which processes salience attribution, dopamine also enables shilting from NOW to LATER, while its modulation of the insula, which processes interoceptive information, influences the probability of selecting NOW versus LATER actions based on an individual’s physiological state. This hypothesis further supports the concept that disruptions along these circuits contribute to diverse pathologies, including obesity and addiction or RDS.

#### Prefer:

#### 1] Actor spec—governments must use util because they don’t have intentions and are constantly dealing with tradeoffs—outweighs since different agents have different obligations

#### 2] Only consequentialism explains degrees of wrongness—if I break a promise to meet up for lunch, that is not as bad as breaking a promise to take a dying person to the hospital. Only the consequences of breaking the promise explain why the second one is much worse than the first which is the most intuitive. That outweighs:

#### A] Parsimony – metaphysics relies on long chains of questionable claims that make conclusions less likely.

#### B] Hijacks – intuitions are inevitable since even every framework must take some unjustified assumption as a starting point.

#### 4] Use epistemic modesty for clash – disincentives debaters going all in for framework meaning we get the ideal balance between normative and applied philosophy

#### 8] Extinction first under any framework

#### A] Future lives -- trillions of future lives are lost. They are just as valuable as current ones – anything else says some lives are worth less than others which is genocidal rhetoric

#### B] Reversibility -- extinction forecloses future improvement; prefer -- if we’re unsure about which interpretation of the world is true, we should preserve it to figure things out.

## 2 – B3 DA

#### Biden passes Build Back Better using his PC to secure a narrow majority.

---time running out, Christmas deadline to pass it through the Senate

---Focus link---Biden has to focus his efforts on Manchin, the plan trades off

---Good faith link---lobbying spurred by the plan drives a wedge between Dems that undermines good faith negotiation

---AT: “Manchin won’t cooperate” Yes he will, he said himself negotiations are going well and agreed to follow up, which also proves PC is key in those upcoming meetings.

---AT: “Behind schedule” - No, Schumer himself predicted this week would be when Senate would go deep into it

Fedor & Politi 12-13 [Lauren\*, US Political Correspondent @ FT, James\*\*, Washington Bureau Chief @ FT; December 13, 2021; “White House scrambles to salvage $1.75tn Build Back Better bill by Christmas,” <https://www.ft.com/content/91c5f083-b783-4293-a007-9802ac9ad1f8>] brett

The White House is rushing to save its plans to pass Joe Biden’s $1.75tn Build Back Better bill by the end of the year, with time running low to win over Democratic holdouts worried about excessive spending and persistent inflation.

On Monday afternoon, the US president spoke with Joe Manchin, the Democratic senator from West Virginia who has proved a frequent obstacle to passing Biden’s domestic agenda.

“The president and Senator Manchin had a good, constructive phone call and agreed to follow up with one another in the coming days,” Andrew Bates, a White House spokesperson, told the Financial Times.

Manchin told reporters on Monday that he had a “good conversation” with the president and remained “engaged” in negotiations.

“We are still talking about different iterations, that’s all,” the senator said. When asked whether a deal could still be done by Christmas, Manchin replied: “Anything is possible.”

The call marked the president’s latest attempt to reach a deal on his flagship economic proposal, which directs large-scale government investment into safety-net programmes and measures to fight climate change.

But the fate of the legislation, which would be paid for largely with tax rises on the wealthy and big businesses, is still uncertain with less than two weeks to go until Democrats’ self-imposed deadline to pass it before Christmas.

Charles Schumer, the Senate majority leader, had initially suggested the upper chamber of Congress would begin poring over the bill this week after the House of Representatives passed it last month.

But many in Washington remain sceptical the bill will arrive on the president’s desk before the end of the year, given Manchin’s resistance.

“I know people have been in a hurry for a long time to do something, but I think basically we are seeing things unfold,” Manchin told reporters on Capitol Hill earlier on Monday. “I basically go and have conversation whenever the president calls me or wants to visit . . . we talk genuinely, as person to person, as two people who have had the experience of being in the Senate.”

Jen Psaki, White House press secretary, said the Biden administration remained “fully supportive” of Schumer’s effort to pass the legislation by the end of the month, and said speculation that the negotiations might stretch into next year was premature.

She was also upbeat about Biden’s relationship with Manchin, saying their “conversations have always operated in good faith”.

Democrats are looking to pass the Build Back Better plan without Republican support using a Senate procedure called reconciliation, which would allow them to bypass the 60-vote filibuster threshold. But because Democrats control the chamber by the narrowest of margins — 50-50, with vice-president Kamala Harris able to cast the tiebreaking vote — they need the support of all 50 Democratic senators.

#### The plan trades off -- ratification requires PC and floor time.

---even if popular, even some opposition ensures immense floor time due to Senate procedures.

Kelley & Pevehouse 15 [Judith G.\*, Duke Sanford School of Public Policy; AND Jon C.W.\*\*, University of Wisconsin-Madison; International Studies Quarterly (2015); “An Opportunity Cost Theory of US Treaty Behavior,” <https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/12521/isqu12185.pdf?sequence=1>] brett

An Opportunity Costs Theory

Although existing theories about veto players and political ideology explain the fate of some treaties, they leave some questions open. To complement these theories, we draw on economic theory to offer an opportunity cost theory of treaty ratification. In economics, the opportunity cost of a resource refers to the value of the nexthighest-valued alternative use of that resource. Scholars of domestic legislation have applied this concept to the time and resources of individual policymakers (Schiller 1995) but also to the fixed chamber time. For example, Koger refers to “[T]he foregone uses of the same [chamber] time for legislators as individuals as well as for the chamber collectively” (Koger 2010:22). Indeed, the Senate’s chamber time is not only fixed, but also scarce. A vast portion of its time goes to required routine business. This leaves little opportunity for discretionary activities (Walker 1977). Given that international policy matters have to draw on exactly the same remaining discretionary floor time as domestic policy, we argue that the United States sometimes delays or derails treaty ratification simply because political capital and Senate floor time are fixed and entail opportunity costs (Heitshusen 2013:4). As Koger (2010:33) argues more generally for legislation, “The expected gains from making a proposal must exceed the time and effort legislators invest in preparing it, organizing and coalition to support it, and taking the time of the chamber to debate and pass it.”

For a treaty to progress, the opportunity cost logic thus would mean that the net gains of the treaty must outweigh the opportunity costs of the advice and consent process. Thus, if the President or some Senators assign only low political value to a particular treaty or if they believe that passage of the treaty will take a lot of Senate floor time, they may decide that they would rather spend their political capital on other matters. If they think they have to fight a war of attrition to overcome opposition, this cost in terms of time and resources may tip the scales against moving the treaty forward. Under these conditions, the opportunity cost of processing the treaty may be too high for the treaty to gain attention, even if the President or more than the required two-thirds of the Senators think the treaty yields some benefits. As a result, whether or how fast a treaty makes it through the process depends on whether it has sufficient support to pass the constitutional process and on whether its value to politicians outweighs the opportunity cost of their political resources: legislative floor time and political capital.

The Fixed Political Agenda Space and Policy Priorities

Why do treaties incur these opportunity costs? Opportunity costs arise when resources are fixed and fully employed. Political agenda space is such a resource; there are only so many policy priorities a President can promote, and only so much Senate floor time to consider them. The media will pay attention to only so many issues on the Washington agenda. Both the President and the Senate must protect their legislative opportunities. They each face opportunity costs.

For the President, the transmittal process is not simple. If the United States signs an international agreement that falls under Article II of the Constitution, the President must transmit it to the Senate for advice and consent before the United States can ratify it. This process entails an analysis of the implications of the treaty including possible implementation legislation required, and the writing of a transmittal letter that serves as a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC). Because of these requirements, usually there has to be some push from the White House (Halloran 2011), and this can take precious time away from domestic legislative priorities. Thus, transmittals can be costly, especially in the face of expected opposition. Indeed, in 1995 when President Clinton wanted to transmit the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to the Senate, Jessie Helms, who chaired the SFRC, and 26 cosponsors introduced a resolution urging him to not transmit the Convention. Such opposition can be distracting or politically harmful for the President. Furthermore, because the President usually endorses the treaty in the transmittal letter, he may incur a reputational cost by transmitting treaties that stall (Krutz and Peake 2009:140). Dealing with treaties thus involves political costs, and withholding transmittal can conserve political capital.

For the Senate, floor time is of the essence. After transmittal, the SFRC must hold a meeting on the treaty, and eventually issue its own analysis and recommendation, and (if it has enough support) pass it out of committee. The treaty then has to be scheduled for debate, possible amendments, and a vote. To gain Senate advice and consent, the treaty must pass with at least a two-thirds majority. Crucial to differentiating the opportunity cost argument from a straight veto player model, the Senate rules for debate and passage enable opponents to increase the time expended on a treaty, even if they do not have the ability to vote it down on the floor. Dealing with a treaty thus ties up the SFRC time, but even more importantly, it could potentially take up scarce discretionary time on the Senate floor. Senators seek to maximize their reputational returns from the issues they spend time on, favoring issues that have broad appeal (Walker 1977:430). Before scheduling a treaty for debate and a vote, the relevant actors therefore have to consider the opportunity cost of dealing with the treaty: What else could the Senate accomplish with that time? Even if the Senate is not being productive in terms of passing legislation, what else does the Senate want to be seen focusing on at that moment? Even if there is strong support for a treaty, Senators may hold back if they anticipate serious and potentially time consuming opposition—opposition that can result in any number of procedural maneuvers that could take up costly time in the Senate. This explains why so few treaties ever take up much floor time for debate. If senators expect them to take time, they do not schedule them.

Thus, both the President and the Senate face opportunity costs of fixed resources: Presidents are concerned with “misusing” political capital and opportunities. The Senators are protective of floor time, or how they are seen to be using their time by a public foremost focused on domestic matters. At the same time, the political benefits of treaty ratification are uncertain. Treaty ratification is often invisible, because the media rarely covers such events and whatever benefits treaties may bring may never be attributed to the treaty advocates directly.

The implication of these political calculations is central to our argument: Contrary to standard assumptions of international relations, the decision to push a treaty through the advice and consent process may be less about an isolated examination of costs and benefits of the treaty itself than about the political benefit of spending time on the treaty relative to the benefit of other possible agenda activity that may produce important domestic legislation such as health-care reform, for example. In other words: Senate advice and consent and, by association, transmittal decisions depends on the associated legislative opportunity cost.

The opportunity cost can manifest itself for many types of treaties. Even nondivisive treaties require some Presidential attention and Senate floor time to move through the process (Johnson 2010), and therefore even these may fall by the wayside, which is of course even more likely to occur if they are not considered particularly vital. More important treaties might also be affected by the opportunity cost, however. Even if opponents might not command the requisite 1/3 of Senators to block the treaty, their willingness to obstruct it (even the threat to do so) may impose such high costs in terms of time that supporters are reluctant to spend time on it when they have many competing priorities. In a time-constrained Senate, minimal winning coalitions that reach supermajority status have become less important. Each piece of legislation must compete with all other legislation and having only a minimum backing can deprioritize legislation on the agenda, slowing it down (Oppenheimer 1985:410). And although the Senate can use a cloture vote to end filibustering and technically should be able to do so easily if the treaty commands two-thirds support, Senators may be reluctant to push for treaties that push these boundaries (for example, by objecting to a unanimous consent request (Heitshusen 2013:4)).

#### Opposition is guaranteed. NewSpace companies will lobby for their survival against the PTD and smear it as an unworkable doctrine.

GC 17 [GC Magazine; Autumn 2017; Business thinking, In-house management, Published by legal500; “The new space race,” <https://www.legal500.com/gc-magazine/feature/the-new-space-race/>] brett

The upshot is that the ability to engage with legislators and policymakers will be essential for the long-term viability of companies like Planetary Resources.

‘We’re seeing already that with a regulatory framework laid out for a very quickly growing and expanding sector, there’s a lot of opportunity for policy engagement. That’s equally true in other countries too, which are either enacting their first national space laws or overhauling them,’ says Israel.

Before Israel joined the company, Planetary Resources was heavily involved in lobbying the US Congress to support the Spurring Private Aerospace Competitiveness and Entrepreneurship Act – better known as the SPACE Act.

That piece of legislation explicitly granted permission to US entities to ‘engage in the commercial exploration and exploitation of “space resources”.’ But the international community remains divided over whether the SPACE Act runs contrary to the obligations imposed on the US under the Outer Space Treaty.

‘The Americans are a sovereign state and according to their international treaty commitments, it’s hard to say that their domestic law is compatible with international law,’ says Smith.

Lobbying, both at a domestic and international level, stands to become increasingly critical, particularly as the US is in the process of crafting a framework for supervising non-governmental space activities, while ensure conformity with the Outer Space Treaty.

image of cartoon Mars Rover

‘It is incumbent on Congress to use the 50-year anniversary of the Outer Space Treaty to properly determine our actual international obligations, decide if specific articles in the Treaty are self-executing or not, and ensure that our domestic policy moving forward creates an environment that provides certainty for industry while protecting our national security,’ said Senator Ted Cruz, earlier this year.

‘The design and objectives in doing this must not only be to implement the government’s obligations, but to do so in a way that is not unduly burdensome on emerging space activities,’ adds Israel.

‘This is particularly relevant when the exact contours of how the activity will be carried out are not known, which makes it imperative that the regulators do not get too far ahead of the technology and make guesses about how it will be done, what is feasible, then lock in standards that are ultimately irrelevant and unworkable.’

#### Prevents existential climate disaster.

Moncrief ’11-11 [Aliki; 2021; executive director of Florida Conservation Voters; Orlando Sentinel, “Build Back Better Act would help in climate crisis,” https://www.orlandosentinel.com/opinion/guest-commentary/os-op-climate-change-congress-act-now-20211111-44u6bgyn5fdvnp3eqievkebqpe-story.html]

Last week, Congress passed the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act. This bipartisan bill will address upgrades to things like our transportation system, rural broadband, public transit, and clean-water infrastructure. These are badly needed, overdue investments that will make our communities more resilient to the climate impacts we are already seeing. But we know much more is needed.

It’s not enough to just respond to extreme weather — we need to cut the pollution driving it in the first place. That’s why Congress must also pass the Build Back Better Act, the most transformational climate and jobs legislation in our nation’s history. By investing in clean energy and things like electric vehicles and more energy-efficient homes and businesses, we can stop making the problem worse and avoid a growing disaster. We don’t have time for half measures, and Floridians know it — more than 75% of registered voters in the state support bold congressional action on climate change.

The Build Back Better Act takes bold steps to dramatically reduce climate pollution for everyone. But it also centers those who have been disproportionately impacted by this crisis by taking steps to address the decades of unchecked environmental injustice, ensuring at least 40% of the benefits of this bill go to those communities hardest hit by pollution and climate change.

Building a clean energy economy is an investment that will pay dividends for families today and for generations to come. Preventing the most catastrophic hurricanes, floods and heat waves will help ensure that we still bring people from all over the world to our beaches, the Everglades, and every amazing destination across our state that supports our multi-billion dollar tourism industry.

And the robust clean-energy investments in the Build Back Better Act will create millions of good-paying jobs for Floridians in every corner of our state. Florida already ranks fourth in the nation for clean-energy employment, and this legislation would help this industry grow exponentially by tapping into the Sunshine State’s solar power potential.

Orlando has some great members of Congress who understand that climate change is an existential threat to our state and they ran on being a part of the solution to this crisis. Now, we are counting on them to take bold action and pass the Build Back Better Act. This is a win-win-win that creates jobs, lowers energy bills for Floridians, and begins to address the climate crisis at the same time.

#### Warming is a much higher risk of war.

Dr. Michael T. Klare 20, Five Colleges Professor of Peace and World Security Studies at Hampshire College, Ph.D. from the Graduate School of the Union Institute, BA and MA from Columbia University, Member of the Board of Director at the Arms Control Association, Defense Correspondent for The Nation, “How Rising Temperatures Increase the Likelihood of Nuclear War”, The Nation, 1/13/2020, https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/nuclear-defense-climate-change/

Climbing world temperatures and rising sea levels will diminish the supply of food and water in many resource-deprived areas, increasing the risk of widespread starvation, social unrest, and human flight. Global corn production, for example, is projected to fall by as much as 14 percent in a 2°C warmer world, according to research cited in a 2018 special report by the UN’s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Food scarcity and crop failures risk pushing hundreds of millions of people into overcrowded cities, where the likelihood of pandemics, ethnic strife, and severe storm damage is bound to increase. All of this will impose an immense burden on human institutions. Some states may collapse or break up into a collection of warring chiefdoms—all fighting over sources of water and other vital resources.

A similar momentum is now evident in the emerging nuclear arms race, with all three major powers—China, Russia, and the United States—rushing to deploy a host of new munitions. This dangerous process commenced a decade ago, when Russian and Chinese leaders sought improvements to their nuclear arsenals and President Barack Obama, in order to secure Senate approval of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty of 2010, agreed to initial funding for the modernization of all three legs of America’s strategic triad, which encompasses submarines, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and bombers. (New START, which mandated significant reductions in US and Russian arsenals, will expire in February 2021 unless renewed by the two countries.) Although Obama initiated the modernization of the nuclear triad, the Trump administration has sought funds to proceed with their full-scale production, at an estimated initial installment of $500 billion over 10 years.

Even during the initial modernization program of the Obama era, Russian and Chinese leaders were sufficiently alarmed to hasten their own nuclear acquisitions. Both countries were already in the process of modernizing their stockpiles—Russia to replace Cold War–era systems that had become unreliable, China to provide its relatively small arsenal with enhanced capabilities. Trump’s decision to acquire a whole new suite of ICBMs, nuclear-armed submarines, and bombers has added momentum to these efforts. And with all three major powers upgrading their arsenals, the other nuclear-weapon states—led by India, Pakistan, and North Korea—have been expanding their stockpiles as well. Moreover, with Trump’s recent decision to abandon the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, all major powers are developing missile delivery systems for a regional nuclear war such as might erupt in Europe, South Asia, or the western Pacific.

## Case

### underview

#### Ur shah ev – no shah goes onl ater in the article to say that this should not be used in debate round bc it’s a misrepresentation of the article. Not a warrant for aff fairness first

Shah 19 [Sachin Shah, 2019, "A Statistical Analysis of Side-Bias on the 2019 January-February Lincoln-Douglas Debate Topic," NSD Update, http://nsdupdate.com/2019/a-statistical-analysis-of-side-bias-on-the-2019-january-february-lincoln-douglas-debate-topic/]

[2] It is important to note that numbers presented in this article that use the January-February data set should only be used within the context of the 2019 the January-February topic; debaters who attempt to extrapolate this data to future topics would be misrepresenting the intent of this article. The data set that utilizes 2017-2019 tournaments could be extrapolated to future topics as it suggests a trend.

### 1nc – framing

#### Practical reason fails

#### You conflates reason as a normative justification for action as opposed to a regular motivation for action – even if we ask why it does not establish normative authority but why we are motivated to follow that action

#### Schmagency – agency is escapable since we can opt out of it – individuals can just choose to opt out of the game of agency

#### Disinterested participant – we can engage in the process of agency but apathetically i.e. I can play chess not bc of the constitutive aim of causing checkmate but because the pieces move in cool ways, which means that agency is not binding

#### No way to verify if everyone has PR

#### Internalism fails – motivation is external

#### There is a separation between moral judgments and motivation to follow those judgments – for instance, people steal out of necessity even though they may know that it is morally incorrect – thus only when reasons line up with external circumstances can they be motivating

#### Arbitrariness – the reasons for actions individuals choose vary i.e. I could choose to eat peanut butter out of hunger or boredom, which means that not all reasons are equally motivating for all agents – we need an external source that acts as an objective motivator

#### Even if internalism is true individuals are only motivated by rational self interest – moral principles are chosen out of mutual agreement i.e. when we create a principle that killing is wrong we adopt it out of mutual restraint

#### Universality fails non contradiction assumes this

#### Kant triggers permissibility- there’s no brightline for what a “general” maxim so people can tailor their maxims to be more specific, ex. Lying is bad “non-universalizable” but lying to save someones life is universalizable

#### A priori reason is impossible – knowledge is experiential since we cannot gain a concept of a thing or an idea absent an experience of it i.e. no matter how much you describe to me the sun I cannot infer qualities abt it from your definition i.e. its warmth, its brightness, etc

#### I can universalize my respect for myself but don’t have to do it for others – I can universalize our respect from ourselves without having to universalize respect for everyone

#### prefer

#### 1 – resource disparities – util ensures that we have a wide breadth of literature about the topic to read because contention level arguments are centered around current events and substantive. Outweighs because of accessibility – it might be difficult for debaters to access paywalled philosophical journals and to make sense of them, but general topic literature like news and op eds are easily accessible.

#### 2 – disgareements is j moral uncertainty again

#### 3 – even if util isnt perfect we can still have some accuracy in predictions + ai use machine learning to act which means they physically couldn’t exist if induction failed

### Offense

#### 1] not allowing appropriation exludes private companies from using that space – that maintans gov control of space for epxloration turns ur offense

#### 2] counters to ilaw NU it always happens -

#### 3] ur offense is inevitable + they creat emore conflict cuz

### Advantage

### 1NC---AT: Rivalrous Orbits

#### Tracking debris exists now and solves collisions.

**Mosher** **’19** [Dave; September 3rd; Journalist with more than a decade of experience reporting and writing stories about space, science, and technology; Business Insider, “Satellite collisions may trigger a space-junk disaster that could end human access to orbit. Here’s How,” <https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/Space_and_Defense_2_3.pdf>; GR]

The Kessler syndrome plays center-stage in the movie "Gravity," in which an accidental space collision endangers a crew aboard a large space station. But Gossner said that type of a runaway space-junk catastrophe is unlikely. "Right now I don't think we're close to that," he said. "I'm not saying we couldn't get there, and I'm not saying we don't need to be smart and manage the problem. But I don't see it ever becoming, anytime soon, an unmanageable problem." There is no current system to remove old satellites or sweep up bits of debris in order to prevent a Kessler event. Instead, space debris is monitored from Earth, and new rules require satellites in low-Earth orbit be deorbited after 25 years so they don't wind up adding more space junk. "Our current plan is to manage the problem and not let it get that far," Gossner said. "I don't think that we're even close to needing to actively remove stuff. There's lots of research being done on that, and maybe some day that will happen, but I think that — at this point, and in my humble opinion — an unnecessary expense." A major part of the effort to prevent a Kessler event is the Space Surveillance Network (SSN). The project, led by the US military, uses 30 different systems around the world to identify, track, and share information about objects in space. Many objects are tracked day and night via a networkof radar observatories around the globe. Optical telescopes on the ground also keep an eye out, but they aren't always run by the government. "The commercial sector is actually putting up lots and lots of telescopes," Gossner said. The government pays for their debris-tracking services. Gossner said one major debris-tracking company is called Exoanalytic. It uses about 150 small telescopes set up around the globe to detect, track, and report space debris to the SSN. Telescopes in space track debris, too. Far less is known about them because they're likely top-secret military satellites. Objects detected by the government and companies get added to a catalog of space debris and checked against the orbits of other known bits of space junk. New orbits are calculated with supercomputers to see if there's a chance of any collisions. Diana McKissock, a flight lead with the US Air Force's 18th Space Control Squadron, helps track space debris for the SSN. She said the surveillance network issues warnings to NASA, satellite companies, and other groups with spacecraft, based on two levels of emergency: basic and advanced. The SSN issues a basic emergency report to the public three days ahead of a 1-in-10,000 chance of a collision. It then provides multiple updates per day until the risk of a collision passes. To qualify for such reporting, a rogue object must come within a certain distance of another object. In low-Earth orbit, that distance must be less than 1 kilometer (0.62 mile); farther out in deep space, where the precision of orbits is less reliable, the distance is less than 5 kilometers (3.1 miles). Advanced emergency reports help satellite providers see possible collisions much more than three days ahead. "In 2017, we provided data for 308,984 events, of which only 655 were emergency-reportable," McKissock told Business Insider in an email. Of those, 579 events were in low-Earth orbit (where it's relatively crowded with satellites).

#### The debris propagation model is a process not an event---timeframe is decades and intervening actors check. Err neg -- this is Kessler, the guy who made that model.

Burns Interviewing Kessler **’**13 Corrinne Burns, interviewing Donald Kessler, who made up the concept. [Space junk apocalypse: just like Gravity? 11-15-2013, https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2013/nov/15/space-junk-apocalypse-gravity]//BPS

Now? Are we in trouble? Not yet. Kessler syndrome isn't an acute phenomenon, as depicted in the movie – it's a slow, decades-long process. "It'll happen throughout the next 100 years – we have time to deal with it," Kessler says. "The time between collisions will become shorter – it's around 10 years at the moment. In 20 years' time, the time between collisions could be reduced to five years." Fortunately, communications satellites are, in the main, situated high up in geosynchronous orbit (GEO), whereas the risk of collisions lies mainly in the much lower, and more crowded, low Earth orbit (LEO). But that doesn't mean we can relax. "We've got to get a handle on it – we need to prevent the cascade process from speeding up." And the only way to do that is, he says, to begin actively removing junk from space. Charlotte Bewick agrees. She's a mission concepts engineer with the German space technology company OHB System, with special expertise in space junk – specifically, how we can capture it and bring it back to Earth. While agreeing with Kessler that the movie scenario is exaggerated, she remains concerned. "Fragments of junk can naturally re-enter the atmosphere [and so be removed from orbit]. But we're at the stage where the rate of creation of new debris fragments is higher than the rate of natural removal. The orbits most at risk harbour important space assets – satellites for weather forecasting, oil spill and bush fire detection, and polar ice monitoring." Bewick highlights the case of Envisat, a defunct 8,000kg spacecraft circling Earth in an orbit that is very popular with space agencies and, hence, pretty crowded. "If Envisat collides with a piece of debris or a micrometeorite, the fragments could render the whole orbital region unusable." So can we get the junk down, I asked Massimiliano Vasile, part of the Mechanical & Aerospace Department at the University of Strathclyde and co-ordinator of the Stardust network. He told me defunct satellites in the high GEO region have, for some time, been shifted to higher "graveyard orbits" to keep them out of the way. But that's not an option for items in low Earth orbit. For this, he tells me, researchers are looking seriously into active debris removal – in-orbit capture techniques like harpooning, netting and tethering, the use of contactless systems like ion-beams or lasers, and even onboard robotics to position the junk away from high-risk orbital regions. As for middle Earth orbit – well, ideas are welcome, he says. We're in no immediate danger from Kessler syndrome – but it's not a problem that's going away. Despite Gravity's artistic license, Donald Kessler is pleased to see the phenomenon represented on the big screen. "It is very improbable that events would play out as they did in the film," he says. "But if it raises awareness, then that's great."

### AT: War (Sats)---1NC

#### No miscalc from satellite disruptions or space dust -- empirically denied. Also takes out the Russia scenario---their ev casually asserts escalation while we have examples from after their card was written that disprove it.

Mazur 12 (Jonathan Mazur, Manager Engineering at Northrop Grumman, writing in Space & Defense, from the Eisenhower Center for Space and Defense Studies. Past U.S. Actions: Redlines in Space. Space & Defense, Volume 6, Number 1, Fall 2012. https://inss.ndu.edu/Portals/97/Space\_and\_Defense\_6\_1.pdf?ver=2018-09-06-135424-147)

U.S. Reactions To Foreign Disruption Of U.S. Capabilities

In the 1970s, it was suspected that a U.S. maritime communications satellite was turned off by the Soviets when it was outside of the range of U.S. tracking stations.25 There does not appear to be any documented U.S. reaction, and I suspect there was none. In the mid-1990s, satellite hackers in Brazil began hijacking U.S. military communication satellite signals to broadcast their own information, though it took until 2009 for Brazil to crack down on the illegal activity with the support of the DoD.26 In 1998, a U.S.-German satellite known as ROSAT was rendered useless after it turned suddenly toward the sun. NASA investigators later determined the accident was possibly linked to a cyber-intrusion by Russia.

The fallout? Though there was an ongoing criminal investigation as of 2008; NASA security officials have seemed determined to publicly minimize the seriousness of the threat.27 In 2003, a signal originating from Cuba—later determined to be coming from Iranian embassy property— was jamming a U.S. communications satellite that was transmitting Voice of America programming over Iran, which was publicly referred to as an “act of war” by a U.S. official. 28 Press reporting indicates the U.S. administration was [frozen]“paralyzed” about how to cope with the jamming that continued for at least a month, even after U.S. diplomatic protests to Cuba.29 In 2005, U.S. diplomats protested to the Libyan government after two international satellites were illegally jammed disrupting American diplomatic, military, and FBI communications.30 In 2006, press reporting indicates that China hit a U.S. spy satellite with a ground-based laser. This action was acknowledged by the then director of the NRO, though the DoD remained tight lipped about the incident.31

“We’re at a point where the technology’s out there, and the capability for people to do things to our satellites is there. I’m focused on it beyond any single event.” – Air Force Space Command Commander, General Chilton, 2006 32

In 2009, a U.S. commercial Iridium communications satellite—extensively used by the DoD—was accidently destroyed by a collision with a dead Russian satellite.33 The U.S. company, Iridium, was able to minimize any loss of service by implementing a network solution within a few days.34 As of early 2011, no legal action had been taken by the company either because it is not clear who was at fault or because it might be politically problematic for the United States, which is trying to enter into bi-lateral transparency and confidence-building measures (TCBM) with Russia regarding space activities.35 Since August of 2010, North Korea has been intermittently using GPS jamming equipment, which reportedly has been interfering with U.S. and South Korean military operations and civilian use south of the North Korean border.36 Reportedly, only South Korea and the United Nations International Telecommunications Union—at the request of South Korea—have issued letters to Pyongyang demanding the cessation of disruptive communications signals in South Korea.37

It appears that the only time the U.S. military has responded with force to a disruption in U.S. space capabilities was in 2003, a few days after the start of the Iraq war.38 According to U.S. officials, Iraq was using multiple GPS jammers—which supposedly did not affect military GPS functionality. However, the U.S. military bombed the jammers anyway after a diplomatic complaint to Russia.39 The use of military force against the GPS jamming threat was possibly because the United States was already intervening in Iraq, and the bombing probably would not have occurred if the United States was not at war.

#### Congestion induces restraint, not aggression.

Bowen 18 [Bleddyn, Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Leicester; ELN; 20 Februrary 2018; “The Art of Space Deterrence,” <https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/commentary/the-art-of-space-deterrence/>] brett

Fourth, the ubiquity of space infrastructure and the fragility of the space environment may create a degree of existential deterrence. As space is so useful to modern economies and military forces, a large-scale disruption of space infrastructure may be so intuitively escalatory to decision-makers that there may be a natural caution against a wholesale assault on a state’s entire space capabilities because the consequences of doing so approach the mentalities of total war, or nuclear responses if a society begins tearing itself apart because of the collapse of optimised energy grids and just-in-time supply chains. In addition, the problem of space debris and the political-legal hurdles to conducting debris clean-up operations mean that even a handful of explosive events in space can render a region of Earth orbit unusable for everyone. This could caution a country like China from excessive kinetic intercept missions because its own military and economy is increasingly reliant on outer space, but perhaps not a country like North Korea which does not rely on space. The usefulness, sensitivity, and fragility of space may have some existential deterrent effect. China’s catastrophic anti-satellite weapons test in 2007 is a valuable lesson for all on the potentially devastating effect of kinetic warfare in orbit.

#### Their ev overhypes escalation---be suspect.

Bowen 18 [Bleddyn, Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Leicester; ELN; 20 Februrary 2018; “The Art of Space Deterrence,” <https://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/commentary/the-art-of-space-deterrence/>] brett

Space is often an afterthought or a miscellaneous ancillary in the grand strategic views of top-level decision-makers. A president may not care that one satellite may be lost or go dark; it may cause panic and Twitter-based hysteria for the space community, of course. But the terrestrial context and consequences, as well as the political stakes and symbolism of any exchange of hostilities in space matters more. The political and media dimension can magnify or minimise the perceived consequences of losing specific satellites out of all proportion to their actual strategic effect.

### AT: Space War (General)---1NC

#### No space war—interdependence checks AND commercial entanglement reduces the risk.

Bragg et al 18 [Principle research scientist at NSI, Inc. Lecturer in polisci @ Texas A&M, July 2018. Allison Astorino-Courtois. Robert Elder. Belinda Bragg. “Contested Space Operations, Space Defense, Deterrence, and Warfighting: Summary Findings and Integration Report,” NSI, <https://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Space-SMA-Integration-Report-Space-FINAL.pdf>] brett

Everyone needs space While the US may be relatively more dependent on space for national security than are other states, it is far from alone in relying on space. Nuclear armed states are dependent on space for important command and control functions, and major powers are increasingly using space for battlefield situational awareness and communications. China and Russia were identified as having significant (and fairly equal) levels of strategic risk in space (ViTTa Q16), although their regional security priorities and (to date) less spacedependent economies place them at an advantage to the US. They may, therefore, see the strategic risk of conflict is space as lower than does the US. Still, space capabilities remain a source of economic expansion and national pride for both, and their calculations of the cost of conflict involving space may include consideration of these factors. Even now, there is a general consensus that the US and other actors have more to gain from space than they have from the loss of space-based capabilities (ViTTa Q3). This suggests that, although the US is more vulnerable in the space domain than are other states, the likelihood that aggressive action against an adversary’s space assets would be reciprocated may provide a degree of security. It also creates another incentive for actors to use diplomacy and international law to reduce risk and increase transparency in the space domain.

#### Legal norms, empirics, costs.

Pavur and Martinovic 19 [James Pavur, DPhil Researcher Cybersecurity Centre for Doctoral Training Oxford University, Ivan Martinovic, Professor of Computer Science Department of Computer Science Oxford University, “The Cyber-ASAT: On the Impact of Cyber Weapons in Outer Space,” 2019 11th International Conference on Cyber Conflict: Silent Battle, <https://ccdcoe.org/uploads/2019/06/Art_12_The-Cyber-ASAT.pdf>] brett

3. STABILITY IN SPACE Given the uncomfortable combination of high dependency and low survivability, one might expect to observe frequent attacks against critical military assets in orbit. However, despite decades of recurring prophesies of impending space war, no such conflict has broken out [14]–[18]. It is true that a handful of space security crises have occurred; most notably, the 2007 Chinese anti-satellite weapon (ASAT) test and the 2008 US ASAT demonstration in response [19]. Moreover, a recent Centre for Strategic and International Studies report suggests increasing interest in attacking US space assets, particularly among the Chinese, Russian, North Korean and Iranian militaries [20]. Overall, however, the space domain has remained puzzlingly peaceful. In this section, we outline three major contributors to this enduring stability: limited accessibility, attributable norms, and environmental interdependence. A. Limited Accessibility Space is difficult. Over 60 years have passed since the first Sputnik launch and only nine countries (ten including the EU) have orbital launch capabilities. Moreover, a launch programme alone does not guarantee the resources and precision required to operate a meaningful ASAT capability. Given this, one possible reason why space wars have not broken out is simply because only the US has ever had the ability to fight one [21, p. 402], [22, pp. 419–420]. Although launch technology may become cheaper and easier, it is unclear to what extent these advances will be distributed among presently non-spacefaring nations. Limited access to orbit necessarily reduces the scenarios which could plausibly escalate to ASAT usage. Only major conflicts between the handful of states with ‘space club’ membership could be considered possible flashpoints. Even then, the fragility of an attacker’s own space assets creates de-escalatory pressures due to the deterrent effect of retaliation. Since the earliest days of the space race, dominant powers have recognized this dynamic and demonstrated an inclination towards de-escalatory space strategies [23]. B. Attributable Norms There also exists a long-standing normative framework favouring the peaceful use of space. The effectiveness of this regime, centred around the Outer Space Treaty (OST), is highly contentious and many have pointed out its serious legal and political shortcomings [24]–[26]. Nevertheless, this status quo framework has somehow supported over six decades of relative peace in orbit. Over these six decades, norms have become deeply ingrained into the way states describe and perceive space weaponization. This de facto codification was dramatically demonstrated in 2005 when the US found itself on the short end of a 160-1 UN vote after opposing a non-binding resolution on space weaponization. Although states have occasionally pushed the boundaries of these norms, this has typically occurred through incremental legal re-interpretation rather than outright opposition [27]. Even the most notable incidents, such as the 2007-2008 US and Chinese ASAT demonstrations, were couched in rhetoric from both the norm violators and defenders, depicting space as a peaceful global commons [27, p. 56]. Altogether, this suggests that states perceive real costs to breaking this normative tradition and may even moderate their behaviours accordingly. One further factor supporting this norms regime is the high degree of attributability surrounding ASAT weapons. For kinetic ASAT technology, plausible deniability and stealth are essentially impossible. The literally explosive act of launching a rocket cannot evade detection and, if used offensively, retaliation. This imposes high diplomatic costs on ASAT usage and testing, particularly during peacetime. C. Environmental Interdependence A third stabilizing force relates to the orbital debris consequences of ASATs. China’s 2007 ASAT demonstration was the largest debris-generating event in history, as the targeted satellite dissipated into thousands of dangerous debris particles [28, p. 4]. Since debris particles are indiscriminate and unpredictable, they often threaten the attacker’s own space assets [22, p. 420]. This is compounded by Kessler syndrome, a phenomenon whereby orbital debris ‘breeds’ as large pieces of debris collide and disintegrate. As space debris remains in orbit for hundreds of years, the cascade effect of an ASAT attack can constrain the attacker’s long-term use of space [29, pp. 295– 296]. Any state with kinetic ASAT capabilities will likely also operate satellites of its own, and they are necessarily exposed to this collateral damage threat. Space debris thus acts as a strong strategic deterrent to ASAT usage.

### 1NC---Circumvention

#### The plan must occur through ratifying a binding treaty, otherwise governments can re-interpret the public trust doctrine in domestic courts to get out of any obligation not to appropriate space.

#### SPACE Act proves states will reinterpret the law however they want if they’re left to implement domestically.

Durrani 19 [Haris A. \*J.D. candidate, Columbia Law School; Ph.D. candidate, Princeton University, Department of History (Program in History of Science). “Interpreting Space Resources Obtained: Historical and Postcolonial Interventions in the Law of Commercial Space Mining” <https://www.jtl.columbia.edu/volume57-3/interpreting-space-resources-obtained-historical-and-postcolonial-interventions-in-the-law-of-commercial-space-mining>] brett

This Note addresses a fundamental ambiguity in the U.S. Commercial Space Launch Competitiveness Act of 2015 (“CSLCA”). It is unclear whether the statute authorizes U.S. citizens to extract natural resources from asteroids and other celestial bodies, as is commonly assumed. Alternatively, the statute can be read to merely entitle citizens to resources that have already been obtained, where the regime for actually obtaining such resources remains undetermined. The Note resolves this issue in favor of the interpretation that best aligns with international law and policy. It first shows that the relevant elements of international law—the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 (“OST”) and customary international law (“CIL”)—do not resolve the issue. The Note then adopts a broader approach by considering the OST’s anti-imperial policy. By engaging scholarship on law, colonialism, and empire, this approach centers Global South States in space law discourse. This approach reveals two ways in which the more commonly accepted interpretation of the CSLCA cuts against the anti-imperial policy of the OST, related to the distinction between private and State extraction and to State conferral of property rights. To avoid contradicting these policy concerns, the CSLCA should be read narrowly, such that it leaves open future determination of the space resources regime. Finally, the Note offers guidance for such a regime. It argues that CIL development based on subsequent legislation or mining would let Global North States asymmetrically shape international law, which would contradict the OST’s anti-imperial policy. Instead, the Note recommends multilateral agreements that employ organizationally diverse models, which mix collective and private ownership. The Note ends by reflecting on lingering questions in the context of development and the Global South.