## 1

#### Interpetation: Precluding a future increase is not a reduction

Melinda **Harmon 12**, Judge, United States District Court for the Southern District of Texas, Houston Division, 3/6/12, Zieche v. Burlington Res., Inc., 2012 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 30134, p. lexis

Zieche contends that the Court erred when it concluded that "there was no reduction in Zieche's salary or bonus percentage" that would constitute "good reason" for his resignation. Doc. 70 at 8, 9. The Court relied on the fact that Zieche received "his full 2006 performance bonus" after he began working at ConocoPhillips and that the bonus percentage increased from 30% in 2005 to 40% in 2006 as proof that Zieche did not suffer a reduction in salary.

Zieche contends that an increase in his bonus is irrelevant to a determination of whether his salary was reduced because a "bonus is not part of the salary," but is instead [\*12] "something in addition to what is expected or strictly due." Doc. 72 at 4. Additionally, Zieche alleges that "the [C]ourt's analysis ignores the specific provisions of the retention agreement," which defines "good reason" to include "any reduction from your annual rate of base salary." Id.

Initially, although Zieche alleges that ConocoPhillips reduced his salary, he introduced no summary judgment **ev**idence to support this contention. In his Response to ConocoPhillip's Motion for Summary Judgment, Zeiche repeatedly asserts that, in his new position at ConocoPhillips, he would "**not be eligible for annual merit salary *increases***" as he had previously received at Burlington. Doc. 54 at 4 (emph. added). The summary judgment evidence before the Court included Zieche's deposition, in which he admitted that his salary "remained the same . . . up to the time [he] resigned from ConocoPhillips." Doc. 48-1 at 50 (emph. added). Nevertheless, Zieche argues that the Court unnaturally should read the word "reduce" in the retention agreement to mean "**not increase**," rather than interpreting the word according to its plain meaning. **The Court does not agree with this reasoning**, and Zieche has introduced [\*13] no evidence to convince the Court otherwise.

#### Violation: they preclude patent extensions

#### 1] Limits and ground—they allow the aff to monopolize prep by precluding a future increase anytime from now allowing affs to no link from uniqueness scenarios, delay CPs, etc which kills engageability—leads to unpredictable affs that skew the debate away from whether IP is good/bad to when a reduction should occur.

#### 2] Precision o/w – anything else justifies the aff arbitrarily jettisoning words in the resolution at their whim which decks negative ground and preparation because the aff is no longer bounded by the resolution.

#### 3] TVA—defend eliminating all secondary patents including ones in the squo—meets our interp and allows us to press uniqueness/have relevant lit discussions

#### Fairness – debate is a competitive activity that requires fairness for objective evaluation.

#### 1NC theory is DTD – a) T indicts the whole aff so DTA is DTD b) abuse is supercharged with the 7-6 rebutal time skew c) deters future abuse

#### Competing interps – [a] reasonability is arbitrary and encourages judge intervention since there’s no clear norm, [b] it creates a race to the top where we create the best possible norms for debate.

#### No RVIs – a] illogical, you don’t win for proving that you meet the burden of being fair, logic outweighs since it’s a prerequisite for evaluating any other argument, b] RVIs incentivize baiting theory and prepping it out which leads to maximally abusive practices c] Forcing the 1NC to go all in on the shell kills substance education and neg strat which outweighs on urgency

## 2

#### The subject is alienated when it articulates its desires – incomplete signifiers structure the emergence of subjectivity and produce repetitive drives to fill the lack that justify coercive violence. Thus, the ROB is to traverse the fantasy – that means exposing drives.

Matheson 15 Calum Matheson, PhD, 2015, “Desired Ground Zeroes: Nuclear Imagination and the Death Drive,” University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, [Calum Matheson is author of Desiring the Bomb: Communication, Psychoanalysis, and the Atomic Age (University of Alabama). He is a former high school debater. His research focuses on intersections of rhetoric, media, and theories of psychoanalysis and deconstruction. His current work focuses on right-wing political extremism, conspiracy thinking, and Lacanian concepts of anxiety and psychosis. He has also published work on argument, history of rhetoric, and games. Dr. Matheson is a former debate coach at Harvard University and a current candidate at the Pittsburgh Psychoanalytic Center.], <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/concern/dissertations/6682x4537>, SJBE

The Real Jacques Lacan’s notion of the Real is notoriously difficult to define. In his book on the subject, Tom Eyers calls it the “most elusive” of Lacan’s concepts, but one that is also one that is “central” and “determining” for psychoanalysis (1). There are common elements of the various definitions. First, an agreement that both the economy of tropes that allows the conditions for meaning to emerge (the Symbolic) and the meanings and values invested in these tropes, including the subject itself (the Imaginary), do not and cannot perfectly capture all of existence or experience. Second, this unassimilable remainder structures the Symbolic and Imaginary, just as they structure each other, and thus all three registers are knitted together as demonstrated in Lacan’s famous “Borromean Knot.” The Real is what escapes mediation, what disrupts language itself. To explain its significance and relationship to desire requires examining its foundational role in the formation of the subject. The Real can be understood as the constitutive lack of the subject, its separation from the rest of existence by the self-definition necessary for it to come into being in the first place. This is made clear in the mirror stage, where the subject moves from a fragmented, disorganized concept of the body to the “finally donned armor of an alienating identity that will mark his [sic] entire mental development with its rigid structure” (Lacan, “Mirror Stage” 78). The formation of a discrete subject (a function in the Imaginary register) is a compromise. Its formation allows for participation in the Symbolic because to participate in that economy of exchange requires a “social I” (Lacan, “Mirror stage,” 79). This participation comes at the cost of alienation because the subject trades in a world of symbols which by their nature stand in for what is not present, and thus inescapably mediate the (Real) world outside of the subject, rather than making it present. This lack built in to the subject is the engine of desire: the subject’s divide from an object is a prerequisite for the desire of such an object, but the condition of mediation makes it impossible to ever incorporate it in a perfectly satisfying way. Thus desire remains unfulfilled and each chase for a symbol leads to another in loop which the very constitution of the subject dictates must be endless. This is the basic operation of the death drive which is not distinct from Eros. Were the impossible to occur and the drive of Eros to be fulfilled, it would be extinguished, as there would be nothing left to desire. Thus all drives aim, in a sense, at their own extinction, and therefore there is in a sense only one—the drive that aims towards the extinction of desire through its complete fulfillment in continuity with the world that was lost when the subject became distinct from it in the mirror stage. Although the death drive might stand in for the singular character of the drive, it should not be understood as a desire for the actual biological death of the subject’s body, or even the desire to inflict death on others. The self-destruction of the death drive is a desire to break the limits of the self as the alienating armor of the subject by experiencing unmediated contact with the Real. Death still defines its operation in other ways. The last portion of Lacan’s “The Function and Field of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis” explains the metaphorical centrality of death as the center of a torus formed by incessant symbolization. The fort-da game is most significant not because it shows that the child wishes to destroy its mother or even inoculate itself against that possibility, but because it assimilates the child into the Symbolic order through the repetition of the signifiers fort and da, which stand in for presence and absence. Death is central to language because the symbol itself invokes the absence and loss of nonexistence since its function is to stand in for something that is gone. Language swirls around this absent center of death, a primordial absence encased in the inner ring of the torus, while the outer surfaces of language hold all else that cannot be symbolized at bay on the outside (Lacan, “Function and Field” 260-264). Paradoxically, death is necessarily evoked by the symbol as that which is absent and also made possible in the first place by that same symbol. The separation of the subject into its alienating identity as a social object makes a meaningful concept of death possible because without it there is no dasein, no individual, no singular human to die. George Bataille explains this with an entomological example. If a scientist picks one fly from a swarm, that fly is subject to death, because its end means the end of the discontinuous being selected by the entomologist. Without differentiation of its members, however, the swarm lives on; the selection of the fly is for the entomologist, not the animal (Bataille, “Hegel, Death and Sacrifice” 14-16). Thus it is with human beings. The subject is founded by a rejection of its sole animal nature by participating in a world of work and accumulation, mediated by language—essentially Lacan’s Symbolic. Thus individuals are made discontinuous with the general economy of matter and energy from which all things are formed by a conceptual separation inextricably bound up in death. Our existences are thus defined by discontinuity from a world of continuity, and for Bataille as for Lacan, our drives are singular in the sense that sex is a coupling that unifies with another and momentarily overcomes discontinuity just as death is the end of the subject’s brief separation from a universe differentiated only by the dismembering violence of our imposition of symbols upon it (Bataille, Erotism 13-17). The experience of death may still be unique because it suggests the absence implied by the sign and because it can be experienced only once by the subject—and for obvious reasons, cannot be symbolized by anyone with first-hand experience. As Freud argues in “Thoughts For The Times On War and Death,” we cannot even hope to imagine our own deaths because to do so demands that we imagine them from some perspective which would be destroyed in the experience itself. Death and the Real are therefore not identical, but are closely linked. The most important characteristic of the Real is not just that it suggests existence beyond language, but that this world-for-itself (to borrow from Eugene Thacker) intrudes on human reality and reveals it to be incomplete. Encompassing Max Picard’s concept of silence, the Real is not the absence of human reality so much as the traumatic revelation that that reality was always incomplete, always feigned in the face of existence so much more than human mediation has already covered. Chris Lundberg uses Lacan’s distinction between reality, being the social world of human construction, and the Real, being the occasional but inevitable failure of that reality, to develop his own distinction between failed unicity and feigned unicity. The Symbolic operates as an economy of interconnected and mutually-referential tropes weaving a kind of fabric that is the precondition for meaning, an environment in which social relationships can be understood in context. When the unified illusion of the social fails, we are compelled to stitch the tears in that fabric to maintain the world that gives us meaning (Lacan in Public 2-3). An account by Bill Laurence, the only journalist allowed to witness the Trinity test, provides evidence for this rupture and repair. While “not a sound could be heard” for the period after the flash and before the thunder, Laurence saw civilization itself collapse in an instant: The big boom came about one hundred seconds after the great flash—the first cry of a newborn world. It brought the silent, motionless silhouettes to life, gave them a voice. A loud cry filled the air. The little groups that had hitherto stood rooted to the earth like desert plants broke into a dance—the rhythm of primitive man dancing at one of his fire festivals at the coming of spring. They clapped their hands as they leaped from the ground…The dance of the primitive man lasted but a few seconds, during which an evolutionary period of about 10,000 years telescoped. Primitive man was metamorphosed into modern man—shaking hands, slapping his fellow on the back, all laughing like happy children. (12)

#### The 1AC is an ideological fantasy constructed by relentless planning at the expense of scapegoated identities, all for recognition from the Other in an attempt to fill the lack.

Gunder 05 Michael Gunder, 2005, “The Production of Desirous Space: Mere Fantasies of the Utopian City?” Planning Theory 2005 4: 173, DOI: 10.1177/1473095205054604, all brackets were in the original text, SJBE

Jouissance is one of the four structuring elements of social discourse,4 or social interactions, links and relationships, where synchronic language meets diachronic speech to evoke an effect on the Other (Lacan, 2004: 3). Zupancic (2004) associates Lacan’s (2004) theory of the Four Discourses (see Gunder, 2003a, 2004; Hillier and Gunder, 2005) with the Marxian theory of commodification and surplus-value via Lacan’s concept of surplus-enjoyment (plus-de-jouir). Lacan (2004: 111) contends that surplusvalue and surplus-enjoyment are historically equivalent, especially in the situation of the Master’s injunction of ‘No!’ in the emerging early phase of Calvinistic repressive capitalism. In contrast to the historical authority and rationality of the Master’s repressive command, late capitalism is structured under a rationality of the university or bureaucracy. Now knowledge and technology, not the Master’s injunction, become ‘agency expressing a logic of governmentality and expertise (including that of planning) that does not prohibit enjoyment, but rather channels jouissance in ways that produces a “bio-politics” (after Foucault) of an alienated subject that has no option, but to enjoy and be satisfied’ (Hillier and Gunder, 2005; McGowan, 2004; Zˇ izˇek, 2004b; Zupancic, 2004). In this regard, ‘a nation exists only as long as its specific enjoyment continues to be materialised in a set of social practices and submitted through national myths [or fantasies] that structure these practices’ (Zˇ izˇek, 1993: 202). This is taken further by the barely challenged international hegemonic discourse of global capitalization and the fantasies it induces in externally structuring the nation state’s very enjoyment (Stavrakakis, 2003a: 63; Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 61). Even the ruling British Labour government, with its ‘Third Way’, in contrast to its tradition of socialism, has placed ‘economic globalisation’ as ‘the most significant factor in shaping Labour Party thinking since the early 1990s’ (Allmendinger, 2003: 326). As McGowan (2004) observes: we trust fully in the staying power of global capitalism. The alternatives, which once seemed to be just around the corner, have become unimaginable today. The universe of global capitalism is, or so we think, here to stay, and we best not do anything to risk our status within it. Hence, we pledge our allegiance to it, and we put our trust in it. This is the fundamental mode of contemporary obedience to authority. Only by coming to understand this obedience to the dictates of global capitalism as obedience can we hope to break out of it. Global capitalism seems an unsurpassable horizon simply because we have not properly recognized our own investment in sustaining it. We see it as unsurpassable because we don’t want to lose it – and the imaginary satisfaction that it provides. (McGowan, 2004: 193) Illusion resides under this global fantasy of capital where ‘the basic feature of’ this dominant cultural imperative ‘no longer operates on the level of ideals and identifications, but directly on the level of regulating jouissance’ (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 113). Even in Lefebvre’s day, this was a capitalism where surplus-value was synonymous with surplus-enjoyment supporting the injunction: ‘you must enjoy!’. In this light, the role of planning is to facilitate enjoyment by sustainably providing the correct space – healthy, competitive, fit and attractive – where enjoyment can be effectively materialized and maximized under the imperative of global capitalism. Consequently: urbanism is nothing more than an ideology that claims to be either ‘art’ or ‘technology’ or ‘science’, depending on the context. This ideology pretends to be straightforward, yet it obfuscates, harbours things unsaid: which it covers, which it contains, as a form of will tending towards efficiency. Urbanism is doubly fetishistic. First, it implies the fetishism of satisfaction. What about vested interests? They must be satisfied, and therefore their needs must be understood and catered to, unchanged . . . Second, it implies the fetishism of space. Space is creation. Whoever creates space creates whatever it is that fills space. The place engenders the thing and the good place engenders good things. (Lefebvre, 2003: 159) This is exacerbated further in the current milieu of consumerist post-democracy personified by the master signifier: global capitalism. ‘Post-democracy is founded on an attempt to exclude the political awareness of lack and negativity from the political domain, leading to a political order which retains the token institutions of liberal democracy but neutralizes the centrality of political antagonism’ (Stavrakakis, 2003a: 59). In response to the dominant ‘logic’ of global competitiveness, the technocrats and experts including planners, shape, contextualize and implement public policy in the interest of the dominant hegemonic bloc. This is constructed under the logics and knowledges of university discourses (see Gunder, 2004), with an objective to remove existing or potential urban blight,‘dis-ease’ and dysfunction detracting from local enjoyment and global competitiveness (Gunder, 2005; McGuirk, 2004). Of course, the hegemonic network, or bloc, initially shapes the debate as to what constitutes desired enjoyment and what is lacking in urban competitiveness. In turn, this defines what is blighted and dysfunctional and in need of planning remedy. This is predicated on a logic, or more accurately a rhetoric, that a lack of a particular defined type of enjoyment, or competitiveness, is inherently unhealthy for the aggregate social body. Planners, programmers, and users want solutions. For what? To make people happy. To order them to be happy. It is a strange way of interpreting happiness. The science of the urban phenomenon cannot respond to these demands without the risk of validating external restrictions imposed by ideology and power. (Lefebvre, 2003: 141) Yet this lack and its resolution are more often technical in nature, rather than political. As a consequence, the technocrats in partnership with their ‘dominant stakeholders’ can ensure the impression of happiness for the many, while, not to mention, achieving the stakeholders’ specific interests. Material happiness for all but that evil other Lacanian theory suggests that a subject’s jouissance is given freest rein when an act of desire contains a dimension of transgression. It is the ‘little sin’ that gives the most pleasure; it is the prohibition as such which elevates a common everyday object into an object of desire (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 177). The bio-politics of contemporary planning are predicated on enjoyment – you will enjoy! – not the prior duality of repression/freedom of the Weberian capitalist master’s injunction: ‘No you cannot do that!’. The achievements of traditional utopian goals were ones of freedom to act against the repression of the negative injunction. Contemporary injunctions are to enjoy – or at least to sustain our happiness – regardless of what we actually desire. Happiness is not a class of truth, but one of an ontological class of being where: ‘happiness’ relies on the subject’s inability or unreadiness fully to confront the consequences of its desire: the price of happiness is that the subject remains stuck in the inconsistency of its desires. In our daily lives, we (pretend to) desire things which we do not really desire, so that, ultimately, the worst thing that can happen is for us to get what we ‘officially’ desire. Happiness is thus hypocritical: it is the happiness dreaming about things we do not really want. (Zˇ izˇek, 2002a: 59–60) Planning continues to succeed because it underpins the primal desire of most subjects in society for a conflict-free, safe and assured happy future, even if it can only deliver this as a fantasy-scenario of material happiness, rather than as an impossible reality that actually sates all desires (Gunder, 2003a, 2003b). This is a fantasy predicated on an obedience to a shallow consumptive quantitative imperative to be materially happy, which often occurs at the expense of our actual qualitative psychic desires. In our contemporary global society the ‘moral law’ is no longer the imperative that acts as a limitation, stopping us from enjoying too much. Instead, the cultural imperative, the now dominant moral Law itself, in its injunction for us to enjoy becomes ‘the ultimate “transgression”’ should one wish to pursue a life of moderation (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 174). Further, ‘the fantasy of a utopian harmonious social world can only be sustained if all the persisting disorders can be attributed to an alien intruder . . . a certain particularity which cannot be assimilated, but instead must be eliminated’ (Stavrakakis, 1999: 108). This is the stranger, the Other that is not us that can act as the ‘“scapegoat” to be stigmatised as the one who is blamed for our lack, the Evil force that stole our precious jouissance’ and stopped the fantasy from achieving its utopian vision (Stavrakakis, 2003a: 58). Even our ‘“complex” contemporary societies rely on the basic divide between included and excluded’ (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 86). Zˇ izˇek (2004b: 86) continues: in any society ‘there is a multitude within the system and a multitude of those excluded, and simply to encompass them both within the scope of the same notion amounts to the same obscenity as equating starvation with dieting.’ It is continually this Other that permits the delusion of harmony in our identity defining groups and for this to transpire we require an Other, external to the group for the group to define itself. We require a disparity, or gap, to allocate a degree of difference to an Other to conceptualize the group identification as who we are not and on this Other we can attribute all the signs of disharmony that jeopardize our shared fantasy (Zˇ izˇek, 1997: 5). Difference is essential to complete our fantasy of harmony, but only by providing the sacrificial Other on which we can blame the disappointment of the fantasy to deliver (Zˇ izˇek, 2004a: 158–9). In this light, planning,‘as part of the apparatus of the modern state, makes its own imprint, has its own powers for good and evil’ (Sandercock, 2004: 134). This is especially so as planning identifies, or at least names and legitimizes, what constitutes an urban pathology that detracts from what is desirous of the globally competitive city. Planning then sets out to remedy this lack or deficiency. Civil society, i.e. the public stage, and media of information dissemination are central to this process. Of course, our media are not ideologically neutral. As a consequence, media access for putting forth particular tropes of desire constitutes a central component of social, as well as economic, capital. This is well documented by Flyvbjerg (1998a) where the Aalborg Chamber of Commerce controlled the editorial content of the local newspaper. This argument is central to that of Chomsky’s (2003) multinational corporate steering of mass media content in the, so-called, ‘free’ press. This is where the mass media are free to publish almost anything, provided, of course, they do not alienate their corporate clients who provide their majority of income and profits via their advertising payments. Gunder (2003b) documented how planning actors and their affiliated partners gained public agreement via the rhetorical use of culturally shared ‘master signifiers’ and their related metonymies and metaphors. Here each signifier was linked to associations in the public’s unconscious that induced a conscious expression of desire for a particular set of values or specific consequential actions. Effective deployment of rhetorical tropes can seduce subjects ‘to relinquish previous desires (including identifications and embrace new ones) – or alternatively, to invest all the more completely in old ones’ (Bracher, 1993: 51–2). For example, does anyone wish to live in a city that is losing enjoyment to other locations because it lacks the fitness to compete? In Lacan, the construction of reality is continuous with the field of desire. Desire and reality are intimately connected . . . The nature of their link can only be revealed in fantasy . . . when harmony is not present it has to be somehow introduced in order for our reality to be coherent. It has to be introduced through a fantasmatic social construction. (Stavrakakis, 1999: 62–3) This is where, from a Lacanian outlook, by accepting rationalization as the means to fulfil a desire for completeness – via the utilization of falsifying words – ‘man does not adapt himself to reality; he adapts reality to himself’ (Roudinesco, 1997: 114). Ideological fantasies as to what constitutes an enjoyable and satisfying city are deployed to hide the dysfunctions and unpredictabilities that are ubiquitous throughout all social spheres, particularly for those lacking in sufficient capital to offset adversity. Social reality ‘is sustained by the “as if”, the fantasy of what things are like’ (Dean, 2001: 627). Rationalization, or realrationalität as Flyvbjerg (1998a) calls it, exists between the everyday activities of social life and the held universal ideals or values of what ought to be, even if it is not so, in social reality. The belief that planning is not political, but technical ‘allows the myths of objectivity, value neutrality, and technical reason to persist, and thereby fosters a certain delusion about planning practice’ (Sandercock, 2004: 134). Sandercock (2004: 134) continues: planning ‘helps to redefine political debate, producing new sources of power and legitimacy, changing the force field in which we operate’. Lefebvre suggests that planning is based on a strategy of mixing scientificity and rationality with ideology. ‘Here, as elsewhere, scientificity is an ideology, an excrescence grafted onto real, but fragmentary, knowledge’ (Lefebvre, 2003: 166). In particular, Lefebvre argues that quantitative expertise including the technology of urban planning is largely a myth. This is because planning administrators: and bad administrators at that, rarely use much actual technology. However, they have the ability to persuade the people as a whole that because these are technological decisions they should be accepted. In other words, a large part of Lefebvre’s criticism [of planners] is not that technocrats are technocrats, but that they are precisely the opposite. Technology should be put to the service of everyday life, of social life rather than being precisely the condition of its suppression and control. Urbanism, for example, is an ideology that operates under the cover of this myth of technology. (Elden, 2004: 145) Social reality can only exist in the symbolic and imaginary registries as it is composed, that is constructed, as a ‘result of a certain historically specific set of discursive practices and power mechanisms’ (Zˇ izˇek, 2001: 66). Flyvbjerg (1998a) illustrates this well in his exposé of the Aalborg Chamber of Commerce’s intervention in that city’s planning process. Here this grouping of dominant business people is given hegemonic voice to determine what constitutes acceptable transportation modes and spatial development in Aalborg’s town centre. In this example the planner’s technical facts, by themselves, produced the weaker argument. This was perhaps because the dissemination of these facts and their implications for planning action were ineffectively articulated to the public, if at all, via the local information media controlled by the Chamber of Commerce. In contrast, in Sydney, McGuirk (2004) documented how planners actively participated in and facilitated the dominant network of actors successfully pushing for a series of local, regional and national policies supporting Sydney’s global competitiveness. It appeared to be of little consequence that these policies induced adverse effects on the rest of the country, not to mention many of Sydney’s residents. Not dissimilarly, the Auckland case cited in the introduction illustrates how the planners actively consulted the dominant commercial stakeholders in developing their growth strategy, yet failed to have direct consultation with the Region’s actual residents (ARGF, 1999; Gunder, 2003a). Planners and their governance forum of dominant stakeholders appeared to inherently know what is in the best interests of their region’s residents. Planning as agonistic ethics Notwithstanding the ‘full rendering of the antagonisms which traverse our society, we indulge in the notion of society as an organic whole, kept together by forces of solidarity and co-operation’ (Zˇ izˇek, 1997: 6). Planning is one such instrument that shapes and justifies the governing ideals of utopian desire and in this ‘sphere, the fantasmatic ideal of harmony is dominant’ (Stavrakakis, 1999: 110). The subtle and not so subtle application of power defines truth, reason and rationality and this particularly comprises the deployment of power in our planning and related practices (Flyvbjerg, 1998a). Moreover, a Lacanian line of reasoning about knowledge and truth indicates that the constituting components of these induced fantasies of truth and rationality are mediated on the wants and needs of actors with the capacity to inflict their desires and wants on the Other and, as if, these desires belong to those who have been imposed on. This is via assertions of unquestionable ‘truth’, which are often supported and empowered by selected ‘distorted’ knowledge, practices and language put forward by their ideological supporters, employed professional experts and controlled media. Further, in this light traditional Kantian and related enlightenment ‘ethics is nothing more than a convenient tool for any ideology that tries to pass off its own commandments as authentic, spontaneous, and “honorable” inclinations of the subject’ (Zupancic, 1998: 41). In contrast to traditional ethics, Lacan’s (1992) theorizing may provide an alternative way to develop new values beyond those already constituted by society as traditional morals of good or evil shaping acceptable behaviours. Traditional ethics is predicated on a reality principle as to what is possible without transgression in social reality. As Zupancic (2003: 77) observes, this ‘reality principle itself is ideologically mediated; one could even claim that it constitutes the highest form of ideology, the ideology that presents itself as empirical factor or (biological, economic . . .) necessity.’ This ‘beyond good or evil’ does not have to lead to postmodern nihilism, rather Lacan lays a groundwork for an ethics of the Real, where through acknowledgement of this Real that we cannot know or articulate we can establish new ‘truths’ in relationship to the ‘good’ (Stavrakakis, 2003b; Zupancic, 2000, 2003). This is through a mechanism of ethical sublimation where we create ‘a certain space, scene, or “stage” that enables us to value something that is situated beyond the reality principle, as well as beyond the principle of common good’ (Zupancic, 2003: 78). It is the space, or stage, created when the planner, or other actor, makes the ethical decision to recommend an action or permission that is contrary to existing regulations, precedence, professional expectations, or cultural imperatives. This is perhaps because somehow for the planner, perhaps simply driven by strong feelings, the ‘correct’ and expected action is perceived as not being the right thing to do. From the Lacanian perspective of the ethics of the Real, to make the sensed wrong into a rightness is the ethically correct task, even if this requires the agent to act against what he/she thinks society expects of that actor. This act of transcending the reality principle, and being true to the actor’s desires,5 makes possible a new good, a new potential, it changes the rules as to what is possible (Gunder and Hillier, 2004: 230). ‘The ethical, then, is the constellation of events in which the subject frees herself from the symbolic law (“freedom”), commits herself to an act (“agency”), and thereby makes it possible for the law to be rethought’ (Kay, 2003: 109). The ethical ‘act is an “excessive”, trans-strategic intervention which redefines the rules and contours of the existing order’ (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 81). Viewed from this perspective, Kant’s categorical imperative must be rethought itself as purely transgressive: the ethical act proper is a transgression of the legal norm – a transgression which, in contrast to a simple criminal violation, does not simply violate the legal norm, but redefines what is a legal norm. The moral law does not follow the Good – it generates a new shape of what counts as ‘Good’. (Zˇ izˇek, 2001: 170) This is a transgression that introduces new spaces for what can be considered ‘good’ and hence a wider space for jouissance, beyond that of mere technically produced materialist satisfaction. Of course, a key question becomes: how can a credible planner, or other actor, transcend the accepted norms and expectations of a society to create a new space for a new concept of ‘good’? Further, how can one effectively and reasonably mobilize such an ethics of the Real in everyday life when it is so contrary to the consensual instrumental rationality of the modern project and its ready-made solutions, that are, arguably planning’s purpose and foundations? Planning theorists (e.g. Gunder and Hillier, 2004; Pløger, 2004) and researchers in other disciplines (e.g. Mouffe, 1999, 2000; Stavrakakis, 2003a; Thrift, 2004a, 2004b) are currently attempting to address these complex issues that essentially require new insight and perhaps even profound change in our very relationships towards social reality, itself. Further, they are attempting to do so in a manner that does not simply impose a new intransigent set of ideals to replace our late-modern cultural imperatives, but rather to encourage diverse opportunities for multiple opening in which imminence may continually occur (after Deleuze). Coherent and implementable means to achieve this desired state are yet to emerge as new knowledges and practices, if they can ever do so. Yet, this author suggests that mere awareness and articulation of the impossible implications that the Lacanian Real has on traditional rationality are perhaps one of many points of commencement. Of course, this discourse also may fall into the trap leading to transcendental idealism, i.e. a process of identifying a lack, or void, in our knowledge and practices and then presenting a hegemonic solution that must be implemented, regardless of effect and affect! This author suggests that to change social reality, to begin to question and where necessary traverse our norms and laws, while avoiding the imperative of idealism, calls for a return to agonism that reawakens the political awareness of lack and negativity in place of the technical injunction: you will enjoy! This permits a space for an inclusive acceptance of strife or agonism that does not exclude the Others’ voice attempting to articulate their desires and wants in response to the ‘irreducibility of the Real’ (Stavrakakis, 2003b: 331). Rather this re-politicization of the planning problematic from that of the technical, quantified, solution is one that values Lacan’s Real and Lefebvre’s lived space by making the ‘key “jump from quantity to quality”, from antagonisms subordinated to differences to the predominant role of antagonism’ as pure agonism (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 92). In Lefebvre’s city ‘unconscious desires and passions lay dormant, dormant beneath the surface of the real, within the surreal . . . waiting for . . . the day they can be realized in actual conscious life’ (Merrifield, 2000: 178). In this regard, rather than continuing to fill the lack generating the urban problematic and produce a largely phallic enjoyment, Stavrakakis (2003b: 332) reminds us that in Lacan’s later teachings he spoke of another form ‘of jouissance – female or feminine jouissance – which values this lack per se as something that entails a different kind of enjoyment.’ Perhaps this feminine jouissance may be more appropriate to politicize the needs and wants of lived space. Yet, to do so would require a politics that acknowledges the impossibility of the Lacanian Real. In contrast to the notion that what is meant by an utopia is an imagined ‘ideal society; what characterizes utopia is literally the construction of a u-topic space, a social space outside the existing parameters, the parameters of what appears to be “possible” in the existing social universe’ (Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 123). This proposed utopia is one that may permit, at least aspects of Lefebvre’s ‘lived space’ of the qualitative to be both visible and articulated in conscious life. Rather than contestant cities and regions competing globally under one cultural imperative to attract and retain finite capital and resources via one ‘logic’ and vision, this article calls for a planning ethos that encourages diverse groups within cities and regions to actively contest their perspectives and desires without threat of exclusion. To achieve such a state requires planning ‘to find ways of working with agonism without automatically recurring to procedures, voting, representativity, forced consensus or compromises’ that inherently exclude (Pløger, 2004: 87). This requires a planning ethos predicated on a central awareness of the irreducible Real. This is an understanding that any forced resolution always excludes a remainder, what cannot be articulated or perceived. Further, this remainder will continue to have unconscious effect in terms of what drives our materialized actions. This suggests an overt democratic planning process, representative of a society that is explicitly and overtly hegemonic for all participants, not tacitly hegemonic in its privileging of specific groups with access to power and technocratic justification that is constituted under a logic implicitly desiring social order (Critchley, cited in Zˇ izˇek, 2004b: 95). This is in contrast to the existing social reality, where political processes, such as planning, appear to strive for public participation culminating in an harmonious public consensus, when of course this is but an ideological foil that excludes in the name of a ‘general interest’ defined by a privileged few and legitimized by technocratic ‘reason’. In contrast, a strong society ‘places conflict and power at its centre’ by guaranteeing the very ‘existence of conflict’ (Flyvbjerg, 1998b: 229). Our current dominating fantasy of harmony is sustained by the illusion of continued consumer abundance produced and brought by the cornucopia of global capitalism, at least for the first world. This enjoyment of global capitalism ‘constitutes a (partial) reality with hegemonic appeal, a horizon sustained by the hegemony of an administration of desire with seemingly unlimited resources’ (Stavrakakis, 2003a: 61). Of course, resources and global carrying capacities are axiomatically finite. So perhaps must be our desires, for they can never be sated. Traversing our fundamental fantasy for harmony: a start, not a conclusion! Lacan and his followers, such as Stavrakakis, Zˇ izˇek or Zupancic, produce valid arguments for a psychoanalytically derived philosophy of reality and ideology ‘capable of theorizing the ways our deepest commitments bind us to practices of domination’ (Dean, 2001: 627). Revealing and transversing the ideological constructs that shape and structure our social reality is inadequate in itself as a mere academic critical exercise of knowledge production. This author argues that we must radically challenge our underlying beliefs for ourselves, and, in particular, not externalize them to ‘larger cultural practices and technologies’ so that hegemonic networks, or partnerships, of dominant actors, including intellectuals and bureaucratic professionals, can do our believing and desiring for us through planning and related diverse agencies of social guidance (Dean, 2001: 628). To do so we must traverse our fundamental fantasies that seek harmony and security. This article’s application of Lacan, augmented with some of Lefebvre’s urban insights, gives us a combination of Freudian and Marxist thought that is considerably at odds to that conjured up by the Frankfurt School’s vision of society as ‘a liberated collective culture’ with little space for the individual histories of unique subjects (Jameson, 2003: 8). The latter is the School, or project, drawing on Marx and Freud, which eventually created the Habermasian product of communicative rationality. This is a rationality that sought as its seldom if ever achieved ideal, to produce undistorted (ideologically free) speech acts ‘based on recognition of the corresponding validity claims of comprehensiveness, truth, truthfulness, and rightness’ constituting a basis for consensually agreement as to how we should act (Habermas, 1979: 3). Yet, as Hillier (2003) illustrates, this is an ideal of undistorted speech that is an impossibility because of the Lacanian Real and the incompleteness it always induces in language, not to mention the impossibility of absolute truth. Yet, this author would agree with Habermas’ call for the supremacy of discourse over mere technical reason. Habermas’ last two validity claims of truthfulness to our desires and the need to act in regard of what our unconscious feeling says is rightness, even if this sense is perhaps not readily justifiable with symbolic knowledge and reasoned argument, should be given due regard through our discourses. In contrast to Habermas’ validity claims of truth and comprehensiveness, Lacan’s theorizing suggests a much more fundamental contextualization of urban ideology based on the fantasies we construct to paper over the lack induced by the Real. This is a perspective that situates our very social reality, including space and social interaction, as principally constituted and composed of ideological fantasy constructs, misrecognitions and misunderstandings (see Hillier, 2003). As Jameson (2003: 37–8) observes, we owe to Lacan ‘the first new and as yet insufficiently developed concept of the nature of ideology since Marx’. Drawing on Althusser, Jameson (2003: 37–8) continues that ideology is ‘the “representation” of the Imaginary relationships of individuals to their Real conditions of existence’, so that ‘the individual subject invents a “lived” relationship with collective systems.’ This is a symbolic, materialized, relationship of practices and rituals (Krips, 2003: 149). Here, it is the desire of this Other that we fundamentally seek and wish to please as we constantly strive to return to our idealized primordial desire for infant maternal security and contentment (Hillier and Gunder, 2005). So we construct and share illusions and fantasies – ideologies – that we are somehow achieving this impossible task. It is the aggregate of these Others, and the illusions we generate about them and ourselves, that constitutes the social reality that is our lived space.

#### The 1AC’s development discourse is the projection of repetitive desires of a capitalist system- the scapegoat is created to obscure the Real- necessitating the destruction of the third world.

Kapoor 14 [Ilan; 10/2/14; Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto, Canada; “*Psychoanalysis and development: contributions, examples, limits*,” Third World Quarterly, 35:7, 1120-1143, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2014.926101] Justin recut SJKS

The blind spot on which I would like to dwell a little, however, is the continuing neglect of colonialism in mainstream development discourse. This neglect coincides with the very ‘invention’ of international development in the post-Second World War period: aid to ‘underdeveloped’ areas became vital to containing what the USA and other Western powers saw as Soviet expansionism. No wonder that modernisation theory – which pioneered development as an academic field and has anchored Western foreign policy and development institutions ever since – bears the strong imprint of such cold war politics. As several analysts have argued,26 modernisation tends to take a decidedly postSecond World War view of history, thus avoiding the history of Western colonialism. For instance, Walt Rostow’s The Stages of Economic Growth – so influential in economic and foreign policy circles – fails to deal with colonial rule in any meaningful way. It’s not that Rostow doesn’t mention colonialism at all; he does, but its significance is notably downplayed. In a short section on ‘Colonialism’, he goes so far as to state that colonies were founded for ‘oblique reasons’ and colonial subjects ‘looked kindly’ on the colonizer’s efforts to organise ‘suitable political frameworks’. 27 But such disavowal continues in various guises even today. It is visible in World Bank and International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programmes, 1126 I. Kapoor Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 which make no mention of, or allowances for, the fact that the West’s colonial plunder might have something to do with the recipient’s current socioeconomic conditions. And it is evident in World Trade Organization trade deals, which so often assume a global economic level playing field in their pursuit of ‘free’ trade, amounting to trade ‘freed’ of any past colonial entanglements. Robert Fletcher calls such persistent sanitisation of colonialism ‘imperialist amnesia’. He analyses the work of several development and globalisation pundits to drive home the point: New York Times columnist Thomas Freidman, former World Bank economist Paul Collier and economist and UN advisor Jeffrey Sachs, all of whom treat wealth accumulation in the global North or poverty in the global South by omitting consideration of the imperialist extraction of Third World resources.28 In The End of Poverty, for example, Sachs claims that ‘the combination of Africa’s adverse geography and its extreme poverty creates the worst poverty trap in the world’. 29 Vandana Shiva, struck by the glaring blind spot, takes Sachs to task, declaring: This is a totally false history of poverty...The wealth accumulated by Europe and North America is largely based on riches taken from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Without the destruction of India’s rich textile industry, without the takeover of the spice trade, without the genocide of the Native American tribes [sic], without African slavery, the Industrial Revolution would not have resulted in new riches for Europe or North America. It was this violent takeover of Third World resources and markets that created wealth in the North and poverty in the South.30 What this recurring blind spot reveals is the tendency to deny the West’s complicity (and one’s own complicity as Westerner) in the plight of the Third World. It is a tendency that, as many postcolonial critics have suggested,31 is rife within the history of Western thought, which so often represses the barbarism (colonialism, racism, violence against the subaltern and women) that founds modernity. And it is a tendency, as underlined above, which equally inaugurates the field of Development Studies, since cold war politics demanded the construction of a strong and irreproachable West, cleansed of any suggestion of complicity in Third World ‘underdevelopment’. Thus, the discourse of modernisation (in its postwar and contemporary forms) can be seen as receiving back its own message to the Third World in inverted form: it is as if it is saying ‘you need to be backward, irrational, poor, terroristic, weak, exotic, fundamentalist, passive, etc since that is my way of reassuring myself that I am civilised, rational, scientific, rich, strong, secular, active, etc’. What psychoanalysis adds to the postmodern understanding of binary construction is the dimension of the Real, which shows up here in the form of the blind spot – the element of selflimitation that one cannot really come to terms with, so one averts [selflimitation] by (unconsciously) projecting it onto the Other. To conclude this section, let me underline again how psychoanalysis can help uncover the unconscious of development discourse, pointing to the latter’s desires and traumas, which so often ‘speak’ when things go wrong (eg in the form of slips and blind spots). Thus, in the examples discussed above, the mastery, credibility and neutrality of the World Bank are tripped up by the ‘Summers memo’, revealing the Bank’s desire for free market economics, even if this means First World domination of the Third World, while the traumatic Third World Quarterly 1127 Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 inability of modernisation to face its limitations and complicities shows up in its disavowal of Western colonialism. Note that both these illustrations exemplify what is known in psychoanalysis as the ‘return of the repressed’: mainstream development’s construction of itself as rational, scientific and authoritative implies precisely the evacuation of certain desires and traumas, which ‘speak’ nonetheless, sometimes at the most inopportune moments. Note as well that, even though development’s slips and stumbles may appear ‘irrational’ (eg the ‘irrational’ implications of free market economic logic), such irrationality is the product of the excess of reason (eg development’s prioritisation of positivist economics and science), that is, its inability to come to terms with its conflicting desires (eg its desire to appear pure, yet its past yearnings for colonial plunder). Irrationality, in this sense, is integral to the very construction of a rational and scientific development discourse (in the same way that, for Lacan, the unconscious is integral to the very construction of language). Finally, note the emphasis on surface rather than depth when it comes to the unconscious: Lacanian psychoanalysis is not a ‘depth psychology’ meant to excavate unconscious desires from the recesses of the individual mind; rather than going below the surface, the point is to glean the unconscious hidden in plain view. The unconscious is thus immanent to language/discourse, visible topologically. This is why the way the Summers memo is presented (its secretive form) is more important, psychoanalytically speaking, than what is uttered in it. This is also why the slips contained in ‘population control’ and ‘sustainable development’ are outwardly visible from the start, although, as pointed out earlier, they are only gleaned retroactively, in light of the institutional machinations that stem from each. Enjoying development: understanding why development discourse endures The Lacanian concept of jouissance (enjoyment) refers not to the pleasure we derive from things but, rather, to the excessive satisfaction or kick we get from doing something transgressive, irrational or even wrong. It has been called ‘the thrill of the [R]eal’, 32 and helps explain, for example, such self-destructive pursuits as smoking and binge drinking, or such ‘extreme sports’ as bungee jumping and free diving: people do them not despite the fact that they are dangerous, but because they are. Jouissance thus involves the intense pleasure taken from pain, a kind of idiotic stupor that often makes us ask for more even though we well know the risks. According to Lacan, jouissance is the outcome of the child’s separation from the primordial (m)Other and entry into the symbolic order. This is a traumatic separation that results in deep loss (of enjoyment), a loss that we are never able to forget. The tragedy is that the loss is actually a fiction (no real primordial fullness ever existed in the first place), yet it always remains with us. We repeatedly assume fullness exists but constantly remain dissatisfied, thus turning ‘nothing into something’. 33 The promise of enjoyment is always deferred, with the result that we continuously miss our goal, yet keep coming back for more. One of Žižek’s significant contributions to political theory has been to make the notion of jouissance a political factor, showing how it is a crucial ingredient 1128 I. Kapoor Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 in the formation of political community and identity.34 For example, the deep comfort people may get from following rituals (bureaucratic or religious), or the enjoyment and thrill that may binds us together against an external enemy, help explain why institutions, nations, or groups often do ‘irrational’ things – in this case, obstinately defending bureaucratic red tape or religious identity, or engaging in aggressive racism or nationalism. Jouissance elucidates why people become so attached to cultural values and socio-political systems, and why power can turn out to be so intractable, persistent and enduring. One has trouble giving up such things as racism, materialism, sexism or religious fundamentalism because one enjoys them; they give one a certain sense of stability and fulfilment, despite the fact that (and sometimes because) one may well know they can be pernicious and cruel. As Stavrakakis points out, ‘by taking into account emotion, affect [and enjoyment]...one may be able to reach a more thorough understanding of “what sticks”: both what fuels identification processes and what creates fixity’. 35 Let me provide the following three illustrations. The first concerns the emphatically capitalist orientation of development: despite the fact that capitalism has been severely criticised – it results in socioeconomic inequality, global unevenness and ecological destruction – it is very much in the ascendancy; arguably, it constitutes the only available economic horizon today, whether in the global North or the South. From a Žižekian perspective, one of the key reasons for such tremendous success is jouissance. That is to say, people enjoy capitalism. We are libidinally bound to it because we get so much from it – cars TVs, houses, nice clothes, cheap fast-food, iPhones, etc. And capitalism, especially in its latest neoliberal phase, has been very effective in appealing to our passions. It is able to exploit what Lacanians see as our deep-seated sense of lack/loss, enabling us to fill such lack through consumerism and materialism. This means that we cannot easily postpone capitalism, since it promises to heal our ontological wound. Late capitalism’s productive engine thus depends on enjoyment-as-excess; its strength and success hinge on the extent to which it can elevate jouissance ‘into the very principle of social life’. 36 This is why late capitalist societies (whether in the West or Third World) are characterised by the normalisation of excess – the desire for the best, biggest, tallest, richest, most original; the pervasiveness of ‘super-sized’ everything, from dams and buildings to coffee and art; the orgiastic show of wealth; the rise of sexual promiscuity and ‘extreme’ sports; or the over-abundance of ‘choice’, whether in TV channels, music, restaurants or university programmes. The problem, however, is that, although capitalist development promises enjoyment, it never quite delivers: a Coke doesn’t quite quench, more wealth is still never enough and super-sized fast-food sickens rather than satisfies. But such failure is written into the very logic of capitalism. For, if an end to dissatisfaction were possible, that would spell the end of the global capitalist system. Instead, the aim of the system is always to solicit and activate desire, but never to allow it to be satiated; this is what enables ever-increasing growth, profit or market share. Capitalist development, in this sense, is driven by insatiable lack, so that, try as we may to satisfy our enjoyment, we always miss our mark. As Todd McGowan states, ‘the problem with the society of enjoyment is not that we suffer from too much enjoyment, but that we don’t have enough’. 37 Third World Quarterly 1129 Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 A second illustration of jouissance involves nationalism. Indeed, little else has been more enduring than national identifications in the development context. Appeals to national bonds were of course crucial during independence struggles across the former colonies, but they have also been a key ingredient in postindependence national politics to help unify the nation on key political issues (land reform, industrialisation or liberalisation strategies, pet or prestige development projects, emergencies, humanitarian disasters, wars, etc). What is notable is that these appeals have invariably relied, not so much on rational arguments as social passions. Nationalism operates at the libidinal level (ie at the level of our ‘guts’, hearts, affect), engaging our sense of belonging, community and pride. It relies on the (fantasmatic) promise of full enjoyment, which once again helps to explain the secret of its persistence. The problem is that, while nationalism may be able to deliver on a few of its development goals, it often leads to irrationalities and excesses. We are all too aware of stories about excessive government spending on the military or costly prestige projects (mega-dams, space programmes, state-of-the-art hospitals, etc), at the expense of, say, basic health care and education. It is precisely this that Frantz Fanon warned about in his scathing critique of the national bourgeoisie, which he famously accused of pandering to nationalist sentiment as a pretext for continuing elite wealth accumulation and ‘racket’. 38 But there is also a more sinister dimension to nationalism: its tendency to scapegoat. This is a tendency that arises as part of the very formation of national identity. To construct the nation is to appeal to what makes ‘us’ unique (our customs, culture, landscapes, food, dress, festivals, etc). It is this uniqueness that provides people with an ecstatic sense of unity and togetherness (ie jouissance). Yet, as Lacanians are quick to point out, such togetherness is a fiction, masking the lack and instability at the heart of any identity. And so, usually when things go wrong and this sense of national togetherness is threatened (eg by economic crises, recessions or internal political instability), a scapegoat is constructed – fundamentalists who terrorise us, the poor who threaten our security or environment, immigrants who steal our jobs or menace our women, the Jews/Indians/Chinese who plot to rule the world. Žižek underlines how such scapegoating allows the nation to avoid confronting its own inadequacies or contradictions by projecting them onto a stereotypical Other.39 My third, related example is about racism. Since colonial times not only has Western domination of the Third World been exercised in the socioeconomic and political spheres, but also when it comes to race. As Fanon claims, the ‘White man’ has become the universal subject or master signifier, so that being Black (or a person of colour) is only meaningful in relation to whiteness.40 From the Lacanian standpoint this implies that whiteness has been constructed as the promise of being less lacking, that is, more human and more whole.41 There is thus, as Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks argues, a kernel of jouissance in the construction of race and racism, with people of colour (and white people themselves) desiring whiteness,42 something which, it must be noted, fits neatly with the preponderant idealisation of the West in development discourse. No wonder once again that, despite the fact that people decry racism, it so obstinately remains with us. Skin bleaching (‘lactification’), the denigration of local culture in favour of all things Euro-North American, racial profiling (in policing, 1130 I. Kapoor Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 immigration), the resurgence of white supremacist movements – all speak to the jouissance inherent in racism and to persistent forms of ‘internalized whiteness’, whether in the global South or North. Žižek often associates racist enjoyment with envy, claiming that our enjoyment is always imbricated with the Other’s enjoyment, so that we can never enjoy on our own; we most often enjoy by envying the Other’s enjoyment, too.43 The creation of a scapegoat, according to him, is accompanied by anxiety about the ‘theft of enjoyment’: we cannot enjoy because the Other – terrorists who are threatening our security, foreigners who are taking our jobs – has stolen our enjoyment or is enjoying more than us. Hence, only by eliminating the Other can we recover our lost enjoyment and really enjoy (of course, no such real enjoyment exists). Such a perspective would help explain why extreme forms of racism result in the Other’s extermination (eg in the Rwandan and Armenian genocides, Bosnian ethnic cleansing, the massacre of indigenous peoples in Guatemala, Nazi concentration camps, etc). But it also helps explain more subtle or everyday forms of racism. For example, the neighbour declaring she likes family X living next door, but there’s something about them that bothers her (their noisy music, their entrepreneurialism, their body odour, their cooking smells, etc). What bothers her is (her construction of) their excess, their particular mode of enjoyment. An illustration of this in the development context is the recent discourse on HIV/AIDS. As Kalpana Wilson contends, despite the fact that the AIDS pandemic has much to do with political economy, the crisis is most often explained or rationalised (eg by Western aid agencies) in terms of ‘risk behaviours’ among ‘Africans’. 44 Wilson shows that weakened immune systems are the result not merely of the spread of a virus, but of people living in poverty, and the lack of access to cheap generic retroviral drugs (blocked by the big pharmaceuticals with the support of Western governments). That people live in poverty is the product of neoliberal structural adjustment policies across sub-Saharan Africa, which has seen reduced access to educational and health services for the poorest (especially women), and high unemployment, particularly among the ranks of former civil servants, teachers and health workers (several of whom live with HIV/AIDS). Yet the HIV/AIDS discourse tends towards a racialised stereotype on sexual behaviour: Africans lack sexual control, or African men and women are promiscuous. The consequence, according to Wilson, is a tendency on the part of Western aid agencies to target not the socioeconomic causes of the pandemic, but ‘African culture’ (behavioural modification, changes in values, etc). The stereotype of the hypersexual African is an old colonial one that Fanon famously seized upon.45 He claimed, from a psychoanalytic point of view, that it displayed a certain paranoid anxiety on the part of the coloniser about ‘African’ sexual prowess. That is, white racist repulsion was accompanied by its opposite – desire for, or sexual attraction to, Black people. And the same applies to the contemporary AIDS-related stereotype about the over-sexed African. To put it in Lacanian terms, it betrays a Western racist envy of the Other’s excess or enjoyment. The ‘African’ is constructed as possessing something we lack, which is what bothers us. But of course, what such racist constructions do is blind us to our own contradictions and deficiencies, which in this case have to do, as Wilson underlines, with Western complicities in the HIV/AIDS pandemic (support Third World Quarterly 1131 Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 for the big pharmaceuticals on restricting cheaper generic drugs, imposition of structural adjustment programmes, etc). Consequently Lacanian psychoanalysis helps us glean how such an unconscious social passion as enjoyment is so intertwined with development. Enjoyment provides for a (false) sense of satisfaction, stability and togetherness (as illustrated in the examples of neoliberal capitalism, nationalism and racism), but the excess it represents can also give way to irrational conduct (overindulgent materialism, scapegoating, and so on). Yet, whether in its positive or negative form (and often in both forms simultaneously), the notion of jouissance helps explain why things stick, why people hold on to sociocultural identifications, why such social ills as racism or rabid nationalism so obdurately persist. One last important argument: I want to suggest that it is the neglect of the passions, particularly jouissance, that bedevils the likes of post-development (hence it is not just mainstream development that has tended to disavow its psychoanalytic underpinnings, but even such non-mainstream thinking as postdevelopment). Indeed, Foucault, on whose work post-development relies, is quite critical of psychoanalysis (at least in his later work), seeing desire not as some extra-discursive passion that is repressed, but as something positively produced by discourse.46 Psychoanalysis, for him, is thus a normalising technology in the service of our disciplinary modern societies. Lacanian psychoanalysis is quite consistent with Foucault’s conception of power and discourse and how these discipline bodies, produce subjects, and shape such modern institutions as asylums, prisons, hospitals, schools, and indeed psychoanalysis.47 The problem, however, is that Foucault assumes that power produces the body without any mediation, that is, without any process of interiorisation. As Copjec argues, in ‘Foucault’s work the techniques of disciplinary power (of the construction of the subject) are conceived as capable of “materially penetrat[ing] the body in depth without depending even on the mediation of the subject’s own representations. If power takes hold on the body, this isn’t through its having first to be interiorized into people’s consciousness”.’ 48 For Lacanians it is precisely desire (growing out of enjoyment) that fixes the subject (however precariously and contingently), explaining how we both (mis) perceive power and become libidinally invested in it. And such desire/enjoyment is not discursively produced, as Foucault would have it, but as noted above is an inherent excess or an extimate core (the Real) to any discourse; it is the result of the insubstantial loss that arises the moment we enter language. Thus, the problem with Foucault, according to Copjec, is his refusal of any type of transcendence (not even the internally external transcendence envisaged by Lacan): his historicist discursivism ends up reducing society to power–knowledge relationships. But because power is always immanent for Foucault, his is a historicism which can neither account for itself (how does one apprehend power/discourse if one is always within it?) nor explain how social orders persist (or can be changed).49 Post-development shares several of the same problems. Drawing primarily on Foucault, post-development analysts such as Arturo Escobar and James Ferguson have focused on the construction of discourses about the Third World and their attendant disciplinary mechanisms. Escobar, for example, examines how development discourse is produced through the problematisation of issues 1132 I. Kapoor Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 (eg ‘poverty’) and the consequent professionalisation and institutionalisation of knowledge, which end up controlling and regulating people and communities.50 Ferguson, for his part, underlines how knowledge is simplified and depoliticised as a way of aggrandising institutional authority, so much so that, even when development projects fail, they can help expand bureaucratic power.51 But the problem with such analyses is that they inadequately grapple with human/social passions, failing to confront the psychic inclinations that support development discourses. In Escobar’s case there is no explanation of how power is mediated at the level of the subject, or why people so often acquiesce in, say, neoliberal discourse (as highlighted earlier). In fact, Escobar has been criticised precisely for a facile anti-development stance, with critics pointing out that many communities (including opposition groups) often fight for development (eg more jobs, even if they are low-paid, and better access to health, education, etc).52 Jonathan Rigg contends, for example, that in Southeast Asia many groups have ‘climbed aboard the modernization bandwagon, whether they be for or against it’. 53 Similarly, while Ferguson’s is a fascinating analysis of institutional power, he reduces the bureaucratic space to the power–knowledge relationships within it. There is no consideration of institutional desire – the ways in which, for instance, development administrators may obtain a certain reassurance and stability from following bureaucratic procedures and rules, or enjoy the prestige (and in the development context, benevolence) of their bureaucratic position and the discretionary power that comes with it. This would certainly explain more adequately why institutional power is able to sustain itself: it is not only produced discursively in an almost impersonal and anonymous way (ie an anti-politics machine), but is able to take hold and expand through libidinal attachments.54 Development as fantasy: doing ideology critique It is Žižek who has almost single-handedly renewed current interest in ideology. Given the Lacanian position that reality is always ruptured by gaps and contradictions (ie the Real), ideology, according to Žižek, is that which attempts to cover up these contradictions, to obscure the Real.55 In this sense reality is thoroughly ideological, with ideology serving as a way for it to escape its traumatic core and ideology critique constantly trying to focus attention back on this escape/trauma. Thus, in the case of (the ideology of) nationalist racism discussed above, we saw how a scapegoat was produced to cover up, and divert attention away from, the nation’s internal troubles (the Real). Here, the underlying ideological fantasy is that, once the scapegoat is removed or eliminated, the nation will recover its (impossible) harmony. Note that Žižek’s position on ideology differs from the Marxist one, which implies a privileged, neutral point from which one can distinguish between ‘objective reality’ and ‘false consciousness’. For Žižek we are all ideologically produced, so there is no question of being outside ideology. Rather, what we can do in terms of ideology critique is to try and detect, in the manner of the psychoanalyst, the gaps in ideologically constructed reality, gaps which, as we have seen, show up as slips, blind spots, symptoms, irrationalities. Ideology critique is therefore possible only from within the belly of the beast, so to speak. Third World Quarterly 1133 Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 Note as well that ideological fantasies secure our consent and compliance through desire (and enjoyment).56 In fact, as Žižek points out, fantasy is the mise-en-scène for desire: it helps make reality smooth, coherent and harmonious, protecting us from trauma or lack, gentrifying turbulence or negativity, and promising a world that is more bearable, attractive and enjoyable. Fantasy thus animates and manages desire; it teaches us how to desire.57 But just as fantasy can never live up to its promises (because no fullness exists), so desire is never satiated; it is condemned to repetition and failure in search of the missing object. Let me illustrate by examining a couple of development’s ideological fantasies. To begin, the very discourse of ‘poverty’, upon which development centres, is ideological. Indeed, poverty discourse typically constructs the Third World as underdeveloped and backward, as though such ‘underdevelopment’ is a fait accompli. By so isolating underdevelopment and poverty, the discourse mystifies the close relationship between surplus extraction and impoverishment, wherein wealth in some parts of the world (ie the affluent centres of the global North and South) is the historical result of the pauperisation of others.58 Hence poverty discourse simplifies and de-historicises inequality by privileging the ‘now’ of poverty, thus eliding the Real – in this case, continuing forms of elite domination, particularly the West’s (neo)colonial immiseration of the Third World. (Note that this is the same traumatic Real that, as pointed out earlier, modernisation tries to escape by disavowing Western colonial history.) It is worth reflecting on the desires elicited by such an ideological fantasy. A typical response to the mis-en-scène of (Third World) poverty is to blame this ‘backwardness’ on individuals and values – rogue civil servants, corrupt leaders, uneducated or irresponsible mothers, ‘ethnic’ or ‘traditional’ practices – so that the solution becomes the need/desire for better (ie modern, Western-style) leadership, norms and codes of conduct. A distinct moral righteousness pervades such a discourse, with experts and elites standing as arbiters of the ‘right’ values and ‘good’ governance. Ideologies and moralising discourses such as that of poverty are most successful when they are able to depoliticise desires, precisely in order to avoid coming too close to the Real. It would be much too risky – and traumatic – for the discourse of poverty to be staged in terms of inequality, for this would doutbless animate the desire to problematise (if not eliminate) the relationship between wealth accumulation and pauperisation. This is no doubt why it is the discourse of poverty, not inequality, that is so hegemonic in development, reflecting elites’ desires to maintain the status quo. A second prevalent ideological fantasy is neoliberalism, with which, for all intents and purposes, mainstream capitalist development is closely associated these days. Neoliberalism proposes that market mechanisms maximise human well-being and are ideal for addressing social and political problems. It promises that everyone wins, and anyone can ‘make it’. 59 We have already seen how such an ideological system binds people to it by seducing them (through jouissance); it creates a series of lacks, and through a cycle of satisfaction–disappointment (and hence postponement) is able to endlessly stimulate and redirect our desires (for consumption, wealth, jobs, etc). But in pledging to eliminate our ontological loss, in vowing to make us whole, the neoliberal fantasy conceals a lot. It hides the rapaciousness of 1134 I. Kapoor Downloaded by [York University Libraries] at 10:45 02 October 2014 markets, which have led to global ecological crisis and growing inequalities and unevenness.60 It disavows the large reserve army of (sweatshop) labour upon which the smooth functioning of global capital depends. And it ignores how the neoliberal gutting of state social programmes has hit hardest those most in need (women, the unemployed, migrants, racialised minorities). Neoliberal capitalism is founded on the gentrification of, and inability to acknowledge, its contradictions and deficiencies. What can be gleaned from the above is that Žižekian ideology critique involves two complementary steps.61 The first is about examining how an ideological fantasy is constructed and what it is trying to hide or disavow. Often this means identifying the fantasy’s master signifiers, taken-for-granteds or ‘sublime objects’ (in the above two examples: ‘poverty’, ‘corruption’, ‘free market’, ‘growth’). Moreover, this means locating the ideology’s Real, that is, what it is trying to render invisible or unutterable (eg inequality, the relationship between poverty and wealth accumulation, sweatshop labour). But detecting the holes and traumas within our knowledge systems is not nearly enough. This is because of what Žižek calls the ‘fetishistic disavowal’, according to which we can know, but still continue to do.62 The problem is evident in, say, global hedge fund managers guiltily regretting the industrial layoffs caused by their own financial speculation, yet continuing their business as usual; or critical TV audience members decrying product advertising but still engaging in consumerism and shopping. The strength of ideology, according to Žižek, lies in allowing us a certain ironic distance, which makes us think we know better and can rise above ideology. In contrast to those who maintain that having the information and ‘exposing the facts’ are sufficient to undermine power, Žižek argues emphatically that, most often, it is not a lack of knowledge that is the problem, but our unconscious commands and passions that bind us to ideology despite critical distance. Acknowledging and tracking the desires and enjoyment we invest in ideology, then, is a crucial second procedure for ideology critique. It means ‘articulating the way in which...an ideology implies, manipulates, produces a pre-ideological enjoyment structured in fantasy’. 63 This is precisely why I have been arguing for the importance of psychoanalysis in development: to better identify and come to terms with our libidinal attachments and the lure of development’s many sublime objects and fantasies. Psychoanalysis tells those of us who work in this field that we do not necessarily know our interests. Our libidinal attachments so often circumscribe our thinking and actions. This is why, despite the fact that we may be critical of or despondent about development, we buy into such development fantasies as ‘doing good’ or ‘free markets’, which often screen our lacks and anxieties (about social injustice, inequality, or our own complicities as Westernised elites) and set off our desires (eg to help, to save the Other, to donate money to charity, or to call for the privatisation of public services).

#### The repetition of drives makes life the enemy and causes extinction

Themi 08 (Tim, Prof @ Deakin U, “How Lacan’s Ethics Might Improve Our Understanding of Nietzsche’s Critique of Platonism: The Neurosis & Nihilism of a ‘Life’ Against Life,” *Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy* 4.1-2, 2008) SJBE, recut from Harvard BoSu

For to circle in too close to the Thing which is ethically forbidden by our reality principles––yet too the real truth of much desire––does hardly give us pleasure at all but anguish of the heaviest kind. Even if done so only as a thought experiment; as a free-association. So go there we generally don’t, and our ‘realities’ reflect as much. But henceforth when desire builds up, damns and flares return of the Thing: this is how Lacan specifically characterises the move we might make that goes beyond the pleasure principle, whose other name for Freud is ‘death-drive’. There where there is no, not pleasure yet jouissance in the transgression that the Thing would bring, a jouissance of transgression which Lacan suggests is the most direct satisfaction of a drive humanly possible[48]. But it’s also one perhaps unconsciously masochistic, that which Freud writes up as being only preliminarily sadistic, in eventually expressing itself as an “unconscious need for punishment”[49]. And if indeed we are feeling guilty, then we may yet still seek to pay the price. Why? For unknowingly possessing and inadvertently re-accessing this Thing in our real, beyond the pleasure-reality principle, our moral transgressions casting shadow long into the unconscious we know next to nothing about, and refuse even to acknowledge.¶ Could it not be thusly then that our time is behind now a sadomasochistic, wilfully ignorant drive towards death for nigh the entire species? Such punishment would too overly suffice, to be sure, for even a two-millennium length in repression…¶ But with our advancements in technological power outmatching by far any correlative advance in the awareness gained as a whole of our prehistoric Thing within: the great 21st century ecological disaster that too many academics and activists now increasingly predict, seems more than just a little possible. But to this increasingly macabre scenario, we must also add the renewed proliferation of nuclear weapons which occurs, no less, amidst a world where vital resources for energy and democracy are wearing thin[50]. For just such reasons, wilful ignorance of the Thing now bares results which Lacan’s Ethics reveals as far too terrifyingly possible to rationally accept; given that we have the Thing armed to the teeth now from that primitive id-like part of the brain, with no Sovereign Good, and all the way into a nuclear age.¶ CONCLUSION: THE NEUROSIS & NIHILISM OF A ‘LIFE’ AGAINST LIFE.¶ This is why Lacan proposes that his enquiry into ethics must be one to go “more deeply into the notion of the real”(LE:11). Further into what he would rather call the real, given that previous notions of ‘nature’ have been too far ‘different’––from being far too Platonic––than his own; and because it’s the very exclusions in these previous notions which upon return, as return of excess, are yielding our most tragic problems.¶ Today when faced with problems of the magnitude of global warming––a special but by no means solo case of adverse environment change at present due to our physical treatment of the planet––we often think the answer is to be more moral, more good, and we are thankful when exponents of the Good in some way bring attention to the problem. However, the idea of the Good as introduced by Plato, and nigh all of its descendants whether secular, rationalist, religious or not, continue to predicate themselves on a radically false picture of the human-condition: if not still of the entire cosmos––which only then lines itself up aside of an age-old repression, a repression of das Ding, that Freudian Thing in our inner real which, when it returns after being disavowed and denied in the name of the Good too long, is even more devastating.¶ Presently we are accelerating along the path of what Lacan discloses as our civilisation’s “race towards destruction”, a “massive destruction”, “a resurgence of savagery”, snaking the paths traced out before us by the centuries long dominion of Western morality [51]; and the nihilism detected by Nietzsche before the turn of the 20th has never threatened to reach such the grand finale. But what I would have us take from this enquiry here is that this is not because we aren’t in accordance enough with a moral ideal of the Sovereign good, but rather, it’s because we aren’t in accordance enough with a proper understanding of the real. It’s because we still at some level think that being more moral, in accordance with the Good’s inherited repressive structures towards our drives, desire, and truthfulness about the real, is actually the answer to––rather than the source of––our most tragic problems.¶ The goal here is by no means then to encourage all to let their Things run wild––which would probably be nothing short of an instant conflagration––but this is why and precisely why we must desist from deluding ourselves under the tightening grip of a Sovereign Good, for this is precisely the move which cuts the Thing loose after pressing down for far too long, a slippery hand’s palming on the coils of a spring, forever readying the subsequent explosion. For when that which is really real––as opposed to what Christian-Platonism falsely called the ‘real’––is forced from mind, it can’t really disappear because it is real, and it tends to end up only in our gun-sights as an imaginary overlaying of an external other, when the signifier ‘enmity’ appears. The earth itself can even seem like the enemy after while, one which like Plato in his Phaedo, we might think then to escape from “as if from a prison”, and especially from “the bonds of the body”, in the hope that we may live one day without the earthly altogether[52]. Following such negations to their logical conclusion, life itself becomes enemy too, for as being made up of the earthly and organic, life could never be free of what it is in essence. And what is the death-drive Freud tells from the start, if not to return us sundry to that dust-bowl of the inorganic; as per that “second death”[53] fantasm Lacan salvages from the Monstre de Sade, which wills to go beyond the destruction of mere beings, by destroying too the principle from which fresh sets could emerge. Such negative devaluations of our earthly, organic life though are really of our own construction: as de Sade, like any pervert, is only the mirror which shows expressed what Platonic-neurotics are but hide inside––a cess-pit of loathing contempt for life, built up from the unconscious and disowned, distorted and damned up, built up, instinctual-ideational elements of their own subjective psyches, phobically ferocious of that Thingly real lying not so dormant, and readying within…¶ But is it now still possible as Nietzsche teaches to say ‘Yes’ to the real of nature both without and within––to return to it!––even though it is more frightful and we are less guaranteed protection of it than the Platonic history of metaphysicians taught? For with the further disclosures of The Ethics of Psychoanalysis––Lacan’s following up and extension of the meta-ethical implications of Freud: perhaps even Nietzsche, our great intellectual übermensch, may too have bitten off more snake-head than he could chew? From certain moments in Nietzsche’s texts we can perhaps interpret that he may have had this Thing in his sights, but saw nothing much to come of it, so instead, elected to turn away, though not without some perhaps hinted at self-amusement.[54]¶ But with psychoanalysis, rightly or wrongly, such truths are out. It doesn’t seem all positive at first, and perhaps it never entirely will. But we must not let this deeper disclosure desist us now from the core Nietzschean project of locating and overcoming the nihilism which begs us to take cover in idealising fictions, as if life as life is not worth living. Not because nihilism and the annihilation of the species is wrong in the sense of being immoral, but rather because it is bad art, mediocre art, and the ‘knowledge’ claims it trumpets on should only make us flare. If we are at our full intellectual and creative will to power, we can only consider such cultural-civil regressions as we saw on display with that whole propaganda comedy that surrounded the war for more oil in Iraq as infantile; the hapless results of sibling rivalries gone too far astray. But we must also resist being caught up in the imaginary of those who would only re-preach to us now of a return to the Good, who would only redeploy such versions of nihilism’s precursory defensive fictions, the pernicious ones, which would only then re-falsify our data, and leave us disappointed when the truth then re-emerges. Doing more harm than good does Platonism in the end by leaving us untrained for the real, with the habit instead to take some truth as ‘error’, and error as ‘truth’––as ‘real’––to the point even of epistemic dysfunction. Take the grotesque intellectual poverty of that whole Christian middle-ages for example, whence put into relation with the heights of Aristotle and his fellow Greeks, as Augustine and Aquinas amplified some of the worst bits of Platonism, and threw the rest into abyss.¶ The overcoming of the moralising good of Christian-Platonism though does by no means imply then a subsequent affirmation of all that brutal Roman like greed, slavery, decadence, circus-bread corruption and mindless colonial expansion that we’ve heard all about, and are hardly so free of with our corporate today––just ask a Latin-American for instance![55] For it is possible within the perspectives opened up by Nietzsche, Freud, Lacan, as Silvia Ons puts it, to view a social-historical or individual neurosis of any kind: including the expressed acted-out, perverse-sadistic form that escapes when the Good is temporarily loosed of its repressive grip––and say to the would be Platonist: ‘No, not that, that’s not a cure, that’s a mirage; that’s sheer fantasy, resentment, spite; that’s not a cure it will only make things worse; worse in a different way, but worse nonetheless!’¶ By greater mindfulness then, with guided affirmation towards even that fearsome Freudian Thing that The Ethics of Psychoanalysis has us find now in our inner natures: we can eventually again say ‘Yes’-to-life in such the way that it overcomes the nihilism of not caring too much whether we as individuals or species live or die, whether we as culture or civilisation advance or decline. But we can only do this with fullest efficacy by freeing ourselves of all that wasted neurosis sickness that feels it must deny our Thing like aspect of the real: because from all those Christian-Platonic prejudices of the Good, it has been taught that such ‘things’ are too far beneath it. We must continue instead to train ourselves to stare the real directly in the face, without flinching, and that’s all we can do at least to start. For unless we can continue to utilise, sublimate, enjoy and get a positive, well-guided jouissance out of all aspects of life––including that Freudian Ding in our real––then the chances are we’re going to be at least in part, happy enough in no longer living it: offering not even a puff of genuine political praxis! We either face up to the death-drive snaking long beneath the dank, hidden history of the un-real, anti-real Good of Platonism––or let the disowned, un-understood drive resurge of its own volition until it accidentally finishes us!

#### Vote negative to embrace the lack – this requires being open to the anxiety that occurs from an encounter with the other and breaks down fantasy and drives.

McGowan 13 Todd McGowan, 2013, “Enjoying What We Don’t Have: The Political Project of Psychoanalysis,” University of Nebraska Press/Lincoln and London, SJBE

The alternative — the ethical path that psychoanalysis identifies — demands an embrace of the anxiety that stems from the encounter with the enjoying other. If there is a certain ethical dimension to anxiety, it lies in the rela- tionship that exists between anxiety and enjoyment. Contra Heidegger, the ethics of anxiety does not stem from anxiety’s relation to absence but from its relation to presence — to the overwhelming presence of the other’s enjoyment. In some sense, the encounter with absence or nothing is easier than the encounter with presence. Even though it traumatizes us, absence allows us to constitute ourselves as desiring subjects. Rather than producing anxiety, absence leads the subject out of anxiety into desire. Confronted with the lost object as a structuring absence, the subject is able to embark on the pursuit of the enjoyment embodied by this object, and this pursuit provides the subject with a clear sense of direction and even meaning. This is precisely what the subject lacks when it does not encounter a lack in the symbolic structure. When the subject encounters enjoyment at the point where it should encounter the absence of enjoyment, anxiety overwhelms the subject. In this situation, the subject cannot constitute itself along the path of desire. It lacks the lack — the absence — that would provide the space through which desire could develop. Consequently, this subject confronts the enjoying other and experiences anxiety. Unlike the subject of desire — or the subject of Heideggerean anxiety — the subject who suffers this sort of anxiety actually experiences the other in its real dimension.¶ The real other is the other caught up in its obscene enjoyment, caught up in this enjoyment in a way that intrudes on the subject. There is no safe distance from this enjoyment, and one cannot simply avoid it. There is nowhere in the contemporary world to hide from it. As a result, the contem- porary subject is necessarily a subject haunted by anxiety triggered by the omnipresent enjoyment of the other. And yet, this enjoyment offers us an ethical possibility. As Slavoj Žižek puts it, “It is this excessive and intrusive jouissance that we should learn to tolerate.”27 When we tolerate the other’s “excessive and intrusive jouissance” and when we endure the anxiety that it produces, we acknowledge and sustain the other in its real dimension.¶ Tolerance is the ethical watchword of our epoch. However, the problem with contemporary tolerance is its insistence on tolerating the other only insofar as the other cedes its enjoyment and accepts the prevailing symbolic structure. That is to say, we readily tolerate the other in its symbolic dimen- sion, the other that plays by the rules of our game. This type of tolerance allows the subject to feel good about itself and to sustain its symbolic identity. The problem is that, at the same time, it destroys what is in the other more than the other — the particular way that the other enjoys.¶ It is only the encounter with the other in its real dimension — the encounter that produces anxiety in the subject — that sustains that which defines the other as such. Authentic tolerance tolerates the real other, not simply the other as mediated through a symbolic structure. In this sense, it involves the experience of anxiety on the part of the subject. This is a difficult posi- tion to sustain, as it involves enduring the “whole opaque weight of alien enjoyment on your chest.”The obscene enjoyment of the other bombards the authentically tolerant subject, but this subject does not retreat from the anxiety that this enjoyment produces. If the embrace of the anxiety that accompanies the other’s proximate enjoyment represents the ethical position today, this does not necessarily provide us with an incentive for occupying it. Who wants to be ethical when it involves enduring anxiety rather than finding a way — a drug, a new authority, or something — to alleviate it? What good does it do to sustain oneself in anxiety? In fact, anxiety does the subject no good at all, which is why it offers the subject the possibility of enjoyment. When the subject encounters the other’s enjoyment, this is the form that its own enjoyment takes as well. To endure the anxiety caused by the other’s enjoyment is to experience one’s own simultaneously. As Lacan points out, when it comes to the enjoyment of the other and my own enjoyment, “nothing indicates they are distinct.” Thus, not only is anxiety an ethical position, it is also the key to embracing the experience of enjoyment. To reject the experience of anxiety is to flee one’s own enjoyment.¶ The notion that the other’s enjoyment is also our own enjoyment seems at first glance difficult to accept. Few people enjoy themselves when they hear someone else screaming profanities in the workplace or when they see a couple passionately kissing in public, to take just two examples. In these instances, we tend to recoil at the inappropriateness of the activity rather than enjoy it, and this reaction seems completely justified. The public display of enjoyment violates the social pact with its intrusiveness; it doesn’t let us alone but assaults our senses. It violates the implicit agreement of the public sphere constituted as an enjoyment-free zone. And yet, recoiling from the other’s enjoyment deprives us of our own.¶ How we comport ourselves in relation to the other’s enjoyment indi- cates our relationship to our own. What bothers us about the other — the disturbance that the other’s enjoyment creates in our existence — is our own mode of enjoying. If we did not derive enjoyment from the other’s enjoyment, witnessing it would not bother us psychically. We would sim- ply be indifferent to it and focused on our own concerns. Of course, we might ask an offending car radio listener to turn the radio down so that we wouldn’t have to hear the unwanted music, but we would not experience the mere exhibition of alien enjoyment through the playing of that music as an affront. The very fact that the other’s enjoyment captures our attention demonstrates our intimate — or extimate — relation to it. This relation becomes even clearer when we consider the epistemo- logical status of the enjoying other. Because the real or enjoying other is irreducible to any observable identity, we have no way of knowing whether or not the other really is enjoying. A stream of profanity may be the result of someone hurting a toe. The person playing the car radio too loud while sitting at the traffic light may have simply forgotten to turn down the radio after driving on the highway. Or the person may have difficulty hearing. The couple’s amorous behavior in public may reflect an absence of enjoyment in their relationship that they are trying to hide from both themselves and the public.¶ Considering the enjoyment of the other, we never know whether it is there or not. If we experience it, we do so through the lens of our own fantasy. We fantasize that the person blasting the radio is caught up in the enjoyment of the music to the exclusion of everything else; we fantasize that the public kisses of the couple suggest an enjoyment that has no concern for the outside world. Without the fantasy frame, the enjoying other would never appear within our experience.¶ The role of the fantasy frame for accessing the enjoying other becomes apparent within Fascist ideology. Fascism posits an internal enemy — the figure of the Jew or some analogue — that enjoys illicitly at the expense of the social body as a whole. By attempting to eliminate the enjoying other, Fascism hopes to create a pure social body bereft of any stain of enjoy- ment. This purity would allow for the ultimate enjoyment, but it would be completely licit. This hope for a future society free of any stain is not where Fascism’s true enjoyment lies, however. Fascists experience their own enjoyment through the enjoying other that they persecute. The enjoy- ment that the figure of the Jew embodies is the Fascists’ own enjoyment, though they cannot avow it as their own. More than any other social form, Fascism is founded on the disavowal of enjoyment — the attempt to enjoy while keeping enjoyment at arm’s length. But this effort is not confined to Fascism; it predominates everywhere, because no subjects anywhere can simply feel comfortable with their own mode of enjoying.¶ The very structure of enjoyment is such that we cannot experience it directly: when we experience enjoyment, we don’t have it; it has us. We experience our own enjoyment as an assault coming from the outside that dominates our conscious intentions. This is why we must fantasize our own enjoyment through the enjoying other. Compelled by our enjoyment, we can’t do otherwise; we act against our self-interest and against our own good. Enjoyment overwhelms the subject, even though the subject’s mode of enjoying marks what is most singular about the subject.¶ Even though the encounter with the enjoying other apprehends the real other through the apparatus of fantasy, this encounter is nonetheless genuine and has an ethical status. Unlike the experience of the nonexistent symbolic identity, which closes down the space in which the real other might appear, the fantasized encounter with the enjoying other leaves this space open. By allowing itself to be disturbed by the other on the level of fantasy, the subject acknowledges the singularity of the real other — its mode of enjoying — without confining this singularity to a prescribed identity.¶ The implications of privileging the encounter with the disturbing enjoy- ment of the real other over the assimilable symbolic identity are themselves disturbing. The tolerant attitude that never allows itself to be jarred by the enjoying other becomes, according to this way of seeing things, further from really encountering the real other than the attitude of hate and mis- trust. The liberal subject who welcomes illegal immigrants as fellow citizens completely shuts down the space for the other in the real. The immigrant as fellow citizen is not the real other. The xenophobic conservative, on the other hand, constructs a fantasy that envisions the illegal immigrant awash in a linguistic and cultural enjoyment that excludes natives. This fantasy, paradoxically, permits an encounter with the real other that liberal tolerance forecloses. Of course, xenophobes retreat from this encounter and from their own enjoyment, but they do have an experience of it that liberals do not. The tolerant liberal is open to the other but eliminates the otherness, while the xenophobic conservative is closed to the other but allows for the otherness. The ethical position thus involves sustaining the liberal’s toler- ance within the conservative’s encounter with the real other.

## Case

The 1ac was unclear so don’t let the 1ar get away with blippy bad unclear arguments- hold the line for the 2ar

### TL

#### Fiat is a voting issue:

**[A] The practice of fiat is ludicrous – nothing they say can be methodologically actualized, making it intellectually meaningless and a bad model for debate – vote neg on presumption.**

**Schlag 90** SCHLAG, PROFESSOR OF LAW @ UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, 90 (PIERRE, STANFORD LAW REVIEW, NOVEMBER) SJCP//JG

In fact, normative legal thought is so much in a hurry that it will tell you what to do even though there is not the slightest chance that you might actually be in a position to do it.  For instance, when was the last time you were in a position to put the difference principle   n31 into effect, or to restructure  \*179  the doctrinal corpus of the first amendment? "In the future, we should. . . ." When was the last time you were in a position to rule whether judges should become pragmatists, efficiency purveyors, civic republicans, or Hercules surrogates?  Normative legal thought doesn't seem overly concerned with such worldly questions about the character and the effectiveness of its own discourse.  It just goes along and proposes, recommends, prescribes, solves, and resolves.  Yet despite its obvious desire to have worldly effects, worldly consequences, normative legal thought remains seemingly unconcerned that for all practical purposes, its only consumers are legal academics and perhaps a few law students -- persons who are virtually never in a position to put any of its wonderful normative advice into effect.

#### [B] Cruel optimism— assumes the ability for an ideal world to actualize, which allows students to generate affective bonds to that world—the inevitable non-actualization of their imagination experiment leaves students in a state of psychosis unable to understand themselves in the world—outweighs on tangibility.

#### Psychoanalysis before their standard/ROB:

#### [1] Bindingness – regardless of the truth value of their framing, the only reason that we’re motivated to follow it is because of our drives – means psychoanalysis is a prior question to understanding why and how their framework works.

#### [3] Form over content – a] their speech-act controls the way that we understand and interpret their framework, b] it shouldn’t matter how correct you are if you engaged in unethical practices along the way, both of these mean that you should evaluate the K as a side-constraint on how we view things like the affirmative framework.

#### [4] Psychoanalysis explains their framework – the only reason we should prioritize pleasure is because of its status as a lost object that we believe can bring us enjoyment – proves their framing re-entrenches desire and we should reject it on face.

### UV

#### Reasonability on 1AR shells – 1AR theory is super aff-biased because the 2AR gets to line-by-line every 2NR standard with new answers that never get responded to– reasonability checks 2AR sandbagging by preventing super abusive 1NCs while still giving the 2N a chance.

#### DTA on 1AR shells - They can blow up a blippy 20 second shell to 3 min of the 2AR while I have to split my time and can’t preempt 2AR spin which necessitates judge intervention and means 1AR theory is irresolvable so you shouldn’t stake the round on it.

#### 1NC theory o/w a) epistemic skew- any reason I was abusive is because the 1AC was b) ca the quantifiablity warrant on rvis

### 1NC - AMR

#### 1] alt cause- your own evidence says “poor infection control, inadequate sanitary conditions and inappropriate food handling” are what causes the spread

#### 2] No extinction from pandemics

* Death rates as high as 50% didn’t collapse civilization
* Fossil fuel record caps risk at .1% per century
* health, sanitation, medicine, science, public health bodies, solve
* viruses can’t survive in all locations
* refugee populations like tribes, remote researchers, submarine crews, solve

Ord 20 Ord, Toby. Toby David Godfrey Ord (born 18 July 1979) is an Australian philosopher. He founded Giving What We Can, an international society whose members pledge to donate at least 10% of their income to effective charities and is a key figure in the effective altruism movement, which promotes using reason and evidence to help the lives of others as much as possible.[3] He is a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Oxford's Future of Humanity Institute, where his work is focused on existential risk. BA in Phil and Comp Sci from Melbourne, BPhil in Phil from Oxford, PhD in Phil from Oxford. The precipice: existential risk and the future of humanity. Hachette Books, 2020.

Are we safe now from events like this? Or are we more vulnerable? Could a pandemic threaten humanity’s future?10 The Black Death was not the only biological disaster to scar human history. It was not even the only great bubonic plague. In 541 CE the Plague of Justinian struck the Byzantine Empire. Over three years it took the lives of roughly 3 percent of the world’s people.11 When Europeans reached the Americas in 1492, the two populations exposed each other to completely novel diseases. Over thousands of years each population had built up resistance to their own set of diseases, but were extremely susceptible to the others. The American peoples got by far the worse end of exchange, through diseases such as measles, influenza and especially smallpox. During the next hundred years a combination of invasion and disease took an immense toll—one whose scale may never be known, due to great uncertainty about the size of the pre-existing population. We can’t rule out the loss of more than 90 percent of the population of the Americas during that century, though the number could also be much lower.12 And it is very difficult to tease out how much of this should be attributed to war and occupation, rather than disease. As a rough upper bound, the Columbian exchange may have killed as many as 10 percent of the world’s people.13 Centuries later, the world had become so interconnected that a truly global pandemic was possible. Near the end of the First World War, a devastating strain of influenza (known as the 1918 flu or Spanish Flu) spread to six continents, and even remote Pacific islands. At least a third of the world’s population were infected and 3 to 6 percent were killed.14 This death toll outstripped that of the First World War, and possibly both World Wars combined. Yet even events like these fall short of being a threat to humanity’s longterm potential.15 In the great bubonic plagues we saw civilization in the affected areas falter, but recover. The regional 25 to 50 percent death rate was not enough to precipitate a continent-wide collapse of civilization. It changed the relative fortunes of empires, and may have altered the course of history substantially, but if anything, it gives us reason to believe that human civilization is likely to make it through future events with similar death rates, even if they were global in scale. The 1918 flu pandemic was remarkable in having very little apparent effect on the world’s development despite its global reach. It looks like it was lost in the wake of the First World War, which despite a smaller death toll, seems to have had a much larger effect on the course of history.16 It is less clear what lesson to draw from the Columbian exchange due to our lack of good records and its mix of causes. Pandemics were clearly a part of what led to a regional collapse of civilization, but we don’t know whether this would have occurred had it not been for the accompanying violence and imperial rule. The strongest case against existential risk from natural pandemics is the fossil record argument from Chapter 3. Extinction risk from natural causes above 0.1 percent per century is incompatible with the evidence of how long humanity and similar species have lasted. But this argument only works where the risk to humanity now is similar or lower than the longterm levels. For most risks this is clearly true, but not for pandemics. We have done many things to exacerbate the risk: some that could make pandemics more likely to occur, and some that could increase their damage. Thus even “natural” pandemics should be seen as a partly anthropogenic risk. Our population now is a thousand times greater than over most of human history, so there are vastly more opportunities for new human diseases to originate.17 And our farming practices have created vast numbers of animals living in unhealthy conditions within close proximity to humans. This increases the risk, as many major diseases originate in animals before crossing over to humans. Examples include HIV (chimpanzees), Ebola (bats), SARS (probably bats) and influenza (usually pigs or birds).18 Evidence suggests that diseases are crossing over into human populations from animals at an increasing rate.19 Modern civilization may also make it much easier for a pandemic to spread. The higher density of people living together in cities increases the number of people each of us may infect. Rapid long-distance transport greatly increases the distance pathogens can spread, reducing the degrees of separation between any two people. Moreover, we are no longer divided into isolated populations as we were for most of the last 10,000 years.20 Together these effects suggest that we might expect more new pandemics, for them to spread more quickly, and to reach a higher percentage of the world’s people. But we have also changed the world in ways that offer protection. We have a healthier population; improved sanitation and hygiene; preventative and curative medicine; and a scientific understanding of disease. Perhaps most importantly, we have public health bodies to

facilitate global communication and coordination in the face of new outbreaks. We have seen the benefits of this protection through the dramatic decline of endemic infectious disease over the last century (though we can’t be sure pandemics will obey the same trend). Finally, we have spread to a range of locations and environments unprecedented for any mammalian species. This offers special protection from extinction events, because it requires the pathogen to be able to flourish in a vast range of environments and to reach exceptionally isolated populations such as uncontacted tribes, Antarctic researchers and nuclear submarine crews. 21 It is hard to know whether these combined effects have increased or decreased the existential risk from pandemics. This uncertainty is ultimately bad news: we were previously sitting on a powerful argument that the risk was tiny; now we are not. But note that we are not merely interested in the direction of the change, but also in the size of the change. If we take the fossil record as evidence that the risk was less than one in 2,000 per century, then to reach 1 percent per century the pandemic risk would need to be at least 20 times larger. This seems unlikely. In my view, the fossil record still provides a strong case against there being a high extinction risk from “natural” pandemics. So most of the remaining existential risk would come from the threat of permanent collapse: a pandemic severe enough to collapse civilization globally, combined with civilization turning out to be hard to re-establish or bad luck in our attempts to do so.

#### 3] Superbug impact is hype

**Tyson 12**{Greg, syndicated science columnist, PhD student in microbiology (Northwestern), “Tipping Point: The Threat of Antibiotic Resistance,” Helix, 8/17, http://helix.northwestern.edu/article/tipping-point-threat-antibiotic-resistance}

What happens if we stand pat? We won’t return to the Middle Ages, where plague wiped out one third of Europe’s population. The truth is that many of the most dangerous and widespread bacterial pathogens that truly deserve the moniker “superbug” have been tamed, especially in the United States. This is because for the healthy person, pathogens like MRSA are not an immediate threat. But people hospitalized and already sick with other conditions are in danger of contracting bacterial infections we are sometimes powerless to treat. It truly is a shame that we are constantly making medical advances in other fields, but have taken a step back in this area. Some potential solutions include treating infections with multiple antibiotics and offering greater incentives for the pharmaceutical industry to produce these products. Also, more specific therapies directed at toxins the bacteria produce could be used in conjunction with antibiotics to more effectively control infections. Stories about MRSA as a “superbug” are often overblown, causing unnecessary panic among people unlikely to get sick**.** Nevertheless, it rightfully draws attention to a public health problem that requires new solutions. The appropriate response is concern and action. But if we continue to ignore the problem, it can only get worse.

#### 4] Interconnectedness is balanced by increased immunity and advances in medicine and sanitation

Dr. John Halstead 19, Doctorate in Political Philosophy, “Cause Area Report: Existential Risk, Founders Pledge”, https://founderspledge.com/research/Cause%20Area%20Report%20-%20Existential%20Risk.pdf

However, there are some reasons to think that naturally occurring pathogens are unlikely to cause human extinction. Firstly, Homo sapiens have been around for 200,000 years and the Homo genus for around six million years without being exterminated by an infectious disease, which is evidence that the base rate of extinction-risk natural pathogens is low.82 Indeed, past disease outbreaks have not come close to rendering humans extinct. Although bodies were piled high in the streets across Europe during the Black Death,83 human extinction was never a serious possibility, and some economists even argue that it was a boon for the European economy.84 Secondly, infectious disease has only contributed to the extinction of a small minority of animal species.85 The only confirmed case of a mammalian species extinction being caused by an infectious disease is a type of rat native only to Christmas Island. Having said that, the context may be importantly different for modern day humans, so it is unclear whether the risk is increasing or decreasing. On the one hand, due to globalisation, the world is more interconnected making it easier for pathogens to spread. On the other hand, interconnectedness could also increase immunity by increasing exposure to lower virulence strains between subpopulations.87 Moreover, advancements in medicine and sanitation limit the potential damage an outbreak might do.

#### 5] Humans are too dispersed and disease trends against lethality

Sebastian Farquhar 17, director at Oxford's Global Priorities Project, Owen Cotton-Barratt, a Lecturer in Mathematics at St Hugh’s College, Oxford, John Halstead, Stefan Schubert, Haydn Belfield, Andrew Snyder-Beattie, "Existential Risk Diplomacy and Governance", GLOBAL PRIORITIES PROJECT 2017, 1/23/2017, https://www.fhi.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Existential-Risks-2017-01-23.pdf

1.1.3 Engineered pandemics For most of human history, natural pandemics have posed the greatest risk of mass global fatalities.37 However, there are some reasons to believe that natural pandemics are very unlikely to cause human extinction. Analysis of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) red list database has shown that of the 833 recorded plant and animal species extinctions known to have occurred since 1500, less than 4% (31 species) were ascribed to infectious disease.38 None of the mammals and amphibians on this list were globally dispersed, and other factors aside from infectious disease also contributed to their extinction. It therefore seems that our own species, which is very numerous, globally dispersed, and capable of a rational response to problems, is very unlikely to be killed off by a natural pandemic. One underlying explanation for this is that highly lethal pathogens can kill their hosts before they have a chance to spread, so there is a selective pressure for pathogens not to be highly lethal. Therefore, pathogens are likely to co-evolve with their hosts rather than kill all possible hosts.39

#### Large-scale diseases solve nuclear war---it’s likely now.

Barry. R. Posen 20. Ford International Professor of Political Science at MIT and Director Emeritus of the MIT Security Studies Program. 4/23/2020. “Do Pandemics Promote Peace?” https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2020-04-23/do-pandemics-promote-peace. DOA: 9/2/2020. SIR.

As the novel coronavirus infects the globe, states compete for scientific and medical supplies and blame one another for the pandemic’s spread. Policy analysts have started asking whether such tensions could eventually erupt into military conflict. Has the pandemic increased or decreased the motive and opportunity of states to wage war? War is a risky business, with potentially very high costs. The historian Geoffrey Blainey argued in The Causes of War that most wars share a common characteristic at their outset: optimism. The belligerents usually start out sanguine about their odds of military success. When elites on both or all sides are confident, they are more willing to take the plunge—and less likely to negotiate, because they think they will come out better by fighting. Peace, by contrast, is served by pessimism. Even one party’s pessimism can be helpful: that party will be more inclined to negotiate and even accept an unfavorable bargain in order to avoid war. When one side gains a sudden and pronounced advantage, however, this de-escalatory logic can break down: the optimistic side will increase its demands faster than the pessimistic side can appease. Some analysts worry that something like this could happen in U.S.-Chinese relations as a result of the new coronavirus. The United States is experiencing a moment of domestic crisis. China, some fear, might see the pandemic as playing to its advantage and be tempted to throw its military weight around in the western Pacific. What these analysts miss is that COVID-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus, is weakening all of the great and middle powers more or less equally. None is likely to gain a meaningful advantage over the others. All will have ample reason to be pessimistic about their military capabilities and their overall readiness for war. For the duration of the pandemic, at least, and probably for years afterward, the odds of a war between major powers will go down, not up. PAX EPIDEMICA? A cursory survey of the scholarly literature on war and disease appears to confirm Blainey’s observation that pessimism is conducive to peace. Scholars have documented again and again how war creates permissive conditions for disease—in armies as well as civilians in the fought-over territories. But one seldom finds any discussion of epidemics causing wars or of wars deliberately started in the middle of widespread outbreaks of infectious disease. (The diseases that European colonists carried to the New World did weaken indigenous populations to the point that they were more vulnerable to conquest; in addition, some localized conflicts were fought during the influenza pandemic of 1919–21, but these were occasioned by major shifts in regional balances of power following the destruction of four empires in World War I.) That sickness slows the march to war iis partly due to the fact that war depends on people. When people fall ill, they can’t be counted on to perform well in combat. Military medicine made enormous strides in the years leading up to World War I, prior to which armies suffered higher numbers of casualties from disease than from combat. But pandemics still threaten military units, as those onboard U.S. and French aircraft carriers, hundreds of whom tested positive for COVID-19, know well. Sailors and soldiers in the field are among the most vulnerable because they are packed together. But even airmen are at risk, since they must take refuge from air attacks in bunkers, where the virus could also spread rapidly. Ground campaigns in urban areas pose still greater dangers in pandemic times. Much recent ground combat has been in cities in poor countries with few or no public health resources, environments highly favorable to illness. Ground combat also usually produces prisoners, any of whom can be infected. A vaccine may eventually solve these problems, but an abundance of caution is likely to persist for some time after it comes into use. Major outbreaks damage national economies, which are the source of military power. The most important reason disease inhibits war is economic. Major outbreaks damage national economies, which are the source of military power. COVID-19 is a pandemic—by definition a worldwide phenomenon. All great and middle powers appear to be adversely affected, and all have reason to be pessimistic about their military prospects. Their economies are shrinking fast, and there is great uncertainty about when and how quickly they will start growing again. Even China, which has slowed the spread of the disease and begun to reopen its economy, will be hurting for years to come. It took an enormous hit to GDP in the first quarter of 2020, ending 40 years of steady growth. And its trading partners, burned by their dependence on China for much of the equipment needed to fight COVID-19, will surely scale back their imports. An export-dependent China will have to rely more on its domestic market, something it has been attempting for years with only limited success. It is little wonder, then, that the International Monetary Fund forecasts slower growth in China this year than at any time since the 1970s. Even after a vaccine is developed and made widely available, economic troubles may linger for years. States will emerge from this crisis with enormous debts. They will spend years paying for the bailout and stimulus packages they used to protect citizens and businesses from the economic consequences of social distancing. Drained treasuries will give them one more reason to be pessimistic about their military might. LESS TRADE, LESS FRICTION How long is the pacifying effect of pessimism likely to last? If a vaccine is developed quickly, enabling a relatively swift economic recovery, the mood may prove short-lived. But it is equally likely that the coronavirus crisis will last long enough to change the world in important ways, some of which will likely dampen the appetite for conflict for some time—perhaps up to five or ten years. After all, the world is experiencing both the biggest pandemic and the biggest economic downturn in a century. Most governments have not covered themselves with glory managing the pandemic, and even the most autocratic worry about popular support. Over the next few years, people will want evidence that their governments are working to protect them from disease and economic dislocation. Citizens will see themselves as dependent on the state, and they will be less inclined to support adventures abroad. At the same time, governments and businesses will likely try to reduce their reliance on imports of critical materials, having watched global supply chains break down during the pandemic. The result will probably be diminished trade, something liberal internationalists see as a bad thing. But for the last five years or so, trade has not helped improve relations between states but rather fueled resentment. Less trade could mean less friction between major powers, thereby reducing the intensity of their rivalries. In the Chinese context, less international trade could have positive knock-on effects. Focused on growing the domestic economy, and burdened by hefty bills from fighting the virus, Beijing could be forced to table the Belt and Road Initiative, an ambitious trade and investment project that has unnerved the foreign policy establishments of great and middle powers. The suspension of the BRI would soothe the fears of those who see it as an instrument of Chinese world domination. Interstate wars have become relatively rare since the end of World War II. The United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a four-decade Cold War, which included an intense nuclear and conventional arms race, but they never fought each other directly, even with conventional weapons. Theorists debate the reasons behind the continued rarity of great-power conflict. I am inclined to believe that the risk of escalation to a nuclear confrontation is simply too great. COVID-19 does nothing to mitigate such risks for world leaders—and a great deal to feed their reasonable pessimism about the likely outcome of even a conventional war.

#### Disease pandemics decrease the likelihood of war

Walt 20 (Stephen M. Walt is the Robert and Renée Belfer professor of international relations at Harvard University; “Will a Global Depression Trigger Another World War?”; Foreign Policy; May 13, 2020; https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/13/coronavirus-pandemic-depression-economy-world-war/; ERB)

By many measures, 2020 is looking to be the worst year that humankind has faced in many decades. We’re in the midst of a pandemic that has already claimed more than 280,000 lives, sickened millions of people, and is certain to afflict millions more before it ends. The world economy is in free fall, with unemployment rising dramatically, trade and output plummeting, and no hopeful end in sight. A plague of locusts is back for a second time in Africa, and last week we learned about murderous killer wasps threatening the bee population in the United States. Americans have a head-in-the-sand president who prescribes potentially lethal nostrums and ignores the advice of his scientific advisors. Even if all those things magically disappeared tomorrow—and they won’t—we still face the looming long-term danger from climate change. Given all that, what could possibly make things worse? Here’s one possibility: war. It is therefore worth asking whether the combination of a pandemic and a major economic depression is making war more or less likely. What does history and theory tell us about that question? For starters, we know neither plague nor depression make war impossible. World War I ended just as the 1918-1919 influenza was beginning to devastate the world, but that pandemic didn’t stop the Russian Civil War, the Russo-Polish War, or several other serious conflicts. The Great Depression that began in 1929 didn’t prevent Japan from invading Manchuria in 1931, and it helped fuel the rise of fascism in the 1930s and made World War II more likely. So if you think major war simply can’t happen during COVID-19 and the accompanying global recession, think again. But war could still be much less likely. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Barry Posen has already considered the likely impact of the current pandemic on the probability of war, and he believes COVID-19 is more likely to promote peace instead. He argues that the current pandemic is affecting all the major powers adversely, which means it isn’t creating tempting windows of opportunity for unaffected states while leaving others weaker and therefore vulnerable. Instead, it is making all governments more pessimistic about their short- to medium-term prospects. Because states often go to war out of sense of overconfidence (however misplaced it sometimes turns out to be), pandemic-induced pessimism should be conducive to peace. Moreover, by its very nature war requires states to assemble lots of people in close proximity—at training camps, military bases, mobilization areas, ships at sea, etc.—and that’s not something you want to do in the middle of a pandemic. For the moment at least, beleaguered governments of all types are focusing on convincing their citizens they are doing everything in their power to protect the public from the disease. Taken together, these considerations might explain why even an impulsive and headstrong warmaker like Saudi Arabia’s Mohammed bin Salman has gotten more interested in winding down his brutal and unsuccessful military campaign in Yemen. Posen adds that COVID-19 is also likely to reduce international trade in the short to medium term. Those who believe economic interdependence is a powerful barrier to war might be alarmed by this development, but he points out that trade issues have been a source of considerable friction in recent years—especially between the United States and China—and a degree of decoupling might reduce tensions somewhat and cause the odds of war to recede. For these reasons, the pandemic itself may be conducive to peace. But what about the relationship between broader economic conditions and the likelihood of war? Might a few leaders still convince themselves that provoking a crisis and going to war could still advance either long-term national interests or their own political fortunes? Are the other paths by which a deep and sustained economic downturn might make serious global conflict more likely? One familiar argument is the so-called diversionary (or “scapegoat”) theory of war. It suggests that leaders who are worried about their popularity at home will try to divert attention from their failures by provoking a crisis with a foreign power and maybe even using force against it. Drawing on this logic, some Americans now worry that President Donald Trump will decide to attack a country like Iran or Venezuela in the run-up to the presidential election and especially if he thinks he’s likely to lose. This outcome strikes me as unlikely, even if one ignores the logical and empirical flaws in the theory itself. War is always a gamble, and should things go badly—even a little bit—it would hammer the last nail in the coffin of Trump’s declining fortunes. Moreover, none of the countries Trump might consider going after pose an imminent threat to U.S. security, and even his staunchest supporters may wonder why he is wasting time and money going after Iran or Venezuela at a moment when thousands of Americans are dying

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#### No impact evidence read- no terminal impact