Monument Negative Briefs

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***Resolved: That the United Nations should be significantly reformed or abolished.***

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1. NEGATIVE BRIEF: ABOLISH THE U.N. - Bad Idea

**(Jonathan Edelblut researched most of the evidence in this brief)**

OVERVIEW / NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY

We need to distinguish between the beneficial things the UN as an institution does from the words and votes of the 192 members, who are acting in their own interests

Ambassador Susan Rice 2011. (US Ambassador to the United Nations)7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY”  hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf>

And I think there is an important distinction here that rarely gets made. There is the U.N., the institution that sends missions out into the field, that feeds the hungry, that inoculates children against disease. And then there are the 192 member states, who act and speak and vote in their own interests, that is often not our interest.

SIGNIFICANCE

“UN Fails To Act” - Response:  The UN’s relevance is not contingent on any one issue – it is indispensable for a globalizing world

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications and Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“The UN's relevance does not stand or fall on its conduct on any one issue. When the crisis has passed, the world will still be left with, to use Annan's phrase, innumerable "problems without passports" -- threats such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the degradation of our common environment, contagious disease and chronic starvation, human rights and human wrongs, mass illiteracy and massive displacement. These are problems that no one country, however powerful, can solve alone. The problems are the shared responsibility of humankind and cry out for solutions that, like the problems themselves, also cross frontiers. The UN exists to find these solutions through the common endeavor of all states. It is the indispensable global organization for a globalizing world.”

“UN fails to act” - Response:  Can’t blame UN for the tragedies that occur in the world

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications and Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“This is the system to which the world must now rededicate itself. Votaries of the UN have long argued that if the world body did not exist, we would have to invent it. Sadly, it is hard to believe that today's leaders could manage such a feat. Hammarskjöld once described the UN as an adventure -- a Santa Maria battling its way through storms and uncharted oceans to a new world, only to find that the people on shore blamed the storms on the ship itself. Five decades later, Hammarskjöld's metaphor still holds true: the UN continues to sail in turbulent waters and is still blamed for the squalls that assail it.”

“Security Council Works Against U.S. Interest” - Response: Security Council a vital arrow in the U.S. diplomatic quiver – it helps more than hurts

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications & Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“As such examples demonstrate, it is clearly not in the U.S. interest to discredit the UN or the Security Council. For every rare occasion when the council thwarts Washington, there are a dozen more when it acts in accordance with U.S. wishes and compels other countries to do the same. To marginalize the council, then, would be to blunt a vital arrow in the U.S. diplomatic quiver.”

“Human Rights Council A Joke” - Response:  HRC has fundamentally changed as a result of U.S. engagement

Dr. Esther Brimmer 2011 (Foreign policy expert; Ph.D., M.A., and B.A. in International Relations; Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the State Department) “How Engagement at the United Nations Benefits the United States” Published by the US State Department , Sept 2011 <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/171889.htm> (JE)

“I am pleased to report that the Human Rights Council has fundamentally changed over the past two years as a result of U.S. engagement. Both Iran and Syria backed out of campaigns to get elected after tough diplomacy by the United States and our partners made clear they would lose. Though the Human Rights Council held five special sessions on Israel in the three years before the United States took our seat, there have been none – none – in almost two years. And thanks to leadership by the United States and our partners, the Human Rights Council is showing an increased ability to respond quickly and constructively to serious human rights abuses. That includes launching the international commission of inquiry in Libya, as I mentioned before. It includes working with the interim Tunisian government to ensure respect for human rights during the transition there. And it includes tough resolutions on the human rights situation in Syria, along with an international commission of inquiry to investigate the Assad regime’s continued lethal attacks against peaceful protestors, and provide the foundation for international accountability.

“UN can be replaced by NGOs” - Response: NGOs are bad for democracy in developing countries

Catherine Agg 2006. ( independent researcher; formerly worked with the UN Research Institute for Social Development) Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations - Is the “Golden Age” of the NGO Behind Us?  June 2006  published by United Nations Research Institute for Social Development <http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/462fc27bd1fce00880256b4a0060d2af/e8bc05c1e4b8ad6fc12571d1002c4f0b/$FILE/Agg.pdf>

NGOs are not accountable to any constituency other than their source of funding. There is concern that the responsibility for the provision of welfare services has been transferred from the state, which is ultimately accountable to its citizens, to a private organization. It has been noted that this is a dangerous trend for the progress of democracy in developing countries. As Rehman Sobhan of Dhaka’s Centre for Policy Dialogue argues: “What has happened is a loss of ideological sustainability and a de-legitimization of governments, who have become cut off, both from a sense of self worth, but also from the notion that they have a significant contribution to make” (Phinney 2002). There is no point in citizens actively engaging in democracy and lobbying governments for improvements in services, if welfare provision has been taken out of the remit of the state.

DISADVANTAGES

1.  Lost International Legitimacy

Link:  UN has provided valuable legitimacy to the U.S. global actions

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications and Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“Global challenges also require global solutions, and few indeed are the situations in which the United States or any other country can act completely alone. This truism is currently being confirmed in Iraq, where Washington is discovering that it is better at winning wars than constructing peace. The limitations of military strength in nation building are readily apparent; as Talleyrand pointed out, the one thing you cannot do with a bayonet is to sit on it. Equally important, however, is the need for legitimacy, and here again the UN has proven invaluable. The organization's role in legitimizing state action has been both its most cherished function and, in the United States, its most controversial. As the world's preeminent international organization, the UN embodies world opinion, or at least the opinion of the world's legally constituted states. When the UN Security Council passes a resolution, it is seen as speaking for (and in the interests of) humanity as a whole, and in so doing it confers a legitimacy that is respected by the world's governments, and usually by their publics. When the resolution in question is passed under Chapter VII of the charter -- that document's enforcement provisions -- it becomes legally binding on all member states.”

Link:  UN allows the U.S. to advance its interests under international law

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications and Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“In fact, part of the value of the UN (including for Washington) is the respect in which its members hold the body. Such respect has permitted the United States, on numerous occasions, to advance its specific interests under the cover of international law. For example, UN sanctions on Libya helped the United States achieve a settlement over the Lockerbie bombing. And after the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Security Council's two subsequent resolutions provided an international framework for the global battle against terrorism. Resolution 1373 required nations to interdict arms flows and financial transfers to suspected terrorist groups, report on terrorists' movements, and update national legislation to fight them. Without the legal authority of a binding Security Council resolution, Washington would have been hard-pressed to obtain such cooperation "retail" from 191 individual states, and it would have taken decades to negotiate and ratify separate treaties and conventions imposing the same standards on all countries.”

Impact:  Solutions to global challenges depend on America’s international legitimacy

Suzanne Nossel 2007. (Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress and the Century Foundation and previously served as deputy to the Ambassador for UN Management and Reform at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations) “Going Legit”   DEMOCRACY: A Journal of Ideas,  Winter 2007, <http://www.democracyjournal.org/3/6507.php?page=all>

While the United States remains preeminent in its military and economic strength, the most potent global challenges it faces–nuclear proliferation, terrorism, failed states, and the scramble for energy–are not amenable to resolution through money or firepower. They depend on America’s ability to forge agreements, build consensus, and persuade others, all of which in turn are contingent on whether Washington enjoys international legitimacy.

2.  International Peace & Security threatened

Link/Impact: UN central to international peace and security, and preventing conflict

Dr. Esther Brimmer 2011 (Foreign policy expert; Ph.D., M.A., and B.A. in International Relations; Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the State Department) “How Engagement at the United Nations Benefits the United States” Published by the US State Department , Sept 2011 <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/171889.htm> (JE)

“On matters of international peace and security, the UN’s role has been central to several top U.S. foreign policy priorities. UN peacekeepers help prevent conflict and protect civilians around the globe, at a fraction of the cost of sending U.S. troops. Security Council sanctions on Iran have had a significant effect on that regime, including by hampering its efforts to develop nuclear weapons. UN counterterrorism sanctions have isolated terrorists and frozen their assets and those of their supporters. UN missions in Afghanistan and Iraq work to strengthen democracy and mediate local conflicts, meaning that we can draw down our military forces there on schedule.”

Brink: UN is the only organization with universal, broad, and diverse membership

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“The United Nations as an institution and the Security Council in particular function as bodies for member states to discuss and act on many critical issues. Other multilateral organizations, such as NATO, cannot serve this purpose in part because they don’t have universal membership, which the United Nations does. The United Nations is the only multilateral organization with such a broad reach and such diverse membership.”

3.  Nuclear Proliferation

Link: The UN helps halt proliferation of nuclear weapons

Ambassador Susan E. Rice  2011.  (U.S Permanent Representative to the United Nations) “House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Hearing” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 7 Apr 2011 [http://www.menafn.com/menafn/qn\_news\_story.aspx?storyid={fa0645a5-baf3-4cb7-959e-01496056739a](http://www.menafn.com/menafn/qn_news_story.aspx?storyid=%7bfa0645a5-baf3-4cb7-959e-01496056739a)} (JE)

“Second, the UN helps halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In the past two years, with U.S. leadership, the Security Council has imposed the toughest sanctions that Iran and North Korea have ever faced. Strong Security Council resolutions have provided a foundation for others—from the European Union to Canada to South Korea and Japan—to impose additional sanctions of their own. These sanctions are showing results. The Security Council called upon states to inspect suspicious cargo in their airports, seaports, and even on the high seas. As a result, states are blocking transfers of missile parts, explosives, and other nuclear-related technology—all of which the transfer or use by Iran or North Korea are now prohibited by UN resolutions. Late last year, Nigeria seized tons of Iranian munitions. A few months earlier, a European country reported efforts to block a North Korean attempt to acquire graphite processing equipment that could be used in North Korea’s nuclear program. Strong and sustained UN action makes crystal-clear to governments that defy their international nuclear obligations that they will face isolation and significant consequences.”

Link: The UN let the U.S. impose tough sanctions on Iran from all SC members

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“Iran’s determination to pursue nuclear weapons—despite its contention that it is only trying to enrich uranium for civilian nuclear energy—is a profound threat to regional and global stability. Containing Iran’s nuclear program and changing the calculus of Iran’s leaders has long been an important U.S. foreign policy goal. Senior U.S. officials recognize that success in this area will only come if the international community works together consistently and constructively. This U.S. position was reinforced at the June 2010 U.N. Security Council when members passed a resolution authorizing the fourth round of sanctions on Iran’s nuclear program. Shortly after its passage, U.S. Ambassador Susan Rice noted that the “resolution was a response to the threats to peace and security arising from Iran’s refusal to comply with the requirements of IAEA and the [previous] demands of the [Security] Council.” She went on to note that the measures were tough, smart, and precise. 4 The administration used all its diplomatic assets to ensure the resolution was the strongest and most comprehensive possible. Assistant Secretary for International Organizations Esther Brimmer noted in a recent speech, that by “engaging multilaterally within the U.N. and with its members, we crafted a tough set of sanctions that all states must implement—even those Security Council Members that voted against them.” 5 These sanctions provided the administration—working in concert with other countries—with a new platform and a new set of tools to press the Iranian regime to uphold its international obligations.”

Brink: Quantifiable impact on Iran was only possible because the U.S. acted multilaterally

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“Because the United States worked multilaterally, the condemnation of Iranian actions came not just from the United States but the entire international community. The United States built a strong global coalition that made it possible to make a quantifiable impact on a top foreign policy priority.”

Link: Iran’s pursuit of nuclear weapons will cause oil price spikes

Robert McNally 2012. (senior director for International Energy on the National Security Council under George W. Bush and is president of the Rapidan Group]: “Time to tighten the noose on Iran” Published by The Financial Times on June, 27, 2012: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/e0652b56-bee6-11e1-8ccd-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1z6xC4Z4V> (JE)

“One way or another, Iran’s defiant pursuit of nuclear weapons is going to lead to oil price spikes. A quarantine is technically an act of war, but so is attacking Iran’s facilities with cyberweapons. Quarantine-and-release could add a “fear premium” to crude prices, especially if Tehran chose escalation and conflict. But crude price spikes would be the result of military action or of Iran acquiring nuclear capabilities. Given the urgency and alternatives, there is little to lose in taking this step to stop Iran’s march towards nuclear weapons.”

Impact:  Oil price shocks hurt the US and world economy

Dr. Shiu-Sheng Chen & Kai-Wei Hsu 2012.  (Chen - PhD economics; professor of economics at National Taiwan University; Hsu - economics department, National Taiwan University)  Reverse Globalization: Does High Oil Price Volatility Discourage International Trade?   Jan 2012, <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/36182/1/MPRA_paper_36182.pdf>

It has been shown that the dramatic rise in oil prices during the 1970s was associated with subsequent economic downturns.  Although there is some debate as to whether oil price shocks are the main cause of recessions, Hamilton (2009b) asserts that the latest surge in oil prices between June 2007 and June 2008 was an important factor that contributed to the economic recession that began in the US in 2007:Q4. Moreover, a number of recent studies show that oil price shocks have significant effects on a variety of domestic economic activities. An increase in oil prices has a significant negative impact on GDP growth and contributes to a higher inflation rate for most countries (see Hamilton (2009a), Cologni and Manera (2008), and Lardic and Mignon (2008)). Finally, Ordonez et al. (2011) show that the oil price shock is an important driving force of the cyclical labor adjustments in the US labor market, and the job-finding probability is the main transmission mechanism of such a shock.

4.  Humanitarian Assistance Lost

Link: UN’s humanitarian agencies deliver lifesaving aid and critical assistance

Dr. Esther Brimmer 2011 (Foreign policy expert; Ph.D., M.A., and B.A. in International Relations; Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the State Department) “How Engagement at the United Nations Benefits the United States” Published by the US State Department , Sept 2011 <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/171889.htm> (JE)

“The UN’s humanitarian agencies also deliver lifesaving aid in many of the world’s worst crises. From Haiti to Somalia, Pakistan to the Congo, the World Food Program and UNICEF are preempting starvation, the World Health Organization is preventing outbreaks of disease through vaccination programs, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is providing comfort to those displaced from their homes. These agencies are only a few of the important UN organizations that are saving lives, providing critical humanitarian assistance to vulnerable populations, and contributing to the overall human security on which lasting peace must be built.”

Impact: Millions Die/Left in Extreme Poverty

UN humanitarian assistance goes where no one else will – provides for refugees, flood victims, vaccinations, mosquito nets, etc.

Ambassador Susan E. Rice  2011.  (U.S Permanent Representative to the United Nations) “Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 7 Apr 2011: <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf> (JE)

“Fourth, UN humanitarian and development agencies often go where nobody else will go to provide desperately needed assistance. UN humanitarian and development assistance does more than save lives. It also helps break the devastating downward spiral of chronic desperation that fuels violence and threatens international peace and security. When 125,000 Iraqi refugees faced desperate conditions, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees provided cash grants to buy heating fuel and warm clothes. In Darfur and surrounding areas in Northern Sudan, UN agencies provided more than 3 million people with chlorinated water and more than 450,000 people with safe water and sanitation facilities. In Pakistan, the World Food Program now delivers food assistance to millions in need after last year’s terrible floods. UNICEF provided clean drinking water for 3 million flood-affected Pakistanis and repaired or rebuilt about 4,000 schools. When polio erupted in Central Asia last year, the World Health Organization vaccinated 6 million kids in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—at a cot of less than $2 million. With millions of young people at risk from deadly disease, UNICEF provides vaccines to fully 40 percent of the world’s children, and it supplies millions of insecticide-treated mosquito nets in 48 countries to prevent malaria.”

The UN helped reverse extreme poverty, mortality rate, and infectious disease

Ambassador Susan E. Rice  2011.  (U.S Permanent Representative to the United Nations) “Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 7 Apr 2011: <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf> (JE)

“By promoting the Millennium Development Goals, the United nations helps combat poverty and ensure that all children have the basic opportunities that we insist upon for our own kids. These goals include cutting extreme poverty in half by 2015, slashing the mortality rate of children under 5 by two-thirds, and halting and beginning to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases by 2015. The UN has helped galvanize substantial progress toward these goals. Although much remains to be done, nearly half a billion people have been lifted out of poverty world-wide. The number of children in developing counties who die before their fifth birthday is still far too high, but it dropped from 11.9 million deaths in 1990 to 7.7 million deaths in 2010. Access to treatment for HIV/AIDS in low and middle-income countries has also grown ten-fold in just five years. The UN has also helped provide safe drinking water to the 1.7 billion people who gained access since 1990.”

Libya: UN programs are providing life-saving aid to Libyans

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“Third, U.N. agencies—including the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, World Food Program, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and U.N. Children’s Fund—are all providing critical life-saving aid to refugees, the internally displaced, and the many Libyans who have had food and water supplies disrupted because of sieges by government forces.”

Afghanistan: UN WFP already cut down to 3.8 million Afghans

William Lambers  2011.  (journalist) “Afghanistan: withdrawal of food aid harms peace efforts” Published by The Examiner in June, 29, 2011 <http://www.examiner.com/article/afghanistan-withdrawal-of-food-aid-harms-peace-efforts> (JE)

“The UN World Food Programme (WFP) announced this week it's been forced to cut food aid to millions of impoverished Afghans. So while much focus has been on the U.S. withdrawal of troops, what is now occurring is a withdrawal of food aid to a hungry and malnourished population. Children will be forced to go without meals they receive at school. Food for Work and Food for Training projects, which Afghanistan needs to rebuild, will be stopped. The cuts impact about half of Afghanistan's 34 provinces. WFP said Monday it "had originally planned to feed more than 7 million people in Afghanistan in 2011, but a shortage of donor funds means the agency will now only reach about 3.8 million people this year."”

5.  Increased US foreign policy costs

Link: Engagement with UN helps us do more with less - important during time of fiscal restraint

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“America remains the most influential country in the world. But we are at our strongest when we work collaboratively with our partners around the globe. Continued engagement at the United Nations helps enable this cooperation, and in the current climate of fiscal restraint, it also helps us do more with less. By meeting our financial obligations at the United Nations, we keep the door open for building global alliances, reducing the cost of doing so, and improving our chances of success in responding to transnational threats. We close an important door by ridding ourselves of those same financial obligations. We are also merely passing the bill down to future generations as the United Nations doesn’t stop requiring assistance just because we’ve stopped paying.”

Link:  Pulling back from the UN would shoulder the U.S. with more responsibility and spending

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“During a tough economic period, the United Nations has achieved demonstrable impact without overburdening any single donor country. To pull back from our multilateral commitments now would leave the United States shouldering more responsibility and spending down the road—an ill-advised prospect that would have a devastating impact on our economy and our national interests.”

Peacekeeping through the United Nations is eight times cheaper for the United States

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“A 2007 Government Accountability Office report estimated that U.N. peacekeepers can deploy at a fraction of the cost it would take for the United States to lead such a mission. Specifically, the report noted it would cost $428 million for a U.N. mission in Haiti while it would cost the United States $876 million—twice as much—to conduct a similar operation on its own.  It is actually eight times cheaper for the United Nations to run such an operation than it is for the United States because the United States only pays a quarter of the overall price tag for this kind of U.N. peacekeeping mission.”

“We can do it with our allies” Response: Coalitions are always more expensive than the UN

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications & Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“Put another way, the difference between a UN operation, in which everyone wears a blue helmet, and a "coalition of the willing" led by one big power is similar to that between a police squad and a posse. Posses are more difficult to find and to fund than are police. Similarly, developing countries in any coalition need financing in order to play their part, and such financing is more easily provided through the UN's agreed cost-sharing formula. Unilateralism is always more expensive than its alternative, and in today's tight world economy, the costs of international unilateralism may no longer be sustainable.”

Libya shows that it is more expensive and difficult for the U.S. to act without the UN

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“The U.N. Security Council authorized a sweeping, proactive military mandate to use all necessary means to protect civilians in Libya, which provided vitally needed credibility and legitimacy to the international military intervention currently underway. This U.N. authority also made it easier for a larger number of nations and regional organizations to support the military action. Equally important, the diplomacy at U.N. headquarters that led up to the Security Council resolution helped the United States avoid a major foreign policy rift with either China or Russia regarding the use of force. U.S. Ambassador Susan Rice and her team in New York worked to galvanize support among Security Council members throughout the crisis. 9 Strong U.S. leadership at the Security Council enabled results that advance our interests, ensure political legitimacy throughout the broader region, and decrease the cost of engagement. Libya is a good example of how it would be more expensive, not less, for the United States to act without the United Nations and like-minded partners at our side. This is true in the military campaign and in providing humanitarian assistance.”

Afghanistan’s transformation is more likely to succeed and be less expensive under UN

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“The United States certainly will play an active and engaged role as Afghans take on more responsibility for their own security and governance. But negotiations are more likely to be embraced by the local populace and key regional actors if they are under U.N. auspices because of the greater potential for objectivity and global legitimacy. They are also more likely to succeed and be dramatically less costly to the American taxpayer under U.N. leadership since the burden is shared.”

Brink: The higher the debt, the greater the risk of a crisis. We need to restrain spending now

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND REFORM 2010. (bipartisan panel appointed by Pres. Obama in 2010 to write a report on ways to solve the imbalance in the federal budget; chaired by Sen. Alan Simpson, Former Republican Senator from Wyoming and Erskine Bowles, Chief of Staff to Pres. Clinton) Dec 2010, “THE MOMENT OF TRUTH - REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND REFORM” (brackets added) [www.fiscalcommission.gov/sites/fiscalcommission.gov/files/documents/TheMomentofTruth12\_1\_2010.pdf](http://www.fiscalcommission.gov/sites/fiscalcommission.gov/files/documents/TheMomentofTruth12_1_2010.pdf)

Predicting the precise level of public debt that would trigger such a crisis is difficult, but a key factor may be whether the debt has been stabilized as a share of the economy or if it continues to rise. Investors, reluctant to risk throwing good money after bad, are sure to be far more concerned about rising debt than stable debt. In a recent briefing on the risk of a fiscal crisis, CBO [Congressional  Budget Office] explained that while “there is no identifiable tipping point of debt relative to GDP indicating that a crisis is likely or imminent,” the U.S. debt-to-GDP ratio is “climbing into unfamiliar territory” and “the higher the debt, the greater the risk of such a crisis.” If we do not act soon to reassure the markets, the risk of a crisis will increase, and the options available to avert or remedy the crisis will both narrow and become more stringent. If we wait ten years, CBO projects our economy could shrink by as much as 2 percent, and spending cuts and tax increases needed to plug the hole could nearly double what is needed today. Continued inaction is not a viable option, and not an acceptable course for a responsible government.

Link: Surging debt will bring the US to the Greek scenario

Brian Riedl 2010. (bachelor's degree in economics and political science from the University of Wisconsin, and a master's degree in public affairs from Princeton University; lead budget analyst at Heritage Foundation) 21 June 2010 “The Three Biggest Myths About Tax Cuts and the Budget Deficit” Backgrounder #2423 <http://www.conservativeunderground.com/forum505/showthread.php?29199-The-Three-Biggest-Myths-About-Tax-Cuts-and-the-Budget-Deficit>

The surging budget deficit will likely dominate the national economic debate for years to come. Even after the recession ends, persistent trillion-dollar deficits are projected to double the national debt by the end of the decade. In the absence of reform, the financial markets will eventually respond by withdrawing capital, pushing up interest rates, and demanding immediate budget reforms—much like Greece is currently experiencing.

Impact: People sifting through garbage cans and rioting in the streets...

Landon Thomas 2011. (journalist) NEW YORK TIMES 15 May 2011 Money Troubles Take Personal Toll in Greece <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/16/business/global/16drachma.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1>

Evidence of the emotional and social shock was abundant in Athens last week. Even as I.M.F. and European banking officials worked with Greek officials to hash out the contours of a second bailout package, a nicely dressed middle-aged woman with silver buckles on her shoes sifted through the garbage cans outside the five-star hotels where many of these officials were staying. At dusk, riot police fired tear gas at rock-throwing protesters as tourists and workers on their way home took cover.

6.  No UN Peacekeeping

Link & Impact: UN peacekeeping solves crises and bolsters peace and stability

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“In countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, and Sudan, U.N. peacekeeping helps address immediate crisis concerns and contributes to broader U.S. foreign policy and strategic objectives, which includes bolstering regional peace and stability, shoring up economic growth and development opportunities, and strengthening the rule of law.”

Impact:  UN peacekeeping brought peace and democracy to numerous countries

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications & Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS  October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“Second, despite some well-publicized failures, UN peacekeeping works. The UN's "blue helmets" won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988; since then, they have brought peace and democracy to Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, and East Timor; helped ease the U.S. burden after regime changes in Haiti and Afghanistan; and policed largely bloodless stalemates from Cyprus to the Golan Heights to Western Sahara.”

7.  Service Procurement Lost

Link: UN agencies procure goods and services from American companies

Sarah Margon  & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

“Finally, the U.N. agencies—which are not part of the regular U.N. budget—procure many of their goods and services from American companies. This longstanding partnership results in nearly $2 billion in revenue. More than 20 U.N. agencies do business with U.S. companies covering a wide range of goods and services including telecommunication services, pharmaceuticals, and food supplies. The UNDP procured more than $110 million in business from U.S. companies in 2009 while WFP procured nearly $200 million. ”

Impact: $2 billion lost in private revenue

8.  Isolating Terrorists

Link: The UN helps isolate terrorists and human rights abusers

Ambassador Susan E. Rice  2011.  (U.S Permanent Representative to the United Nations) “Reforming the United Nations: The Future of U.S. Policy” Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs 7 Apr 2011: <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf> (JE)

“Third, the UN helps isolate terrorists and human rights abusers. UN sanctions target individuals and companies associated with terrorism, atrocities, and cross-border crime, such as trade in conflict minerals. The UN helps enforce these measures through a network of expert panels and committees. For example, the Security Council committee established in the wake of 9/11 to impose sanctions against individuals and entities associated with al-Qaeda and the Taliban now include roughly 400 individuals and 100 entities. Late last year, a Security Council committee imposed sanctions on four individuals in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for serious human rights abuses, including recruiting child soldiers; it froze their assets and banned them from international travel. In 2009, the Security Council put Eritrea under UN sanctions to pressure it to stop supporting al-Shabaab and destabilizing Somalia and the greater region.”

Impact: We lose an effective tool against terrorism

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat  2004. (Senior Fellow, Center for Transatlantic Relations, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins Univ; and Vice President of Women In International Security) The United Nations and the campaign against terrorism <http://unidir.org/pdf/articles/pdf-art2017.pdf>

First, terrorism has been high on the agenda of the UN Security Council for years. Starting in the early 1990s—and guided by the United States—the Security Council started to impose economic sanctions in response to terrorist acts. These sanctions regimes were effective in changing the attitudes of state sponsors of terrorism. They were also important in stigmatizing terrorism as an illegitimate activity that needed to be countered through international action.

2. NEGATIVE BRIEF: FAMILY PLANNING / UNFPA - Good

NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY / OVERVIEW

It’s not about deciding for families how many children they will have nor about saying that large families are bad. In rich countries where people can afford large families and easily feed them, large families are a choice people can afford to make. Unfortunately, lots of people in poor countries are trapped in poverty and would like to make different choices. A mom who has three hungry kids in a poor country ought to have the option to wait awhile before number four comes along, or to just stop at three if that’s all she can afford.

Escape from poverty and hunger is more difficult with rapid population growth

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, [(brackets added](http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf)) <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

According to John Cleland of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, an international expert on reproductive issues in Africa, sub-Saharan Africa is “the one remaining region of the world where the population is set to double or treble in the next 40 years.” The reason for demographers’ increasing focus on the region is clear, he said: “The escape from poverty and hunger is made more difficult by rapid population growth.”

Everyone benefits from voluntary family planning programs: The economy, the environment, and individuals

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Since the 1960s, alongside efforts to increase levels of education and improve health conditions, the main policy response to rapid population growth has been the implementation of voluntary family planning programs that provide information about, and access to, contraception. This policy has permitted women and men to control their reproductive lives and avoid unwanted childbearing. The choice of voluntary family planning programs as the principal policy to reduce fertility has been based largely on the documentation of a substantial level of unwanted childbearing and an unsatisfied demand for contraception. Family planning programs provide a win-win solution. The welfare of individual women and children is improved, and the national economy and the local and global environment benefit.

POPULATION GROWTH IN POOR COUNTRIES IS BAD

Population growth can exceed available jobs and state capacity

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

Elisio Nhantumbo, head of the Department for Population Analysis and Studies at Mozambique’s Ministry of Development and Planning, calls the country’s high fertility rate “a matter of concern” because population growth exceeds the State’s capacity to provide goods, services and income-earning opportunities, especially for its rapidly expanding youth population. According to the United Nations Development Assistance Framework for Mozambique for 2012 to 2015, the country’s small formal economy “is largely unable to absorb the estimated 300,000 young people who enter the labor market each year.”

HARMS

Bangladesh Study: Poor families benefit from family planning and smaller family size

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Convincing evidence that the poor benefit from smaller family size comes from the quasi-experiment in Matlab, a poor district in Bangladesh. Starting in 1977, half the area received high-quality intensive family planning services in addition to other services, while the other half continued to receive routine government services. Fertility fell faster and earlier in the experimental area than in the control area, although by 1996 the gap had closed. Among the long-term consequences of this difference was higher education of children, greater asset accumulation, and greater use of preventive health services in the experimental area (Joshi and Schulz 2007).

“Family Planning Useless” - Response: Worked in Bangladesh. Family planning brought big fertility decline

Wardatul Akmam 2002. (Lecturer in Sociology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh;Ph.D. Student, Univ of Tsukuba, Japan) Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics vol. 12, 138-143, "Women's Education and Fertility Rates in Developing Countries, With Special Reference to Bangladesh" <http://www.eubios.info/EJ124/ej124i.htm>

During the last 15 years, fertility in Bangladesh has fallen by almost 40 per cent, despite the fact that literacy rates (especially those of women) have not increased significantly. Cleland and Jejeebhoy [(10) P: 105] attribute this achievement to the success of the family planning programmes in Bangladesh, which hastened the fall in fertility. In this regard, Schular et al. (24) specifically refer to the strategy of employing women as family planning field workers. These women go from door to door in Bangladesh villages, talking to village women, distributing contraceptives, trying to answer their questions and referring them to doctors when necessary. In a society like Bangladesh, where women's mobility in general is restricted and where the institution of purdah is still maintained to some extent, the activities of these female family planning workers brought about dramatic increases in the percentages of women practicing contraception between 1975 and 1989: among women without education, the proportion rose from 6.2 to 27.3, among women with primary education, the proportion rose from 12.2 to 34.3 and among women with education beyond primary stage, the proportions rose from 23.5 to 49 percent [(25) P: 203].

Bangladesh studies show family planning reduced fertility even where education was lacking

Wardatul Akmam 2002. (Lecturer in Sociology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh;Ph.D. Student, Univ of Tsukuba, Japan) Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics vol. 12, 138-143, "Women's Education and Fertility Rates in Developing Countries, With Special Reference to Bangladesh" <http://www.eubios.info/EJ124/ej124i.htm>

In the case of Bangladesh, in particular, we have seen that research studies show a significant and inverse relationship between education and fertility. Again, in studies carried out in Bangladesh, we have seen the success of family planning policies, which have been quite effective in reducing the fertility rate in that country, despite the fact that the level of women's education has not changed much. In this context, should we reconsider our efforts in reaching for a higher level of female education in developing countries? Certainly not. Rather, along with effective family planning-policies and successful implementation (as in Bangladesh), efforts to educate women beyond the threshold level must continue in order to help reduce fertility rates at an even pace. A reduction in the fertility rate is only one of the numerous positive effects of education. It affects the survival rates of children. Above all, education helps men and women to become efficient and conscious citizens. The autonomy acquired through education helps individuals (both men and women) to understand what their rights are and the range of options they have to solve or mitigate their problems and sufferings in order to live a better life. It is for this reason that education is a basic human right, and it is the duty of world leadership to ensure education for all.

Family planning programs work: They caused fertility declines in even the poorest countries

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Extensive changes in reproductive behavior have occurred in large parts of the developing world over the past half century. The average number of births per woman has been halved: from six in the early 1960s to just below three in the early 2000s (UN 2009). Reductions in fertility have been largest in Asia (58 percent) and Latin America (62 percent) (Figure 1.6). As we argue in Chapter 2, family planning programs can take much of the credit for the rapid fertility declines that have occurred even in the poorest countries, such as Bangladesh and Nepal.

“Women decide for themselves how many children to have” - Response: Others decide for them until/unless they have the education and access to family planning to start deciding for themselves

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf>

A significant part of a woman’s ‘decision,’ insofar as it even occurs to her that she has any say in the matter, may be based on what her husband or mother-in-law wants, or what the local mullah or priest has to say. Wealthier people are more likely to know about contraception and to have the means to access services. On average, the wealthiest women are 4 times more likely to use contraception than the poorest. In some countries, the rate is 12 times higher (IPPF 2010). Without education programs that let the poor know about contraception and its benefits, they are much less likely than the rich to want contraceptive services or use them if they are even available. And without the political will on the part of governments to make them available, the poor are often unable to access services.

“Women decide how many kids to have” - Response: Social factors take away their choices

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

In Mozambique, the balance of power in a relationship in favour of the man is tipped even further by early marriage, which also chips away at a young woman’s right to determine her own reproductive destiny and often resulting in early and numerous pregnancies. A young woman’s decision-making power may be additionally diluted in polygamous settings, in which about one in four Mozambican women is involved.

“Women can plan their families” - Response: They have high unmet needs for family planning, and they are not achieving their desired family size

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

To Mozambique’s rural poor, the whole notion of family planning may seem irrelevant, says Patricia Guzmán, the UNFPA Representative in Maputo. “How do you ‘plan’ your family when you can’t plan any other aspect of your life? The question of how many kids you want is out of most people’s frameworks.” Overall, however, an April 2011 World Bank profile of reproductive health in Mozambique says the country has a “high” unmet demand for family planning, which means that “women may not be achieving their desired family size.” According to the National Directorate of Studies and Policy Analysis of Mozambique’s Ministry of Planning and Development, the unmet need for family planning has indeed risen, which shows that more and more women or couples are increasingly aware of contraceptives and that the health system is not able to satisfy the demand for these items.

“Best predictor of family size is how many children women say they want” - Response: But there’s a problem with “rationalization” - ask a woman how many she wants and she’s not likely to say a number less than she has.

Analysis: She isn’t going to say that one of her kids was a mistake or unwanted. If she wanted 3 and had 4, she will say she wants 4 to avoid embarrassing herself or her 4th child.

Dr. John B. Casterline 2011. (PhD sociology, Univ of Michigan; professor of population studies, dept. of Sociology, Ohio State Univ.) “Fertility prospects in the Arab region” published by United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/expertpapers/2011-6_Casterline_Expert-Paper_FINAL_ALL-Pages.pdf>

Simple subtraction of the unwanted TFR from the TFR yields the wanted TFR, and it is tempting to regard this as an estimate of the likely level of achieved fertility in the absence of unwanted births. But for reasons given earlier, the wanted TFR cannot be interpreted in this manner. In any case, other measures of fertility demand are provided by the surveys. Respondents are asked for their ideal number of children, and these data are examined in table 5 for ever married women aged 20 to 29 years. Because this item is known to be subject to "rationalization," a tendency to state an ideal that at least equals one's actual number of children, the analysis is confined to younger women, most of whom will not have attained their ideal (and thus are not yet at risk of "rationalization").

“Family planning programs don’t work” - Response: They worked in Kenya and Rwanda

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Acceptance of the means to attain one’s desired family size increases the motivation to do so. In poor, largely illiterate countries, the record suggests that government programs are essential engines of change. No such country has experienced deep and sustained reductions in fertility rates in the absence of a strong and committed government family planning program. The experience conclusions of Kenya in the 1980s and of Rwanda in recent years demonstrates that strong government-led efforts can be as effective in Africa as they were in Asia and elsewhere three decades ago.

“Family planning programs don’t work” - Response: There has never been a decline in fertility in poor countries without a family planning program

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

In particular, fertility has declined rapidly in a few countries with unfavorable development conditions (e.g., in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nepal, and Sri Lanka). These are traditional, poor, rural, and agricultural societies, yet fertility has declined to low levels. The explanations for these unexpected trends are the priority given by governments to social development (e.g., schooling and women’s empowerment) and the implementation of family planning and health programs. No fertility decline has been observed in a poor and largely illiterate country in the absence of a strong family planning program.

No coercion - UNFPA is working to eliminate coercive family planning

UNFPA official web site last updated November 2008. “FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS” <http://www.unfpa.org/public/home/about/faqs#abortion>

Coercion: The second major unsubstantiated myth and mischaracterization of UNFPA relates to the issue of coercion. UNFPA opposes coercion and, in fact, is a global leader in working to eliminate the use of coercive family planning practices. Sovereignty: UNFPA in-country programs are initiated at the request of host governments and recognize that implementation of health policies is the sovereign right of each country, consistent with national laws and development priorities, with full respect for the various religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of its people, and in conformity with universally recognized international human rights.

US State Department investigation: No UNFPA coercion in China

Thoraya Ahmed Obaid 2002 (Executive Director, UNFPA) 22 July 2002 “Statement on U.S. Funding Decision” <http://www.unfpa.org/news/news.cfm?ID=146&Language=1>

It is with deep regret that I confirm the loss of U.S. funding this year for the United Nations Population Fund. It is especially troubling since the fact-finding mission that was sent to China by the United States found quote: "no evidence that UNFPA has supported or participated in the management of a programme of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization in China," as has been charged by critics. This is contained in the report dated 29 May 2002 addressed to Secretary of State Colin Powell. That report by the U.S. fact-finding mission recommended that U.S. funding be released to UNFPA.

UNFPA is working against coercion in China

Thoraya Ahmed Obaid 2002 (Executive Director, UNFPA) 22 July 2002 “Statement on U.S. Funding Decision” <http://www.unfpa.org/news/news.cfm?ID=146&Language=1>

UNFPA is strongly opposed to population control. UNFPA does NOT support the Chinese Government's one-child policy and does not take part in managing the Government's programme. UNFPA works to ensure that women and couples have the information and means to make informed and voluntary decisions about pregnancy and family planning. In addition to its insistence on the removal of birth quotas and acceptor targets, UNFPA continues to press China to make progress by removing economic incentives and disincentives used to encourage small or discourage large family size.

SPECIAL NOTES ON ABORTION. Blue Book Affirmative case on UNFPA does not make any claims about abortion, because we think parents and students would prefer that subject not be raised. However, if someone else adds it into their plan, the cards below can be used to respond. These cards should only be used if the Affirmative starts talking about preventing abortions. Otherwise, there’s no need to use these cards. If these cards do become necessary, they prove that the Negative is also anti-abortion just as much as the Affirmative.

UNFPA does not promote abortion

UNFPA official web site last updated November 2008. “FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS” <http://www.unfpa.org/public/home/about/faqs#abortion>

Does UNFPA promote abortion?

No. Guided by paragraph 8.25 of the Cairo Programme of Action, UNFPA does not support or promote abortion as a method of family planning. It accords the highest priority and support to voluntary family planning to prevent unwanted pregnancies so as to eliminate recourse to abortion. UNFPA supports governments to strengthen their national health systems to deal effectively with complications of unsafe abortions, thereby saving women’s lives (every year, an estimated 13 per cent of maternal deaths result from unsafe abortions).

Family planning programs help work against abortion

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Nevertheless, the experience of the past 50 years shows beyond doubt that state-sponsored family planning programs and efforts to legitimize the concept of smaller families have played a key role in reducing fertility, even in some of the poorest and most traditional countries, such as Bangladesh. The effectiveness of such programs stems from the considerable costs associated with the use of modern contraceptive methods. These costs include lack of information and access, fears about health effects, and social disapproval. Evidence of the negative impact of such costs comes from the gap between freely expressed reproductive wishes and non-use of contraception (the so-called unmet need), from high levels of unintended childbearing, and from widespread resort to illegal and often unsafe abortion. Well-designed programs can reduce these costs and produce very rapid increases in contraceptive use, which in turn tend to foster a downward adjustment of desired family size.

SOLVENCY

Already tried and failed: International population strategies were cut due to opposition - the results were increased population growth, reduced economic development, resource scarcity and conflict

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 (parentheses in original) <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf>

Seventeen years ago, Egypt, one of the countries at the center of the current unrest, hosted the International Conference on Population and Development. Under the influence of feminist and social justice non-governmental organisations, population reduction as an end in itself was off the agenda as antithetical to women’s rights. A focus on development alone was expected to bring about a reduction in population growth. In the absence of national or international (United Nations) population strategies, financial support for family planning has fallen sharply and population growth has remained rapid. Consequently, development has lagged, and a deteriorating environment and resource scarcity have led to conflict in many regions.

“Economic development solves for large family size without family planning” - Response: Wishful thinking- it may not happen, and even if it does, it takes too long for the transition

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 (parentheses in original) <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf>

The wishful thinking that the indirect effects of development alone can overcome the problems created by rampant population growth is based on the belief in a silver bullet known as demographic transition. The idea is that parents have fewer children when they see that those they have are likely to survive, and, at the same time, with increasing rural to urban migration, they realize that children cost money rather than provide free labour. The trouble with the demographic transition theory is that it is treated like a law of physics when in fact it is only one of many possibilities. A major problem is the slowness at which it kicks in. The lag time between the child mortality rate falling and the desired family size also dropping can be very long indeed. In western and middle sub-Saharan Africa, the desired family size is still 6 children. In the countries of Chad and Niger, it is >9 (Westoff 2010).

DISADVANTAGES

1. Human rights denied. Using ideology to deny women access to family planning violates their rights

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, [(brackets added](http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf)) <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

[President of the International Federation of Gynecology and Obstetrics, Gamal] Serour said sharp cuts in international aid for family planning over the last two decades contributed to the slowing of Egypt’s fertility decline. He is critical of those who view family planning aid a cultural intrusion or as a tool of outdated and unacceptable population control. When powerless women in poor countries are denied contraception for ideological reasons, he said, “That’s a violation of human rights.”

2. Educational programs canceled.

Link: Affirmative cancels UNFPA except non-family-planning health care. That means education is canceled.

Link: UNFPA has youth education programs to prevent disease and unwanted pregnancy

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

Sexuality education helps promote health and help prevent sexually transmitted infections, including HIV and help prevent unwanted pregnancies among young people, but it also promotes equitable gender norms and the empowerment of young women, says UNFPA Technical Division deputy director Mona Kaidbey, who oversees UNFPA’s youth initiatives and was one of the organizers of the Bogotá event.

Brink: Youth don’t have access to necessary information through other means

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, [(brackets](http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf) added <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

The right to comprehensive and non-discriminatory sexuality education is based on the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and a number of international agreements, [UNFPA Technical Division deputy director Mona] Kaidbey says, “yet there are far too many young people who do not have access to sexuality education programmes.” “It is a fact that most young people do not have access to appropriate information about sexuality and do not know how to protect themselves from sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, or unintended pregnancy.” she says. Policymakers and community leaders often avoid promoting sexuality education because they do not want to provoke controversy, she adds. Another obstacle to sexuality education has been weaknesses in educational systems. “School curricula are packed, teachers are often overwhelmed and underpaid, funding for training and materials are limited, and the incentives to take on a new—often sensitive topic—are few. With cuts in social sector spending, it has been difficult to find the financial resources that are needed to train teachers and establish effective methodologies.”

Impact: Without education, young people are more vulnerable to health problems

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

Millions of girls and boys have dreams of living lives that are fulfilling, happy and safe. Yet the vast majority of them receive little reliable information related to sex, sexuality or gender. The consequences are well known: without access to comprehensive sexuality education and sexual and reproductive health services, young people — especially girls — are more vulnerable to daunting reproductive and sexual health problems, 80 experts agreed at a Global Consultation on Sexuality Education, in Bogotá, Colombia, in December 2010.

3. Coercion in China

Link: UNFPA is working against coercive family planning in China

Thoraya Ahmed Obaid 2002 (Executive Director, UNFPA) 22 July 2002 “Statement on U.S. Funding Decision” <http://www.unfpa.org/news/news.cfm?ID=146&Language=1>

UNFPA is working with the Chinese Government in 32 counties to move their policies and practices AWAY from coercion TOWARD a voluntary approach that respects human rights and human dignity and that is in line with international agreements. UNFPA's reproductive health programme of assistance was requested by the Chinese Government and approved by the 36-Member-State UNDP/UNFPA Executive Board, of which the United States is an active member. The programme adheres strictly to the voluntary, human rights-based approach to reproductive health and family planning stipulated by the 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development and unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. The abolition of birth quotas and family planning acceptor targets in the 32 counties was a condition of UNFPA assistance.

Impact: Turn Affirmative’s “coercion” harm impact - they’re eliminating a force for good against coercion

4. Poverty.

Link: Affirmative opposes fertility reductions

Link & Impact: Reductions in fertility in many countries reduces poverty - allows giving the smaller family better opportunities in life

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

The evidence shows that reductions in fertility so far have accelerated economic growth and reduced poverty, Hania Zlotnik, Director of the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, said at a meeting of the Commission on Population and Development in New York in April 2011. “Furthermore, fertility reductions have been achieved through improvements in reproductive health, child health, education and the empowerment of women. In country after country, parents have decided to have fewer children in order to provide them with better opportunities.”

Link & Impact: Overpopulation leaves poor countries trapped in poverty and conflict. Example: Egypt

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf>

Egypt’s population growth is destroying its ability to feed itself. In 1960, Egypt had 26 million people and was self-sufficient in almost all basic food commodities. In recent decades, it has depended on revenues from oil exports to import about half of the staple foods it needs (Tverberg 2011). Now, with its oil reserves running dry and its growing population needing more oil for its own uses, Egypt is about to become an oil importer (Tverberg 2011). But the oil exports paid for food subsidies which many Egyptians depended on, and the threat to discontinue the subsidies due to dropping oil revenues no doubt contributed to the unrest that eventually toppled the government. The fact that these biophysical realities are ignored in most reports about developments in Egypt does not diminish their importance or their consequences. Some variant of the above applies to any number of countries where population growth looms large. It is why some countries cannot pull themselves out of poverty and some are endlessly in conflict—and more often than not those 2 conditions overlap.

“Other factors, not population, cause poverty” - Response: Population impacts social problems independently of other factors

Enormous social and environmental problems are happening right now in poor countries due to population pressures

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 (parentheses in original) <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf>

Growth rates in the ‘least developed countries’ or LCDs have fallen since 1994, but not spectacularly, from 2.7% annually to 2.3% (UNFPA 1995b, 2010) (which means their doubling times are now 30 yr instead of 26). That the Cairo conference had so little impact on population growth is not because it could not see what was coming. The Programme of Action, the document that arose from the Cairo conference, was clear on the potential for trouble ahead (UNFPA 1995a). It specifically recognized that the large proportion of young people in many developing countries would result in extremely rapid growth at current fertility rates, and that this growth would cause enormous social and environmental problems that their governments were very poorly equipped to handle. And that is exactly what is happening right now—not just in those countries whose turmoil is currently dominating headlines. The impact of the population factor is not negated by the existence of corrupt and despotic governments, bad governance, unfavourable trade conditions, or anything else.

5. Births too close together - not enough time between pregnancies

Link: Moms need time to recover from the last pregnancy before having another one, or else they are vulnerable to illness

Impact: If mom is sick, the kids go hungry

Information and External Relations Division of UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund 2011. “STATE OF WORLD POPULATION 2011”, published by UN Population Fund, <http://foweb.unfpa.org/SWP2011/reports/EN-SWOP2011-FINAL.pdf>

High fertility can mean high economic, health and social costs in some countries. In Mozambique, for example, “high fertility rates are a public health issue,” particularly for mothers who do not have at least two years between pregnancies and who are therefore weakened and vulnerable to illness, according to Leonardo Chavane at the Ministry of Health. Pregnant mothers, Chavane says, may not have “enough time to watch over their own health or the health of their other children.” Women in rural Mozambique, especially in the north, typically do all the farming, and if pregnancy or poor health prevents them from producing enough food for the family, the children risk going hungry or becoming malnourished, Chavane explains.

Impact: DHS study - Higher infant mortality when children are born close together.

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf> (brackets added)

The most comprehensive DHS [Demographic and Health Surveys] study performed a pooled analysis on data from 52 countries that undertook a survey between 2000 and 2005 (Rutstein 2008). Half of these countries were in sub-Saharan Africa. For infant mortality, children conceived within 24 months of an older sibling’s birth (equivalent to an inter-birth interval of less than 33 months) were at excess risk of dying even after adjustment for a large number of potentially confounding factors. The shorter the interval, the greater the risk. These results are consistent with findings from studies in the United States, prospective data from Matlab, Bangladesh, and a meta-analysis that show associations between birth interval length and adverse perinatal outcomes, such as fetal death, prematurity, and low birth weight (Zhu 2005; DaVanzo et al. 2008; Conde-Agudelo, Rosas-Bermudez, and Kafury-Goeta 2006). The causal mechanism is probably related to maternal nutritional depletion (Smits and Essel 2001).

Impact: Rutstein study - higher childhood mortality when children are born closer together

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Rutstein’s results for early childhood mortality are even more remarkable. Unlike infant mortality, there is no threshold in the effect of interval length. The longer the interval, the smaller the risk of dying (Figure 1.5). Although the mechanisms are poorly understood, competition for maternal and familial resources and cross-infection from older siblings may both be implicated. The significant effects of interval length on stunting of surviving children, also found in the DHS pooled analysis, are consistent with either mechanism. Children are also vulnerable to short following intervals. Cross-national studies showed that the birth of a younger sibling within two years was associated with a doubling of mortality between ages one and two years and a smaller adverse effect in laterchildhood (Hobcraft, McDonald, and Rutstein 1985).

6. Local environment & resource degradation

Link: Ancient classic example of local overpopulation and resource exhaustion

Genesis 13:5 Lot also, who went with Abram, had flocks and herds and tents. 6 Now the land was not able to support them, that they might dwell together, for their possessions were so great that they could not dwell together. 7 And there was strife between the herdsmen of Abram's livestock and the herdsmen of Lot's livestock. (KJV)

Link: Population growth in poor countries causes widespread environmental deterioration

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf> (brackets added; the mistaken acronym LCD is in the original, it should be “LDC”)

Not surprisingly, population growth has remained rapid in many of the UNFPA-defined LCDs [Less developed countries]. As a result of population pressure, widespread environmental deterioration has occurred, through deforestation, erosion and salinization of overused land, falling water tables, depletion of the water and fish stock in rivers, pollution, and loss of biodiversity. Rather than being subjected to government or international initiatives promoting small families, the poor in many countries are being subjected to the ‘coercion’ of their deteriorating environment. And while population control programs can be quite benign (such as those in Thailand, Kerala in India, Bangladesh), environmental coercion is often very cruel.

Link: Population growth in sub-Saharan Africa degrades the environment because of increased demand for food

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Population growth is more directly implicated in the environmental consequences of the need for increased food production. Between the end of the last century and 2030, demand for food in developing countries is expected to grow by 2.0 percent per year compared with population growth of 1.3 percent (FAO 2003). Despite the reduction in rates of population growth, this factor remains the major cause of increased food demand. Among the consequences are changes in land use, including loss of natural habitats and deforestation; loss of biodiversity; unsustainable depletion of water resources; and degradation of fragile ecosystems resulting from over-cropping and over-grazing. Future challenges will be most severe in sub-Saharan Africa, the only region that will experience continued growth of both rural and urban populations. Thus in many parts of Africa, poor quality and fragile soils must support increasing population density. In the absence of technological advances or effective local conservation efforts, encroachment onto marginal land and widespread environmental degradation are likely.

Impact: War, conflict and genocide. When large populations struggle over dwindling resources, conflict erupts and genocide kills millions. Human rights impact of population-fueled wars is far greater than any human rights impact of population programs

Dr. Madeline Weld 2012. (Ph.D. in physiology; worked as a medical researcher and taught in the Faculty of Medicine, Univ of Ottawa, Canada; President of Population Institute of Canada) Deconstructing the dangerous dogma of denial: the feminist-environmental justice movement and its flight from overpopulation ETHICS IN SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS Vol 12 <http://www.int-res.com/articles/esep2012/12/e012p053.pdf> (brackets and parentheses in original)

Unfortunately, as evidenced by the violence seen in many struggling countries (e.g. Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], Somalia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Haiti, and many others), the concept of human rights tends to fall by the wayside when too many humans are fighting over the same dwindling resources. Failing states are highly likely to experience a breakdown in law and order and the loss of personal security, in which women often face extreme discrimination and brutalization. The viciousness of atrocities committed in states in a downward spiral is almost beyond our capacity to comprehend. Both the prevalence and brutality of rape, often committed with weapons or other implements, are staggering. No population control program in any country has ever come close to inflicting upon women the horrors that millions of them have experienced during the environmental and social collapse of some of the world’s most overpopulated and conflict-ridden regions. Conflicts in failing states often spread to neighbouring countries, as when the genocide in Rwanda spread to the DRC, where at least 5 million people lost their lives. Nevertheless, as in the DRC, most of the deaths are often caused by the war’s indirect effects, such as hunger and disease. Hunger and disease are likely to be significant agents of mortality in future conflicts over dwindling resources.

**7. Global carrying capacity. The earth simply cannot sustain more people at today’s level of consumption.**

[Note: The previous disadvantage DA6 about Environmental & Resource Degradation was about local scenarios where one country or one region has its resources under pressure due to excess demand. This DA7 is about the total global capacity of the earth to sustain a larger population consuming resources at today’s rates. We’ve shifted focus from local incidents and problems to the total global capacity of the earth as a whole.]

Link: Growth of humanity means we are already consuming more than the earth can sustain.

Lester R. Brown 2011. (masters degrees in agricultural economics from the Univ of Maryland and in public administration from Harvard; former adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture on foreign agricultural policy; former Administrator of the US Dept of Agriculture International Agricultural Development Service; currently President and Senior Researcher with Earth Policy Institute, an independent non-profit research institute) WORLD ON THE EDGE, <http://www.earth-policy.org/images/uploads/book_files/wotebook.pdf>

The signs that our civilization is in trouble are multiplying. During most of the 6,000 years since civilization began we lived on the sustainable yield of the earth’s natural systems. But in recent decades humanity has overshot the level that those systems can sustain. We are liquidating the earth’s natural assets to fuel our consumption. Half of us live in countries where water tables are falling and wells are going dry. Soil erosion exceeds soil formation on one third of the world’s cropland, draining the land of its fertility. The world’s ever-growing herds of cattle, sheep, and goats are converting vast stretches of grassland to desert. Forests are shrinking by 13 million acres per year as we clear land for agriculture and cut trees for lumber and paper. Four fifths of oceanic fisheries are being fished at capacity or overfished and headed for collapse. In system after system, demand is overshooting supply.

Link: Prevention of unwanted births would make a major contribution toward preserving the planet’s environment

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

Clearly, the development of alternative energy sources to replace fossil fuels and the means to finance their application in both rich and poorer countries are a top priority, but reductions in expected population growth can make a major contribution. Indeed, it has been argued that the prevention of unwanted births is likely to be one of the most cost-effective ways to preserve the planet’s environment in the long term (Birdsall 1994).

Brink: Local excess demands on the environment [DA6 above] will become global in scope - it’s already started

Impact: Environmental decline, economic decline, social collapse and civilization ends

Lester R. Brown 2011. (masters degrees in agricultural economics from the Univ of Maryland and in public administration from Harvard; former adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture on foreign agricultural policy; former Administrator of the US Dept of Agriculture International Agricultural Development Service; currently President and Senior Researcher with Earth Policy Institute, an independent non-profit research institute) WORLD ON THE EDGE, <http://www.earth-policy.org/images/uploads/book_files/wotebook.pdf>

At some point, what had been excessive local demands on environmental systems when the economy was small became global in scope. A 2002 study by a team of scientists led by Mathis Wackernagel aggregates the use of the earth’s natural assets, including CO2 overload in the atmosphere, into a single indicator—the ecological footprint. The authors concluded that humanity’s collective demands first surpassed the earth’s regenerative capacity around 1980. By 1999, global demands on the earth’s natural systems exceeded sustainable yields by 20 percent. Ongoing calculations show it at 50 percent in 2007. Stated otherwise, it would take 1.5 Earths to sustain our current consumption. Environmentally, the world is in overshoot mode. If we use environmental indicators to evaluate our situation, then the global decline of the economy’s natural support systems—the environmental decline that will lead to economic decline and social collapse—is well under way. No previous civilization has survived the ongoing destruction of its natural supports. Nor will ours.

8. Water shortages.

Link: Population growth drives depletion of aquifers

Lester R. Brown 2011. (masters degrees in agricultural economics from the Univ of Maryland and in public administration from Harvard; former adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture on foreign agricultural policy; former Administrator of the US Dept of Agriculture International Agricultural Development Service; currently President and Senior Researcher with Earth Policy Institute, an independent non-profit research institute) WORLD ON THE EDGE, <http://www.earth-policy.org/images/uploads/book_files/wotebook.pdf>

There are two rather scary dimensions of the emerging worldwide shortage of irrigation water. One is that water tables are falling in many countries at the same time. The other is that once rising water demand climbs above the recharge rate of an aquifer, the excess of demand over sustainable yield widens with each passing year. This means that the drop in the water table as a result of overpumping is also greater each year. Since growth in the demand for water is typically exponential, largely a function of population growth, the decline of the aquifer is also exponential. What starts as a barely noticeable annual drop in the water table can become a rapid fall.

Brink: Pakistan’s survival is threatened by falling water levels - they can’t feed more people

Lester R. Brown 2011. (masters degrees in agricultural economics from the Univ of Maryland and in public administration from Harvard; former adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture on foreign agricultural policy; former Administrator of the US Dept of Agriculture International Agricultural Development Service; currently President and Senior Researcher with Earth Policy Institute, an independent non-profit research institute) WORLD ON THE EDGE, <http://www.earth-policy.org/images/uploads/book_files/wotebook.pdf>

Thus far the countries where shrinking water resources are measurably reducing grain harvests are all ones with smaller populations. But what about the middle-sized countries such as Pakistan or Mexico, which are also overpumping their aquifers to feed growing populations? Pakistan, struggling to remain self-sufficient in wheat, appears to be losing the battle. Its population of 185 million in 2010 is projected to reach 246 million by 2025, which means trying to feed 61 million more people in 15 years. But water levels in wells are already falling by a meter or more each year around the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. They are also falling under the fertile Punjab plain, which Pakistan shares with India. Pakistan’s two large irrigation reservoirs, Mangla and Tarbela, have lost one third of their storage capacity over the last 40 years as they have filled with silt. A World Bank report, Pakistan’s Water Economy: Running Dry, sums up the situation: “the survival of a modern and growing Pakistan is threatened by water.”

Impact: Catastrophic food shortages

Lester R. Brown 2011. (masters degrees in agricultural economics from the Univ of Maryland and in public administration from Harvard; former adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture on foreign agricultural policy; former Administrator of the US Dept of Agriculture International Agricultural Development Service; currently President and Senior Researcher with Earth Policy Institute, an independent non-profit research institute) WORLD ON THE EDGE, <http://www.earth-policy.org/images/uploads/book_files/wotebook.pdf>

How are all these pressures on water supplies affecting grain production in individual countries and worldwide?

Is irrigated area expanding or shrinking? If the latter, is it shrinking fast enough to override technological gains and reduce the grain harvest in absolute terms, or will it simply slow its growth? Today more than half of the world’s people live in countries with food bubbles. The question for each of these countries is not whether its bubble will burst, but when—and how the government will cope with it. Will governments be able to import grain to offset production losses? For some countries, the bursting of the bubble may well be catastrophic. For the world as a whole, the near-simultaneous bursting of several national food bubbles as aquifers are depleted could create unmanageable food shortages.

9. Maternal deaths.

Link & Impact: Avoiding unintended pregnancies reduces maternal deaths. 150,000 more could be saved if unmet family planning needs were satisfied

Analysis: When women have fewer babies, their chance of dying in childbirth is lower

John Bongaarts, John Cleland, John W. Townsend, Jane T. Bertrand, Monica das Gupta 2012. (Jane T. Bertrand is Neal A. and Mary Vanselow Professor and Chair, Department of Global Health Systems and Development, Tulane Univ School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. John Bongaarts is Vice President and Distinguished Scholar, Population Council. John Cleland is Professor of Medical Demography, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Monica Das Gupta is Senior Demographer, The World Bank. John W. Townsend is Vice President and Director, Reproductive Health Program, Population Council) “Family Planning Programs for the 21st Century - Rationale and design” <http://popcouncil.org/pdfs/2012_FPfor21stCentury.pdf>

It is estimated that, in 2008, use of modern contraception in developing countries was responsible for averting 230,000 maternal deaths, equivalent to a 43 percent reduction (Singh et al. 2009). Much larger numbers of abortions and miscarriages were also averted (see Table 1.1). This major contribution was due entirely to avoidance of unintended pregnancies. An additional 150,000 maternal deaths, representing a further reduction of 28 percent, could be prevented by satisfying the unmet need for contraception.

3. NEGATIVE BRIEF: FOOD RESERVE

**(Jonathan Edelblut researched most of the evidence in this brief)**

FRAMEWORK/PHILOSOPHY - SOCIALISM CRITIQUES

1.  Market manipulation

Link: Affirmative is intervening in the international market to manipulate the prices

Socialists believe that govt. must retain private property for price controls, thus regulating by govt. intervention

Ludwig von Mises 1929 (a prominent philosopher, Austrian School economist, and classical liberal)  “Kritik des Interventionismus (A Critique of Interventionism)” Published by the Journal of National Economics  <http://mises.org/etexts/mises/critique/section5.asp> (JE)

“The importance of the theory of price controls becomes evident in the contention that there is yet a third social order besides the private property order and one built on public property, an order that retains private property in the means of production, but is “regulated” through government intervention. The Socialists of the Chair and the Solidarists, together with a great many statesmen and powerful political parties, continue to hold to this belief. On the one hand, it plays a role in the interpretation of economic history during the Middle Ages, and on the other hand, it constitutes the theoretic foundation for modern interventionism.”

Brink: No Middle Ground. There is no “middle ground” of government price intervention: either there is private property order or public property order

Ludwig von Mises 1929 (a prominent philosopher, Austrian School economist, and classical liberal)  “Kritik des Interventionismus (A Critique of Interventionism)” Published by the Journal of National Economics  <http://mises.org/etexts/mises/critique/section5.asp> (JE)

“The most important theoretical knowledge gained from a basic analysis of the effects of price controls is this: the effect of intervention is the very opposite of what it was meant to achieve. If government is to avoid the undesirable conse quences it cannot stop with just market interference. Step by step it must continue until it finally seizes control over production from the entrepreneurs and capitalists. It is un important, then, how it regulates the distribution of income, whether or not it grants a preferred income position to en trepreneurs and capitalists. It is important, however, that government cannot be satisfied with a single intervention, but is driven on to nationalize the means of production. This ultimate effect refutes the notion that there is a middle form of organization, the “regulated” economy, between the private property order and the public property order. In the former only the play of market forces can determine prices. If government prevents this play in any way, production loses its meaning and becomes chaotic. Finally, government must assume control in order to avoid the chaos it created.”

When property is private, government intervention cannot regulate without abolishing the principle of production

Ludwig von Mises 1929 (a prominent philosopher, Austrian School economist, and classical liberal)  “Kritik des Interventionismus (A Critique of Interventionism)” Published by the Journal of National Economics  <http://mises.org/etexts/mises/critique/section5.asp> (JE)

“Thus, we must agree with the classical liberals and some older socialists who believed it impossible in the private property order to eliminate the market influence on prices, and thereby on production and distribution, by decreeing prices that differ from market prices. For them it was no empty doctrinarism, but a profound recognition of social principles, when they emphasized the alternative: private property or public property, capitalism or socialism. In deed, for a society based on division of labor there are only these two possibilities; middle forms of organization are conceivable only in the sense that some means of produc tion may be publicly owned while others are owned privately. But wherever property is in private hands, government intervention cannot eliminate the market price without simultaneously abolishing the regulating principle of production.”

Impact: Price Intervention Unsound. Government price intervention is superfluous, useless, and harmful

Ludwig von Mises 1929 (a prominent philosopher, Austrian School economist, and classical liberal)  “Kritik des Interventionismus (A Critique of Interventionism)” Published by the Journal of National Economics  <http://mises.org/etexts/mises/critique/section5.asp> (JE)

“He who believes the formation of prices to be arbitrary easily arrives at the demand that they should be fixed by external regulation. If the conscience of the seller is lacking, if without fear of the wrath of God he demands more than is “fair,” a worldly authority must intervene in order to help justice prevail. And minimum prices must be imposed for certain commodities and services over which buyers are be lieved, not quite logically, to have the power to force devia tions from the just price. Government is called upon to create order because disorder and arbitrariness prevail. The practical doctrine based on the knowledge of scien tific economics and sociology—liberalism—rejects all intervention as superfluous, useless, and harmful. It is super fluous because built-in forces are at work that limit the arbitrariness of the exchanging parties. It is useless because the government objective of lower prices cannot be achieved by controls. And it is harmful because it deters production and consumption from those uses that, from the consumer’s viewpoint, are most important.”

2.   Legal Plunder.

Link:  Affirmative takes $20 billion from taxpayers and utilizes it for the benefit of people other than those who paid it.

Link:  When the law takes from one and gives to another, it is an instrument of plunder

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“You say: "There are persons who have no money," and you turn to the law. But the law is not a breast that fills itself with milk. Nor are the lacteal veins of the law supplied with milk from a source outside the society. Nothing can enter the public treasury for the benefit of one citizen or one class unless other citizens and other classes have been forced to send it in. If every person draws from the treasury the amount that he has put in it, it is true that the law then plunders nobody. But this procedure does nothing for the persons who have no money. It does not promote equality of income. The law can be an instrument of equalization only as it takes from some persons and gives to other persons. When the law does this, it is an instrument of plunder. With this in mind, examine the protective tariffs, subsidies, guaranteed profits, guaranteed jobs, relief and welfare schemes, public education, progressive taxation, free credit, and public works. You will find that they are always based on legal plunder, organized injustice.”

All manner of legal plunder constitutes socialism

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“Now, legal plunder can be committed in an infinite number of ways. Thus we have an infinite number of plans for organizing it: tariffs, protection, benefits, subsidies, encouragements, progressive taxation, public schools, guaranteed jobs, guaranteed profits, minimum wages, a right to relief, a right to the tools of labor, free credit, and so on, and so on. All these plans as a whole — with their common aim of legal plunder — constitute socialism. Now, since under this definition socialism is a body of doctrine, what attack can be made against it other than a war of doctrine? If you find this socialistic doctrine to be false, absurd, and evil, then refute it. And the more false, the more absurd, and the more evil it is, the easier it will be to refute. Above all, if you wish to be strong, begin by rooting out every particle of socialism that may have crept into your legislation. This will be no light task.”

Brink: If legal plunder is not stopped, then it will become a system, universalizing its organization

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“But how is this legal plunder to be identified? Quite simply. See if the law takes from some persons what belongs to them, and gives it to other persons to whom it does not belong. See if the law benefits one citizen at the expense of another by doing what the citizen himself cannot do without committing a crime. Then abolish this law without delay, for it is not only an evil itself, but also it is a fertile source for further evils because it invites reprisals. If such a law — which may be an isolated case — is not abolished immediately, it will spread, multiply, and develop into a system. The person who profits from this law will complain bitterly, defending his acquired rights. He will claim that the state is obligated to protect and encourage his particular industry; that this procedure enriches the state because the protected industry is thus able to spend more and to pay higher wages to the poor workingmen. Do not listen to this sophistry by vested interests. The acceptance of these arguments will build legal plunder into a whole system. In fact, this has already occurred. The present-day delusion is an attempt to enrich everyone at the expense of everyone else; to make plunder universal under the pretense of organizing it.”

Impact: Discord, Chaos and Social Destruction.  If the law is diverted, then everyone will want to plunder and society will destroy itself

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE) [brackets added]

“As long as it is admitted that the law may be diverted from its true purpose — that it may violate property instead of protecting it — then everyone will want to participate in making the law, either to protect himself against plunder or to use it for plunder. Political questions will always be prejudicial, dominant, and all-absorbing. There will be fighting at the door of the Legislative Palace, and the struggle within will be no less furious. To know this, it is hardly necessary to examine what transpires in the French and English legislatures; merely to understand the issue is to know the answer. Is there any need to offer proof that this odious perversion of the law is a perpetual source of hatred and discord; that it tends to destroy society itself? If such proof is needed, look at the United States [in 1850]. There is no country in the world where the law is kept more within its proper domain: the protection of every person's liberty and property. As a consequence of this, there appears to be no country in the world where the social order rests on a firmer foundation. But even in the United States, there are two issues — and only two — that have always endangered the public peace.”

3.  Tyranny and abuse of law

Link: Law is justice, not charity.  Law is organized justice, and should not be used for organizing humans, which would destroy its purpose

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“And, in all sincerity, can anything more than the absence of plunder be required of the law? Can the law — which necessarily requires the use of force — rationally be used for anything except protecting the rights of everyone? I defy anyone to extend it beyond this purpose without perverting it and, consequently, turning might against right. This is the most fatal and most illogical social perversion that can possibly be imagined. It must be admitted that the true solution — so long searched for in the area of social relationships — is contained in these simple words: Law is organized justice. Now this must be said: When justice is organized by law — that is, by force — this excludes the idea of using law (force) to organize any human activity whatever, whether it be labor, charity, agriculture, commerce, industry, education, art, or religion. The organizing by law of any one of these would inevitably destroy the essential organization — justice. For truly, how can we imagine force being used against the liberty of citizens without it also being used against justice, and thus acting against its proper purpose?”

Law is justice, which has precise boundaries – philanthropy has no limits

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“The mission of the law is not to oppress persons and plunder them of their property, even though the law may be acting in a philanthropic spirit. Its mission is to protect persons and property. Furthermore, it must not be said that the law may be philanthropic if, in the process, it refrains from oppressing persons and plundering them of their property; this would be a contradiction. The law cannot avoid having an effect upon persons and property; and if the law acts in any manner except to protect them, its actions then necessarily violate the liberty of persons and their right to own property. The law is justice — simple and clear, precise and bounded. Every eye can see it, and every mind can grasp it; for justice is measurable, immutable, and unchangeable. Justice is neither more than this nor less than this. If you exceed this proper limit — if you attempt to make the law religious, fraternal, equalizing, philanthropic, industrial, literary, or artistic — you will then be lost in an uncharted territory, in vagueness and uncertainty, in a forced utopia or, even worse, in a multitude of utopias, each striving to seize the law and impose it upon you. This is true because fraternity and philanthropy, unlike justice, do not have precise limits. Once started, where will you stop? And where will the law stop itself?”

Impact : Liberty thwarted.   Liberty is thwarted when men set themselves above mankind to arrange and organize it

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

In short, is not liberty the freedom of every person to make full use of his faculties, so long as he does not harm other persons while doing so? Is not liberty the destruction of all despotism — including, of course, legal despotism? Finally, is not liberty the restricting of the law only to its rational sphere of organizing the right of the individual to lawful self-defense; of punishing injustice? It must be admitted that the tendency of the human race toward liberty is largely thwarted, especially in France. This is greatly due to a fatal desire — learned from the teachings of antiquity — that our writers on public affairs have in common: They desire to set themselves above mankind in order to arrange, organize, and regulate it according to their fancy.”

Impact:  Government planning is the opposite of liberty.  We should reject planning and try  liberty

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“God has given to men all that is necessary for them to accomplish their destinies. He has provided a social form as well as a human form. And these social organs of persons are so constituted that they will develop themselves harmoniously in the clean air of liberty. Away, then, with quacks and organizers! A way with their rings, chains, hooks, and pincers! Away with their artificial systems! Away with the whims of governmental administrators, their socialized projects, their centralization, their tariffs, their government schools, their state religions, their free credit, their bank monopolies, their regulations, their restrictions, their equalization by taxation, and their pious moralizations! And now that the legislators and do-gooders have so futilely inflicted so many systems upon society, may they finally end where they should have begun: May they reject all systems, and try liberty; for liberty is an acknowledgment of faith in God and His works.”

Impact:  Democracy and socialism are always in conflict – one seeks liberty, the other servitude

Friedrich Hayek 1944. (renowned Austrian economist and philosopher best known for his defense of classical liberalism)  “The Road to Serfdom” republished in the “Collected works of F. A. Hayek Volume II” by the University of Chicago Press in 2007: (JE) (brackets added)

“Only under the influence of the strong democratic currents preceding the revolution of 1848 did socialism begin to ally itself with the forces of freedom. But it took a new “democratic socialism” a long time to live down the suspicions aroused by its antecedents. Nobody saw more clearly than [Alexis de] Tocqueville that democracy as an essentially individualist institution stood in an irreconcilable conflict with socialism. “Democracy extends the sphere of individual freedom,” he said in 1848; “socialism restricts it. Democracy attaches all possible value to each man; socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude.”

FRAMEWORK/PHILOSOPHY - MORAL DUTY CRITIQUE

The government is not guilty of the sufferings of humanity, and relief of suffering is not within the jurisdiction of the law itself

Frederic Bastiat 1850. (19th century French classical liberal theorist, and political economist) “The Law” Third Edition, Published by the Foundation for Economic Education in 2007 (JE)

“Law is justice. In this proposition a simple and enduring government can be conceived. And I defy anyone to say how even the thought of revolution, of insurrection, of the slightest uprising could arise against a government whose organized force was confined only to suppressing injustice. Under such a regime, there would be the most prosperity — and it would be the most equally distributed. As for the sufferings that are inseparable from humanity, no one would even think of accusing the government for them. This is true because, if the force of government were limited to suppressing injustice, then government would be as innocent of these sufferings as it is now innocent of changes in the temperature. As proof of this statement, consider this question: Have the people ever been known to rise against the Court of Appeals, or mob a Justice of the Peace, in order to get higher wages, free credit, tools of production, favorable tariffs, or government-created jobs? Everyone knows perfectly well that such matters are not within the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals or a Justice of the Peace. And if government were limited to its proper functions, everyone would soon learn that these matters are not within the jurisdiction of the law itself.

A man is responsible for his own economic success and failure

Prof. Benjamin A. Rogge 1963 (Dean and Professor of Economics and Wabash College)  “The Case for Economic Freedom” Published by The Freeman in 1963, republished in “The Freedom Philosophy” by the Foundation for Economic Education in 1988: (JE)

“The doctrine of man held in general in nineteenth-century America argued that each man was ultimately responsible for what happened to him, for his own salvation, both in the here and now and in the hereafter. Thus, whether a man prospered or failed in economic life was each man’s individual responsibility: each man had a right to the rewards for success and, in the same sense, deserved the punishment that came with failure. It followed as well that it is explicitly immoral to use the power of government to take from one man to give to another, to legalize Robin Hood. This doctrine of man found its economic counterpart in the system of free enterprise and, hence, the system of free enterprise was accepted and respected by man who had no real understanding of its subtleties as a technique for organizing resource use.”

Each man is responsible for his destiny, and his ability to rise above influences

Prof. Benjamin A. Rogge 1963 (Dean and Professor of Economics and Wabash College)  “The Case for Economic Freedom” Published by The Freeman in 1963, republished in “The Freedom Philosophy” by the Foundation for Economic Education in 1988: (JE)

“Next, I believe each man to be ultimately responsible for what happens to him. True, he is influenced by his heredity, his environment, his subconscious, and by pure chance. But I insist that precisely what makes man man is his ability to rise above these influences, to change and determine his own destiny. If this be true, then it follows that each of us is terribly and inevitably and forever responsible for everything he does. The answer to the question, “Who’s to blame?” is always, “Mea culpa, I am”.”

Govt. sending aid doesn’t make you or the bureaucrat a good person

Jacob G. Hornberger 2005.  (founder and president of The Future of Freedom Foundation; Former trial attorney; Former Adjunct Professor of Law and Economics at University of Dallas B.A. in economics from Virginia Military Institute; law degree from the Univ of Texas) “The Separation of Charity and State” Published by The Future of Freedom Foundation   Dec 2005 [www.fff.org/freedom/fd0601a.pdf](http://www.fff.org/freedom/fd0601a.pdf) (JE)

“Proponents of the welfare state sometimes suggest that when federal officials dole out money to people, it reflects the goodness and compassion of the American people. But how can that be? When your employer withholds part of your income to send it to the IRS, does it reflect compassion for others either by you or your employer? Or does it instead reflect fear of IRS retaliation for nonpayment of taxes? And when a federal bureaucrat sends money to someone in need, how does that make you a compassionate and caring person? It doesn’t. And it also doesn’t mean that the bureaucrat is a good and caring person, because he’s not donating his own money but instead doling out the money that the IRS has forcibly exacted from American taxpayers.”

Turn: Violates Moral Principles.  The welfare state is not moral; it violates principles morality and freedom

Jacob G. Hornberger 2005.  (founder and president of The Future of Freedom Foundation; Former trial attorney; Former Adjunct Professor of Law and Economics at University of Dallas B.A. in economics from Virginia Military Institute; law degree from Univ of Texas) “The Separation of Charity and State” Published by The Future of Freedom Foundation   Dec 2005 [www.fff.org/freedom/fd0601a.pdf](http://www.fff.org/freedom/fd0601a.pdf) (JE)

“In fact, while proponents of the welfare state imply that their system is founded on moral principles, the situation is actually the opposite. The welfare-state system constitutes a grave violation of the principles of morality, not to mention the principles of freedom and free will. Think of it this way: Suppose I hold a gun to someone’s head and force him to take $5,000 out his bank account at an ATM. I then go into the poorest part of Washington, D.C., and I give every cent of what I took from him to poor people. Would anyone say that I had performed a moral or compassionate act? No. Everyone would clearly see that I had conducted myself in an immoral manner. If I want to help the poor, then I should do it with my own money or with money that people have voluntarily donated to me for that purpose. To use money that I have forced other people to give me doesn’t make me a caring and compassionate person and, for that matter, it doesn’t make the person from whom I’ve forcibly taken the money a caring and compassionate person, even though his money was given to the poor. It simply makes me a thief and him a victim of theft. While everyone can clearly see the moral implications of that scenario, for some reason people’s reasoning becomes cloudy when government enters the picture. If government does the same thing, the feeling is that what would ordinarily be considered an immoral act is somehow converted into a moral act. Or the feeling is that if a majority of the people vote in favor of the action, somehow it becomes moral. Isn’t that what the entire concept of the welfare state is based on: a perversion of moral values as well as a denial of the freedom of the individual to decide what to do with his own money?

INHERENCY

G20 AMIS - Agricultural Markets Information System, an early warning system for food crises

Ryan Hilimoniuk  2011. (Researcher for the G20 Research Group; M.A. candidate in International Affairs at Balsillie School of International Affairs; graduate of the University of Waterloo) “2011 G20 Plans and Preparations” Published by the G20 Research Group 25 Oct 2011: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/g20plans/> (JE)

“Calls made by French president Nicolas Sarkozy earlier for G20 members to place greater attention on food security and commodity price stability have resulted in the ratification of an agricultural markets information system (AMIS) by G20 members. AMIS is designed to manage volatility of food prices as well as to provide an early warning system by flagging potential food crises. In its initial stage, AMIS’s capacity will be limited to monitoring prices, trade, output and inventory of wheat, rice, soybean and corn commodities. The intention is to add country participation in AMIS and expand its capacity to cover a wider range of commodities, making it a “global organization.” (September 30, 2011, Dow Jones Commodities Service).81”

Regional Efforts:  Much of the work on food reserves is being done regionally

Olivier De Schutter 2011. (United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food) “The World Trade Organization and the Post-Global Food Crisis Agenda” Published by the World Trade Organization in November 2011 <http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news11_e/deschutter_2011_e.pdf> (JE)

“Much of the current work on food reserves is being advanced outside the WTO and instead under regional cooperation bodies. These include the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the South African Development Community (SADC), and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS-CEDEAO) with the Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC) hosted within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which are either implementing new, or strengthening existing, regional food reserves.”

MINOR REPAIR:  Best way to assure affordable prices is to encourage production

Ryan Hilimoniuk  2011. (Researcher for the G20 Research Group; M.A. candidate in International Affairs at Balsillie School of International Affairs; graduate of the University of Waterloo) “2011 G20 Plans and Preparations” Published by the G20 Research Group on October 25, 2011: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/g20plans/> (JE)

“Brazilian finance minister Guido Mantega said that the best way to assure affordable food prices, over the long run, is to encourage greater production. “One way to hold down commodities prices would be to encourage greater production in emerging and poor countries,” he said, adding that “developed countries could help this process with investments.”91 (February 15, 2011, Dow Jones International News)”

SIGNIFICANCE

Price Volatility Is Overblown:  Volatility is not exceptionally high, is not increasing, and may drop down

Prof. C. L. Gilbert  and Prof. C.W. Morgan 2010. (Gilbert - Professor of Economics at the Univ of Trento, Italy.  Morgan - Professor of Economics at the Univ of Nottingham, UK) “Food price volatility” Royal Society of Biological Sciences  <http://rstb.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/365/1554/3023.full> (JE)

“There is a general tendency for commentators to assert that food price volatility has increased over time—however, the reverse appears to be true. Volatility has jumped over the most recent years, but there have also been periods of high volatility in the past and, except in the important case of grains, the recent episode does not appear exceptional. It is therefore possible to hope that volatility levels will drop back to historical levels over the coming years. Despite this, there are factors—global warming, oil price volatility transmitted via biofuel demand, index investment in futures markets—that may have led to a permanent increase in volatility in particular in grains prices. We cannot rule this possibility out, but we see little evidence that substantiates these claims, which we therefore regard as (perhaps reasonable) conjecture and not fact. It is unhelpful, but nevertheless correct, to say that we need to wait for several more years before firm conclusions will be possible.”

FAO 2007/08 price spike study is faulty, and there is no mechanism to find the impact of food prices on the poor

Benoit Daviron & the UN High Level Panel of Experts 2011.  (lead author; team leader, High level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition (HLPE), Project Team, UN Committee on World Food Security. The other members of the project team were: Niama Nango Dembele, Sophia Murphy and Shahidur Rashid) “Price Volatility and Food Security” - A report by the High Level Panel of Experts On Food Security and Nutrition, July 2011 <http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/hlpe/hlpe_documents/HLPE-price-volatility-and-food-security-report-July-2011.pdf> (JE)

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has estimated that the 2007/08 price spike increased the number of undernourished people from about 850 million in 2007 to about 1023 million in 2009. These estimates are contested on several grounds however, including the failure to account for the specific conditions of countries with protected domestic markets, such as India and China, where there was little transmission of higher global prices and have had strong income growth. Furthermore, FAO estimates do not account for the gains from the higher prices commodities (non-cereal) on which millions of people in developing countries rely for their livelihood. To date, there is no institutional mechanism that systematically collects and analyzes data with a view to informing a global and dynamic vision of the actual impact of food price crises on vulnerable populations.

Statistics on price volatility only provide partial information

Dr. Brian Wright and Prof. Carlo Cafiero 2010. (Wright - Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association.   Cafiero - Assistant professor of Agricultural Economics and Policy at the Università di Napoli Federico) “Grain Reserves and Food Security in MENA Countries” (ethical disclosure about the date:  The article is undated, but contains internal references to events in 2010, so it was written no earlier than that year.) <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEC/Resources/84797-1288208580656/7508096-1288208619603/Wright_Grain_Reserves_and_Food_Security_in_MENA_Countries_PAPER.pdf> (JE)

“Discussions of the recent food market crisis have naturally associated high food prices with food insecurity. However, too little attention has been paid to the nature and quantitative extent of the relationship between the level of prices and the depth of food insecurity. The analysis has been focused on the volatility of prices and the presence of spikes, often with reference to short-term, intra-seasonal volatility of quoted prices. One problem is that official statistics on prices, as used by analysts, provide only partial information on the conditions of local food markets, lacking the quantity dimension. In other words, if a daily or weekly high price is quoted on a mercantile exchange, with no indication of the amount of commodity being traded in that particular day or week, it is difficult to assess what that implies for the availability of food to poor consumers, or for the prices they pay.

High price spike can be only a few days and only a few transactions

Governments in MENA (Middle East / North Africa) have systems in place to protect consumers against high food prices.

Short-term volatility doesn’t really prove there’s a problem at the consumer level

Dr. Brian Wright and Prof. Carlo Cafiero 2010. (Wright - Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association.   Cafiero - Assistant professor of Agricultural Economics and Policy at the Università di Napoli Federico) “Grain Reserves and Food Security in MENA Countries” (ethical disclosure about the date:  The article is undated, but contains internal references to events in 2010, so it was written no earlier than that year.) <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEC/Resources/84797-1288208580656/7508096-1288208619603/Wright_Grain_Reserves_and_Food_Security_in_MENA_Countries_PAPER.pdf> (JE)

The high price, especially if the spike only lasts for few days or weeks, might be associated with limited transactions in a thin market. For example, as increasing numbers of exporters restricted access to their markets in 2007/08, they severed the links between the welfare of their domestic consumers and reported prices in global markets. On the other side of the market, major importers including most MENA countries have long insulated much domestic consumption from global volatility of price, and indeed go further, reducing mean prices on much or all of domestic consumption below market levels.  The consideration above points to the limitations of inferences relating short-term volatility of prices to consumer welfare in MENA countries.

SOLVENCY:

1.  Vagueness, more study needed.

Advocates say: $20 billion a preliminary estimate, but further analysis is needed

Dr. Joachim von Braun, Justin Lin & Dr. Maxim Torero 2009. [von Braun - director general of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). Torero - director of IFPRI’s Markets, Trade, and Institutions Division. Lin - Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the World Bank) “Eliminating Drastic Food Price Spikes” Published by the International Food Policy Research Institute <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/eliminating-drastic-food-price-spikes> (JE)

“Preliminary estimates show that for the virtual reserve to be a credible signal, the fund should be US$12–20 billion. A fund of this size might cover 30 to 50 percent of normal grain trade volume. Determining the exact size of this fund will require further analysis, however, because commodity futures markets allow for high levels of leverage.”

Given multibillion-dollar cost, Von Braun and Torero proposal requires critical attention

Dr. Brian Wright 2009. (Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association) “International Grain Reserves: And Other Instruments to Address Volatility in Grain Markets” Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank in August 2009 <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/08/25/000158349_20090825154655/Rendered/PDF/WPS5028.pdf> (JE)

“Indeed, the specific motivation for this program is not clear. Given the multibillion dollar cost, estimated by the proposers (von Braun and Torero 2009, p. 12) at $12–$20 billion U.S. dollars, where the lower bound is around half of the entire public agricultural research budget worldwide, this initiative requires critical attention.”

Impact: The Affirmatives own advocate says the plan needs more analysis before we can do it.

For comparison:  Total UN budget is $5.4 billion.   Affirmative plan is several times the size of the total UN budget

UN Economic & Social Commission for Asia & The Pacific 2011  “PROGRAM PLANNING & PARTNERSHIPS AT ESCAP”  (ethical disclosure about the date:  The article is copyrighted 2012, but internal references to total numbers for 2010 and events still underway in 2011 indicated it was written in 2011) <http://www.unescap.org/pmd/resources.asp>

The total UN budget, including that of ESCAP, approved by the General Assembly for the biennium 2010-2011 is US$ 5.4 billion. Member States contribute to this budget based on an assessed rate of contributions.

2.  Inadequate Funding

Link: An emergency food stockpile pilot for West African countries would cost $45 billion

Ryan Hilimoniuk  2011. (Researcher for the G20 Research Group; M.A. candidate in International Affairs at Balsillie School of International Affairs; graduate of the University of Waterloo) “2011 G20 Plans and Preparations” Published by the G20 Research Group on 25 Oct 2011: <http://www.g20.utoronto.ca/g20plans/> (JE)

“France’s cooperation minister Henri de Raincourt has put forward proposals to create an emergency food stockpile for countries hit by unexpected food shortages such as in event of natural disasters. West African countries have expressed interest in being the location for the trial run of the initiative. De Rancourt stated that to start the stockpile would require $45 billion from the international community. The stockpile is consistent with the French presidency’s agenda priority of food security.82 (September 24, 2011, Canadian Press)”

Impact: only one emergency food stockpile pilot would cost $45 billion, but the Affirmative doesn’t provide for that funding, and doesn’t know how many billions (or trillions) of dollars they’ll have to pour into developing countries for reserves.

3.  Administrative Failure.  An emergency reserve faces administrative challenges, like transportation. Direct assistance is best

Dr. Brian Wright 2009. (Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association) “International Grain Reserves: And Other Instruments to Address Volatility in Grain Markets” Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank in August 2009 <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/08/25/000158349_20090825154655/Rendered/PDF/WPS5028.pdf> (JE)

“Operation of disaster relief programs typically requires reserves to be on hand to ensure a smooth and timely response to food supply emergencies and related humanitarian disasters. An example of such a reserve forms the first part of a recent three-point proposal by von Braun et al. (March, 2009). It sketches an outline of a small “independent emergency reserve” of about 5% of the current annual food aid flow of 6.7 wheat-equivalent metric tons. This would be a decentralized reserve managed by the United Nations World Food Program and held in existing national storage facilities at strategic locations with essentially a call option on the grain deposits at precrisis prices. One would anticipate that this type of stock would be used for local and regional food shortages, often in landlocked countries or failed states. Such shortages are often unrelated to global market conditions so the exporter commitment problem previously discussed is less relevant. Recent difficulties involving lags in food aid responses and mismatches between years when aid is plentiful and years when it is needed might be alleviated by such a reserve. On the other hand, care must be taken to minimize disincentives caused by the price-depressing effects of food distribution for the local farmers and merchants who are the first line of defense against famine for such countries 18 . The reserve would be useful in improving the speed and flexibility of short-run responses to local food crises. But its operation presents many challenges familiar to administrators of aid programs. For example, measures should be taken to ensure that transport will be available for delivering this aid, especially for landlocked countries such as those in Africa that have recently encountered food crises. It seems likely that direct assistance to the neediest, where feasible, would be more effective than attempting to reduce prices by supplying extra grain to regular food markets. Public employment programs for those needy who are able to work have been successful in cases where it has been possible to keep the reward for work low enough to be unattractive to those with other employment alternatives. 19 The proposed modest reserve could be crucial for tackling local humanitarian crises. But its impact would be negligible on the global market volatility that is the focus of this paper.”

4.  Market Forecasting Failure.   No experts can outperform the market in forecasting or trading, and organizations have no record for such performance

Dr. Brian Wright 2009. (Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association) “International Grain Reserves: And Other Instruments to Address Volatility in Grain Markets” Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank in August 2009 <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/08/25/000158349_20090825154655/Rendered/PDF/WPS5028.pdf> (JE)

“There is no evidence that any chosen group of experts, no matter how well qualified and motivated, can reliably determine when a competitive market is acting in a way not justified by fundamentals. Indeed, the evidence against the general proposition that designated experts can outperform the market in forecasting or trading has grown overwhelmingly in the last several decades. Certainly the major international organizations concerned with food markets for the poor have no record of demonstrating such performance and wisely make no assertions of the capacity to do so.”

5.  Not solving the root cause.    Must address fundamental sources of disturbance, or else we end up stabilizing one thing and destabilizing something else

Dr. Brian Wright 2009. (Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association) “International Grain Reserves: And Other Instruments to Address Volatility in Grain Markets” Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank in August 2009 <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/08/25/000158349_20090825154655/Rendered/PDF/WPS5028.pdf> (JE)

“Unless they address the fundamental source of disturbance (for example, disease, war, or weather), “stabilization” policies must actually destabilize some key variables (stocks or public budgets, for example) as they stabilize others (such as price).”

DISADVANTAGES:

1.  Virtual Reserve Price Surge

Link:  “Virtual Reserve” proposed by von Braun and Torero would make prices rise further than if govt. had not intervened and the program will lose all its value

Dr. Brian Wright 2009. (Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association) “International Grain Reserves: And Other Instruments to Address Volatility in Grain Markets” Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank in August 2009 <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/08/25/000158349_20090825154655/Rendered/PDF/WPS5028.pdf> (JE)

“In another interpretation that more closely reflects written sketches by von Braun and Torero (2009) and Robles, Torero, and von Braun (2009), the “price band” that they mention appears to be irrelevant; indeed, the function of the floor price is not discussed. The “virtual reserve” would apparently adopt no long positions and hold no stocks in normal times but would stand ready to take naked short positions (not backed by stocks or prospective harvests) when a price surge is detected by a global intelligence unit endowed with information about the market or special forecasting powers unavailable to other market participants. The idea is to arrange access to financial resources from nations that are club members to back these interventions, which “will reduce spot prices and should make speculators move out of the market” (von Braun and Torero 2009, p. 3). That is, the intervention is designed to reduce levels of stocks deemed excessive by the global intelligence unit. (Price does not fall unless consumption increases; increased consumption must come from stocks in the short run.) This is a puzzling response to propose as a way to address recent price spikes which, as hereafter noted, occur only when stocks are at minimum levels relative to supplies available to the market. The short sale itself does not increase stocks; it is equivalent in its effect on supply to borrowing stocks from the market and selling them forward. If the global intelligence unit does convince the market to release stocks it would otherwise hold but its forecast of the future supply turns out to be too optimistic, market participants will know that the program, as a short speculator, will have to cover its naked short commitments. Prices will rise further than if the program had not intervened and the program will lose the entire change in value of its short positions.”

Deeper explanation/analysis based on economic theory: Government intervention causes price increases and inventory decreases

Ludwig von Mises 1929. (prominent philosopher, Austrian School economist, and classical liberal) “Kritik des Interventionismus (A Critique of Interventionism)” Journal of National Economics in 1929: <http://mises.org/etexts/mises/critique/section5.asp> (JE)

“Other price controls are to prevent windfall profits that might be reaped under extraordinary conditions. If a city power company for any reason should be prevented from generating power for a few days, candle prices would soar, and merchants with candle supplies would reap extraordinary profits. Now government intervenes and sets a price ceiling for candles, at the same time forcing the sale of candles as long as the supply lasts. This has no permanent effect on the candle supply inasmuch as the power failure is quickly corrected. Only insofar as merchants and producers, having such failures in mind, calculate prices and candle inventory does government intervention have future consequences. If the merchants must anticipate that under similar conditions government will again intervene, the price charged under normal conditions will rise and the incentive for larger inventories will be reduced.”

Impact: Turn – Prices increase more than they would have if we had left the market alone. According to AFF, price spikes are bad, so their impacts get worse after an Affirmative ballot.

2.  Market Distortion

Link: The Affirmative sets a fixed amount for emergency reserves

Link:  G20 nations oppose food reserves because they may distort international markets

AlertNet 2011. [A Thomson Reuters Foundation Service]: “West Africa, UN plan to trial emergency food reserve” Published in August 2011 (brackets added) <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/news/west-africa-un-plan-to-trial-emergency-food-reserve/> (JE)

“At the regional level, there are a small number of fledgling initiatives that aim to address food emergencies, tackle poverty and boost food security - mainly in Asia. But they have drifted and require high-level political support to get them working effectively, the report said.  Yet, according to [Soren] Ambrose [international policy manager with ActionAid in Nairobi] some G20 nations - including the United States, Canada and Australia - are refusing to support food reserves specifically intended to regulate prices because they could distort international markets. "They are concerned about their food exporters, and their ability to make profits. The idea of doing something that interferes with market prices is anathema," he said.”

Uniqueness: Precision is needed (and the Affirmative leaves no room for any)

Empirical: PRMC adjusted regional reserves to avoid distorting grain market prices

Dr. Mwangi S. Kimenyi  2011. (senior fellow and director of the Africa Growth Initiative; Ph.D. Economics, Center for the Study of Public Choice, George Mason University; M.A. Economics, Ohio University; M.A. International Affairs, Ohio University; Research Associate, University of Oxford, Center for the Study of African Economies; Associate Prof, Dept of Economics Univ of Connecticut) “A Regional Approach to Managing Africa’s Food Shocks” Published by the Brookings Institution in August 2011 <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2011/08/23-africa-food-shocks-kimenyi> (JE)

“Mali and Ethiopia are examples of successful “food governance” systems in Africa, both of which face highly variable rainfall patterns and rely on rain-fed grain production. Mali, the more arid of the two, has held strategic reserves through the Programme de Restructuration du Marché Céréalier [Program for Restructuring the Cereal Market] or PRMC since 1981. The PRMC successfully mitigated the 2004-2005 drought and subsequent locust invasion that devastated neighboring Niger. PRMC phased out its role as an intervener in the grain market and bolstered its role as a provider of market information and social safety nets via emergency grain stock. After the 2004-2005 period of drought, PRMC adjusted their reserves from 35,000 metric tons to hold 69,000 metric tons of cereals, rice, and coarse grains. This adjustment was made in order to keep supplies low enough to avoid distorting grain market prices, but large enough to cover food shortages experienced during the 2004-2005 drought.”

Analysis: prices work both ways – they can go up and hurt people, and they can go down and hurt farmers. The Affirmative does not in anyway strike a balance between the possibility of shortages and the need to avoid distorting international grain prices. An over infusion follows normal supply and demand: the price goes down too far.

Impact: Downward swings in prices depress rural household incomes

Olivier De Schutter 2011. (United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food]: “The World Trade Organization and the Post-Global Food Crisis Agenda” Published by the World Trade Organization in November 2011) <http://www.wto.org/english/news_e/news11_e/deschutter_2011_e.pdf> (JE)

“There is now a more general concern over price volatility by policymakers that requires concerted action, given that excessive price volatility can have profound negative effects on food security. Upward price swings like the ones experienced in 2007-2008 and in 2010- 2011, present unique problems such as making food unaffordable and significantly reducing access to food. Since small-scale farmers are often net-food buyers and, as producers, have a generally weak bargaining position vis-à-vis the buyers, upwards price swings do not necessarily benefit them and make them better off: as sellers, the farm gate prices they receive are substantially below the retail price (with the increase in prices mostly captured by traders and processors) whereas as food purchasers they must pay the full retail price. But downward swings in food prices present other critical challenges: while downward movement in prices decreases the overall food bills of poor households it can also depress income for rural households.”

SOURCE INDICTMENT

Von Braun and Torero have no evidence to back their claims, and no reason why it’ll work

Dr. Brian Wright 2009. (Ph.D. in Economics from Harvard University; Professor and Chair of the Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics at the University of California, Berkley; Fellow of the American Agricultural Economics Association) “International Grain Reserves: And Other Instruments to Address Volatility in Grain Markets” Published by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank in August 2009 <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2009/08/25/000158349_20090825154655/Rendered/PDF/WPS5028.pdf> (JE)

“On the basis of their tests, which, as noted, were overwhelmingly negative, von Braun and Torero (2009, p. 2) concluded that “Appropriate global institutional arrangements for preventing this kind of market failure are needed.” Assuming the proposal is a serious plan to commit multiple billions of dollars, it is unfortunately necessary to point out that they present no example of a verified finding of an irrational price surge linked to the speculation they aim to curb. Indeed, their evidence makes no real case for suspecting a negative role of speculation, provides no evidence of (unspecified) market failure, and offers no reason to believe that the proposed interventions will have any desired effect at all.”

Robles study (used by  von Braun) has faulty methodology

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“The implementation proposal (von Braun and Torero 2009) quotes the results of Robles et al. (2009), which are Granger noncausality tests that actually find no evidence of influence by noncommercial long speculators on wheat or maize and only two significant cases of influence among 47 samples for rough rice, about what one would expect by chance at a 5% significance level. They find only one instance of effect of index traders (less than expected by chance) for maize. They also find a few other instances of rejection of Granger noncausality with respect to trading volume and short speculation, neither of which has been generally viewed as problematic recently. Although the Granger causality tests of Robles et al. are overwhelmingly negative, this type of casual use of the test merits comment as it has become popular in searches for harmful effects of speculation. The concept, even when assuming it has been implemented as intended by Granger, is controversial from a philosophical viewpoint. Furthermore its implementation requires that all relevant information variables except the candidate cause be included. In Robles et al. only lags of own-price and a speculation proxy variable were included as determinants of the current price. The problem with missing information is illustrated by the following thought experiment. You see through your window a man walking past. He raises his umbrella. A minute later it starts to rain. If a sample is constructed using a number of instances like this, a Granger causality test including only rain and the raising of umbrellas could show umbrellas to be a significant cause of rain. Add other variables (thunder, for example) and the finding of causality of rain by the raising of umbrellas could be supplanted by a finding that thunder causes rain. Of course, neither finding demonstrates true causality. Likewise, in commodity markets, omission of relevant variables (candidates could be the closing of the Indian export market, new biofuel policy announcements, and weather changes) renders the results uninformative.”

4. NEGATIVE BRIEF:  HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL REFORM

NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY / OPENING QUOTE / OVERVIEW

UNHRC is effective today:  Recent reforms have made it a credible human rights watchdog

Suzanne Nossel 2012. (executive director, Amnesty International; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for international organizations at the US Dept. of State) May 2012 Advancing Human Rights in the UN System, <http://www.cfr.org/un/advancing-human-rights-un-system/p28414>

Beginning in 2009, however, the UNHRC began to shift gears and play a more active role. The UNHRC distinguished itself as the first UN political body to address Syria’s atrocities in April 2011 and remained increasingly engaged as the crisis escalated. Though the UNHRC lacks the coercive machinery of the UNSC, it made full use of the tools at its disposal, including the establishment of an international commission of inquiry and the issuance of strong, condemnatory resolutions that underscore Syria’s isolation on the world stage. Due in significant part to vigorous, determined efforts by the United States, the Human Rights Council Demonstrates a newfound credibility as a human rights watchdog.

HARMS / FAILURES

Set expectations correctly: The HRC is not intended to be a judicial process for resolving human rights issues, only a political forum for exchange of views.

Analysis:  Affirmative’s “failures” of the HRC may actually be failure to meet some unreasonable expectation that the HRC was never intended to have

Dr. Miko Lempinen and Prof. Martin Scheinin 2007.  (Lempinen -  Finnish League for Human Rights.   Scheinin - former United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights and counter-terrorism; former member of the United Nations Human Rights Committee; currently Professor of Public International Law at the European University Institute) Åbo Akademi University, Institute for Human Rights, 7-8 Nov 2007, Workshop organized by the European University Institute, Istituto Affari Internazionali, and the Institute for Human Rights at Åbo Akademi University,  European University Institute, Villa Schifanoia, La Cappella, “Substantive Report” <http://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/AcademyofEuropeanLaw/Projects/HRCReport.pdf>

It was, nonetheless, stressed that the Human Rights Council, as its predecessor, is primarily intended as a forum for political exchange of views and negotiations contributing to placing human rights on the agenda of states. Because of the inherently political nature of any Charter based human rights body, be it a commission or a council, it is, it was pointed out, crucial to make a clear distinction between these political human rights fora and the judicial or quasi-judicial instruments.

“BASHING ISRAEL” RESPONSES:

The Palestinian occupation is the largest and longest-standing refugee problem in the world

Analysis: No surprise that the biggest problem in the world gets the most attention

John Ging 2010. (Director of UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) operations in Gaza) 8 Mar 2010  “Predicament of a Different Order: Palestine Refugees under Occupation”  <http://www.boell.de/worldwide/middleeast/middle-east-palestine-refugees-occupation-8685.html>

Refugees under occupation. Nowhere else in the world are these three words combined to describe the living reality of nearly two million people. But for Palestine refugees in the occupied Palestinian territory, these words have for more than 40 years captured the essence of a doubly deprived existence caught in a political impasse, denied basic human rights, and largely removed from the international agenda except irregular and elusive references to final status issues in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and a peace process long derailed. The Palestinian plight speaks to us and demands our attention: through the elderly woman, waiting patiently to receive her basic food ration; the young men and women barred from higher education abroad for want of a respected travel document; and the hundreds of thousands of bright and eager children learning about our shared international human rights framework and principles in United Nations-run schools. The largest and longest-standing refugee problem in the world exposes international political weakness in a tableau of individual and collective tragedy.

Occupation of the West Bank deserves more international attention and action than it gets

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In the West Bank, behind walls and fences, separated by roadblocks and checkpoints, held captive to the logic of territorial expansion and pronounced Israeli security needs, Palestine refugees are forced to witness the steady division and erosion of what prior to Israeli occupation in 1967 was contiguous land full of promise and potential. Since 1967, military occupation combined with systematic abuses has changed the land and with it the conditions for its residents beyond recognition. Cut off from Jerusalem the centre of commerce, culture and home to the Holy Sites, Palestine refugees in the West Bank are forced to live a doubly disjointed existence – denied their right to maintain relations within their territorial unit and to other parts of the occupied Palestinian territory. Segregation, separation and isolation are all fitting descriptions of the current situation, to which reality the level of international concern and decisive action should be made to match.

UNHRC is effective despite the Israel agenda

James Traub 2012.  (a fellow of the Center on International Cooperation; member of the Council on Foreign Relations; contributing writer for New York Times Magazine) 1 June 2012  “U.N. Human Rights Council Condemns Actual Human Rights Abusers!”   FOREIGN POLICY <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/06/01/not_just_for_israel_anymore?page=full>

It's true that the UNHCR remains fixated on Israel; the council has a standing agenda item requiring an annual report on Israel's human rights record in the West Bank. But that's not the whole truth. The council has responded to the Arab Spring with resolutions sharply criticizing the regimes in Libya and Syria; as I write, the council is in special session to respond to the massacre in the Syrian villages of al-Houla. I'm surprised -- and critics on the right should be very surprised-- at the extent to which the United States has been able to make the Human Rights Council more effective by joining it and intensely engaging in its work, which is precisely what Obama predicted what happen.

“Membership Criteria flawed” - Response:  Status Quo HRC has credibility because it is currently seen as globally representative. Examples:  Libya and Syria actions

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan 2011.  “Despite flaws, UN Human Rights Council can bring progress” 8 Dec 2011  CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, <http://theelders.org/article/despite-flaws-un-human-rights-council-can-bring-progress>

In the midst of the Arab Spring, the Human Rights Council – backed by the UN General Assembly’s universal membership – voted unanimously to suspend Libya’s membership. The Council has also condemned Syria’s human rights violations by a strong majority vote, forced it to withdraw its bid for a seat, and appointed an investigation into human rights violations there. The Council’s actions were seen as legitimate because they were supported by a globally representative body.

Syria example proves: UNHRC has credibility and is effective

Suzanne Nossel 2012. (executive director, Amnesty International; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for international organizations at the US Dept. of State) May 2012 Advancing Human Rights in the UN System, <http://www.cfr.org/un/advancing-human-rights-un-system/p28414>

Beginning in 2009, however, the UNHRC began to shift gears and play a more active role. The UNHRC distinguished itself as the first UN political body to address Syria’s atrocities in April 2011 and remained increasingly engaged as the crisis escalated. Though the UNHRC lacks the coercive machinery of the UNSC, it made full use of the tools at its disposal, including the establishment of an international commission of inquiry and the issuance of strong, condemnatory resolutions that underscore Syria’s isolation on the world stage. Due in significant part to vigorous, determined efforts by the United States, the Human Rights Council Demonstrates a newfound credibility as a human rights watchdog.

INHERENCY - Reforms have already been made and are effective

Bloc Voting reform is working.  Current reforms of “bloc voting” are improving effectiveness - more important than membership composition

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan 2011.  “Despite flaws, UN Human Rights Council can bring progress” 8 Dec 2011  CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, <http://theelders.org/article/despite-flaws-un-human-rights-council-can-bring-progress>

More consequential to the Council’s effectiveness than its composition has been the fact that many Council members – from all regions of the world – have begun to break free from the regional straightjackets of the past and worked together to advance human rights. The regional bloc voting practices of the past are giving way to more considered discussion and collective action. This engagement on the part of countries has helped to make the Council more effective and progressive than other human rights institutions.

UNHRC is doing well.  Satisfactory performance in 2011 shows substantial improvement since 2006

Bonian Golmohammadi 2012. (Secretary-General, World Federation of United Nations Associations; previously  served as secretary-general of the United Nations Association of Sweden; introduced several new programmatic initiatives, such as a bilateral international project in more than 10 countries including China, Georgia, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The projects ranged on issues from the Millennium Development Goals, conflict prevention, human rights and organizational capacity building; has served or is serving on various advisory boards for Swedish ministers for development, international development corporations, U.N. entities, and civil society organizations) 23 Feb 2012 “Human Rights Council 2012: Keeping Up the Credibility”  HUFFINGTON POST, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bonian-golmohammadi/human-rights-council_b_1297422.html>

The year 2011 marked a substantial step forward in the work of the UN for the advancement of human rights. For the first time since its inception in 2006, the UN Human Rights Council (HRC) embraced a much more active role responding to many human rights issues of the day. It called for special sessions on Libya and Syria to implement bold steps in response to human rights crises; It appointed a new Special Rapporteur to Iran and established a Commission of Inquiry and an Independent Expert to Cote d'Ivoire; It incorporated new, controversial norms into its agenda, such as sexual orientation and gender identity, and elected its first female president, Ambassador Dupuy Lasserre of Uruguay. The Council's overall satisfactory performance in 2011 is the result of a more positive engagement of its members States and the unrelenting efforts of civil society organizations. States have started working collaboratively and the Council's detrimental 'group' dynamic, that sees groups of States joining forces to block resolutions, is dwindling. This has had remarkably encouraging effects on addressing selected country situations.

UPR (Universal Periodic Review) is solving for membership credibility

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2011 marked the end of the first cycle of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), a non-political mechanism that scrutinizes all States at the same level: a great majority of States shows serious commitment to improving their human rights record in view of the next cycle to begin in May 2012. The UPR has contributed to levelling out differences amongst member States and addressing double standards. It has had a positive effect on convincing all member States of the necessity to fully engage with all UN human rights mechanisms, and has added credibility and impartiality to the work of the Council on which it is now crucial to build.

MINOR REPAIR: Use existing Universal Periodic Review.  UPR is an effective potential tool for improving human rights credentials of UNHRC members

Suzanne Nossel 2012. (executive director, Amnesty International; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for international organizations at the US Dept. of State) May 2012 Advancing Human Rights in the UN System, <http://www.cfr.org/un/advancing-human-rights-un-system/p28414>

U.S. efforts to keep notorious human rights violators off the UNHRC have enjoyed modest success, but there is much room for improvement. The UPR mechanism offers a potential tool for improving the human rights credentials of UNHRC members, as it will generate a record of every UN member state’s human rights performance that will be revisited every four years. The United States should track UPR findings, using them to identify countries whose progress on human rights protection makes them desirable candidates for council membership. On the other hand, the United States should use the conclusions to preclude countries with poor human rights records from joining the Human Rights Council.

Israel-bashing:  Trend is reversing.  Some bias still exists, but anti-Israel resolutions are going down

Suzanne Nossel 2012. (executive director, Amnesty International; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for international organizations at the US Dept. of State) May 2012 Advancing Human Rights in the UN System, <http://www.cfr.org/un/advancing-human-rights-un-system/p28414>

There has been some quantitative improvement in reducing the disproportionate focus on Israel since the United States joined the council. According to estimates, before the United States won its UNHRC seat, more than half of the council’s country-specific resolutions were directed against Israel (56 percent); since the United States joined that number has dropped to 30 percent, with only one Israel resolution at the June session and none at the September session in 2011. Before the United States joined the council, five of its nine country-specific special sessions were on Israel (56 percent); at present, there has been no Israel-focused special session at the council in more than two years, since October 2009. Overall, the intensity of focus on Israel has diminished markedly, though the manifestations of structural bias remain. At the Human Rights Council’s March 2012 session, it passed five separate Israel-focused resolutions, making clear that its Israel focus continues.

SOLVENCY

1.   Root Cause #1:  Anti-Zionism.  Reform of UNHRC won’t solve because it’s not getting the root cause: anti-Zionism in the UN as a whole.  David Matas, who advocates for UNHRC reform, admits in 2009 that getting rid of anti-Zionism as a general policy of the UN is what’s needed to make it effective.  Reforming attitudes is something that goes beyond Affirmative fiat power - they can reform policies, but they can’t magically change people’s deepest thoughts and beliefs

David Matas 2009. (attorney; Senior Legal Counsel, B’nai Brith Canada)  Reforming the “Reformed” United Nations Human Rights Council, May 2009, Institute for International Affairs of B’nai Brith Canada, a Jewish human rights advocacy group, <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/files/11052009.pdf>

As long as ideologies of some states can be used by other states as a shield to prevent human rights criticism and divert human rights mechanisms, the problem that anti-Zionism at the UN makes manifest will remain. Therefore, from the general perspective, referring to anti-Zionism as the problem is overly narrow. The problem is rather the inability of the UN Human Rights Council to do its job because of its vulnerability to manipulation by human rights violators which anti-Zionism made manifest. Without UN reform, the defects in the UN Human Rights Council will not disappear even if anti-Zionism does.

2.  Root Cause #2:  UN member behavior.  Any UN human rights structure can only do what UN members allow it.  The members are to blame if it goes wrong, not the structure

Dr. Miko Lempinen and Prof. Martin Scheinin 2007.  (Lempinen -  Finnish League for Human Rights.   Scheinin - former United Nations Special Rapporteur on human rights and counter-terrorism; former member of the United Nations Human Rights Committee; currently Professor of Public International Law at the European University Institute) Åbo Akademi University, Institute for Human Rights, 7-8 Nov 2007, Workshop organized by the European University Institute, Istituto Affari Internazionali, and the Institute for Human Rights at Åbo Akademi University,  European University Institute, Villa Schifanoia, La Cappella, “Substantive Report” <http://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/AcademyofEuropeanLaw/Projects/HRCReport.pdf>

The participants were reminded of the fact that it is not the structures that have been created that should be blamed if and when something goes wrong. Instead, as was pointed out, there is a need to look at the governments that are responsible for an alleged failure. One cannot, for example, criticise the Commission on Human Rights for not having condemned discrimination based on a person’s sexual orientation or for not having publicly condemned the atrocities committed by the regime of Idi Amin's Uganda. Instead, it is those who hindered the Commission from doing it that ought to be criticized.

3.  Hard to determine correct membership criteria.  US and Britain would be excluded in some evaluations of human rights due to invasion of Iraq in 2003

Prof. Philip Alston 2006. (prof. of law, New York Univ School of Law)  “RICHARD LILLICH MEMORIAL LECTURE – PROMOTING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL” <http://www.chrgj.org/publications/docs/wp/Alston%20Lillich%20Lecture.pdf>

This approach was driven by the fact that a number of states which the United States Government considered to be major violators of human rights were regularly elected to membership of the Commission and thus played an active part in all its deliberations as well as voting on all resolutions. Thus, for example, one human rights group singled out the membership of states such as China, Cuba, Nepal, Russia, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Saudi Arabia to highlight the need for qualitative membership criteria. Tellingly, however, the same group suggested that any such list would be incomplete without the addition of the United States and the United Kingdom.   While that comment came primarily in response to the coalition invasion of Iraq in 2003, it served to highlight the complex nature of determining which nations should be considered to be democratic and rights-respecting for purposes of election.

4.  “Security Council sanctions criteria” - Not effective for several reasons.

1) only affects a limited number of countries, wouldn’t screen lots of serious offenders

2) Sec. Council sanctions can be imposed for non-human rights reasons, so the criterion doesn’t match the purpose of the Human Rights Council

3) Political control by the Permanent-5 Sec. Council members controls the sanctions, which would reduce the legitimacy of the Human Rights Council

Prof. Philip Alston 2006. (prof. of law, New York Univ School of Law)  “RICHARD LILLICH MEMORIAL LECTURE – PROMOTING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL” <http://www.chrgj.org/publications/docs/wp/Alston%20Lillich%20Lecture.pdf>

One final additional criterion which has been suggested by the United States is that countries which are the subject of sanctions imposed by the Security Council should not be eligible for election. This argument was put forward by a senior U.S. diplomat in the context of discussions about the new Council. He urged UN Member States not to: make room on the Council for countries that seek to undermine the effectiveness of the UN’s human rights machinery – much less governments under Security Council sanctions or investigation for human rights reasons. On its face this limitation would appear reasonable. By the same token consideration needs to be given to several factors which make the solution less satisfactory than might first appear. One is that only a rather limited range of countries would be precluded from election as a result. At present such an exclusion would affect only: Afghanistan, Burundi, Côte d’Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Libya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.  The list does not include countries such as Myanmar or Uzbekistan which are subject to sanctions by groups such as the European Union, nor of course the much larger list of countries subject to some form of United States-imposed unilateral sanctions. Moreover, some of the States whose membership of the Commission the United States considers to be most problematic, such as Cuba, would not be covered. Another problem is the nature of Security Council sanctions. They are, in practice, imposed for a variety of reasons, only some of which reflect a poor human rights record. Thus, for example, a country may be subject to sanctions because it is facilitating arms imports by another state which is prohibited from obtaining them. While sanction might be fully warranted, it is questionable whether exclusion from the Human Rights Council should follow. If the answer to that question is in the affirmative, then the question is why exclusion from other international forums is not equally warranted if the objective is to impose a general purpose punishment. The Security Council criterion is also complicated by the fact that respect for human rights has itself been proposed as an important element required if a country is to qualify for election to one of the proposed new permanent seats on the Security Council. The final problem with this criterion is that it would endow the Permanent Five, veto-wielding members of the Security Council with much of the power to determine which countries should or should not be able to sit on the Human Rights Council. This may be more of a political than an equity-based objection but it would nevertheless be a factor which would affect the overall political legitimacy of the new Council while at the same time resulting in the exclusion of relatively few countries, without catching all of the major human rights violators.

5.  Independent human rights evaluations membership criterion

Freedom House evaluations are erratic

Prof. Philip Alston 2006. (prof. of law, New York Univ School of Law)  “RICHARD LILLICH MEMORIAL LECTURE – PROMOTING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL” <http://www.chrgj.org/publications/docs/wp/Alston%20Lillich%20Lecture.pdf>

Freedom House was the first major advocacy group to develop a set of criteria against which countries human rights conduct was systematically ranked. It began this work in a rather elementary form in the mid-1950s and from 1978 onwards it began to produce detailed annual reports using an increasingly sophisticated methodology. Commentators generally considered its criteria to be ideologically skewed both in terms of the range of rights used as the basis for the evaluation and in terms of the subjectivity of the rankings that were given to different countries. In methodological terms, scholars were especially critical of the fact that Freedom House did not clearly indicate the factors taken into account in drawing up the various scales used and of the fact that the scales were not able to be disaggregated.  The rankings were especially criticized during the 1980’s in relation to countries generally perceived to have been in comparable situations but whose rankings varied dramatically from one another’s. They included Nicaragua/El Salvador, Egypt/Israel, and Zaire/Chad. Those countries which were allied with the United States in the Cold War context appeared to be given the benefit of the doubt while those on the other side were evaluated harshly. Even after the Cold War ended commentators suggested that the surveys often reflected ‘erratic value judgments’.

Difficult to use any single human rights index to measure very different countries

Prof. Philip Alston 2006. (prof. of law, New York Univ School of Law)  “RICHARD LILLICH MEMORIAL LECTURE – PROMOTING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL” <http://www.chrgj.org/publications/docs/wp/Alston%20Lillich%20Lecture.pdf>

The difficulty of taking appropriate account of country resource and other contextual factors within the confines of a composite index also constitutes another element that explains the attitudes that human rights advocates have towards indices. This reinforces the sense that it is difficult to use a monolithic index as a means by which to compare two countries which are quite differently situated.

6.  The “2 / 3 of those present and voting” requirement:  1) could be used for retaliation and could exclude even the USA.  2) in some cases is a lower standard than Status Quo “majority of all members” standard

By Scott R. Lyons (is an ASIL member, a legal analyst and project manager for the American Bar Association's Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative (ABA/CEELI). He is a former Institute Scholar for the Law, Peace Negotiations and War Crimes Institute and Peace Fellow for the Public International Law and Policy Group. He is also a member of the United Nations Association-NCA Human Rights Task Force.) [American Society of International Law](http://www.asil.org/insights060327.cfm#author) "The New United Nations Human Rights Council" March 27, 2006. <http://www.asil.org/insights060327.cfm>

The most controversial issues stemmed from electoral requirements. The debate centered on whether a two-thirds (2/3) vote or a simple majority should be required to obtain membership. The U.S., the European Union, and the NGO community originally endorsed a two-thirds (2/3) requirement in order to make it easier to exclude states that are gross violators of human rights. An interesting note was that this rule could have excluded the U.S. from a seat, which happened a few years ago, by a united Islamic Conference vote (the 56 Islamic states) or by states seeking retribution. The new Council only requires a simple majority directly elected through secret ballots by the General Assembly. As noted above, though, the simple majority must be a majority of *all* Member States. In some cases, that could set a higher standard for election than a standard of two-thirds of the Member States actually present and voting at the time the election is held.

DISADVANTAGES

1.  Reduced UNHRC membership = reduced credibility

Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan 2011.  “Despite flaws, UN Human Rights Council can bring progress” 8 Dec 2011  CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, <http://theelders.org/article/despite-flaws-un-human-rights-council-can-bring-progress>

Some say that by enabling authoritarian states to be elected as members, the Council’s effectiveness is diminished. They argue further that the time and effort expended to improve the Council’s methods is not worth the incremental progress. Instead, they believe democratic states should not use up their diplomatic capital at the Council, but seek instead to advance human rights in other forums. It is true that the Council has not always lived up to its potential and that at times the diplomatic effort it requires is time consuming and difficult. But these are not sufficient reasons to give up on it. Imagine an ostensibly global human rights body that was only accountable to and representative of a handful of countries. It could not credibly or effectively speak out against or influence human rights situations in much of the world.

Impact:  Affirmative agrees HRC credibility is key to promoting human rights.  Less credibility = less human rights

2.  Human rights ranking/screening criterion can backfire.  Countries could use their overall human rights evaluation score to mask specific violations

Prof. Philip Alston 2006. (prof. of law, New York Univ School of Law)  “RICHARD LILLICH MEMORIAL LECTURE – PROMOTING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL” <http://www.chrgj.org/publications/docs/wp/Alston%20Lillich%20Lecture.pdf>

A related objection is that every human right counts and the fact that a country scores well on a composite index of some sort should not be permitted to obscure the fact that it might nevertheless have a poor record in relation to one or more specific issues. Similarly, a government can abuse such rankings to trumpet the fact that its performance is better than that of other countries, despite the existence of ongoing violations. This could make the normative content of human rights relative and allow a state that is doing the ‘best’ compared to other states, but is still not meetings its human rights obligations, to flaunt its high comparative rank.

3.  Disturbing agendas. Indexes of human rights are not reliable or objective, and may promote things you don’t like:  Abortion and homosexuality are considered “human rights” on some measurements

Prof. Philip Alston 2006. (prof. of law, New York Univ School of Law)  “RICHARD LILLICH MEMORIAL LECTURE – PROMOTING THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF MEMBERS OF THE NEW UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL” <http://www.chrgj.org/publications/docs/wp/Alston%20Lillich%20Lecture.pdf>

Misgivings about the value of such indices were further exacerbated by the World Human Rights Guide, which was published over three editions between 1983 and 1992,  and used as the basis for an ill-fated HDR effort in the early 1990s to construct a Human Freedom Index. There were several problems with the index developed by Charles Humana. In the eyes of some commentators the virtual omission of the rights contained in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, apart from the right to form trade unions, the prohibition on child labor, and the right to take part in cultural life, ensured the one-sidedness of the index and its failure to live up to its claim to assess human rights in general. Onuma, for example, concluded that the assessment was ‘based on the subjective view of the author’ which, in turn, was said to reflect ‘the bias of Western NGOs and media’. But much more problematically politically, and the reason why the use of the Guide by the HDR was so controversial, was the fact that the Humana Index took account of the ‘rights’: ‘to purchase and drink alcohol’, to practise homosexuality between consenting adults’, ‘to use contraceptive pills and devices’, the freedom ‘of early abortion’ and the freedom ‘of divorce’. Even after considerable criticism had been directed at the first two editions of the index, one reviewer of Humana’s third edition expressed the hope that “the next edition will be less partial, although it would surely remain contentious”.  At the end of the day neither of these two much publicized attempts to construct a composite index of human rights performance succeeded in persuading NGOs and other observers that rankings in this field could be done in an ‘objective' manner.

4.  Exempting Israel backfires.

Link:  If the goal is to have Israel treated equally to all other nations, then giving them a pass on human rights will destroy credibility needed towards achieving that goal

Suzanne Nossel 2012. (executive director, Amnesty International; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for international organizations at the US Dept. of State) May 2012 Advancing Human Rights in the UN System, <http://www.cfr.org/un/advancing-human-rights-un-system/p28414>

Given the complete lack of political will on the part of even U.S. allies to address the council’s lopsided focus on Israel, the United States has few options for dealing with this issue in isolation from progress on the wider issues of Israel-Palestinian relations. At present, the U.S. team’s ongoing efforts to proactively identify other situations where country-specific resolutions are needed will likely continue to round out the UNHRC’s work. The U.S. team has begun this work, as discussed above, and should continue it by monitoring ongoing crises and bringing the council’s attention to bear on country situations—such as Somalia, Sudan, and Zimbabwe—where existing crises threaten to spiral out of control. At the same time, it is critical that the United States not give Israel a pass when it comes to allegations of human rights abuses. To maintain credibility in its quest to see Israel treated on equal terms with other countries, the United States must not be seen to minimize or soft-pedal Israeli abuses.

Impact:  Whatever the impact is to the Affirmative’s harms of Status Quo bashing Israel, it gets worse if we lose credibility on the goal of moving Israel toward normal consideration.

5. NEGATIVE BRIEF: IMF IS GOOD

Matthew Baker researched most of the evidence in this brief

INHERENCY

IMF reconsidering its position on always pushing for the liberalization of capital flows

Prof. Kevin P. Gallagher 2011. (associate professor of international relations at Boston University and senior researcher at the Global Development and Environment Institute, Tufts University), “The IMF, Capital Controls and Developing Countries,” Economic & Political Weekley, Vol. XLVI, No. 19, May 7, 2011 <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/policy_research/GallagherEPWcapitalcontrols.pdf>

“After more than a decade of advocating the liberalisation of capital flows across national borders, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has begun to actively endorse the use of capital controls under some circumstances. In April 2011 the IMF went so far as to recommend guidelines and governance structures regarding when nations should deploy capital controls. That last step has been viewed as one step too far by developing countries. Developing nations have welcomed that the IMF has come to recognise the limits of capital account liberalisation and the merits of capital controls. At the IMF/G-20 meetings in April 2011, however, they were not prepared to allow the IMF to sanction when nations should (and should not) deploy controls.”

Between 2009 and 2011, IMF dramatically shifted its position on capital controls

Prof. Kevin P. Gallagher 2011. (associate professor of international relations at Boston University and senior researcher at the Global Development and Environment Institute, Tufts University), “The IMF, Capital Controls and Developing Countries,” Economic & Political Weekley, Vol. XLVI, No. 19, May 7, 2011 <http://www.ase.tufts.edu/gdae/policy_research/GallagherEPWcapitalcontrols.pdf>

“As recently as November 2009, IMF Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn remarked that capital controls did not “come from hell” but “the Fund would not recommend them as a standard prescription either – as they carried costs and were usually ineffective” (Rodrik 2010). By April 2011 the IMF had authored three reports showing that capital controls can be effective, arguing that they should be part of the toolkit to promote financial stability, and outlining a set of guidelines for when such controls should be used. Capital controls are limits on the level or composition of foreign private capital that can enter or leave a nation. They are often deployed to manage exchange rate volatility, avoid maturity mismatches, limit speculative activity in an economy, and provide the policy-space for independent monetary policy.”

SIGNIFICANCE

“Bad Bailouts” - Response: IMF is correctly managing European bailouts - despite the risks, there is no better alternative

Prof. Thomas Jost and Prof. Franz Seitz 2012. ( Jost - professor at University of Applied Sciences, Aschaffenburg, Germany. Seitz - University of Applied Sciences, Weiden, Germany.) Jan 2012, “The Role of the IMF in the European Debt Crisis” (brackets added) <http://www.haw-aw.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Aktuelles/Veroeffentlichungen/WEN-Diskussionspapier/wen_diskussionspapier32.pdf>

As the European Union and EU politicians lacked the necessary credibility, the involvement of the IMF in the EMU [European Monetary Union] debt crisis makes sense as it can mitigate the moral hazard problems that are connected with the bailouts - at least as long as the IMF is able to closely monitor the economic adjustment programs and enforce reform progress. Strict conditionality is crucial for the success of the programs and the credibility of the whole process. There are two risks that could endanger the success of the Troika-model: (1) The IMF must resist strong demands of politicians in the Euro area and elsewhere to save every country at every price; and (2) it must resist internal pressures to soften conditionality of the programs. A softening of the programs could destroy the credibility and reputation of the IMF and could put the future of the Troika-model at risk. The risks of an IMF involvement in the EMU debt crisis are straightforward, but there seems to be no workable and convincing alternative.

IMF has helped limit damage to the U.S. from the European debt crisis

Timothy Geithner 2012. (U.S. Treasury Secretary)“Written Testimony of Secretary Geithner before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on "Europe's Sovereign Debt Crisis: Causes, Consequences for the U.S. and Lessons Learned",” 3/21/2012, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1459.aspx>

“The IMF has also played an important role in Europe. The IMF has provided advice on the design of reforms, a framework for public monitoring of progress, and support for programs in Greece, Ireland, and Portugal in partnership with Europe, which has assumed the majority of the burden. These actions have helped limit the damage from the crisis to the United States and to economies around the world.”

It is in America’s interest that the IMF continue to play a constructive role in Europe

Timothy Geithner 2012. (U.S. Treasury Secretary)“Written Testimony of Secretary Geithner before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on "Europe's Sovereign Debt Crisis: Causes, Consequences for the U.S. and Lessons Learned",” 3/21/2012, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1459.aspx>

“It is in the interest of the United States that the IMF is able to continue to play a constructive role in Europe. IMF resources cannot substitute for a strong and credible European firewall and response, but they can help supplement the resources Europe mobilized on its own.”

IMF has played major role in every post-war financial crisis and returned its capital

Timothy Geithner 2012. (U.S. Treasury Secretary)“Written Testimony of Secretary Geithner before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on "Europe's Sovereign Debt Crisis: Causes, Consequences for the U.S. and Lessons Learned",” 3/21/2012, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1459.aspx>

“The IMF has played a critical role in every major post-war financial crisis, while consistently returning to the United States and other IMF members any resources – with interest – that it has temporarily drawn upon.”

IMF lends at relatively cheap rate

The Financial Times 2010. Alan Beattie, “IMF struggles to conceal glee,” March 25, 2010, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/0c660d56-385c-11df-aabd-00144feabdc0.html#axzz22nqrqiCt>

“Still, there are some advantages in borrowing direct from the institution. The fund lends at a relatively cheap rate, based on an average of interest rates from the world’s leading currencies plus a premium that rises with the size of the loan. Eswar Prasad, a former IMF official now at Cornell University and the Brookings Institution, says: “By borrowing from the IMF, Greece can get higher credibility with lower costs.”

DISADVANTAGES

1. Democracy

IMF programs have modest though positive effects on the level of democracy

Prof. Stephen Nelson and Prof. Geoffrey Wallace 2011. Stephen C. Nelson (assistant professor of political science at Northwestern University) and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace (assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky), “Are IMF Programs Really Bad for Democracy?,” The Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University, September 30, 2011,<http://www.cics.northwestern.edu/documents/workingpapers/Buffett_11-004_Nelson_Wallace.pdf> [brackets added, note perhaps authors meant though instead of through]

“Making use of thirty years of data from a large sample of developing countries, we find that IMF programs have modest through [SIC] definitively positive effects on the level of democracy.”

Countries that spend time under IMF programs experience improvements in democracy

Prof. Stephen Nelson and Prof. Geoffrey Wallace 2011. Stephen C. Nelson (assistant professor of political science at Northwestern University) and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace (assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky), “Are IMF Programs Really Bad for Democracy?,” The Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University, September 30, 2011, <http://www.cics.northwestern.edu/documents/workingpapers/Buffett_11-004_Nelson_Wallace.pdf>

“Are the lending programs of the International Monetary Fund bad for democracy? The conventional wisdom is that the implementation of IMF conditional lending programs triggers cycles of austerity, social protest, and government repression that result in democratic backsliding. We present evidence which suggests that the conventional wisdom is wrong. We use a statistical procedure – matching – to handle a major threat to inference about the direction and size of the effect of IMF programs on the level of democracy in borrowing countries: the non-random assignment of the “treatment” (IMF conditional lending arrangements) to cases. By pairing treatment and control cases that are very similar, we are able to generate more credible estimates of the impact of the IMF on democracy. Our results are surprising: IMF programs are associated with increases in the level of democracy. We find that the impact of the IMF is additive: countries that spend more time under the IMF lending programs experience big improvements in the level of democracy.”

Repeat IMF customers experience significant increases in democracy

Prof. Stephen Nelson and Prof. Geoffrey Wallace 2011. Stephen C. Nelson (assistant professor of political science at Northwestern University) and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace (assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky), “Are IMF Programs Really Bad for Democracy?,” The Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University, September 30, 2011,<http://www.cics.northwestern.edu/documents/workingpapers/Buffett_11-004_Nelson_Wallace.pdf> [brackets in original]

“The results suggest that the IMF’s repeat customers experience significant increases in their levels of democracy. To give a sense of the substantive impact of the cumulative number of years spent under the watchful eye of the IMF, the result in model 3 – a very tough test that includes both country and year fixed effects to control for unmeasured unit-specific heterogeneity and sample-wide time trends in the level of democracy – implies that a one standard deviation increase in the cumulative IMF programs variable (approximately 6 years) is associated with a 1.44 [0.36, 2.50] point increase in the Polity2 score and a 0.9 point [0.31, 1.50] increase in the Freedom House score. Moving from the minimum to maximum value of the cumulative measure (0 to 29 years) is associated with a 6.6 point [1.7, 11.5] increase in the Polity2 score and a 4.29 point [1.45, 7.13] increase in the Freedom House measure of the level of democracy. While only preliminary, these findings suggest the IMF does not have a one-shot effect on new borrowing countries, but rather that the benefits for democracy tend to accumulate the more countries turn to the Fund’s lending facilities.”

IMF austerity programs can weaken the security apparatus of authoritarian regimes

Prof. Stephen Nelson and Prof. Geoffrey Wallace 2011. Stephen C. Nelson (assistant professor of political science at Northwestern University) and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace (assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky), “Are IMF Programs Really Bad for Democracy?,” The Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University, September 30, 2011,<http://www.cics.northwestern.edu/documents/workingpapers/Buffett_11-004_Nelson_Wallace.pdf>

“One plausible possibility is that, absent the representative institutions and fair elections that are the hallmarks of democratic rule, non-democratic governments lack legitimacy and, consequently, rest on wobbly foundations. Going to the IMF involves paying a “sovereignty cost” (Vreeland 2003), since it implies the surrender of economic management to an external authority. In order to compensate for this cost, perhaps authoritarian leaders under the IMF become more like populists: they seek to expand their base of support through selective spending increases that target wider swathes of the population. The problem for autocrats is that the pie is shrinking rather than growing, and they are simply shifting the sizes of the slices. If social spending is increased in the midst of an austerity program, it means that deep spending cuts have to be applied to other areas of the national budget. Interestingly, Nooruddin and Simmons report that spending on the military goes up in democracies and down in autocracies under IMF programs (2006: 1022-24). Over time, this pattern of spreading the pain of fiscal adjustment can undermine authoritarian governments’ ability to retain power, since it weakens the coercive apparatus that is responsible for controlling pro-democracy forces.”

Impact: Democracies are more stable

Prof. Stephen Nelson and Prof. Geoffrey Wallace 2011. Stephen C. Nelson (assistant professor of political science at Northwestern University) and Geoffrey P.R. Wallace (assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky), “Are IMF Programs Really Bad for Democracy?,” The Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies at Northwestern University, September 30, 2011, <http://www.cics.northwestern.edu/documents/workingpapers/Buffett_11-004_Nelson_Wallace.pdf>

“Stable, high-quality democracies are less prone to experiencing civil strife, military crackdowns, and irregular exits from power.”

2. Terrorism

IMF organized $25 million trust fund to support AML/CFT (Anti Money Laundering / Combating Financing of Terrorism)

Serbian Ministry of Finance 2011. “International Monetary Fund (IMF): The IMF’s role in AML/CFT efforts,”<http://www.apml.gov.rs/eng201/saradnja/International-Monetary-Fund-(IMF).html> [brackets added]

“In 2009, the IMF launched a donor-supported trust fund—the first in a series of Topical Trust Funds (TTF)—to finance technical assistance in [anti-money laundering / combating the financing of terrorism] AML/CFT. Canada, France, Japan, Korea, Kuwait, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom have committed to collectively provide US$25.3 million over five years to the financing of the TTF to contribute to the strengthening of global AML/CFT regimes, using the Fund’s proven expertise and infrastructure. Two years and a half after the beginning of the TTF, projects were approved in 49 countries and 7 regional workshops have been undertaken. Moving forward, the TTF will continue to support AML/CFT technical assistance projects around the world.”

IMF has been helpful in testing compliance and developing AML/CFT programs

Serbian Ministry of Finance 2011. “International Monetary Fund (IMF): The IMF’s role in AML/CFT efforts,” <http://www.apml.gov.rs/eng201/saradnja/International-Monetary-Fund-(IMF).html> [brackets added]

“The IMF’s engagement in [anti-money laundering / combating the financing of terrorism] AML/CFT dates from early 2001. During the past 10 years, the IMF’s efforts in this area helped shape international AML/CFT policies, and included over 70 AML/CFT assessments and a large number of technical assistance and research projects. The IMF’s broad experience in conducting financial sector assessments, providing [technical assistance](http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/tech.htm) in the financial sector, and exercising [surveillance](http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/surv.htm) over members’ economic systems has been particularly helpful in evaluating countries’ compliance with the international AML/CFT standard and in developing programs to help them address identified shortcomings.”

Impact: Going after terror financing may frustrate some attacks, deters donors, and constricts their operating environment

Oxford Analytica 2009. (an international consulting firm providing strategic analysis of world events and founded in 1975 by David Young, an American employee of the National Security Council during the Nixon administration) “Focus to Remain on Terrorist Financing,” February 3, 2009, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/49b171cf4b48e.pdf>

“While following the money will not stop all plots, it is likely to frustrate some. At a minimum, tracking terrorists’ financial transactions will make it harder for them to travel, procure materials, provide for their own families, and radicalize others. Denying them easy access to financial tools forces them to use more costly, less efficient, and often less reliable means of financing. Even the cat-and-mouse game that follows many designations presents opportunities. Forcing terrorists to look over their shoulders and devise alternative means of doing business is an effective counterterrorism tool. Keeping financiers on the defensive and denying them the luxury of time and space puts them under stress, deters donors, restricts the flow of funds, and helps constrict the operating environment.”

Impact: CFT efforts can degrade a terror cell’s capabilities

Oxford Analytica 2009. (an international consulting firm providing strategic analysis of world events and founded in 1975 by David Young, an American employee of the National Security Council during the Nixon administration) “Focus to Remain on Terrorist Financing,” February 3, 2009, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/49b171cf4b48e.pdf>

“The primary reason why CFT efforts are both necessary and important is that terrorist groups need money: Although mounting an individual terrorist attack is relatively inexpensive, the cost of maintaining the infrastructure to support terrorist activities is high. Terrorist networks need cash to train, equip, and pay operatives, to secure materials, and to promote their cause. To eliminate or reduce a cell’s means of raising and transferring funds is to degrade that cell’s capabilities. Additionally, by forcing them to abandon formal financial channels in favour of informal transfers in smaller denominations, the use of targeted measures has the cumulative effect of making the fund-transfer process slower, more cumbersome, and less reliable (see INTERNATIONAL: Al-Qaida is down not out- September 23, 2008).”

3. We lose European Sovereign Debt Stabilization

Link: Other institutions have lost credibility, we need the IMF - they can get necessary reforms done in Europe

Prof. Thomas Jost and Prof. Franz Seitz 2012. ( Jost - professor at University of Applied Sciences, Aschaffenburg, Germany. Seitz - University of Applied Sciences, Weiden, Germany.) Jan 2012, “The Role of the IMF in the European Debt Crisis” (brackets added) <http://www.haw-aw.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Aktuelles/Veroeffentlichungen/WEN-Diskussionspapier/wen_diskussionspapier32.pdf>

European institutions like the European Commission are always close to European politicians. They have lost reputation and credibility to solve effectively problems like the sovereign debt crisis mainly due to their inability to enforce EU member countries to reduce their budget deficits and to their failure to force EMU members to comply with the rules of the European Stability and Growth Pact. As we have seen during the crisis since mid-2010, even the independence of the ECB [European Central Bank], which is independent by law, is in doubt. In this direction the advantage of having the IMF on board is that the IMF can stronger resist partial political influence than regional institutions and is therefore able to enforce tougher programs. Cooperation with and involvement of the IMF should give additional impetus for the necessary reform process in the countries under concern

Link: IMF is playing key role in financing and implementing fiscal stabilization programs in EU peripheral countries

Dr. Michael Spence 2010. (PhD from Harvard University, 2001 Nobel Laureate in Economics, professor of economics at NYU, and former Dean of Stanford’s School of Business), “The IMF and Global Coordination,” September 16, 2010,<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-imf-and-global-coordination>

“The IMF is at the epicenter of large-scale global coordination challenges. Having initially been shunned, it has assumed a key role in financing – and, more importantly, implementing – fiscal-stabilization programs for the European Union’s peripheral countries. These programs are needed to limit contagion and restore stability to the eurozone, pending deeper institutional reforms that address fiscal interdependency in the context of monetary union.”

Link: IMF has ability to contain damage from further intensification of European crisis

Timothy Geithner 2012. (U.S. Treasury Secretary)“Written Testimony of Secretary Geithner before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on "Europe's Sovereign Debt Crisis: Causes, Consequences for the U.S. and Lessons Learned",” 3/21/2012, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1459.aspx>

“The IMF has substantial financial resources available today, and it has the ability, as it has demonstrated in the past, to mobilize temporary resources if that were necessary to help contain the damage from a further intensification of the crisis in Europe. For these reasons, we have no intention to seek additional U.S. resources for the IMF.”

Link: IMF critical to prevent global credit freezes for countries

Dr. Michael Spence 2010. (PhD from Harvard University, 2001 Nobel Laureate in Economics, professor of economics at NYU, and former Dean of Stanford’s School of Business), “The IMF and Global Coordination,” September 16, 2010, <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-imf-and-global-coordination>

“The IMF is needed for several key purposes. One involves crisis response. In a global financial upheaval like our most recent one, capital flows shift abruptly and dramatically, causing credit, financing, and balance-of-payments problems, as well as volatile exchange rates. Left unattended, these problems can cause widespread damage in a wide range of countries, many of which are innocent bystanders. The system needs circuit-breakers in the form of loans and capital flows that dampen the volatility and maintain access to financing across the system. A well capitalized IMF, much better capitalized than pre-crisis, should be able to fill this backstop – similar to what central banks do (and did in the crisis) to prevent a credit freeze and the inevitable and excessive economic damage that would result. The new IMF Flexible Credit Line performs this function for what amount to AAA-rated countries. A program that meets the needs of the more vulnerable countries is under construction.”

Brink: European financial crisis could easily proceed to the point of complete disintegration

Prof. Niall Ferguson and Dr. Nouriel Roubini 2012. Niall Ferguson (Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard University) and Nouriel Roubini (PhD in Internatinal Economics from Harvard University), “This Time, Europe Really Is on the Brink,” Der Spiegel, June 12, 2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/the-germans-have-learned-nothing-from-history-a-838429.html>

“Is it one minute to midnight in Europe? The failure of German public opinion to grasp the dire state of affairs in Europe today is inviting a repeat of precisely the crisis of the mid 20th century that European integration was designed to avoid. With every increase in the probability of a disorderly Greek exit from the monetary union, the pressure on the Spanish banks increases and with it the danger of a Mediterranean-wide bank run so big that it would overwhelm the European Central Bank. Already there has been a substantial re-nationalization of the European financial system. This centrifugal process could easily continue to the point of complete disintegration.”

Brink: PIIGS are in depression and exit of Greece could create an unavoidable bank run across Europe

[Note: PIIGS = Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, Spain - the European countries that have the biggest problems with public debt]

Prof. Niall Ferguson and Dr Nouriel Roubini 2012. Niall Ferguson (Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard University) and Nouriel Roubini (PhD in Internatinal Economics from Harvard University), “This Time, Europe Really Is on the Brink,” Der Spiegel, June 12, 2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/the-germans-have-learned-nothing-from-history-a-8384>

“What is the situation today? Europe's periphery is in depression. According to the IMF, gross domestic product will contract this year by 4.7 percent in Greece and 3.3 percent in Portugal. Unemployment is 24 percent in Spain, 22 percent in Greece and 15 percent in Portugal. Public debt already exceeds 100 percent of GDP in Greece, Ireland, Italy and Portugal. These countries, along with Spain, are now effectively shut out of the bond market. Now comes the banking crisis. We have warned for more than three years that continental Europe needed to clean up its banks' woeful balance sheets. Next to nothing was done. In the meanwhile, a silent run on the banks of the euro zone periphery has been underway for two years now: cross-border, interbank and wholesale funding has rolled off and been substituted with ECB financing; and "smart money" -- large uninsured deposits of high net worth individuals -- has quietly exited Greek and other "Club Med" banks. But now the public is finally losing faith and the silent run may spread to smaller insured deposits. Indeed, if Greece were to exit, a deposit freeze would occur and euro deposits would be converted into new drachmas: so a euro in a Greek bank really is not equivalent to a euro in a German bank. Greeks have withdrawn more than €700 million ($875 million) from their banks in the past month. More worryingly, there was also a surge of withdrawals from some Spanish banks last month. On a recent visit to Barcelona, one of us was repeatedly asked if it was safe to leave money in a Spanish bank. This kind of process is potentially explosive. What today is a leisurely "bank jog" could easily become a sprint for the exits. Indeed, a full run on other PIIGS banks would be impossible to avoid in the event of a Greek exit. Rational people would ask: Who is next?”

Impact/Brink: European debt failure could trigger global depression

Christian Science Monitor 2012. Bradley Klapper and David McHugh “Greece's economic woes may hurt US: Greece's problems and the larger European debt crisis may impact banks, the stock market, trade and even the 2012 election,” May 14, 2012, <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Latest-News-Wires/2012/0514/Greece-s-economic-woes-may-hurt-US>

“The short-term financial consequences of Greece defaulting may be limited across the Atlantic. American banks already have sharply reduced their exposure to Greece by more than 40 percent to $5.8 billion, according to the government, and [Cornell University](http://www.csmonitor.com/tags/topic/Cornell+University) economist Eswar Prasad said he foresees little immediate blowback for the U.S. financial sector. But the concern is that market speculation would then fall on the far larger economies of [Spain](http://www.csmonitor.com/tags/topic/Spain) and [Italy](http://www.csmonitor.com/tags/topic/Italy). Both are deep in the red and heavily dependent on credit markets to stay afloat. And their debts are held by Europe's big banks. Economists call this threat contagion. Scared investors sell off their assets in Europe's most troubled economies and the governments struggle to access credit while falling into deeper recession. A crisis as bad as Greece's in a bigger nation would have severe global implications. "Greece is peanuts as far as the United States is concerned," said Uri Dadush, former economic policy chief at the [World Bank](http://www.csmonitor.com/tags/topic/The+World+Bank+Group). "But if Greece leads to the contagion of Spain and Italy, the euro could implode. This is big business for the U.S. We're talking trillions of dollars in direct and indirect exposure to the European banking sector." Economists cite the example of [Lehman Brothers](http://www.csmonitor.com/tags/topic/Lehman+Brothers+Inc.)' collapse in 2008 and the financial turmoil that followed. A repeat scenario could see credit lines dry up as banks short of funds limit their risks, making it harder to secure loans for business expansion and home mortgages. Lending and credit growth remain especially weak in Europe, where over $1 trillion in cheap, three-year loans to financial institutions by the [European Central Bank](http://www.csmonitor.com/tags/topic/European+Central+Bank) helped stave off a complete credit cutoff. A massive bailout fund has been set aside in case Spain or Italy fails, too, but a default by either country could spell disaster for German, French and other heavily exposed banks. They, in turn, deal extensively with American banks. "It's a question I don't want to find out the answer to, honestly," Dadush said. "There is a real danger of global depression."

4. Lost expertise.

Link: IMF still relevant- has crucial role to play in dealing with crisis-induced instability

Impact: Without IMF expertise, the system will become unstable and will lack solutions to economic problems

Dr. Michael Spence 2010. (PhD from Harvard University, 2001 Nobel Laureate in Economics, professor of economics at NYU, and former Dean of Stanford’s School of Business), “The IMF and Global Coordination,” September 16, 2010,<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-imf-and-global-coordination>

“Before the crisis of 2008, the International Monetary Fund was in decline. Demand for loans was low, leaving it short of revenue. Asia remained leery of the Fund a full ten years after the currency crises of the late 1990’s. Its analytical talents remained high but downsizing placed them at risk. The crisis changed all that. It became clear that the IMF has a crucial role to play in dealing with crisis-induced instability. Moreover, because of the Fund’s broad and deeply embedded multinational expertise, its activities are central to achieving globally cooperative solutions to economic and financial problems. Without such solutions, the system will tend to become periodically unstable, and to go off on unsustainable paths that end destructively. We have just lived through one of these episodes.”

5. No demand-side recovery.

Analysis: “Demand” means people wanting to buy things. Demand is weak because during the economic recession, people don’t have the money or they’re scared of bad things happening, so they don’t spend. This disadvantage argues that the IMF is critical for implementing the G-20 strategy of increasing demand to help restore the global economy

Link: IMF critical to success of G-20 in creating demand

Dr. Michael Spence 2010. (PhD from Harvard University, 2001 Nobel Laureate in Economics, professor of economics at NYU, and former Dean of Stanford’s School of Business), “The IMF and Global Coordination,” September 16, 2010,<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-imf-and-global-coordination>

“The most important issue on the global economic agenda – rebalancing and restoring global demand – is a coordination challenge *par excellence*. The sudden reduction in excess consumption in the United States as a result of the crisis makes meeting this challenge all the more urgent. Without an effective rebalancing program, growth will be sub-par, and employment difficult to restore on a sustainable basis. Government stimulus programs are limited in their ability to restore demand. The global economy needs the surplus countries to sustain growth and reduce excess savings – no easy task. It also needs deficit countries (and the advanced countries more generally) to develop and enact credible growth strategies that involve structural change as well as fiscal stabilization. The G-20 is now the priority-setting and decision-making body for this kind of challenge, the crisis having made it clear that the G-7 could no longer perform this function. The major emerging economies are too large and too important to be left out of the search for globally cooperative outcomes. The crisis also convinced most of us that non-cooperative outcomes are likely to be distinctly sub-optimal in terms of growth, stability, and sustainability. The G-20 can say the right things about cooperation. But, to perform this function, it needs a knowledgeable, credible, and effective secretariat. That is the IMF.”

Impact: Without enough demand, we won’t have economic growth or enough jobs

Prof. Robert Reich 2012. (former U.S. secretary of labor; professor of public policy at Univ of California-Berkeley) 3 June 2012 SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE “Fairness is crucial to economic growth” <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/reich/article/Fairness-is-crucial-to-economic-growth-3602629.php>

The richest 1 percent of Americans save about half their incomes, while most of the rest of us save between 6 and 10 percent. Being rich means you already have most of what you want and need. Each additional acquisition yields a sharply declining level of satisfaction: That second yacht isn't nearly as exciting as the first. So when the top 1 percent rakes in more than 20 percent of total income - twice the share it had 30 years ago - there's insufficient demand for all the goods and services the economy is capable of producing at or near full employment. Without enough demand, the economy can't grow or generate nearly enough jobs.

6. NEGATIVE BRIEF: IPCC IS GOOD (INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE)

INHERENCY

Latest IPCC Special Report clearly specifies limitations and unknowns in climate forecasting

IPCC 2012.  SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE - MANAGING THE RISKS OF EXTREME EVENTS AND DISASTERS TO ADVANCE CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION, <http://www.ipcc-wg2.gov/SREX/images/uploads/SREX-All_FINAL.pdf>

Confidence in projecting changes in the direction and magnitude of climate extremes depends on many factors, including the type of extreme, the region and season, the amount and quality of observational data, the level of understanding of the underlying processes, and the reliability of their simulation in models. Projected changes in climate extremes under different emissions scenarios generally do not strongly diverge in the coming two to three decades, but these signals are relatively small compared to natural climate variability over this time frame. Even the sign of projected changes in some climate extremes over this time frame is uncertain. For projected changes by the end of the 21st century, either model uncertainty or uncertainties associated with emissions scenarios used becomes dominant, depending on the extreme.

CLIMATE CHANGE FACTS

Climate change is happening and very likely anthropogenic (caused by humans)

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the Univ of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the Univ of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

Climate change represents a challenge to current and future civilisation. Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, and most of the observed increase in global average temperatures since the mid-20th century is very likely due to the observed increase in anthropogenic greenhouse gas concentrations.

Strong and growing evidence for anthropogenic environmental warming

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

However, there is now strong and growing evidence that the contemporary phase of environmental warming (since the 1950s) cannot be explained without the inclusion of anthropogenic forcings, specifically the increase of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere as a result of the burning of fossil fuels. Natural climate variability and forcing due to solar variability and volcanic activity are insufficient to account for climate change.

Surface temperature records are reliable

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

Some existing climatological network stations do need to be brought in line with current standards. However, NOAA is aware of these kinds of problems and responded by comparing the best 70 stations with the full 1218 station dataset, and found almost identical trends. A recent, comprehensive, analysis of station quality further indicated that station quality did not alter the warming trends in temperature data.

Studies show rise in sea levels due to global warming

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012  (the incomplete sentences are referring to the footnotes in brackets.  “...the results of [34]“ means the results of the study cited in footnote 34) <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

In 2006, a reconstruction of sea level rises from 1870 to 2004 was published, showing acceleration in the rate of rise that would be expected if global warming were influencing sea levels [32]. A subsequent paper demonstrated that global temperature could be used to predict very accurately the amount of sea-level rise [33], including the acceleration observed by [32]. A paper published in 2011 disputed these two studies, based on an analysis of US tide-gauge data from 1930 to 2007, and found no evidence of acceleration in sea level rise [34]. However, a subsequent response from the authors of [33] demonstrated that the results of [34] were largely due to their choosing 1930 (a time of global plateau in temperatures) and regional effects in the US [35].

IPCC RESEARCH INTEGRITY

IPCC peer-review process is the most rigorous and transparent in the history of science

Stacy Feldman 2010. (journalist)  26 Feb 2010 “Climate Scientists Defend IPCC Peer Review as Most Rigorous in History” Inside Climate News <http://insideclimatenews.org/news/20100226/climate-scientists-defend-ipcc-peer-review-most-rigorous-history>

Scientists say that the calls for substantial reform of the IPCC's expert and government peer-review process by opponents are overkill. "Peer review can certainly be trusted," said Paul Beggs, a climate scientist from Australia's Macquarie University. This is particularly true of the IPCC peer review process, he said, which is "arguably the most rigorous and transparent peer review process in the history of science."

IPCC work is based on 10,000 published scientific papers and 2,500 reviewers

Stacy Feldman 2010. (journalist)  26 Feb 2010 “Climate Scientists Defend IPCC Peer Review as Most Rigorous in History” Inside Climate News  (brackets added) <http://insideclimatenews.org/news/20100226/climate-scientists-defend-ipcc-peer-review-most-rigorous-history>

[Neville] Nicholls, a professor at Monash University in Victoria, Australia, said the IPCC 2007 Fourth Assessment report was subjected to several rigorous tiers of review. The study cites over 10,000 papers from the scientific literature, "most of which have already been through the peer-review process to get into the scientific literature." The report went through four separate reviews and received 90,000 comments from 2,500 reviewers, all of which are publicly available, along with the responses of the authors, Nicholls said.

IPCC RESEARCH ACCURACY

IPCC research is improving the evidence base, though large uncertainties remain

Prof. Mark New,  Prof. Diana Liverman,  Dr. Heike Schroder and Prof. Kevin Anderson 2011. (New -  professor of Climate Science, School of Geography and Environment and Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research.  Liverman - Institute of the Environment, University of Ariz. and Environmental Change Institute.  Schroder -  PhD Free Univ of Berlin in political science, Environmental Change Institute, School of Geography and Environment, Univ of Oxford, UK. Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, Univ of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, Univ of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  “Four degrees and beyond: the potential for a global temperature increase of four degrees and its implications”  <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/6.full.pdf+html>

The 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) commits signatories to achieving a ‘stabilisation of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system’, leaving unspecified the level of global warming that is dangerous [1,2]. The succession of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) assessments has progressively improved the evidence base on the potential impacts of climate change, but large uncertainties remain. These uncertainties, combined with the geographical diversity of impacts, vulnerabilities and adaptive capacities, have made it difficult to arrive at a precise temperature target.

IPCC’s conclusions are consistent with the overwhelming scientific consensus

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

There are no scientific organisations (i.e. organisations representing scientists and institutions) that maintain a dissenting opinion over the anthropogenic global warming hypothesis (see Wikipedia’s list). Also, surveys of scientists indicate that the closer an individual is to the research, the more likely they are to believe that human activity is linked to climate change, with an overwhelming majority of climate scientists agreeing with an anthropogenic influence on climate. The published literature is similarly conclusive, with no papers published between 1993 and 2003 rejecting the consensus opinion of anthropogenic global warming . Finally, the IPCC`s most recent (2007) report stated that ‚Warming of the climate system is unequivocal, as is now evident from observations of increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and ice, and rising global average sea level‛. To claim that there is no consensus is simply false.

Examples of regional cooling don’t disprove global warming, and global temperature data is consistent with warming hypothesis

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012  (ellipses in original) <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

Examples of regional cooling are well-documented but do not detract from the observation of warming on a global scale. His statement that ‘you would expect to see...some indication of warming in the United States‛ is clearly incorrect - you could see significant cooling in the US but still global warming if the rest of the world compensated to the appropriate degree. One of the most recent examples of a historical temperature reconstruction is the Berkeley Earth Surface Temperature (BEST) project which shows 0.911 degrees Centigrade of land warming (+/- 0.042 C) since the 1950s, thus confirming the current data on global warming.

IPCC work is verified by many scientists

IPCC projections of sea level rise are underestimated - the real problem may be even worse

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

Harris makes two points here. The first is that the results of the IPCC are only based on a small number of experts working on different aspects. It may be true that a small number of scientists work on their specific areas of expertise, but many scientists will be sufficiently familiar with the literature to be able to verify the findings of those smaller groups. The second point is his incorrect restatement that there is no acceleration in sea level rise. Sea level rise is accelerating [32], [33], [35]. As a follow up, Harris criticises the use of models, despite the fact that the models that have been used to hindcast (predict into the past) have been shown to fit extremely well with observations of sea level over the past 140 years [35]. In fact, IPCC projections of sea level rise have been shown to be too conservative by data collected since the last IPCC report was published [44].

Independent research, even by an IPCC critic, confirms IPCC warming estimates

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

Stephen Schwartz did publish a paper in 2007, and that paper did suggest a climate that was less sensitive to doubling in carbon dioxide than the IPCC reports had suggested [86]. However, this paper was roundly criticised by a number of researchers [87–89] on the basis of Schwartz’s modelling of autocorrelation of temperature through time. These criticisms led Schwartz to revise his own estimate of the effect of climate sensitivity from 1.1 ± 0.5 K to 1.9 ± 1.0 K [90]. This may not seem like a big deal, but his estimate is now within the error margin for the IPCC estimate (3 degrees [91]), suggesting yet more consensus on climate sensitivity.

“FAILED POLICY” RESPONSES

EPA was right: CO2 is a pollutant

Dr Christopher Hassall,  Carley Centen, Dr Cliff Beninger, and Dr Chris Hebbern 2012.  (Hassall - postdoctoral fellow at Carleton University, holding a BSc in Zoology and a PhD in environmental entomology both from the University of Liverpool.  Centen - MA in Socio-Legal studies.  Beninger - MSc in biology at Carleton University ;  Ph.D. at the University of Ottawa with research at the Canadian Forestry Service natural products lab. Hebbern - PhD in plant sciences from the University of Copenhagen )  A report on the course "Climate Change: An Earth Sciences Perspective" (ERTH2402) at Carleton University,  28 Feb 2012 <http://scientificskepticism.ca/sites/default/files/pressreleases/CASSREPORTClimateChangeDenialintheClassroom.pdf>

Carbon dioxide is a pollutant as it causes acidification of the oceans, disrupting the formation of biological structures in those environments. Its major role is in the greenhouse effect where increasing concentrations warm the earth, which matches the definition of a pollutant given by the US EPA: ‚"emissions of which... cause or contribute to air pollution which may reasonably be anticipated to endanger public health or welfare" [19]. In any case, this is pure semantics.

DISADVANTAGES - of not listening to IPCC and not dealing with global warming

GENERIC BRINK & UNIQUENESS CARDS - Why we can’t afford to wait any longer and why it won’t go away unless we take action

We need to stop business-as-usual on global warming as soon as possible to head off future warming

Prof. Mark New,  Prof. Diana Liverman,  Dr. Heike Schroder and Prof. Kevin Anderson 2011. (New -  professor of Climate Science, School of Geography and Environment and Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research.  Liverman - Institute of the Environment, University of Ariz. and Environmental Change Institute.  Schroder -  PhD Free Univ of Berlin in political science, Environmental Change Institute, School of Geography and Environment, Univ of Oxford, UK. Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, Univ of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, Univ of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  “Four degrees and beyond: the potential for a global temperature increase of four degrees and its implications”  <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/6.full.pdf+html>

All but two of the models reach 4◦C before the end of the twenty-first century, with the most sensitive model reaching 4◦C by 2061, a warming rate of 0.5◦C per decade. All the models warm by 2◦C between 2045 and 2060. This supports the message that an early peak and departure from a business-as-usual emissions pathway are essential if a maximum temperature below 4◦C is to be avoided with any degree of certainty.

We’re on track now to hit 2°C of global warming, which is the threshold between dangerous and “extremely dangerous.”

Prof. Kevin Anderson & Dr. Alice Bows  2011.  (Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, University of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.  Bows - PhD in climate modeling; senior lecturer on energy & climate change; Sustainable Consumption Institute, School of Earth, Atmospheric and Environmental Sciences, University of Manchester, UK)  Beyond ‘dangerous’ climate change: emission scenarios for a new world  <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/20.abstract?ijkey=38a34d92fd3460a843c4881e5d03212c4a9f2c3c&keytype2=tf_ipsecsha#aff-1>

Building on previous studies, this paper uses a cumulative emissions framing, broken down to Annex 1 and non-Annex 1 nations, to understand the implications of rapid emission growth in nations such as China and India, for mitigation rates elsewhere. The analysis suggests that despite high-level statements to the contrary, there is now little to no chance of maintaining the global mean surface temperature at or below 2°C. Moreover, the impacts associated with 2°C have been revised upwards, sufficiently so that 2°C now more appropriately represents the threshold between ‘dangerous’ and ‘extremely dangerous’ climate change.

Risk of severe impacts at 2 degrees Celsius of additional warming

Prof. Mark New,  Prof. Diana Liverman,  Dr. Heike Schroder and Prof. Kevin Anderson 2011. (New -  professor of Climate Science, School of Geography and Environment and Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research.  Liverman - Institute of the Environment, University of Ariz. and Environmental Change Institute.  Schroder -  PhD Free Univ of Berlin in political science, Environmental Change Institute, School of Geography and Environment, Univ of Oxford, UK. Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, Univ of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, Univ of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  “Four degrees and beyond: the potential for a global temperature increase of four degrees and its implications” (brackets added)  <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/6.full.pdf+html>

While the 2009 UNFCCC [United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change] Conference of the Parties in Copenhagen failed to deliver any formal ‘climate deal’, the non-binding Copenhagen Accord recognized the scientific view ‘that the increase in global temperature should be below 2 degrees Celsius’ [3]. The adoption of this target occurred despite increasing evidence that for at least some nations and ecosystems, the risk of severe impacts is already significant at 2◦C [4]; hence, the Accord includes an intent to consider a lower 1.5◦C target in 2015. The idea of a 2◦C temperature target derives partly from a convergence of two themes in the IPCC assessments. First, an accumulation of potential impacts, with increasing certainty and severity, when moving from a 2◦C warming to 3◦C and 4◦C, suggested that many of the more serious impacts could be avoided by keeping below 2◦C (for example, the ‘Burning Embers’, fig. SPM-2 in the IPCC 3rd Assessment WG2 Report [5]). Second, a sequence of the IPCC mid-range emission scenarios projected global temperature increases of 2◦C by the end of the twenty-first century.

Emissions are headed for dramatic increase if China and India become locked into a fossil fuel economy

Prof. Kevin Anderson & Dr. Alice Bows  2011.  (Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, University of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.  Bows - PhD in climate modeling; senior lecturer on energy & climate change; Sustainable Consumption Institute, School of Earth, Atmospheric and Environmental Sciences, University of Manchester, UK)  Beyond ‘dangerous’ climate change: emission scenarios for a new world <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CGMQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fclimateknowledge.org%2Ffigures%2FRood_Climate_Change_AOSS480_Documents%2FAnderson_Emission_Scenarios_PhilTransRoySoc_2011.pdf&ei=xHQMUPrVC8W-rQHvquHRCg&usg=AFQjCNGvHry7VFul2Y6EaIaijG0hn0QSrA&sig2=-tJ-SukyNxvG7RMCoTWHmQ>

The first decade of the new millennium has witnessed unprecedented increases in emissions reflecting ongoing high levels of energy usage for heat, electricity and transport within Annex 1 nations coupled with the very rapid industrialization of many non-Annex 1 nations, in particular China and India. Total cumulative emissions produced by nations that underwent industrialization in the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century will be eclipsed if the five billion people currently resident in non-Annex 1 nations remain or become locked into a fossil fuel economy.

The extreme danger of 2◦C or higher climate warming means that even a low probability of exceeding that threshold is very important

Prof. Kevin Anderson & Dr. Alice Bows  2011.  (Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, University of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.  Bows - PhD in climate modeling; senior lecturer on energy & climate change; Sustainable Consumption Institute, School of Earth, Atmospheric and Environmental Sciences, University of Manchester, UK)  Beyond ‘dangerous’ climate change: emission scenarios for a new world  <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CGMQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fclimateknowledge.org%2Ffigures%2FRood_Climate_Change_AOSS480_Documents%2FAnderson_Emission_Scenarios_PhilTransRoySoc_2011.pdf&ei=xHQMUPrVC8W-rQHvquHRCg&usg=AFQjCNGvHry7VFul2Y6EaIaijG0hn0QSrA&sig2=-tJ-SukyNxvG7RMCoTWHmQ> (“ceteris paribus” means “all other things being equal”)

The characterization of 2◦C as the appropriate threshold between acceptable and ‘dangerous’ climate change is premised on an earlier assessment of the scope and scale of the accompanying impacts. However, these have since been re-evaluated with the latest assessments suggesting a significant increase in the severity of some impacts for a 2◦C temperature rise (e.g. [20,21]). Consequently, it is reasonable to assume, ceteris paribus, that 2◦C now represents a threshold, not between acceptable and dangerous climate change, but between dangerous and ‘extremely dangerous’ climate change; in which case the importance of low probabilities of exceeding 2◦C increases  substantially.

SPECIFIC DISADVANTAGES

1.  Net benefits.  Across many sectors, the potential severity of impacts justifies using all available mechanisms to minimize the chance of high-end climate change

Prof. Mark New,  Prof. Diana Liverman,  Dr. Heike Schroder and Prof. Kevin Anderson 2011. (New -  professor of Climate Science, School of Geography and Environment and Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research.  Liverman - Institute of the Environment, University of Arizona and Environmental Change Institute.  Schroder -  PhD from the Free University of Berlin in political science, Environmental Change Institute, School of Geography and Environment, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK. Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, University of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  “Four degrees and beyond: the potential for a global temperature increase of four degrees and its implications”  <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/6.full.pdf+html>

Across many sectors—coastal cities, agriculture, water stress, ecosystems, migration—the impacts and adaptation challenges at 4◦C will be larger than at 2◦C. In some cases, such as farming in sub-Saharan Africa, a +4◦C warming could result in the collapse of systems or require transformational adaptation out of systems, as we understand them today. The potential severity of impacts and the behavioural, institutional, societal and economic challenges involved in coping with these impacts argue for renewed efforts to reduce emissions, using all available mechanisms, to minimize the chances of high-end climate change.

2.  Sea Level Rise (SLR).  SLR puts millions of people and hundreds of billions of dollars at risk

Prof. Mark New,  Prof. Diana Liverman,  Dr. Heike Schroder and Prof. Kevin Anderson 2011. (New -  professor of Climate Science, School of Geography and Environment and Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research.  Liverman - Institute of the Environment, University of Arizona and Environmental Change Institute.  Schroder -  PhD from the Free University of Berlin in political science, Environmental Change Institute, School of Geography and Environment, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK. Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, University of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  “Four degrees and beyond: the potential for a global temperature increase of four degrees and its implications”  (brackets added) <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/6.full.pdf+html>

Nicholls et al. [22] evaluate the range of impacts from SLR should the world warm by 4◦C by 2100. They consider a SLR range from 0.5 to 2.0m[eters] by 2100, under scenarios of no protection (abandonment) and aggressive protection, including dyke building similar to that used in The Netherlands, and shoreline nourishment. Under both scenarios, large areas and many millions of people are at risk (table 1), particularly in South and Southeast Asia. If only sparsely populated coastal regions are abandoned, most people are protected, but at considerable cost, especially for a 2m[eter] SLR: the annual cost of enhancing and maintaining sea defences that have kept up with rising sea levels through to 2100 is $270 billion.

3.  Crop failures in Africa

Prof. Mark New,  Prof. Diana Liverman,  Dr. Heike Schroder and Prof. Kevin Anderson 2011. (New -  professor of Climate Science, School of Geography and Environment and Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research.  Liverman - Institute of the Environment, University of Arizona and Environmental Change Institute.  Schroder -  PhD from the Free University of Berlin in political science, Environmental Change Institute, School of Geography and Environment, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK. Anderson - Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, School of Mechanical, Aerospace and Civil Engineering, University of Manchester and School of Environmental Sciences and School of Development, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  “Four degrees and beyond: the potential for a global temperature increase of four degrees and its implications”  (brackets added) <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/369/1934/6.full.pdf+html>

A warming of 4◦C or higher will exacerbate these stresses, but also raises the question of whether particular types of agriculture become unsustainable, for example because of either intolerable frequencies of crop failure or complete loss of suitable growing conditions. Thornton et al. evaluate the potential impacts of a 5◦C global temperature increase on SSA [Sub-Saharan Africa] agriculture. The ensemble mean response projects drying over most of the region, apart from a small precipitation increase over parts of East Africa, resulting in large decreases in growing season length, especially (greater than 20%) in the Sahel and over most of southern Africa. Simulations of key indicator crops also show decreases in yields over the region, and pasture yields decrease everywhere, except East Africa. Of particular concern is the increase in rain-fed crop failures; for example,  in much of southern Africa such failures are projected to occur once every 2 years.

4.  Mass extinctions.  Ignoring the IPCC warning leads to catastrophic loss of the marine food chain.  Entire fabric of life threatened

Dr. Joe Romm 2011.  (former acting Assistant Secretary of Energy for energy efficiency and renewable energy in 1997;  Senior Fellow at American Progress; Ph.D. in physics from MIT) “Global Warming May Cause Far Higher Extinction of Biodiversity Than Previously Thought” 20 Sept 2011  (Brackets in original) <http://thinkprogress.org/climate/2011/09/20/323639/global-warming-extinction-of-biodiversity/?mobile=nc>

In 2007, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change warned that “as global average temperature increase exceeds about 3.5°C [relative to 1980 to 1999], model projections suggest significant extinctions (40-70% of species assessed) around the globe.”  That is a temperature rise over pre-industrial levels of a bit more than 4.0°C.  So the 5°C rise we are facing on our current emissions path would likely put extinctions beyond the high end of that range. Last fall, the Royal Society ran a special issue on “Biological diversity in a changing world,” concluding “There are very strong indications that the current rate of species extinctions far exceeds anything in the fossil record.” I realize that the mass extinction of non-human life on this planet isn’t going to be a great driver for human action.  Most people simply don’t get that the mass extinctions we are causing could directly harm our children and grandchildren as much as sea level rise.  Such extinctions threaten the entire fabric of life on which we depend for food, among other things.  This may be clearest in the case of marine life — see “Geological Society (8/10): Acidifying oceans spell marine biological meltdown “by end of century.”  And then there’s the worst-case scenario in *Nature* Stunner — “Global warming blamed for 40% decline in the ocean’s phytoplankton”: “Microscopic life crucial to the marine food chain is dying out. The consequences could be catastrophic.”

7. NEGATIVE BRIEF:  PALESTINE MEMBERSHIP - bad idea

**(Jonathan Edelblut contributed evidence to this brief)**

OPENING QUOTE / NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY

Sympathy should not cause us to pursue bad ideas like admitting Palestine to the UN

Dr. Aaron David Miller 2012.   (Ph.D. in American Diplomatic and Middle East History from the University of Michigan; Distinguished Scholar in the Middle East Program of the Wilson Center; Public Policy Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) “The Granddaddy of Dumb Ideas” Published by Slate on January 5th, 2012: <http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/intelligence_squared/2012/01/palestine_in_u_n_why_aaron_david_miller_will_argue_against_its_admission_as_a_member_state_at_the_slate_intelligence_squared_debate_on_jan_10_.html> (JE)

“Right now, no idea, particularly the semisacred principle of negotiations on the core issues, such as Jerusalem and refugees, will bring Palestinians any closer to realizing their legitimate national aspirations for statehood. But neither desperation nor sympathy for a deserving cause should compel us to embrace and pursue bad ideas that might only make matters worse. And admitting the nonstate of Palestine to the United Nations—the granddaddy of dumb ideas—will do precisely that.”

TOPICALITY

1.  Not a significant reform of the UN as a whole

Link:  Palestine’s status has been upgraded over the years already

Prof. John Cerone 2011.   ( Professor of Law and Director of the Center for International Law & Policy at New England Law,   Boston) The UN and the Status of Palestine – Disentangling the Legal Issues, ASIL INSIGHTS, published by American Society of International Law, <http://www.asil.org/insights110913.cfm> (ellipses in original; “the Blue Book” is a reference to a UN publication, not a book of policy debate evidence briefs)

In 1974, the General Assembly invited the Palestine Liberation Organization (“PLO”) to participate as an observer. In December 1988, following the Palestinian National Council’s declaration of the independence of Palestine, the UN General Assembly decided that “the designation ‘Palestine’ should be used in place of the designation ‘Palestine Liberation Organization’ in the United Nations system . . . .” Over the years, the General Assembly has increased the scope of this participation to the point where Palestine’s status is practically identical to that of an observer state. The UN Secretariat’s description of its status has similarly evolved. While the Blue Book initially listed the “Palestine Liberation Organization” as an “organization” maintaining permanent “offices” at UN headquarters, it now classifies “Palestine” as an “entity” maintaining a permanent “mission” at headquarters.

Violation:  The resolution asks us to measure the “significant reform” compared to the UN, not compared to its impact on a small country or small group of people.   Bumping up Palestine’s UN status from what it is now to full membership doesn’t change the UN very much.   Even if the Affirmative’s plan had a huge impact on Palestinians, it would not be a significant reform of the UN, but merely a significant reform of Palestine.  We need to wait until we have a debate resolution calling for significant reform of Palestine for that to be topical.

Impact:  Allowing Affirmatives to do tiny changes opens the debate season to an infinite number of Affirmative plans and makes it impossible to ensure that debating this year is done in an educational manner.  Debating trivia or hoping to win by surprising the Negative with minute details rather than the significant UN reform we came prepared for is bad for policy debate and should be discouraged with a Negative ballot.

SOLVENCY:

1.    Only Symbolic - nothing changes

UN affirming Palestine statehood would change little, and would be only symbolic

Robert McMahon and Jonathan Masters 2011.  (McMahon - editor covering foreign affairs with over 20 years of experience; holds a Master's degree in international relations from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.   Masters - Associate Staff Writer covering national security and civil liberties; B.A. in political science from Emory University) “Palestinian Statehood at the UN” Published by the Council on Foreign Relations in November 2011: <http://www.cfr.org/palestinian-authority/palestinian-statehood-un/p25954#p8> (JE)

“How would a UN vote affirming statehood affect life inside Palestine? Very little, in terms of tangible changes resulting directly from the UN decision. Statehood would be a symbolic victory for the PA, but it would lack any formal recognition of sovereignty, borders, and other such considerations normally attendant with state status. Acquiring these things from Israel would require direct negotiations (AP) even if the UN Security Council endorsed statehood.

US Ambassador to the UN says:  UN recognition will change nothing in Palestine

Sara Sorcher 2011.  (staff reporter (national security and foreign policy) for National Journal) “Obama's Dilemma on UN Vote for Palestinian Statehood”  THE ATLANTIC, September 2011: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/09/obamas-dilemma-on-un-vote-for-palestinian-statehood/244996/> (JE)

“"After whatever show we have in the United Nations is done, what will change in the real world for the Palestinian people? The answer is nothing, sadly," U.S. Ambassador to the U.N Susan Rice said at a breakfast for reporters on Monday hosted by the Christian Science Monitor. "Expectations will have been raised very high, but the economy will be the economy, the situation on the ground will remain the same situation on the ground. They will not have any more sovereignty, freedom, or autonomy than they feel today." Even if the Palestinian Authority gets U.N. recognition, there is still no agreement with the Israelis over determining the borders of a future Palestinian state, security arrangements, control of Jerusalem, and the right of return for Palestinian refugees.”

2.    Palestine ISN’T a State

Palestine is a fractured nonstate that should not be admitted to the UN – symbolic membership won’t solve anything

Dr. Aaron David Miller 2012. (Ph.D. in American Diplomatic and Middle East History from the University of Michigan; Distinguished Scholar in the Middle East Program of the Wilson Center; Public Policy Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) “The Granddaddy of Dumb Ideas” Published by Slate on January 5th, 2012 <http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/intelligence_squared/2012/01/palestine_in_u_n_why_aaron_david_miller_will_argue_against_its_admission_as_a_member_state_at_the_slate_intelligence_squared_debate_on_jan_10_.html> (JE)

“Second, if Palestinians are going to pick a fight with the United States and Israel, it ought to be one that either gets them something tangible, increases their leverage, or creates problems in the U.S.-Israeli relationship. The U.N. gambit did none of these things; instead, it just made it easier for Israelis to claim that it is the Palestinians who aren’t serious about negotiations. Third, sovereignty is designed—even as a symbol—to convey power, or at least to provide a foundation or launching pad for it. Statehood isn’t supposed to be a window through which the world sees weakness and fecklessness. But right now, that’s the Palestinian story. Prime Minister Fayyad has done a remarkable job in state and institution building, but his competence has only alienated the rest of the government—especially Hamas, which sees him as a threat to its authority. Meanwhile Hamas runs Gaza, Israelis control at least 30 percent of the West Bank, and the Palestinian Authority has no say in managing the borders, water, or air space of the territory left over. What we now witness is a Palestinian Humpty-Dumpty: a fractured nonstate. Does anyone want to see such an entity admitted into the United Nations? The symbolic conferral of autonomy may temporarily boost Palestinian morale, but it will solve nothing and could even entrench the Israelis deeper in their demands. Nobody can look at the Palestinians today and not be both sympathetic and empathetic to their cause. They’ve suffered long enough and should have an independent state. But it will not come via the U.N., not this way.”

DISADVANTAGES

GENERIC DISAD LINK:  Admitting Palestine to the UN would be functionally establishing a Palestinian state

Ambassador Susan Rice 2011. (US Ambassador to the United Nations)7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY”  hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf>

For a new state to gain membership of the United Nations, two things have to happen. It has to be recommended by the Security Council, where we have a veto. And then it must be agreed by two thirds of the General Assembly. If that issue were to arise, while I obviously would not want to address definitively a hypothetical, I think I could say with some high degree of confidence that the establishment that way of a state, prior to the final status issues being resolved in direct negotiations, would run counter to long-standing U.S. policy.

1.  Frustration and violence.

Link: UN recognition would have the unintended consequence of hightened tensions and false expectations

Impact:  Violence in the Palestinian territories.  (Analysis:  people get mad when you promise them something and don’t deliver)

Robert McMahon and Jonathan Masters 2011.  (McMahon - editor covering foreign affairs with over 20 years of experience; holds a Master's degree in international relations from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.   Masters - Associate Staff Writer covering national security and civil liberties; B.A. in political science from Emory University) “Palestinian Statehood at the UN” Published by the Council on Foreign Relations in November 2011: <http://www.cfr.org/palestinian-authority/palestinian-statehood-un/p25954#p8> (JE)

Unintended consequences of UN recognition could include heightened tensions and possibly violence in the Palestinian territories. In addition, the U.S. Congress has sent strong signals that hundreds of millions of dollars in U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority, which has helped prop up institution-building and security forces, could be curtailed. Statehood could raise false expectations of tangible gains among Palestinians--a situation likely to engender public frustration.

2.  Reduced US aid to the Palestinian Authority

Link:  Congress threatens cut off of U.S. aid in response to UN bid

Brink:  If that happens, PA may have a “fiscal crisis”

Sara Sorcher 2011. (staff reporter (national security and foreign policy) for National Journal) “Obama's Dilemma on UN Vote for Palestinian Statehood”  THE ATLANTIC, Sept 2011 <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/09/obamas-dilemma-on-un-vote-for-palestinian-statehood/244996/> (JE)

“Some Republicans in Congress have already threatened to cut off U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority -- totaling about $500 million a year--if they turn to the United Nations in their bid for recognition rather than negotiations with Israel. The potential shortfall of cash for the Palestinian Authority is particularly concerning given the news of two reports by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund foreshadowing an "acute fiscal crisis" and declining economic growth, especially if foreign donors fail to meet their commitments to the Palestinian Authority.”

Link:  US Congress threatens to cut funding for the Palestinian Authority in case of UN recognition

[Note: this is the same card as DA1 but some parts are highlighted here that weren’t read in DA1]

Robert McMahon and Jonathan Masters 2011.  (McMahon - editor covering foreign affairs with over 20 years of experience; holds a Master's degree in international relations from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.   Masters - Associate Staff Writer covering national security and civil liberties; B.A. in political science from Emory University) “Palestinian Statehood at the UN” Published by the Council on Foreign Relations in November 2011: <http://www.cfr.org/palestinian-authority/palestinian-statehood-un/p25954#p8> (JE)

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Link:  U.S. has threatened to withdraw $500 million in aid to PA as a result of their bid

Impact:   Serious economic fallout

Julia Pettengill  and Houriya Ahmed 2011.  (Pettengill - Research Fellow at the Henry Jackson Society; MA in Modern History from the University of St Andrews.  Ahmed - Research Fellow at the Henry Jackson Society; a cross-partisan, British think-tank which seeks to pursue, protect and promote the principles of free and democratic societies) “The folly of the Palestinian statehood bid”  THE TELEGRAPH, September 2011 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/personal-view/8765733/The-folly-of-the-Palestinian-statehood-bid.html> (JE)

“The potential loss in American aid to the PA as a result of the bid could have serious fallout for the fledgling economy of the West Bank, and may undermine both state-building efforts and public confidence in the PA. The US, which currently contributes approximately $500 million in much-needed annual aid to the PA, objects to the statehood bid on the grounds that it subverts the negotiation process with Israel, and has threatened to withdraw or severely curtail these funds if the PA goes to the UN this month. Palestinians in the West Bank got a taste of what may be to come this summer, when a short-fall in aid from Arab countries prevented the PA from paying civil servants their full salaries.”

Link & Brink: Palestinian Authority needs aid - they’re in financial trouble

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS 2012.“PALESTINIAN STATE-BUILDING: AN ACHIEVEMENT AT INCREASED RISK”   21 Mar 2012  <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/336CBEA9224C9080852579C6006AC079>

In its continued effort to address the recurrent deficit the PA is implementing necessary, prudent measures, such as new tax reforms, but donors are still urged to front-load funding for 2012 and to help meet the US$1.1 billion level of funding to allow the PA to meet its obligations and avoid accruing further arrears. Furthermore, the PA cannot function without a steady and uninterrupted flow of clearance revenue and would benefit from Israeli approval and the implementation of technical agreements to help strengthen revenue collection and minimise revenue leakage. These would represent essential steps in securing PA funds, ensuring its continued ability to operate effectively and reduce future aid dependence.

Impact 1:  Poverty.  PA cash flow problems reduce economic growth, leading to unemployment, poverty and food insecurity

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS 2012.“PALESTINIAN STATE-BUILDING: AN ACHIEVEMENT AT INCREASED RISK”   21 Mar 2012  <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/336CBEA9224C9080852579C6006AC079>

Real GDP in the West Bank was about 6% higher in the first three quarters of 2011 than in the same period in 2010. This lower-than-expected growth was due in part to lower aid flows as many donor countries face economic difficulties, and liquidity problems faced by the PA. The reduced pace of easing of Israeli restrictions was another factor contributing to the lower growth (see paragraph 29 below). Due to their limited linkages with global markets, the Palestinian banking and private sectors have been relatively unaffected by the recent global economic downturn. For 2012 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) projects GDP in the West Bank to expand by 5%. The productive private sector continues to be stifled by restrictions on movement and access within and outside the West Bank, and is hence unable to sustain the growth stimulated recently by the public sector helped by donor funding and earlier Israeli easing of restrictions. Unemployment was unchanged at 17% in 2011, as labour force participation increased slightly but real mean wages decreased.  Although the magnitude of poverty and food insecurity in the West Bank is lower than in Gaza, levels are still high and striking internal disparities mean that Palestinians in areas such as Area C face worrying levels of indigence. In terms of vulnerability, 17% of the population in the West Bank was food insecure in 2011, but 25% of those in Area C were in that situation. Similarly, 12% of household in the Central West Bank are considered food insecure, compared to 19% in North/South West Bank.

Impact 2:  Security loss.  PA security measures are combatting terrorism and improving security in the West Bank

OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS 2012.“PALESTINIAN STATE-BUILDING: AN ACHIEVEMENT AT INCREASED RISK”   21 Mar 2012   (brackets added) <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/336CBEA9224C9080852579C6006AC079>

As noted in paragraph 3 above, the PA [Palestinian Authority] continues to demonstrate its strong commitment to ensuring security in the West Bank. Continued efforts by the PASF to maintain law and order and combat terrorism and incitement have resulted in improved security conditions throughout the West Bank, to the benefit of both parties. The PA must remain vigilant and confront all those engaged in terror and dismantle terrorist capabilities and infrastructure, within the framework of PA obligations under the first phase of the Roadmap, as was demonstrated on 29 November 2011 when it seized and defused an improvised explosive device.

3.   Bypassing negotiations

Link: Affirmative bypasses negotiations between Israel and Palestinians and goes directly to the UN

Link: Bypassing negotiations would complicate prospects for a 2-state solution

Jim Zanotti 2012.  (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs,  Congressional Research Service)  U.S. Foreign Aid to the Palestinians   June 15, 2012 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS22967.pdf>

Many factors may complicate prospects for a negotiated two-state solution, including but not limited to:

• Discord within and among Palestinian factions—reflected geographically by divided rule in the West Bank and Gaza (unless and until consensus on interim governing arrangements and/or elections is implemented) and ideologically by Hamas’s refusal to join the PLO in forswearing violent resistance against Israel.

• Preconditions or conditions that Israel and the PLO have each attached to the negotiating process and/or a final-status agreement.85

• Physical entrenchment of Israeli settlers in the West Bank and of obstacles to Palestinian movement within the West Bank and in and out of both the West Bank and Gaza, together with its political and socioeconomic consequences.

• Possibility of high-impact events—such as a major terrorist attack, a surprise election outcome, an outbreak of war, or pursuit by Palestinians of political strategies outside of negotiations with Israel. This possibility could increase as result of the region-wide unrest and political change that has been ongoing since late 2010.

Link: A Palestinian state must be the outcome of direct negotiations

Impact:  Reduces the prospects for a real peace settlement

Prof. Alan Dershowitz 2011. ( Professor of Law at Harvard Law School; LL.B., Yale Law School) “Why the UN Should Not Recognize the Proposed Palestinian State” HUFFINGTON POST 21 Sept 2011 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/the-united-nations-should_b_973792.html> (JE)

“An Apartheid, Islamic, Judenrein Palestine on the 1967 borders is a prescription for disaster. That is why a reasonable Palestinian state must be the outcome of negotiations with Israel, and not the result of a thoughtless vote by the United Nations. The Palestinians and Israeli leaders are now in New York. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has offered to sit down and negotiate, with no preconditions, a realistic peace based on a two-state solution. President Abbas should accept that offer, which will actually get the Palestinians a viable state rather than a cheap paper victory that will raise expectations but lower the prospects for real peace.”

Link & Impact:  Palestine must accept Jewish state and negotiate - only way to end the conflict

Abraham H. Foxman 2011. (J.D. from New York University School of Law; National Director of the Anti-Defamation League) Letter to the Editor of The New York Times in response to, “The U.N. Vote on a Palestinian State,” NEW YORK TIMES, Sept 2011 <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/17/opinion/the-un-vote-on-a-palestinian-state.html> (JE)

“Most important, any constructive step toward peace and statehood for the Palestinians must focus on the imperative for the Palestinians to accept Israel as a Jewish state and to agree to the end of the conflict. The only United Nations resolution over the years that has proved beneficial to peace was Resolution 242 after the 1967 war. It passed because there was finally recognition that only by demanding that the Arabs accept Israel and agree to secure and recognized borders for the Jewish state can an Israeli withdrawal lead to stability rather than future wars. The lesson is no less relevant today. Palestinian decisions in the last year to refuse to negotiate with Israel, to sign a coalition agreement with terrorist Hamas and now to bring this counterproductive initiative to the United Nations once again raise serious questions about Palestinian intentions.”

4.  Cut U.S. Funding for UN

Link:  U.S. contributes to 22% of U.N. regular budget, 27% to peacekeeping, and billions to organizations

Brett Schaefer 2012.  (Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom with expertise in the United Nations; Master’s degree in international development) “The History of the Bloated U.N. Budget: How the U.S. Can Rein It In” Published by  Heritage Foundation in April 2, 2012 <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/04/the-history-of-the-bloated-un-budget-how-the-us-can-rein-it-in> (JE)

“The regular budget is only one of many U.N. budgets to which the U.S. contributes on a yearly basis. Indeed, it is not even the largest budget. The U.S. is assessed 22 percent of the U.N. regular budget and more than 27.1 percent of the U.N. peacekeeping budget. The U.S. also provides additional billions in assessed and voluntary contributions to other organizations in the U.N. system each year. In FY 2010, total U.S. contributions to the U.N. system reached record levels for the third year in a row, exceeding $7.691 billion.  This is $1.3 billion more than the previous record of $6.347 billion in FY 2009 and $1.6 billion more than the U.S. contributed in FY 2008.”

Link & Brink:  No leeway in cutoff legislation

Steven Erlanger 2011. (award winning Jerusalem bureau chief of the New York Times with almost 30 years of experience in reporting; Former Teaching Fellow at Harvard University) “Unesco Accepts Palestinians as Full Members” NEW YORK TIMES October 2011 <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/01/world/middleeast/unesco-approves-full-membership-for-palestinians.html?pagewanted=all> (JE)

“Legislation dating from 1990 and 1994 mandates a complete cutoff of American financing to any United Nations agency that accepts the Palestinians as a full member. State Department lawyers see no leeway in the legislation, and no possibility of a waiver.”

Impact:  US national security, safety, and lives around the world at risk - depend on US payment of its UN obligations

Ambassador Susan Rice 2011. (U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations) testimony before the COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 7 Apr 2011 <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/ric040711.pdf>

We are the world's most powerful country, but even a superpower's resources and influences are not limitless.  That's why the United Nations is so important to our national security -- and a worthwhile investment for the American taxpayer.  The UN allows us to share the costs and burdens of addressing global problems - even more important in today's tough fiscal environment - rather than leaving the world to look to America alone.  At the same time, we're ever mindful of the UN's shortcomings, and we're always clear with UN colleagues about them -  and not always diplomatically.  But the sum of what we get from the United Nations is a solid return on the roughly one-tenth of one percent of government spending that we invest.  When we meet our financial obligations to the UN, we make Americans safer, save lives around the world, and share the burden of tackling common problems that threaten us all.

5.  Israeli retaliation

Link: Empirical experience.  When Palestine was admitted to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), Israel responded with punitive action - increased Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem

Harriet Sherwood 2011. (journalist) 1 Nov 2011 “Israel rushes settlement growth after Unesco accepts Palestinians” THE GUARDIAN (British newspaper) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/01/israel-settlement-growth-unesco-vote-palestinians>

Israel is to expedite the construction of about 2,000 homes in Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem in response to the Palestinians' successful bid to join Unesco. Israel also imposed a temporary halt on the transfer of tax revenues which it collects on behalf of the Palestinian Authority (PA) pending a final decision on whether to impose a long-term freeze. Israel collects about £630m a year in VAT and customs revenues which it passes on to the PA. A meeting of eight senior cabinet ministers agreed the punitive measures – which include a ban on Unesco missions to Israel – on Tuesday following the symbolically significant vote at the United Nations' cultural and educational agency.

Israel will react with punitive measures in the West Bank

Congress will cut off aid to Palestinians

Ethan Bronner 2011. (award winning journalist and Jerusalem bureau chief for The New York Times; Graduate of Wesleyan University's College of Letters and the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism) “In Seeking Statehood, Palestinians Stir Concern” NEW YORK TIMES 10 Sept 2011: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/11/world/middleeast/11palestinians.html?_r=1> (JE)

““Israel is already facing hostility from Egypt, Turkey and Gaza,” a senior Western diplomat said. “It will react to a Palestinian statehood bid with punitive measures in the West Bank. Congress will probably cut off aid to the Palestinians. The Palestinian Authority could collapse. We’re watching a potential train wreck.””

Brink:  Unless action is taken now on Israeli settlements, the situation will deteriorate

Oxfam 2012.  (an international confederation of 15 non-governmental organizations working in 90 countries; originally founded in Oxford, UK, in 1942 as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) 5 July 2012 “ON THE BRINK: Israeli settlements and their impact on Palestinians in the Jordan Valley”  <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/download?Id=455521&dl=http://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/oxfam/bitstream/10546/232131/1/bp160-jordan-valley-settlements-050712-en.pdf>

Unless action is taken now, there are strong indications that the situation will deteriorate further. Recent years have seen a significant rise in construction of Israeli settlements, violence by Israeli settlers against Palestinian civilians, and demolition of Palestinian buildings and other structures such as cisterns, solar panels and animal pens.

Impact:  New Israeli settlements undermine US support for Israel and undermine the peace process

Ewen MacAskill 2010. (journalist) “Israeli settlements undermine peace prospects, warns Clinton”  THE GUARDIAN (British newspaper) 20 Mar 2010 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/mar/22/hillary-clinton-warns-israel-peace>

Hillary Clinton today warned Israel against any further new Jewish settlements in Palestinian territory, saying they undermined prospects for Middle East peace negotiations. In a speech to 7,500 people at the annual conference in Washington of the biggest pro-Israeli lobbying group, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the US secretary of state reaffirmed her personal "rock-solid" commitment and that of the Obama administration to Israel's security. But she ended her speech by directly confronting the issues that led to the biggest US-Israeli rift in decades. "As Israel's friend, it is our responsibility to give credit when it is due and to tell the truth when it is needed," Clinton said. The row began when Israel unexpectedly announced new construction in East Jerusalem, leading Palestinians to pull out of proposed US-brokered peace talks. Clinton told the conference: "New construction in East Jerusalem or the West Bank undermines mutual trust and endangers the proximity talks that are the first step toward the full negotiations that both sides want and need. It exposes daylight between Israel and the United States that others in the region could hope to exploit. And it undermines America's unique ability to play a role ‑ an essential role, I might add ‑ in the peace process."

6.  Peace Process Derailed

Link:  UN membership could cause Israelis to be entrenched deeper in their demands

Dr. Aaron David Miller 2012. (Ph.D. in American Diplomatic and Middle East History from the University of Michigan; Distinguished Scholar in the Middle East Program of the Wilson Center; Public Policy Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars) “The Granddaddy of Dumb Ideas” Published by Slate on January 5th, 2012 <http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/intelligence_squared/2012/01/palestine_in_u_n_why_aaron_david_miller_will_argue_against_its_admission_as_a_member_state_at_the_slate_intelligence_squared_debate_on_jan_10_.html> (JE)

Does anyone want to see such an entity admitted into the United Nations? The symbolic conferral of autonomy may temporarily boost Palestinian morale, but it will solve nothing and could even entrench the Israelis deeper in their demands. Nobody can look at the Palestinians today and not be both sympathetic and empathetic to their cause. They’ve suffered long enough and should have an independent state. But it will not come via the U.N., not this way.”

Link:  UN statehood bid would violate Oslo agreement and ruin current framework and create deadlock

Phoebe Greenwood 2011. (journalist) “Palestinian statehood 'essential for success of Israel peace negotiations'” THE TELEGRAPH September 2011 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/8745752/Palestinian-statehood-essential-for-success-of-Israel-peace-negotiations.html> (JE)

“"The moment the Palestinians approach the UN and ask for a declaration of statehood they will be violating the Oslo Agreement, which is the framework for our relationship, including our economic relations," Ilana Stein, a spokesperson from Israel's Foreign Ministry told the Daily Telegraph. "We hope they will act responsibly rather than pursuing this unilateral and won't ruin all the political and economic framework we have." Following a meeting with his Belgian counterpart Yves Leterme in Jerusalem on Monday, Israeli Prime Minister called on President Abbas to resume direct talks. "He can come to Jerusalem, I could go to Ramallah or we could both go to Brussels," he said, adding that an approach to the United Nations would lead to 'deadlock'.”

Link: Palestinian statehood is an attempt to isolate Israel and would set back peace prospects

Brett Schaefer & James Phillips 2011. (Schaefer - Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs at Margaret Thatcher Center for Freedom with expertise in the United Nations; Master’s degree in international development, American University.  Phillips - Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs at the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies who has written extensively on Middle Eastern issues and international terrorism for over 30 years; holds a Bachelor's Degree in International Relations from Brown University as well as a Master's Degree and a M.A.L.D. in International Security Studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University) “The U.N. Palestinian Statehood Vote: A Test of Obama’s U.N. Engagement Strategy”  Heritage Foundation, September 2011 <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/09/the-un-palestinian-statehood-vote-a-test-of-obamas-un-engagement-strategy> (JE)

“The Palestinian push for statehood absent a negotiated agreement with Israel is correctly perceived by the Obama Administration as an attempt to isolate Israel that would deal a major setback to Israeli–Palestinian peace prospects. Specifically, a unilateral declaration of Palestinian statehood would also undermine all internationally accepted frameworks for peace, including U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and the U.N.-sponsored Road Map for Peace, as well as other U.N. statements that call for the creation of a Palestinian state and delineation of borders through a negotiated mutual agreement with Israel. As stated by President Barack Obama: “For the Palestinians, efforts to delegitimize Israel will end in failure. Symbolic actions to isolate Israel at the United Nations in September won’t create an independent state. Palestinian leaders will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection. And Palestinians will never realize their independence by denying the right of Israel to exist.” This effort threatens both U.S. and Israeli interests, and the Administration is right to oppose it.”

7.    Promoting Religious Apartheid

(Note: This is a double-bind. Argue that statehood doesn’t accomplish anything, but if it did that would be bad, because Palestine would be an awful state)

Link:  Palestine will be theocratic (ruled by religious leaders) and based on Sharia Law (strict Islamic law)

Prof. Alan Dershowitz 2011. ( Professor of Law at Harvard Law School; LL.B., Yale Law School) “Why the UN Should Not Recognize the Proposed Palestinian State” HUFFINGTON POST 21 Sept 2011 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/the-united-nations-should_b_973792.html> (JE)

“The United Nations is being asked to grant the Palestinians the status of a "state," for at least some purposes. The question arises what kind of a state will it be? In an effort to attract Western support, the Palestinian Authority claims that it will become another "secular democratic state." Hamas, which won the last parliamentary election, disagrees. It wants Palestine to be a Muslim state governed by Sharia Law. We know what the Palestinian leadership is saying to the West. Now let's look at what its saying to its own people, who will, after all, be the ultimate decision makers if Palestine is indeed a democracy. The draft constitution for the new state of Palestine declares that "Islam is the official religion in Palestine." It also states that Sharia Law will be "the major source of legislation." It is ironic that the same Palestinian leadership which supports these concepts for Palestine refuses to acknowledge that Israel is the nation state of the Jewish people. Israel, in contrast to the proposed Palestinian state, does not have an official state religion. Although it is a Jewish state, that description is not a religious one but rather a national one. It accords equal rights to Islam, Christianity and all other religions, as well as to atheists and agnostics. Indeed, a very high proportion of Israelis describe themselves as secular.”

Impacts:  Civil rights denied.

A Palestinian state would prohibit Jews from being citizens, while Israel has equality for Arabs

Prof. Alan Dershowitz 2011. ( Professor of Law at Harvard Law School; LL.B., Yale Law School) “Why the UN Should Not Recognize the Proposed Palestinian State” HUFFINGTON POST 21 Sept 2011 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/the-united-nations-should_b_973792.html> (JE)

“The new Palestinian state would prohibit any Jews from being citizens, from owning land or from even living in the Muslim state of Palestine. The Ambassador of the PLO to the United States was asked during an interview whether "any Jew who is inside the borders of Palestine will have to leave?" His answer: "Absolutely"! After much criticism, the Ambassador tried to spin his statement, saying that it applied only to Jews "who are amid the occupation." Whatever that means, one thing is clear: large numbers of Jews will not be welcome to remain in Islamic Palestine as equal citizens. In contrast, Israel has more than 1 million Arab citizens, most of whom are Muslims. They are equal under the law, except that they need not serve in the Israeli army.”

A Palestinian state will be apartheid

Prof. Alan Dershowitz 2011.  [Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law at Harvard Law School; LL.B., Yale Law School]: “Why the UN Should Not Recognize the Proposed Palestinian State” Published by The Huffington Post on September 21st, 2011: <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alan-dershowitz/the-united-nations-should_b_973792.html> (JE)

“To summarize, the new Palestinian state will be a genuine apartheid state. It will practice religious and ethnic discrimination, it will have one official religion and it will base its laws on the precepts of one religion.

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See also http://intelligencesquaredus.org/wp-content/uploads/Palestine-011012.pdf

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8. NEGATIVE BRIEF: PEACEKEEPER ACCOUNTABILITY AT I.C.C.

SIGNIFICANCE

Definition of abuse shaky: Many refugees don’t think some behaviors defined as abuse are actually “abuse”

IRIN, the humanitarian news and analysis service of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2012. “AID POLICY: Sexual exploitation and abuse 10 years on” 4 July 2012 (brackets added) <http://www.irinnews.org/In-Depth/95783/97/>

When UN staff in Yemen showed the PSEA [prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse] training DVD, To Serve with Pride, to refugees, many of them said they had not realized that some of the behaviours they had experienced could be called abuse.

Scope of the problem is exaggerated: They’re defining any relationship between peacekeepers and a local woman as “abuse”

Notes & Analysis: We’re not defending prostitution nor anything else that violates moral standards. But since this debate is about “abuse,” it’s important to define abuse properly. A relationship, whether it’s morally right or not, isn’t “abusive” unless someone is being forced into it. A lot of the events being reported as cases of “abuse” are actually consensual relationships that both parties willingly agreed to. That means estimates of the “abuse” problem have been exaggerated because they’re counting both consensual and abusive together instead of separating them.

Dr. [Olivera Simic](http://rd.springer.com/search?facet-author=%22Olivera+Simic%22) 2012. (LLB from Nis Univ. Law School (Serbia), LLM from Essex Univ (UK), MA from UN University for Peace (Costa Rica); PhD from Melbourne Law School; Visiting Lecturer at the Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; formerly worked with UNICEF and OSCE as a legal consultant on human trafficking) REGULATION OF SEXUAL CONDUCT IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, “Sexual Conduct and Peacekeeping” (brackets added) <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0CGoQFjAEOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.springer.com%2Fcda%2Fcontent%2Fdocument%2Fcda_downloaddocument%2F9783642284830-c1.pdf%3FSGWID%3D0-0-45-1332605-p174306658&ei=1YkqUPn3HdS5hAfQq4H4DQ&usg=AFQjCNEeFIpu8JJXaCatW6AbHQQqzN3IEg&sig2=vFwOb0jttcY5BL-OpnoZSg>

I will argue that the majority of the studies that have identified the problem of sexual exploitation and abuse within peacekeeping contexts, and which have informed policy development, have not critically examined the definition of sexual exploitation. They have failed to recognise that the term sexual exploitation has included the whole range of sexual interactions between peacekeepers and local people, including sexual relationships and adult voluntary prostitution, which suggests that the researchers have failed to distinguish between exploitative and non-exploitative sex. As a result, the allegations, and investigations that have followed have not been limited to sexual exploitation and abuse, but have included consensual sexual activities as if ‘they were of the same ilk’. This lack of clarity was embedded in the comprehensive policy that was formalised in the SGB [Secretary General’s Bulletin] in 2003.

Many of the “Exploitation” allegations were not substantiated and should have been dismissed

Dr. [Olivera Simic](http://rd.springer.com/search?facet-author=%22Olivera+Simic%22) 2012. (LLB from Nis Univ. Law School (Serbia), LLM from Essex Univ (UK), MA from UN University for Peace (Costa Rica); PhD from Melbourne Law School; Visiting Lecturer at the Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; formerly worked with UNICEF and OSCE as a legal consultant on human trafficking) REGULATION OF SEXUAL CONDUCT IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, “Chapter 7: Rethinking ‘Sexual Exploitation’ In UN Peacekeeping Operations,” <http://rd.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-642-28484-7_7#page-1>” (brackets added)

As I argued at the beginning of the book, when the number of PKOs [peace keeping operations] increased in the 1990s, there was a concomitant increase in everyday contact between local women and peacekeepers, which led to an increase in sexual activity between them. As a result, the number of reports of allegations of sexual exploitation by peacekeepers escalated. However, while many reports alleged that peacekeepers were involved in sexual exploitation, I argued that there was a failure to distinguish between exploitative and non-exploitative sex, which meant that many of the sexual exploitation allegations should have been more closely examined, and possibly dismissed. The later interviews I have done with local women and peacekeepers confirm the contested nature of many of these allegations.

INHERENCY

UN has “zero tolerance” policy for peacekeeper abuse

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University's Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

While much remains to be done, especially in terms of holding states accountable for the actions of fighting forces, significant progress has been made in criminalizing and exposing violence against women, sexual abuse and exploitation and galvanizing states in the fight against these evils. Progress has also been made in introducing codes of conduct that establish zero-tolerance to sexual violence crimes for all United Nations personnel, including peacekeepers, who sexually exploit or abuse those they are meant to protect.

Status Quo reforms working: UN has made progress on peacekeeper abuse, shifting the mindset, and delivered results

IRIN, the humanitarian news and analysis service of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2012. “AID POLICY: Sexual exploitation and abuse 10 years on” 4 July 2012 (Brackets and parentheses in original; PSEA = Prevention of Sexual Exploitation and Abuse) <http://www.irinnews.org/In-Depth/95783/97/>

The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has made far more progress than the NGO sector in institutionalizing prevention, and shifting the UN organization’s mind-set, the IASC review notes. The DPKO has had much higher numbers of reported abuses and partly changed course to avoid further scandals (as occurred in 2002 and 2008), but its hierarchical management structure and the resources it allocated to the issue have delivered results. “There is no one in DPKO that doesn’t know what the rules and measures are [for PSEA], and what the consequences are,” said Sylvain Roy, senior policy adviser at the UN Conduct and Discipline Unit.

Specific misconduct cases are being handled appropriately. Although Prof. Muna Ndulo believes more should be done about peacekeeper abuse, he admits in 2009:

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University's Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

This led the General Assembly to consider the matter and subsequently adopt Resolution 57/306 entitled the Investigation into Sexual Exploitation of Refugees by Aid Workers in West Africa. In the Resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to, inter alia, maintain and report on investigations into sexual exploitation and related offenses by humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel in peacekeeping operations and all relevant actions taken by the United Nations to address the violations. The Department of Peacekeeping reported 24 cases in its 2003 report. In five of these cases, the alleged perpetrators were United Nations civilian personnel accused of serious misconduct and appropriate disciplinary action was taken. Military personnel were allegedly involved in 19 cases, but investigations revealed that misconduct was serious in eight cases. In each those cases appropriate action was taken.

Reported abuse cases are dropping

Majority of the problems were in one specific mission - the Congo

Although Prof. Muna Ndulo believes there are still problems, he admits in 2009:

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University's Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

The 2005 figures represented more than a threefold increase in the total number of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse allegations in peacekeeping missions. A total of 357 cases were reported in 2006. The number of sexual exploitation or sexual abuse cases reported in 2007 dropped to 59. Although the cases reported are spread across all missions, the great majority of the allegations reported originated at MONUC [United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo].

MINOR REPAIR: Better prosecution by the troop contributing countries of their own troops who commit abuses

The Repair: Improve prosecution by national governments by making troop contributing states agree to prosecute as a condition of their troops being used on missions

Analysis: See the incentive card below - troop contributing countries will have a financial incentive to comply because they’ll lose a lot of money if their nation is banned from participating.

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell Univ Law School, and Director, Cornell Univ Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

It [Jordanian Prince Zeid Hussein's report] further recommended that the model memorandum of understanding between the United Nations and troop-contributing countries should provide that, if a Department of Peacekeeping Operations investigation concluded that a member of their contingent committed an act of sexual exploitation or abuse, the troop-contributing country must agree to forward the case to its competent national or military authorities to be considered for prosecution in accordance with its laws. The model agreement should require troop contributing states to undertake to take action when a member of their military has violated standards set in the 2003 Bulletin. The country must also report the results to the Secretary-General.

The Advocacy: National jurisdiction [back in their home countries] is far more likely and more effective than ICC prosecution for peacekeeper abuse

Melanie O’Brien 2010. (B.A./LL.B. (University of Newcastle, Australia), GDLP (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), LL.M.(Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden), Doctoral Candidate at University of Nottingham, UK ) PhD thesis: NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL JURISDICTION OVER UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING PERSONNEL FOR GENDER-BASED CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN, July 2010 <http://etheses.nottingham.ac.uk/1492/1/Melanie_O'Brien_PhD_thesis.pdf>

However, the UN itself is unable to exercise criminal jurisdiction, and thus it is essential to examine which jurisdictions would be most effective in undertaking criminal prosecution of peacekeeping personnel. The choice between national jurisdictions and international criminal justice is debated. Which jurisdiction offers a more effectual forum for ensuring accountability? What potential impediments exist and how can such hindrances can be overcome? This thesis argues that gender-based crimes by UN peacekeepers should be criminalised, and that, while the International Criminal Court should not be discounted as a potential forum for prosecutingperpetrators, domestic prosecutions are far more likely and far more effective.

The Incentive: Troop contributing countries make significant income from sending peacekeepers

Analysis: While $1000/month might not sound like much, it’s more than poor countries normally pay their soldiers. A poor country pays their soldier some small amount per month and then collects $1000 from the UN, so the country sending the soldiers makes a profit on each one they send.

Prof. Elizabeth Defeis 2008. (Professor of Law and former Dean of Seton Hall University School of Law) U.N. Peacekeepers and Sexual Abuse and Exploitation: An End to Impunity, Washington University Global Studies Law Review, Vol 7 <http://digitalcommons.law.wustl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1109&context=globalstudies>

For each military personnel deployed, the U.N. pays the TCC $1,000 per troop per month. Id. For some TCCs, this is a significant source of income. See U.N. DEP’T OF PUBLIC INFORMATION, PEACE AND SECURITY, Monthly Summary of Contributors of Military and Civilian Police Personnel (Apr. 30, 2007), http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2007/apr07\_2.pdf. Unlike financial support for peacekeeping, which is mandatory for Member States, the contribution of personnel (soldiers, military observers, civilian police), equipment, supplies or other support for peacekeeping operations is entirely voluntary. Id. Member States who do contribute essential elements are reimbursed from the mission budget at agreed-upon rates.

Truly effective response would be improved prosecutions by national governments

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University's Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

The United Nations cannot subject military personnel to United Nations disciplinary procedures. It does, however, serve as a code of conduct for them and they are made aware of it. In order to be truly effective, therefore, the efforts within the United Nations system need to be reinforced by a demonstrated commitment on the part of national governments to take action against national military personnel and police who serve in peacekeeping operations, including punitive measures against offending personnel.

Many nations are improving their jurisdiction and prosecution of international crimes of sexual violence

Kim Thuy Seelinger, Helene Silverberg, and Robin Mejia 2011. (Kim Thuy Seelinger directs the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project at the Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley. She has a J.D. from New York University School of Law. Helene Silverberg is an Adjunct Associate Professor of Political Science and Lecturer-in-Residence at the School of Law, University of California, Berkeley. Robin Mejia is a journalist and M.P.H. candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Public Health) May 2011 A Working Paper of the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project, Human Rights Center, Univ of California, Berkeley, THE INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE <http://www.law.berkeley.edu/HRCweb/pdfs/SVA_IandP.pdf>

Many countries have used national legislation implementing their obligations under the Rome Statute to also grant their domestic courts jurisdiction over international crimes. For example, Kenya’s International Crimes Act, enacted in 2008 to ensure Kenya’s cooperation with the ICC, confers on Kenyan courts jurisdiction over acts of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in Kenya. The Act does not define these international crimes, but instead refers to the Rome Statute. Consequently, mass rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution and other forms of sexual violence that have been recognized as international crimes can now be prosecuted in Kenyan courts. Many, though not all, states parties to the Rome Statute have incorporated international sex crimes into their national law in the same manner. Consequently, the ICC has not replaced national courts; rather, domestication of the Rome Statute has helped to expand the sexual violence crimes that can be prosecuted in them.

SOLVENCY

Solvency requires several other factors besides prosecution of perpetrators

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2009. ( LL.B. (University of Zambia), LL.M. (Harvard Law School), D. Phil. (Trinity College, Oxford University), Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University's Institute for African Development) The United Nations Responses To The Sexual Abuse And Exploitation Of Women And Girls By Peacekeepers During Peacekeeping Missions, BERKELEY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW Vol 27 (brackets added) <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=facpub>

Measures to address the problem of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse of women and girls by peacekeepers will have to be comprehensive and include measures that address poverty in post-conflict societies, the creation of jobs, prosecutions of all perpetrators, and taking necessary measures to ensure that individual women and girls are not subjected to sexual exploitation and abuse.

No jurisdiction: ICC doesn’t have jurisdiction over many crimes of sexual violence

Kim Thuy Seelinger, Helene Silverberg, and Robin Mejia 2011. (Kim Thuy Seelinger directs the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project at the Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley. She has a J.D. from New York University School of Law. Helene Silverberg is an Adjunct Associate Professor of Political Science and Lecturer-in-Residence at the School of Law, University of California, Berkeley. Robin Mejia is a journalist and M.P.H. candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Public Health) May 2011 A Working Paper of the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project, Human Rights Center, Univ of California, Berkeley, THE INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE <http://www.law.berkeley.edu/HRCweb/pdfs/SVA_IandP.pdf>

Third, and equally important, many crimes of sexual violence—such as marital rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, trafficking, gang rape and incest—fall outside the ICC’s jurisdiction. The ICC’s jurisdiction is expressly limited to war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and crimes of aggression. By contrast, many national courts may now exercise jurisdiction over the full range of crimes of sexual violence.

ICC can only prosecute a few types of peacekeeper crimes - it should mostly be done at the national level instead

Max du Plessis and Stephen Pete 2004. (du Plessis - Senior Lecturer, Howard College School of Law, University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal, Associate Member of the Natal Bar. Pete - Associate Professor, Howard College School of Law, University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal, Attorney of the High Court) WHO GUARDS THE GUARDS? The ICC and serious crimes committed by United Nations peacekeepers in Africa, African Security Review Vol 13 No 4, 2004 <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/asr/13no4/FduPlessis.htm>

Our conclusion is that the ICC may have a role to play, but this role is strictly limited by the nature of the crimes over which this court exercises jurisdiction, and by the doctrine of complementarity which restricts the jurisdiction of the court to a great extent. There may be exceptions, but it is to be expected that in most cases, serious crimes committed by UN peacekeepers in Africa will be isolated in nature and the perpetrators of these crimes will not possess the necessary intent to enable such crimes to be classified as genocide or crimes against humanity. It is somewhat more likely that certain serious crimes committed by peacekeepers may amount to war crimes, although it is clear that the ICC is more concerned with war crimes committed on a wide scale than with isolated incidents. Furthermore, even if certain crimes committed by UN peacekeepers may be said to fall within the categories of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, the principle of complementarity will ensure that most such crimes are investigated and prosecuted by the state of the offending peacekeeper. Accordingly, we expect that prosecutions of peacekeepers will continue to be conducted largely by the national state of the peacekeeper concerned, and prosecutions of such soldiers by the ICC will remain a very distant exception to that norm. That is not necessarily a bad thing. The ICC is a call to responsibility for persons guilty of ‘the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole’.

ICC prosecution of peacekeepers unlikely to work:

1) not covered by the Rome Statute

2) ICC prosecutor says he would only prosecute the worst cases

Susan A. Notar 2006. (attorney in Washington DC; Managing Editor, International Legal Materials, American Society of International Law) PEACEKEEPERS AS PERPETRATORS: SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO, JOURNAL OF GENDER, SOCIAL POLICY & THE LAW <http://www.wcl.american.edu/journal/genderlaw/14/notar2.pdf>

Attempting to hold peacekeepers accountable for their crimes in the ICC is unlikely to be successful for a number of reasons. First, the jurisdiction of the court is limited under Article 5 to crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression. The abuses that the peacekeepers perpetrated do not appear to rise to the level of either genocide, or crimes against humanity, as the Rome Statute, the authorizing treaty of the ICC, defines them. The crimes might arguably fall within the definition of “war crimes” as defined in the Rome statute, but the ICC prosecutor has indicated that he will only prosecute the most egregious crimes, and while the peacekeepers’ acts are heinous, they arguably do not rise to the level of the crimes upon which the Prosecutor should focus.

ICC not very effective at improving the lives of war-zone residents

Marleen J.J.P. Maassen 2011. (masters thesis, Univ. of Utrecht) “STRIKING THE BALANCE - The Effectiveness of the International Criminal Court in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” (brackets added) Aug 2011 (Helena Cobban has a masters degree from Oxford and is a world-recognized researcher and writer on the Middle East and on transnational systems of justice.) <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2011-0902-202359/Striking%20the%20Balance.%20The%20Effectiveness%20of%20the%20International%20Criminal%20Court%20in%20the%20Democratic%20Republic%20of%20the%20Congo%20-%20Marleen%20J.J.P.%20Maassen.pdf>

[Helena] Cobban, predicted in 2006 that the ICC ‘will be no more effective’ than the ICTY [international criminal tribunal for Yugoslavia] and the ICTR [international criminal tribunal for Rwanda] ‘in improving the lives of war-zone residents who are its primary stakeholders’, which she perceived as ‘not very effective at all’. More specifically she predicted from her experience with the ICTY and the ICTR that trials at the ICC, when concerning ‘events that took place in recent memory, in a society that’s still highly divided and deeply traumatized’, will likewise exacerbate existing political rifts.

Many obstacles exist to prosecution with the ICC - it can’t effectively protect women

Lindsay L. Wright 2012. (JD candidate, Suffolk Univ. Law School) “FAILS SO GOOD: AN EXAMINATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS’ INEFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 1820 IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO “ Suffolk Transnational Law Review, Volume 153, Winter 2012 (brackets added) <http://www.law.suffolk.edu/highlights/stuorgs/transnat/upload/Wright_Note_Final.pdf>

Although the ICC is more effective today, many obstacles to prosecution still exist. Bringing perpetrators before the ICC is costly, and unless sufficient evidence can be found, punishment mechanisms are not activated. As a result, the ICC remains a work in progress when it comes to rape. While the ICC is a necessary element in furthering protection of women in the DRC [Democratic Republic of Congo], its ineffectiveness hinders adequate relief.

ICC is partial and politicized, subject to the power of governments because it needs their cooperation

Marleen J.J.P. Maassen 2011. (masters thesis, Univ. of Utrecht) “STRIKING THE BALANCE - The Effectiveness of the International Criminal Court in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” (brackets added) Aug 2011 (Helena Cobban has a masters degree from Oxford and is a world-recognized researcher and writer on the Middle East and on transnational systems of justice.) <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2011-0902-202359/Striking%20the%20Balance.%20The%20Effectiveness%20of%20the%20International%20Criminal%20Court%20in%20the%20Democratic%20Republic%20of%20the%20Congo%20-%20Marleen%20J.J.P.%20Maassen.pdf>

Furthermore, she [Helena Cobban] expected that the ICC, like the ICTY and the ICTR, will not be able to help check the power of governments, because it needs their cooperation. She also argued that this has already been the case in Uganda, where ‘the Ugandan government has similarly been able to deter the [P]rosecutor from pursuing cases against pro-government forces’. This would make the ICC a partial institution. She finally expressed concerns on the fact that the ICC, in the absence of any broader administrative body that is responsible for the welfare of the people within its domain, merely answers to the Assembly of States, which gives the Court only ‘an indirect line of accountability, if any, to the communities they aim to serve’. These concerns of partiality and lack of a higher authority controlling the Court’s action, which both could lead to politicization, were pronounced frequently in the running up to the Court’s establishment and commencement and were among the main concerns of the US.

ICC doesn’t replace national courts: ICC can only prosecute a handful at the highest level; national courts must do the rest

Kim Thuy Seelinger, Helene Silverberg, and Robin Mejia 2011. (Kim Thuy Seelinger directs the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project at the Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley. She has a J.D. from New York University School of Law. Helene Silverberg is an Adjunct Associate Professor of Political Science and Lecturer-in-Residence at the School of Law, University of California, Berkeley. Robin Mejia is a journalist and M.P.H. candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Public Health) May 2011 A Working Paper of the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project, Human Rights Center, Univ of California, Berkeley, THE INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE <http://www.law.berkeley.edu/HRCweb/pdfs/SVA_IandP.pdf>

Significantly, the creation of the ICC has not displaced national courts as the primary venue for the prosecution of sexual violence, for at least three reasons. First, under the Rome Statute’s principle of complementarity, each states party to the statute remains responsible for investigating and prosecuting serious international crimes committed on its territory or by its nationals. The ICC is a court of last resort; it may only step in where national courts cannot or will not do so. Second, even when the ICC decides to intervene, effective investigation and prosecution at the national level remains essential. In practice, the ICC is only able to prosecute the handful of individuals bearing the most responsibility for the international crimes committed. Prosecution of the lower level, and more numerous, perpetrators necessarily falls to national authorities.

International investigations are hampered by dangerous conditions in the communities where the crimes occur

Kim Thuy Seelinger, Helene Silverberg, and Robin Mejia 2011. (Kim Thuy Seelinger directs the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project at the Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley. She has a J.D. from New York University School of Law. Helene Silverberg is an Adjunct Associate Professor of Political Science and Lecturer-in-Residence at the School of Law, University of California, Berkeley. Robin Mejia is a journalist and M.P.H. candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, School of Public Health) May 2011 A Working Paper of the Sexual Violence & Accountability Project, Human Rights Center, Univ of California, Berkeley, THE INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE <http://www.law.berkeley.edu/HRCweb/pdfs/SVA_IandP.pdf>

Finally, teams investigating international crimes can face significant security risks and logistical challenges if evidence must be gathered during an on-going conflict. The violations they examine often occurred in places of precarious stability. Aside from even reaching the target area, investigators must operate swiftly and safely, attracting as little attention as possible to themselves and their interviewees.

DISADVANTAGES

1. Broad accusations

Link: Definitions of abuse are too broad. Cross apply Significance card “Scope of the problem is exaggerated”

Link: The Secretary General’s Bulletin (SGB) definition of exploitation is too broad - it includes consensual activity that is not abusive. (Again, note: it may be morally wrong, but it’s not abusive. We don’t need an international tribunal to judge every moral mistake that 2 people make - that’s between them and God. Tribunals should judge behavior that is criminal and truly abusive to international standards of human rights.)

Dr. [Olivera Simic](http://rd.springer.com/search?facet-author=%22Olivera+Simic%22) 2012. (LLB from Nis Univ. Law School (Serbia), LLM from Essex Univ (UK), MA from UN University for Peace (Costa Rica); PhD from Melbourne Law School; Visiting Lecturer at the Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; formerly worked with UNICEF and OSCE as a legal consultant on human trafficking) REGULATION OF SEXUAL CONDUCT IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, “Sexual Conduct and Peacekeeping” (brackets added) <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0CGoQFjAEOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.springer.com%2Fcda%2Fcontent%2Fdocument%2Fcda_downloaddocument%2F9783642284830-c1.pdf%3FSGWID%3D0-0-45-1332605-p174306658&ei=1YkqUPn3HdS5hAfQq4H4DQ&usg=AFQjCNEeFIpu8JJXaCatW6AbHQQqzN3IEg&sig2=vFwOb0jttcY5BL-OpnoZSg>

Sexual abuse involves coercion and the absence of consent. A victim’s choice, agency and consent are clearly absent when considering sexual abuse. However, choice, agency and consent are pertinent when discussing consensual sexual relationships and prostitution, although the SGB’s definition of sexual exploitationseems to deny the relevance of these factors.

Impact: Falsely accuses peacekeepers and violates international human rights law

Dr. [Olivera Simic](http://rd.springer.com/search?facet-author=%22Olivera+Simic%22) 2012. (LLB from Nis Univ. Law School (Serbia), LLM from Essex Univ (UK), MA from UN University for Peace (Costa Rica); PhD from Melbourne Law School; Visiting Lecturer at the Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; formerly worked with UNICEF and OSCE as a legal consultant on human trafficking) REGULATION OF SEXUAL CONDUCT IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, “Sexual Conduct and Peacekeeping” (brackets added) <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0CGoQFjAEOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.springer.com%2Fcda%2Fcontent%2Fdocument%2Fcda_downloaddocument%2F9783642284830-c1.pdf%3FSGWID%3D0-0-45-1332605-p174306658&ei=1YkqUPn3HdS5hAfQq4H4DQ&usg=AFQjCNEeFIpu8JJXaCatW6AbHQQqzN3IEg&sig2=vFwOb0jttcY5BL-OpnoZSg>

The SGB [Secretary General’s Bulletin] follows the broad definitions of sexual exploitation used by radical feminist scholars and most researchers, which include such diverse sexual conduct as rape, trafficking for the purposes of prostitution, sex with minors, voluntary prostitution, and almost all modes of consensual sexual relationships between peacekeepers and beneficiaries. The book argues that such broad definitions of sexual exploitation are overinclusive because they encompass sexual activities that the participants would not themselves perceive or experience as sexually exploitative. I contend that this is inconsistent with international human rights law, denies agency to women and automatically misrepresents the peacekeepers involved as perpetrators.

2. Discrimination and racism

Link: Secretary General’s definition of abuse perpetuates stereotypes: “Men are predators, women are victims”

Impact: Racism and discrimination

Dr. [Olivera Simic](http://rd.springer.com/search?facet-author=%22Olivera+Simic%22) 2012. (LLB from Nis Univ. Law School (Serbia), LLM from Essex Univ (UK), MA from UN University for Peace (Costa Rica); PhD from Melbourne Law School; Visiting Lecturer at the Centre for Interdisciplinary and Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; formerly worked with UNICEF and OSCE as a legal consultant on human trafficking) REGULATION OF SEXUAL CONDUCT IN UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS, “Sexual Conduct and Peacekeeping” (brackets added) <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0CGoQFjAEOAo&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.springer.com%2Fcda%2Fcontent%2Fdocument%2Fcda_downloaddocument%2F9783642284830-c1.pdf%3FSGWID%3D0-0-45-1332605-p174306658&ei=1YkqUPn3HdS5hAfQq4H4DQ&usg=AFQjCNEeFIpu8JJXaCatW6AbHQQqzN3IEg&sig2=vFwOb0jttcY5BL-OpnoZSg>

Because the SGB [Secretary General’s Bulletin] relies upon and perpetuates negative gender stereotypes and imperial hierarchies, it encourages stigmatisation and discrimination. It casts women as victims, and peacekeepers as sexual predators who cannot treat women as equals. My empirical findings reveal that the ‘strong discouragement’ of sexual relationships and the ban on prostitution can have very serious negative consequences for the UN, since these provisions may encourage racism, discrimination and stigmatisation. Furthermore, they suggest that imposing a blanket ban on prostitution may not contribute to its prevention or decline, as the UN hopes, but rather push the practice underground.

3. Disappointed victims. The ICC’s handling of victims leaves them disappointed and dissatisfied

Marleen J.J.P. Maassen 2011. (masters thesis, Univ. of Utrecht) “STRIKING THE BALANCE - The Effectiveness of the International Criminal Court in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” (brackets added) Aug 2011 <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2011-0902-202359/Striking%20the%20Balance.%20The%20Effectiveness%20of%20the%20International%20Criminal%20Court%20in%20the%20Democratic%20Republic%20of%20the%20Congo%20-%20Marleen%20J.J.P.%20Maassen.pdf>

While scholars have praised the possibility of victim participation at the ICC, it has not necessarily brought the sense of ownership to the affected communities: awareness is low, while frustration on the long process of application and disappointment on the number that can participate and the role that they fulfil is high. Moreover, problems occur with intermediaries who are not informed enough and sometimes even believe it necessary to pay victims to encourage participation, feeding the perception that the Court is trying to “buy” victims. They are frustrated with the lack of training or financial support, given the risks, and actual threats, they face. While some remain optimistic and emphasize the influence victims have had on the process by bringing about the investigations or by reminding the Court of its purpose, I wonder to what extent affected communities are aware of that success. Rather than improving the local perception, victim participation has thus been yet another source of disappointment and dissatisfaction.

4. Loss of national sovereignty

Link: Affirmative plan transfers sovereignty from nations to prosecute their own citizens over to an international organization

Link: Internationalizing criminal law (including the “Rome Statute” - the governing treaty of the ICC) affects state sovereignty

Dr. Robert Cryer 2005. ( LLM and PhD from Univ. of Nottingham; professor at Univ. of Nottingham School of Law, Britain) International Criminal Law vs State Sovereignty: Another Round? European Journal of International Law Vol. 16 no.5 <http://www.ejil.org/pdfs/16/5/333.pdf>

We must accept that international criminal law does affect state sovereignty (the law on crimes against humanity and genocide in particular) by prohibiting behaviour perhaps previously outside of the purview of international law. Or, as Bruce Broomhall comments, the idea that certain acts ‘undermine the international community’s interest in peace and security and, by their exceptional gravity, “shock the conscience of mankind”’, and thus are not the concern of one state alone. The obligations undertaken by states parties to the Rome Statute, to cooperate with the Court and to, essentially, submit their judicial processes (or lack thereof) to external oversight also have implications for sovereignty.

Impact: Yielding sovereignty is bad: We abandon constitutional democracy

Dr. John Fonte 2011. (Ph.D. in World History from the University of Chicago, M.A. and B.A. in History from the University of Arizona; Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for American Common Culture at the Hudson Institute) SOVEREIGNTY OR SUBMISSION: Liberal Democracy or Global Governance? Foreign Policy Research Institute, Oct 2011 <http://www.fpri.org/enotes/2011/201110.fonte.sovereignty.pdf>

Moving from pragmatic and realist arguments to fundamental principles, the idea that global governance is consistent with American values fails completely on moral grounds. The most vital of the “vital interests” of the United States is the preservation and perpetuation of our constitutional democracy. The very purpose of U.S. foreign policy is to ensure the continued existence of the self-government and freedom of the American people. When American constitutional democracy submits to global authority, our vital interests will have been surrendered. To argue that it is in “our interests and consistent with our values” to subordinate American self-government to non-citizens outside of our constitutional democracy is an oxymoron. It is to argue, in effect, that committing democratic suicide by effectively abandoning government under the U.S. Constitution is “in our interests and consistent with our values.”

9. NEGATIVE BRIEF: SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP & VETO REFORM

SIGNIFICANCE

P5 Have Not Misused Veto Power

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

Since the 2005 World Summit Document was endorsed in October 2005 there have been only five vetoed draft resolutions: US vetoes relating to the situation in the Middle East (July and November 2006); Russian and Chinese vetoes of both draft resolutions concerning the situations in Burma/Myanmar (January 2007) and Zimbabwe (July 2008); and the Russian veto of a draft resolution relating to Georgia (June 2009). None of these vetoes were cast in order to block an actor contemplating a humanitarian military intervention in response to R2P related crimes.

Humanitarian missions aren’t being vetoed

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf> (brackets added, parentheses in original)

In comparison, the Cold War’s end heralded an era of unprecedented great power cooperation in the Council with only 13 vetoes occurring between January 1990 and March 2003. Since the 2005 World Summit Document was endorsed in October 2005 there have been only five vetoed draft resolutions: US vetoes relating to the situation in the Middle East (July and November 2006); Russian and Chinese vetoes of both draft resolutions concerning the situations in Burma/Myanmar (January 2007) and Zimbabwe (July 2008); and the Russian veto of a draft resolution relating to Georgia (June 2009). None of these vetoes were cast in order to block an actor contemplating a humanitarian military intervention in response to R2P [responsibility to protect] related crimes.

P5 don’t have all the power, and vetoes are rarely used since the end of the Cold War

Dr. Michael Fullilove 2009. (PhD in International Relations from Oxford Univ.; Director of the Global Issues Program at the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney and a Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington ) The Case for Australia’s UN Security Council Bid, Sept 2009, published by Lowy Institute for International Policy <http://www.unaavictoria.org.au/files/Lowy_Institute_Report_-_The_case_for_Australia_s_candidacy.pdf>

But the view that the P5 have all the power and the E10 have none is not accurate. While resolutions can be vetoed by permanent members, they cannot be passed without elected members, as the Charter provides that a majority of nine votes is required for passage. And in practice, vetoes have rarely been exercised since the end of the Cold War. Less than two dozen substantive vetoes have been cast by the P5 in the last two decades, compared with the nearly two hundred substantive vetoes cast during the Cold War. The Council is noticeably more collegial and businesslike now than it was during the era of superpower stand­off. Most of its work is done through negotiation, in which the E10 play an important role.

No need for P5 change: Distribution of power in the world is not that different from 1945

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

For instance, McDonald and Patrick argue that the “primary consideration for permanent membership should be power—the ability and willingness to deploy it in service of global security.” This seemingly straightforward argument, however, becomes more complicated when one attempts to list the countries whose power should entitle them to a seat in the Council. Indeed, the actual data are somewhat at odds with the view that global power distribution is drastically different now than it was around the founding of the United Nations when viewed from the perspective of the five permanent members of the Council. As a proxy for power in international politics, consider the material resources of the P-5 in 1945. As Table 2 demonstrates, the five countries were collectively dominant in the world, with 62.96% of global GDP, 139.12% of the world’s average GDP per capita, 82.53% of military spending, and 67.81% of military personnel (if one counts China rather than Taiwan). For purposes of comparison with the contemporary world, a more accurate picture of the post-World War II global distribution of power resources is 1950, when the world demobilized to Cold War levels and war-torn depressed economies resumed peacetime levels of output. It is also the first year for which reliable statistics exist across the world. As Table 3 shows, the P-5 were still collectively strong, but at lower relative levels of potential influence compared to those of 1945, with 52.06% of global GDP, 134.69% of the world’s average GDP per capita, 78.44% of military spending, and 63.08% of military personnel. In 2010, as depicted in Table 4, the respective levels of the P-5 were lower, but not dramatically so, with a ten percent decrease in the share of global GDP and a seventeen percent decrease in the share of military spending (and only five percent and twelve percent decreases, respectively, if one includes Taiwan in the P-5 in 1950). Moreover, GDP per capita of the permanent five—which reflects countries’ potential ability to use their disposable income abroad after accounting for domestic consumption and investment—actually increased relative to the global average by seventeen percent. More importantly, it is somewhat artificial to construe the collective power of the P-5 in 1950 through a simple addition of their respective shares. With greater cooperation among the P-5 in 2010 compared to 1950, the Security Council’s collective power may actually be greater now than at the founding.

INHERENCY

No Significant Reform Needed: UN Charter already provides sufficient mechanism for UNSC to meet the expectations of the international community

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

Under international law, interpretation of the Council’s purpose based on legal analysis of the text, context, and practice of Article 24 can be supplemented by recourse to norms of legitimacy emerging within the international community. If further agreement is reached on the Council’s purpose—a process that gives primacy to persuasion and can be improved through certain reforms—the U.N. Charter already provides sufficient legal mechanisms to enable the Council to meet the contemporary expectations of the international community.

Other solutions exist: NATO can bypass the Security Council and its vetoes

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

There were several other noteworthy aspects of the Kosovo case. First, that NATO states questioned the Security Council’s legitimacy as the authoritative voice on responding to ethnic cleansing. Specifically, US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright argued that the Alliance did not need UN Security Council authorization because the North Atlantic Council, which at that time comprised fifteen liberal democracies, was a more legitimate voice on the issue of humanitarian military intervention than the Security Council, which included many non-democracies. According to Albright, repressive regimes such as Russia and China should not be given the opportunity to veto action intended to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe by a coalition of liberal democracies. Secondly, it is important to recall that although the threat of Russian and Chinese vetoes gave NATO states pause for thought, ultimately it did not stop them taking military action. Indeed, Operation Allied Force demonstrated that NATO was willing to undertake an out-of-area intervention that was widely perceived as illegal and had no basis in the Alliance’s founding document (the Washington Treaty), and to defend that decision on the moral and political grounds that such action was in line with previous Security Council resolutions and urgently necessary in light of the atrocities occurring in Kosovo.

MINOR REPAIR: Avoid the veto problem with the “Uniting for Peace” procedure, which already exists in the Status Quo

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

One of the most successful ventures in relation to limiting the veto power came from within the P5 when in 1950 US Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, developed a proposal designed to neuter the Soviet Union’s veto power in relation to the Korean War. In what became known as the ‘Uniting for Peace’ procedure, Acheson came up with the idea of turning to the UN General Assembly to respond to aggression and threats to international peace and security when the Council was prevented from fulfilling its obligations because of the threat of a veto. Since the transfer of an issue from the Security Council to the General Assembly is considered a procedural matter it was therefore not subject to the P5 veto. Since then, the Uniting for Peace procedure has been used on more than ten occasions to facilitate UN action short of the use of force but its use has been rare in recent decades with the last occasion being in 1997 to take action against Israel.

SOLVENCY

1. Even with the “two veto” system, UN intervention in Syria would be blocked because Russia/China vote together

Sir Ronald Sanders 2012. (International Business Consultant; former High Commissioner to the United Kingdom for Antigua and Barbuda and Ambassador to the World Trade Organisation) Kaieteur News Online, “Syria proves the case for UN Security Council reform,” March 11, 2012, <http://www.kaieteurnewsonline.com/2012/03/11/syria-proves-the-case-for-un-security-council-reform/>

A United Nations Security Council, genuinely concerned with the welfare of people and applying objective standards, would have taken positive global steps to apply biting sanctions on the regime in Syria to compel an end to the killing of innocent civilians including children. Instead, the Security Council, hamstrung by the interests of a few governments that have an outdated power to exercise a veto, is effectively paralyzed from taking strong action against the Syrian government that is throttling dissent by open and vicious warfare against its own people. Both the Chinese and Russian governments have vetoed global sanctions against Syria. Emboldened by this, the government of President Bashar al-Assad stepped-up violence against Syrians and forced thousands to flee the country.

2. Not solving the real problem: Lack of clarity about the purpose of the Security Council

Lack of agreement about UNSC’s purpose is the problem, not representation

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

Second, existing critiques have overlooked the primary problem of the Council, which is not insufficient resources or inadequate representativeness, but a lack of agreement as to its purpose. There is both a consensus within the international community that the Council’s responsibility under Article 24 of the U.N. Charter should continue to be the maintenance of international peace and security, and a persistent lack of clarity as to the meaning of this obligation in specific crises.

Example: Bosnia 1994. Expanded Security Council would not have solved Bosnian crisis

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

Due to its persistent internal dissensus regarding common objectives in Bosnia, the Security Council was unable to prevent the approximately 100,000 deaths and nearly half of the Bosnian population being displaced by the war. Its delayed response, as well as that of the international community, was widely perceived to be unacceptable in the contemporary world. At no stage of this three-year process is it clear that an enlarged Security Council would have aided in its mission to maintain international peace and security, since the primary issue was the very meaning of its responsibilities rather than insufficient capabilities.

The key issue is resolving the purpose of the Council - it’s currently not clear and cannot be resolved by a political decision

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

Moreover, the key issue for the international community is clarifying what common purpose the Council should serve. There is both a consensus within the international community that the Council’s responsibility under Article 24 of the U.N. Charter should continue to be the maintenance of international peace and security, and a persistent lack of clarity as to the meaning of this obligation in specific crises. Due to the decentralized nature of the international community, without a single Sovereign, this uncertainty cannot be resolved by a purely political decision.

3. Lack of flexibility. Expanding the Security Council won’t provide the flexibility needed, and will only risk more deadlock

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

Third, current analyses have failed to consider future trends in the distribution of power in the world, which is more relevant to the issue of Council reform than past or even present levels of influence. While such predictions are inevitably uncertain, they should nonetheless inform decisionmaking. While the conventional wisdom has misdiagnosed the sources of the Council’s problem as well as the necessary solutions, there is urgent need for reform. The world is characterized by what the Article defines as variable multipolarity, whereby changing crises demand different combinations of actors with relevant resources and shared interests. To successfully engage with these shifting crises, the Council needs to ensure flexibility of response and, depending on the context, engage with specific regional and local actors. Therefore, the Council’s reform should be based not on expanded permanent membership, but on increased opportunities for inclusive contextual participation in decisionmaking. In contrast, increased permanent representativeness (except for limited expansion to include India and Japan) would have little benefit in enabling the Council to better fulfill its responsibility across all crises, and would risk increased deadlock.

4. Democratic legitimacy is unattainable

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

While the deliberative model outlined by Johnstone may be appropriate for Security Council legislation (even if it does not provide a complete framework for assessing the Council’s legitimacy in all of its functions), it is less clear why democratic legitimacy should be the standard applicable to the Council or, for that matter, to other international or supranational organizations. Indeed, there are strong reasons against mechanically transplanting legitimacy standards based on nation-states to international institutions such as the Security Council. For instance, Robert Keohane and Allen Buchanan argue that global democracy is not a plausible source of legitimacy for global institutions because there are insufficient “social and political conditions for democracy,” such as a global community “habitually communicating with one another about public issues.” They view global democracy as simply impossible in any foreseeable future and thus as not a plausible source of legitimacy.

5. Lack of common interests. Expanded membership in the Security Council is irrelevant to the bigger problem that causes the UNSC to fail sometimes: Lack of common interests

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

But the conventional reform proposal based on expanding membership is flawed, because it has given insufficient attention to the underlying purpose of the Council by which its power is constrained and justified. Recall the crises during which the Security Council has been perceived to have failed in its duty under the U.N. Charter to maintain international peace and security: Bosnia in 1992, Rwanda in 1994, Darfur in 2003, or was ignored by other actors, as in Kosovo in 1999 or Iraq in 2003. In each of these situations, the main problem was not the lack of collectivecapabilities (military, economic, or diplomatic) of the P-5 and the wider Security Council, but the insufficient intensity of perceived common interests at stake. Even when the Council did act successfully—as in Kuwait in 1990, Bosnia in 1994, East Timor in 1999, Afghanistan in 2001, and Libya in 2011—it was never with a “genuinely collective assertion of authority and control dedicated to the restoration of international peace and security,” but rather based on select participation of actors, with varying degrees of involvement across the interventions, whose interests were at stake and who had the requisite resources in the particular context. Therefore, the primary question for the Security Council is what common values, purposes, or interests its power should serve. Only then can one address whether it has sufficient or inadequate power, and how such power should be exercised.

Example: Kosovo 1999. Expanded Security Council would not have solved Kosovo, because conflicting interests were at stake

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

After undergoing eleven weeks of intense NATO bombing, Serbia agreed to withdraw troops from Kosovo, recognize its autonomy, and not oppose the introduction of a United Nations-run government in the territory. Throughout this process, the Security Council was internally deadlocked over the interests at stake and appropriate course of action, particularly with Russia threatening to use its veto power to protect its ally Serbia and with China opposing interference with what it perceived as an internal conflict not within the Council’s jurisdiction. Just as with Bosnia, a larger Security Council would not have fared any better than it did here.

Disagreement is the real cause of Security Council failure

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

This brief overview of the three case studies illustrates that the Security Council in the post-Cold War era has had sufficient resources to achieve its objectives when it reaches internal consensus on what common interests are involved in a particular context. Its ineffectiveness has been due to disagreement rather than incapacity.

6. UNSC expansion won’t increase legitimacy

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. SecurityCouncil Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

The extensive debates on Security Council reform have often juxtaposedthe allegedly conflicting objectives of legitimacy and effectiveness, wherebyincreasing legitimacy, defined as representation, risks decreasing effectiveness,defined as the probability of reaching decisions within the Council.Yet, effectiveness of the Security Council is much more about its substantivecompetence to comply with its obligations under the Charter and enforce its decisions, rather than its procedural ability to gather the required number of votes for a decision. Legitimacy, in turn, depends not on representation per se, but on the extent to which, empirically, a decision is consistent with shared understandings of permissible conduct within the international community. Viewed in this manner, the Council can enhance both its legitimacy and effectiveness by clarifying its prospective common interests through resolutions and framework documents and involving in its deliberations regional and local state and non-state actors. Thus, its reform should be based not on expanded permanent membership, but on inclusive contextual participation in decisionmaking.

DISADVANTAGES

1. Gridlock

Link: Adding Security Council members will cause gridlock

C. Eduardo Vargas Toro 2008, (project manager for refugee and conflict issues and political advocacy at Intersections International. Previously, he worked with the UN Office of Caritas Internationalis on refugee issues with UN Security Council member states and UN Economic and Social Council NGOs. He holds a MA from the John C. Whitehead School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall Univ) “UN Security Council Reform: Unrealistic Proposals and Viable Reform Options” American Diplomacy, November 2008, <http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2008/1012/comm/vargas_un.html> (brackets in original)

Self-interest, not democracy, motivates these membership claims, and a council loaded with more permanent members would suffer from gridlock and political sclerosis. According to a study on *Power and Satisfaction in the Security Council* by Barry O’Neill, “granting more seats to the non-veto players can diminish their total power [in the Security Council].” This would be due to a greater pool of elected members that the P-5 could court in order to get an affirmative vote for their resolutions. Additionally, adding new veto members would impede the council from acting in an efficient manner. The P-5’s national interests hinder the Council’s ability to address issues closest to them, and adding new veto members would further decrease the odds of a specific issue being addressed, let alone voted on.

Impact: Worse harm through delayed intervention

Dr. Bart M.J. Szewczyk 2012. (PhD; senior associate at Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale & Dorr LLP in Washington, DC and an adjunct professor of international law at George Washington Univ Law School; member of the Executive Council at the American Society of International Law) Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform, HARVARD INTERNATIONAL LAW JOURNAL, Vol 53, Summer 2012 <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1883850>

It is difficult to predict where future crises will develop, but wherever they occur, the core capacity of the P-5 along with specific actors depending on the situation should be sufficient. Therefore, larger permanent membership of the Council would not enable it to better perform its responsibilities under the U.N. Charter across all crises; it would only increase the probability of dissensus, lengthen the time of response, and worsen the extent of harm that could have been prevented through quicker dispatch.

2. Persecution of Israel

Link: US frequently vetoes criticisms of Israel

Lionel Beehner 2012. (fellow at the Truman National Security Project, former senior writer at the Council on Foreign Relations; PhD candidate in political science at Yale Univ) “The UN's Fossilized Security Council” 6 June 2012 <http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/06/06/uns-fossilized-security-council>

The United States has used its veto over 40 times to protect resolutions condemning Israeli actions. France has similarly blocked resolutions against Morocco for occupying parts of Western Sahara.

Link: Anti-Semitism is institutionalized at the UN

Dr. Salim Mansur 2009. (PhD in Political Science from Toronto Univ; Prof of political science at Univ of Western Ontario) “Shamelessness at the UN” TORONTO SUN Sept 2009 <http://www.torontosun.com/comment/columnists/salim_mansur/2009/09/26/11128121-sun.html> (JE)

“Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu asked the assembled representatives of the UN member states in New York this week, "Have you no shame? No decency?" The answer is no. For in inviting once again holocaust-denier and Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to address the General Assembly, the majority of member states confirmed how greatly anti-Semitism is now institutionalized at the UN.

Link: US has key role in shaping global values and defending the legitimacy of Israel at the UN

Steven J. Rosen 2010. (director of the Washington Project of the Middle East Forum; formerly taught political science and international relations from 1968 to 1978 at the University of Pittsburgh, Brandeis University, and the Australian National University) Sept 2010 COMMENTARY “Will Obama Use His UN Veto?” (ellipses in original) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/will-obama-use-his-un-veto/>

On July 14, his ambassador to the UN, Susan Rice, said, “We will… combat all international attempts to challenge the legitimacy of Israel… at the United Nations.” But many of Obama’s admirers do not want or expect him to stand by such commitments. The Nobel Committee that gave him the Peace Prize said it did so because of his “extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy… with emphasis on the role that the United Nations…can play…on the basis of values and attitudes that are shared by the majority of the world’s population.”

Brink: US veto is Israel’s defense against 50 UN countries that oppose them

Steven J. Rosen 2010. (director of the Washington Project of the Middle East Forum; formerly taught political science and international relations from 1968 to 1978 at the University of Pittsburgh, Brandeis University, and the Australian National University) Sept 2010 COMMENTARY “Will Obama Use His UN Veto?” <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/will-obama-use-his-un-veto/>

The 6 million Jews of Israel, who have only one vote in the UN, face a billion and half Muslims, who have 50 votes. It is the American veto in the UN Security Council that provides a potential line of defense for them.

Impact: UN decisions can bring back historical persecution of Jews

Dr. Jerold Auerbach 2011. (PhD from Columbia Univ.; Professor Emeritus of History at Wellesley College) 6 Apr 2011 “The Rising Challenge to Israel's Legitimacy” AMERICAN THINKER <http://www.americanthinker.com/2011/04/the_rising_challenge_to_israel.html>

The two thousand year-old "lethal obsession" with Jews, writes Hebrew University historian Robert Wistrich, is the world's "longest hatred." By now, in its most obscene rendering, it has converted Israelis into Nazis who are practicing genocide on Palestinians. But any United Nations decision that justifies the forced expulsion of Jews from their homes will itself replicate historical experiences with which Jews are all too tragically familiar.

3. UN recognizes Palestinian Statehood

Link: Palestine’s application for state membership at the UN sidelined by U.S. veto power

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 2012. “No-meet zone: Israel blocks a parley on Palestinian statehood,” August 9, 2012, <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/opinion/editorials/no-meet-zone-israel-blocks-a-parley-on-palestinian-statehood-648164/>

“The status of Palestine in the United Nations will again be an important question before the organization as the General Assembly resumes its work in September. Last year Palestine's application for membership as a state was sidelined, based on U.S. opposition to it at Israel's behest and the ability of the United States to threaten a veto as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council. The Palestinian Authority, led by President Mahmoud Abbas, has indicated its intention to return to the fray in full force in the upcoming session in New York.”

Link: Unlikely Palestine will succeed in attaining UN membership due to the U.S. Veto

Higgins and Watkins 2012. Noelle Higgins (lecturer in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University in Ireland) and Los Watkins (Senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom), “Palestine’s Bid for UN Membership,” March 20, 2012, <http://www.neareastquarterly.com/index.php/2012/03/20/palestines-bid-for-un-membership/>

“While Palestinian authorities had originally said that they would be seeking membership for Palestine in 16 other international organisations, including the World Health Organisation, the Palestinian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in November that Palestine will not now apply for membership of any other international organisations, but will, instead, focus their attention on UN membership.26 Unfortunately, following this sole option, it is increasingly difficult to see how a new membership bid at any stage in the near future could find favour in the Security Council when the US appears so intransigent in the use of its veto.”

Link: US has stated it will veto Palestinian bid for UN membership

Reuters News 2011. Arshad Mohammed, “U.S. vows to veto Palestinian statehood bid at U.N.,” Reuters News, September 8, 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/08/us-palestinians-israel-mitchell-idUSTRE78771O20110908>

“The United States said explicitly for the first time on Thursday it would veto a Palestinian bid for full U.N. membership, drawing an immediate rebuff from the Palestinians who vowed to press ahead. George Mitchell, a former U.S. envoy, said he saw little chance of talking the Palestinians out of seeking full U.N. membership for a state in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, a step requiring a vote in the Security Council where the United States holds a veto.”

Link & Brink: US veto about only thing that would prevent a vote in UN supporting declaration of statehood for Palestine

Fox News 2011. “U.S. Threatens Veto in U.N. on Palestinian Statehood Even as Radio Ad Uses Obama's Voice,” September 8, 2011, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2011/09/08/obama-quote-used-by-palestinian-ad-to-push-un-statehood-vote/>

“A U.S. veto is about the only thing that would prevent a vote in the U.N. supporting a unilateral declaration of statehood for the Palestinians. If it were secured, an affirmative statehood vote in the General Assembly would give the Palestinians status as a non-member state.”

Brink: 130 states support Palestinian membership in the UN

Noelle Higgins and Los Watkins 2012.. Noelle Higgins (lecturer in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University in Ireland) and Los Watkins (Senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom), “Palestine’s Bid for UN Membership,” March 20, 2012, <http://www.neareastquarterly.com/index.php/2012/03/20/palestines-bid-for-un-membership/>

“Palestine’s recent bid for membership of the United Nations has been met with differing reactions. Over 130 states have already recognised Palestine and would welcome its membership of the UN. However, a small but powerful minority of states, including the US and Israel, have met the Palestinian attempt to gain UN membership with severe funding cuts as a means of illustrating their virulent opposition.”

Brink: Vast support allowed Palestine to join UNESCO

Noelle Higgins and Los Watkins 2012. Noelle Higgins (lecturer in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University in Ireland) and Los Watkins (Senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom), “Palestine’s Bid for UN Membership,” March 20, 2012, <http://www.neareastquarterly.com/index.php/2012/03/20/palestines-bid-for-un-membership/>

***“***While the Palestinian bid for UN membership failed, Palestine recently won a small victory in international politics by gaining membership of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). The raising of the Palestinian flag for the first time outside UNESCO headquarters on December 13, 2011, marking the Palestinian National Authority’s membership of the organisation, was an historic occasion, but was met with the US cutting US$60 million funding to the organisation and other funding cuts by Canada and Israel. Other states heartily welcomed UNESCO’s 195th member, with Russia stating that the decision to admit Palestine was “undoubtedly an absolutely correct and very positive decision”.13 There was vast support for Palestinian membership of UNESCO with 107 states in favour of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) membership, 14 against and 54 abstentions.”

Impact: UN acceptance of Palestinian state would increase risk of nuclear war and WMD terrorism

Dr. Louis Rene Beres 2011. (PhD from Princeton and Professor of Political Science at Purdue University), “The unforeseen risks of Palestinian statehood,” Haaretz, September 6, 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/the-unforeseen-risks-of-palestinian-statehood-1.382766>

“Once accepted by the UN, whether lawfully or unlawfully, a Palestinian state would increase the risks of both mass-destruction terrorism and regional nuclear war. These generally unforeseen risks of Palestinian statehood could ultimately dwarf the more routinely expressed fear that "Palestine" would systematically displace Israel in "stages." A Palestinian state would itself be non-nuclear. This incontestable fact is unrelated to the expanded post-Palestine nuclear threat to Israel. Concerning this threat, what only matters is that after Palestine, the resultant correlation of armed forces in the region would be cumulatively less favorable to Israel, something that could lower the general threshold of resort to nuclear weapons.”

Impact: Palestinian state would take the Israeli bomb out of the basement heightening chances of nuclear weapon use

Dr. Louis Rene Beres 2011. (PhD from Princeton and Professor of Political Science at Purdue University), “The unforeseen risks of Palestinian statehood,” Haaretz, September 6, 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/the-unforeseen-risks-of-palestinian-statehood-1.382766>

“Any Palestinian state would have an obviously injurious impact on U.S. strategic interests, as well as on Israel's sheer physical survival. After Palestine, Israel would require greater self-reliance in all existential military matters. In turn, such self-reliance would demand: (1) a more comprehensive and explicit nuclear strategy involving refined deterrence, preemption and war fighting capabilities; and (2) a corresponding and thoroughly updated conventional war strategy. The birth of Palestine could affect these two interpenetrating strategies in several important ways. Immediately, it would enlarge Israel's need for what military strategists call "escalation dominance" - namely, the capacity to fully determine sequential moves toward greater destructiveness. By definition, as any Palestinian state would make Israel's conventional capabilities far more complex and problematic, the Israel Defense Forces' national command authority would now need to make the country's still-implicit nuclear deterrent less ambiguous. Taking the presumed Israeli Bomb out of the "basement," could enhance Israel's overall security for a while; but over time, ending "deliberate ambiguity" could also heighten the chances of nuclear weapons use.”

10. NEGATIVE BRIEF: SECURITY COUNCIL VETO - Good

Matthew Baker researched much of the evidence in this brief

INHERENCY

P5 don’t have all the power, and vetoes are rarely used since the end of the Cold War

Note: “E10” = the elected 10 members of the Security Council, who are not permanent members

Dr. Michael Fullilove 2009. (PhD in International Relations from Oxford Univ.; Director of the Global Issues Program at the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney and a Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington ) The Case for Australia’s UN Security Council Bid, Sept 2009, published by Lowy Institute for International Policy <http://www.unaavictoria.org.au/files/Lowy_Institute_Report_-_The_case_for_Australia_s_candidacy.pdf>

But the view that the P5 have all the power and the E10 have none is not accurate. While resolutions can be vetoed by permanent members, they cannot be passed without elected members, as the Charter provides that a majority of nine votes is required for passage. And in practice, vetoes have rarely been exercised since the end of the Cold War. Less than two dozen substantive vetoes have been cast by the P5 in the last two decades, compared with the nearly two hundred substantive vetoes cast during the Cold War. The Council is noticeably more collegial and businesslike now than it was during the era of superpower stand­off. Most of its work is done through negotiation, in which the E10 play an important role.

Veto has declined and trend is toward consensus

Prof. David Bosco 2012. (Assistant professor of International Politics at American University with a JD from Harvard University), “In Defense of the Veto Power,” Foreign Policy, January 31, 2012 <http://bosco.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/01/31/in_defense_of_the_veto_power>

“Second, overall use of the veto has declined markedly since the end of the Cold War. The threat of the veto has important shadow effects on Council deliberations, of course, but the historical trajectory is toward greater consensus on the Council and against the casual use of the veto.”

MINOR REPAIR: Don’t need to amend the UN Charter, just have the General Assembly take on more power

Phyllis Bennis 2006. (fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies; co-chairs the UN-based International Coordinating Network on Palestine; serves as an adviser to several top UN officials on Middle East and UN democratization issues) 25 Sept 2006 Debating the Effectiveness of the United Nations, National Public Radio, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6138745>

But to the degree that there's democracy at all, it's in the General Assembly, which doesn't ordinarily have the power to impose international law the same way as the council can. I think that what could be done, though, is to change that balance of power without going through what people talk about the difficulties of amending the charter; that's certainly true. But beyond that there is the whole question of the efforts by the General Assembly. There's many, many precedents and possibilities within U.N. systems for allowing the General Assembly to have -to take on more power and disempower the Security Council to a large degree. That would go a great deal of the way towards democratizing the U.N. overall.

MINOR REPAIR: Avoid the veto problem with the “Uniting for Peace” procedure, which already exists in the Status Quo

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf>

One of the most successful ventures in relation to limiting the veto power came from within the P5 when in1950 US Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, developed a proposal designed to neuter the Soviet Union’sveto power in relation to the Korean War. In what became known as the ‘Uniting for Peace’ procedure,Acheson came up with the idea of turning to the UN General Assembly to respond to aggression andthreats to international peace and security when the Council was prevented from fulfilling its obligationsbecause of the threat of a veto. Since the transfer of an issue from the Security Council to the GeneralAssembly is considered a procedural matter it was therefore not subject to the P5 veto. Since then, theUniting for Peace procedure has been used on more than ten occasions to facilitate UN action short of theuse of force but its use has been rare in recent decades with the last occasion being in 1997 to takeaction against Israel.

SIGNIFICANCE

Humanitarian missions aren’t being vetoed

Ariela Blatter 2010. (Policy Director for Citizens for Global Solutions; worked at Amnesty International USA as the Senior Director for International Programs; international human rights lawyer ; served as a permanent representative to the UN on the establishment of the International Criminal Court, overseeing a team of NGO's lobbyists and policy staff; served on the U.S. Genocide Prevention Task Force; currently an adjunct faculty at American University’s School of International Service) The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf> (brackets added, parentheses in original)

In comparison, the Cold War’s end heralded an era of unprecedented great power cooperation in the Council with only 13 vetoes occurring between January 1990 and March 2003. Since the 2005 World Summit Document was endorsed in October 2005 there have been only five vetoed draft resolutions: US vetoes relating to the situation in the Middle East (July and November 2006); Russian and Chinese vetoes of both draft resolutions concerning the situations in Burma/Myanmar (January 2007) and Zimbabwe (July 2008); and the Russian veto of a draft resolution relating to Georgia (June 2009). None of these vetoes were cast in order to block an actor contemplating a humanitarian military intervention in response to R2P [responsibility to protect] related crimes.

SOLVENCY

Apathy not vetoes prevents interventions

Citizens for Global Solutions 2010. “The Responsibility Not To Veto: A Way Forward, <http://globalsolutions.org/files/public/documents/RN2V_White_Paper_CGS.pdf> (brackets added)

“It is also important to point out that debates about veto abstention address only one dimension of the broader range of policies that would be required to effectively implement the R2P agenda. Arguably the principal limitation of the [Responsibility Not to Veto] RN2V approach is that there are relatively few historical cases – and hence perhaps there will be few future cases – where a [permanent] P5 member has threatened or used its veto power to block a proposed humanitarian military intervention. Instead, in the majority of relevant cases where atrocities have been committed the world’s most powerful governments have shown little inclination to use military force to stop them. As Simon Chesterman put it, ‘inhumanitarian non-intervention’ has been international society’s usual response.”

During Cold War, interventions that occurred without great power agreement tended to fail miserably

Stanley Kober 2009. (PhD from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the CATO Institute) “The Perils of Intervention,” CATO Institute, 2009, <http://www.cato.org/pubs/articles/kober-perils-of-intervention.pdf>

“Moreover, even during the Cold War, interventions that occurred in the absence of great power agreement in the Security Council tended to fail miserably. Americans tend to think foremost of Vietnam. When Congress overwhelmingly approved the Tonkin Gulf Resolution nobody imagined the war would end so badly. The Vietnam War raises questions about the “responsibility to protect” concept since many of the people who supported intervention in the Balkans opposed the American effort in Vietnam. But what was the difference? If Slobodan Milosevic’s national nationalism was so evil, wasn’t then Ho Chi Minh’s nationalism similarly evil? Why was the tragedy of ethnic cleansing worse than the plight of the boat people? If the people of Kosovo were entitled to protection, why not the people of South Vietnam? And the American experience in Vietnam provides one final, cautionary note for those who would favour intervention. Can you be so sure your intervention will succeed? What if it doesn’t? Could you make a bad situation worse? The American defeat in Vietnam was unexpected— certainly by us. And the consequences for the Vietnamese were tragic. But the consequences for the Cambodians were, if anything, even worse. We wanted to protect; we tried very hard. But we failed. Did we make the situation worse as a result? If we had not intervened, would the Cambodians have been spared genocide? There is no way to know. But the question should haunt those who favour intervention. How can you be sure your intervention will succeed?”

Peace is not blocked by the veto but by great power opposition

Ramesh Thakur 2006. ( Director of the Centre for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (CNND) in the Crawford School, Australian National University and Adjunct Professor in the Institute of Ethics, Governance and Law at Griffith University) “The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect,” Page 307, <http://books.google.com/books?id=CAoAordhNBUC&pg=PA307&lpg=PA307&dq=veto+clause+ramesh+thakur&source=bl&ots=S4pdRBW2-6&sig=8FnGYH6noABQsGI91kfdUsk5OdY&sa=X&ei=r4IoUJ_nDoOR6wHXzoCACA&ved=0CA0Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=veto%20clause%20ramesh%20thakur&f=false>

“In the final analysis, the veto registers the power realities of the international political word. In most cases where UN efforts to deal with outbreaks of international violence are frustrated by a veto, it is the fact of great power opposition, not its expression in the form of a UNSC veto, which is the obstacle to peace.”

Military intervention to end human rights abuses is chancy

Dr. Daniel H. Levine 2011. (PhD in Political Science from Yale University and Professor Emeritus at the University of Michigan) “Some Concerns About “The Responsibility Not to Veto”,” April 5, 2011, <http://www.cissm.umd.edu/papers/files/some_concerns_about_the_responsibility_not_to_veto.pdf>

“Under the best of circumstances, military intervention to end human rights abuses is chancy. Dallaire famously claimed that he could have ended the genocide in Rwanda with a few thousand more troops and a stronger mandate, a claim that has haunted many people concerned with preventing such abuses. But this may have been too optimistic; especially considering that even had political will not been lacking, it would have been difficult to deploy troops to Rwanda before the genocide spread to a much more distributed form of killing in the countryside.36 Many genocides and mass atrocities — such as Darfur — are likely to have just this sort of distributed character that makes a military solution to them more difficult.”

Not much the world can do to prevent more countries from getting nuclear weapons, if they are really determined

Steve Kidd 2010. (Director of Strategy & Research at the World Nuclear Association; master’s degree in economics from the University of Cambridge) 23 July 2010 “Nuclear proliferation risk – is it vastly overrated?” NUCLEAR ENGINEERING INTERNATIONAL <http://www.neimagazine.com/story.asp?storyCode=2056931>

It is likely that more countries will foolishly choose to acquire nuclear weapons. If they are really determined to do so, there is little really that the world can do to prevent them—the main effort has to be in dissuading them from this course of action. How many countries will have nuclear weapons by 2030 is hard to say, but there could well be a total of 15 by then. Mueller argues that this increase, in itself, will neither prevent nor cause wars, but will impose substantial costs on the countries concerned. Apart from the costs of weapons programmes diverting needed economic resources away from more productive activities, such countries are likely to be faced with economic sanctions which would create severe economic hardship for their citizens but be unlikely to deter them.

DISADVANTAGES

1. Security Council Dissolves

Link: There would be no security council without the veto

Prof. David Bosco 2009. (Assistant professor of International Politics at American University with a JD from Harvard University). “Think Again: The U.N. Security Council,” Foreign Policy, September 23, 2009, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/09/23/think_again_the_un_security_council?page=full>

“There would be no Security Council without the veto power, which is granted only to the P5. The three powers that wrote the first draft of the U.N. Charter -- the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States -- all wanted a veto (though they differed on its scope) and would not have joined the organization without it. At various moments during the Cold War, the veto was a critical safety valve that probably saved the organization from disintegration. Even in today's somewhat gentler political climate, it is very hard to imagine the permanent members shedding the voting power that the charter grants them.”

Link: No veto, means no security council: major powers will not grant binding authority

Prof. David Bosco 2012. (Assistant professor of International Politics at American University with a JD from Harvard University), “In Defense of the Veto Power,” Foreign Policy, January 31, 2012 <http://bosco.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/01/31/in_defense_of_the_veto_power>

“Perhaps the most fundamental point about the veto is that you could not have a Security Council without it. Major powers will simply not grant an international body binding legal authority on matters of peace and security unless they are certain that it will not prejudice their interests. So the alternative to the Security Council veto is really no Security Council, or at least not in a recognizable form. As maddening as the likely Russian *nyet* will be, that's a tradeoff that few would be willing to make. As frustrating as it is, the Security Council is still an enormously useful body, not least because it institutionalizes the practice of great-power security consultations.”

Impact: UN central to top US foreign policy priorities and peacekeepers prevent conflict

Esther Brimmer 2011. (PhD in International Relations from Oxford and Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs) “How Engagement at the United Nations Benefits the United States,” US Department of State, September 1, 2011, <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/171889.htm>

**“**On matters of international peace and security, the UN’s role has been central to several top U.S. foreign policy priorities. UN peacekeepers help prevent conflict and protect civilians around the globe, at a fraction of the cost of sending U.S. troops. Security Council sanctions on Iran have had a significant effect on that regime, including by hampering its efforts to develop nuclear weapons. UN counterterrorism sanctions have isolated terrorists and frozen their assets and those of their supporters. UN missions in Afghanistan and Iraq work to strengthen democracy and mediate local conflicts, meaning that we can draw down our military forces there on schedule.”

2. Great Power Conflicts

Link: UN Veto prevents major conflict by preventing interventions where major powers are conflictingly aligned

Stanley Kober 2009. (PhD from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the CATO Institute) “The Perils of Intervention,” CATO Institute, 2009, <http://www.cato.org/pubs/articles/kober-perils-of-intervention.pdf>

“The intervention in Kosovo possibly marks the beginning of the end of the post-Cold War world. As the Cold War had not led to a world war, and as Russia was weakened subsequently, the dangers of a new global division were largely ignored, just as they were before the First World War. When Austria delivered its ultimatum to Serbia, it did not expect Russia would come to Serbia’s defence. Russia was still recovering from its defeat in the war against Japan, and it had not intervened in the on-going bloody Balkan wars. But Russia decided that, in spite of its weakness, its honour mandated it to protect the Serbs. So one action led to another and the world was plunged into a terrible war; the Balkan wars that preceded it, terrible as they were, live in its shadow. The veto in the UN Security Council was meant to prevent that situation [the prelude leading to WWI] from occurring again. No matter how bad a situation might be, if the major powers line up on opposite sides, there is the potential for a much worse catastrophe. If one side misjudges the intentions of its opponent, intervention to prevent a local atrocity could lead once again to a major conflagration. And although that concern has been widely dismissed since the end of the Cold War, that very complacency is an eerie re-play of the confidence that existed a century ago—that the absence of major war in Europe for such a long time, combined with the ties of commerce and investment that increasingly knit the countries of Europe together, meant that another major war could not occur. Wall Street, according to a popular saying, climbs a wall of worry. When people stop worrying, when they become too confident, disaster strikes. During the Cold War we worried about escalation, and we avoided major war. If history teaches anything, it should remind us of underestimating the risks of war.

Link: Veto Power ensures UN doesn’t construct conflicts among the P5

Ramesh Thakur 2006. ( Director of the Centre for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (CNND) in the Crawford School, Australian National University and Adjunct Professor in the Institute of Ethics, Governance and Law at Griffith University) “The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect,” Page 307, <http://books.google.com/books?id=CAoAordhNBUC&pg=PA307&lpg=PA307&dq=veto+clause+ramesh+thakur&source=bl&ots=S4pdRBW2-6&sig=8FnGYH6noABQsGI91kfdUsk5OdY&sa=X&ei=r4IoUJ_nDoOR6wHXzoCACA&ved=0CA0Q6AEwAg#v=onepage&q=veto%20clause%20ramesh%20thakur&f=false>

“The veto clause symbolizes a compromise between national and global interests. It ensures that the organization will not construct a global interest in conflict with the national interest of any one of the P5. Thus the veto is a reconciling instrument designed to ensure that any global interest forged by the UN is in harmony with the common national interests of the five most important members.”

Impact: The process of achieving consensus among the P5 important to international peace

David Bosco 2009. (Assistant professor of International Politics at American University with a JD from Harvard University). “Think Again: The U.N. Security Council,” Foreign Policy, September 23, 2009, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/09/23/think_again_the_un_security_council?page=full>

“Achieving consensus among the council's five veto-wielding permanent members -- the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China -- is rarely easy. Each power has a unique set of interests and relationships that it seeks to protect. Even when the permanent five (P5) members can agree, they have to convince at least four of the elected council members in order to take formal action. Frustrating though it can be, that process -- of the major powers talking to each other day after day -- is one of the council's principal contributions to international stability. Through sheer repetition, the Security Council has instilled a culture of great-power consultation and compromise that may be as important to international peace as any peacekeeping mission, sanctions regime, or war crimes investigation.”

3. UN recognizes Palestinian Statehood

Link: Palestine’s application for state membership at the UN sidelined by U.S. veto power

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 2012. “No-meet zone: Israel blocks a parley on Palestinian statehood,” August 9, 2012, <http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/opinion/editorials/no-meet-zone-israel-blocks-a-parley-on-palestinian-statehood-648164/>

“The status of Palestine in the United Nations will again be an important question before the organization as the General Assembly resumes its work in September. Last year Palestine's application for membership as a state was sidelined, based on U.S. opposition to it at Israel's behest and the ability of the United States to threaten a veto as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council. The Palestinian Authority, led by President Mahmoud Abbas, has indicated its intention to return to the fray in full force in the upcoming session in New York.”

Link: Unlikely Palestine will succeed in attaining UN membership due to the U.S. Veto

Higgins and Watkins 2012. Noelle Higgins (lecturer in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University in Ireland) and Los Watkins (Senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom), “Palestine’s Bid for UN Membership,” March 20, 2012, <http://www.neareastquarterly.com/index.php/2012/03/20/palestines-bid-for-un-membership/>

“While Palestinian authorities had originally said that they would be seeking membership for Palestine in 16 other international organisations, including the World Health Organisation, the Palestinian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in November that Palestine will not now apply for membership of any other international organisations, but will, instead, focus their attention on UN membership.26 Unfortunately, following this sole option, it is increasingly difficult to see how a new membership bid at any stage in the near future could find favour in the Security Council when the US appears so intransigent in the use of its veto.”

Link: US has stated it will veto Palestinian bid for UN membership

Reuters News 2011. Arshad Mohammed, “U.S. vows to veto Palestinian statehood bid at U.N.,” Reuters News, September 8, 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/08/us-palestinians-israel-mitchell-idUSTRE78771O20110908>

“The United States said explicitly for the first time on Thursday it would veto a Palestinian bid for full U.N. membership, drawing an immediate rebuff from the Palestinians who vowed to press ahead. George Mitchell, a former U.S. envoy, said he saw little chance of talking the Palestinians out of seeking full U.N. membership for a state in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, a step requiring a vote in the Security Council where the United States holds a veto.”

Link & Brink: US veto about only thing that would prevent a vote in UN supporting declaration of statehood for Palestine

Fox News 2011. “U.S. Threatens Veto in U.N. on Palestinian Statehood Even as Radio Ad Uses Obama's Voice,” September 8, 2011, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2011/09/08/obama-quote-used-by-palestinian-ad-to-push-un-statehood-vote/>

“A U.S. veto is about the only thing that would prevent a vote in the U.N. supporting a unilateral declaration of statehood for the Palestinians. If it were secured, an affirmative statehood vote in the General Assembly would give the Palestinians status as a non-member state.”

Brink: 130 states support Palestinian membership in the UN

Higgins and Watkins 2012. Noelle Higgins (lecturer in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University in Ireland) and Los Watkins (Senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom), “Palestine’s Bid for UN Membership,” March 20, 2012, <http://www.neareastquarterly.com/index.php/2012/03/20/palestines-bid-for-un-membership/>

“Palestine’s recent bid for membership of the United Nations has been met with differing reactions. Over 130 states have already recognised Palestine and would welcome its membership of the UN. However, a small but powerful minority of states, including the US and Israel, have met the Palestinian attempt to gain UN membership with severe funding cuts as a means of illustrating their virulent opposition.”

Brink: Vast support allowed Palestine to join UNESCO

Higgins and Watkins 2012. Noelle Higgins (lecturer in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University in Ireland) and Los Watkins (Senior lecturer in the School of Law at the University of Hertfordshire in the United Kingdom), “Palestine’s Bid for UN Membership,” March 20, 2012, <http://www.neareastquarterly.com/index.php/2012/03/20/palestines-bid-for-un-membership/>

***“***While the Palestinian bid for UN membership failed, Palestine recently won a small victory in international politics by gaining membership of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). The raising of the Palestinian flag for the first time outside UNESCO headquarters on December 13, 2011, marking the Palestinian National Authority’s membership of the organisation, was an historic occasion, but was met with the US cutting US$60 million funding to the organisation and other funding cuts by Canada and Israel. Other states heartily welcomed UNESCO’s 195th member, with Russia stating that the decision to admit Palestine was “undoubtedly an absolutely correct and very positive decision”.13 There was vast support for Palestinian membership of UNESCO with 107 states in favour of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) membership, 14 against and 54 abstentions.”

Impact: UN acceptance of Palestinian state would increase risk of nuclear war and WMD terrorism

Dr. Louis Rene Beres 2011. (PhD from Princeton and Professor of Political Science at Purdue University), “The unforeseen risks of Palestinian statehood,” Haaretz, September 6, 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/the-unforeseen-risks-of-palestinian-statehood-1.382766>

“Once accepted by the UN, whether lawfully or unlawfully, a Palestinian state would increase the risks of both mass-destruction terrorism and regional nuclear war. These generally unforeseen risks of Palestinian statehood could ultimately dwarf the more routinely expressed fear that "Palestine" would systematically displace Israel in "stages." A Palestinian state would itself be non-nuclear. This incontestable fact is unrelated to the expanded post-Palestine nuclear threat to Israel. Concerning this threat, what only matters is that after Palestine, the resultant correlation of armed forces in the region would be cumulatively less favorable to Israel, something that could lower the general threshold of resort to nuclear weapons.”

Impact: Palestinian state would take the Israeli bomb out of the basement heightening chances of nuclear weapon use

Dr. Louis Rene Beres 2011. (PhD from Princeton and Professor of Political Science at Purdue University), “The unforeseen risks of Palestinian statehood,” Haaretz, September 6, 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/the-unforeseen-risks-of-palestinian-statehood-1.382766>

“Any Palestinian state would have an obviously injurious impact on U.S. strategic interests, as well as on Israel's sheer physical survival. After Palestine, Israel would require greater self-reliance in all existential military matters. In turn, such self-reliance would demand: (1) a more comprehensive and explicit nuclear strategy involving refined deterrence, preemption and war fighting capabilities; and (2) a corresponding and thoroughly updated conventional war strategy. The birth of Palestine could affect these two interpenetrating strategies in several important ways. Immediately, it would enlarge Israel's need for what military strategists call "escalation dominance" - namely, the capacity to fully determine sequential moves toward greater destructiveness. By definition, as any Palestinian state would make Israel's conventional capabilities far more complex and problematic, the Israel Defense Forces' national command authority would now need to make the country's still-implicit nuclear deterrent less ambiguous. Taking the presumed Israeli Bomb out of the "basement," could enhance Israel's overall security for a while; but over time, ending "deliberate ambiguity" could also heighten the chances of nuclear weapons use.”

4. Persecution of Israel

Link: US frequently vetoes criticisms of Israel

Lionel Beehner 2012. (fellow at the Truman National Security Project, former senior writer at the Council on Foreign Relations; PhD candidate in political science at Yale Univ) “The UN's Fossilized Security Council” 6 June 2012 <http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/06/06/uns-fossilized-security-council>

The United States has used its veto over 40 times to protect resolutions condemning Israeli actions. France has similarly blocked resolutions against Morocco for occupying parts of Western Sahara.

Link: Anti-Semitism is institutionalized at the UN

Dr. Salim Mansur 2009. (PhD in Political Science from Toronto Univ; Prof of political science at Univ of Western Ontario) “Shamelessness at the UN” TORONTO SUN Sept 2009 <http://www.torontosun.com/comment/columnists/salim_mansur/2009/09/26/11128121-sun.html> (JE)

“Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu asked the assembled representatives of the UN member states in New York this week, "Have you no shame? No decency?" The answer is no. For in inviting once again holocaust-denier and Iran's President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to address the General Assembly, the majority of member states confirmed how greatly anti-Semitism is now institutionalized at the UN.

Link: US has key role in shaping global values and defending the legitimacy of Israel at the UN

Steven J. Rosen 2010. (director of the Washington Project of the Middle East Forum; formerly taught political science and international relations from 1968 to 1978 at the [University of Pittsburgh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Pittsburgh), [Brandeis University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brandeis_University), and the [Australian National University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_National_University)) Sept 2010 COMMENTARY “Will Obama Use His UN Veto?” (ellipses in original) <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/will-obama-use-his-un-veto/>

On July 14, his ambassador to the UN, Susan Rice, said, “We will… combat all international attempts to challenge the legitimacy of Israel… at the United Nations.” But many of Obama’s admirers do not want or expect him to stand by such commitments. The Nobel Committee that gave him the Peace Prize said it did so because of his “extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy… with emphasis on the role that the United Nations…can play…on the basis of values and attitudes that are shared by the majority of the world’s population.”

Bink: US veto is Israel’s defense against 50 UN countries that oppose them

Steven J. Rosen 2010. (director of the Washington Project of the Middle East Forum; formerly taught political science and international relations from 1968 to 1978 at the [University of Pittsburgh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Pittsburgh), [Brandeis University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brandeis_University), and the [Australian National University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_National_University)) Sept 2010 COMMENTARY “Will Obama Use His UN Veto?” <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/will-obama-use-his-un-veto/>

The 6 million Jews of Israel, who have only one vote in the UN, face a billion and half Muslims, who have 50 votes. It is the American veto in the UN Security Council that provides a potential line of defense for them.

Impact: UN decisions can bring back historical persecution of Jews

Dr. Jerold Auerbach 2011. (PhD from Columbia Univ.; Professor Emeritus of History at Wellesley College) 6 Apr 2011 “The Rising Challenge to Israel's Legitimacy” AMERICAN THINKER <http://www.americanthinker.com/2011/04/the_rising_challenge_to_israel.html>

The two thousand year-old "lethal obsession" with Jews, writes Hebrew University historian Robert Wistrich, is the world's "longest hatred." By now, in its most obscene rendering, it has converted Israelis into Nazis who are practicing genocide on Palestinians. But any United Nations decision that justifies the forced expulsion of Jews from their homes will itself replicate historical experiences with which Jews are all too tragically familiar.

11. NEGATIVE BRIEF: UNEPS / STANDING ARMY - Bad Idea

Jonathan Edelblut researched much of the evidence in this brief

SIGNIFICANCE

“Responsibility to Protect” doctrine ignores the wills of other nations and their citizens; casual with the blood of soldiers

Ambassador John R. Bolton 2008. (U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, United States Mission to the United Nations from 2005-2006. Holds a J.D. from Yale University Law School and a B.A. from Yale University. Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute): “The Case against Humanitarian Intervention” The American Enterprise Institute: <http://www.aei.org/article/society-and-culture/the-case-against-humanitarian-intervention/> (JE)

“Third, I have found that many who advocate the doctrine of "responsibility to protect," and particularly military intervention, are very casual with other people's blood. It is much easier to advocate for the use of force when you are not the one doing the heavy lifting. The reality of international military capabilities is that when observers on the sidelines express high ideals for what the international community should be doing, they are generally referring to the United States. And as tragic as the situation is in Darfur, in a democracy we have to be able to explain to American citizens why they should put their sons and daughters at risk where there are no vital U.S. interests, even in an area of undoubted humanitarian tragedy.”

A UN rapid reaction force would not have stopped the genocide in Rwanda

Dan Hayes Griffith 2009. (M.A. in Political Science from the University of British Columbia; B.A. in Political Science from Oregon State Univ.) "Improving United Nations Rapid Reaction Capability: is a volunteer rapid reaction force the answer?” <http://polisci.uoregon.edu/acrobat/HTGriffith.pdf> (JE)

“I have attempted to show in the last several pages that stopping the Rwandan Genocide would have been much more complicated than many imagine. Although some argue that a small 5,000 person force could have ended the killings, there is plenty of evidence that it would either arrive too late to stop the genocide or would have been simply unable to due to sheer number of génocidaires spread out across the country. Any UN volunteer rapid reaction force would have faced many formidable obstacles in attempting to stop the genocide, and there is a large likelihood that it would not have succeeded.”

SOLVENCY

1. We already tried a UN rapid response force and it didn’t work: SHIRBRIG

Link: SHIRBRIG was a UN rapidly deployable peacekeeping force that operated from 1996 to 2009. It was designed to do what the Affirmative wants the UNEPS to do.

Col. Christof Tatschl 2009. ( SHIRBRIG’s Chief of Staff from 2007 to 2009 at SHIRBRIG’s permanent Planning Element in Høvelte, Denmark) SHIRBRIG’S SUPPORT TO THE AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE: A VIEW FROM PRACTICE, Studia Diplomatica Vol. LXII, 2009, N° 3 <http://www.globalgovernance.eu/images/documents/SHIRBRIGs%20Support%20to%20the%20African%20Standby%20Force.pdf>

Since its creation in 1996 until its closure in 2009, the Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations (SHIRBRIG) concentrated its main peacekeeping focus and core activities on the African continent. In actual fact, the main motivation of the founding member states was to ensure that the UN’s humiliation and the shameful inaction of the “international community” in the early 1990s, particularly in the context of the Rwandan genocide, was not to be repeated. As a result, SHIRBRIG did not only conduct and/or participate in vital peacekeeping operations in Ethiopia/Eritrea, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Sudan and the Tchad/Central African Republic, but more recently, SHIRBRIG has also been extensively involved in supporting the African Standby Force.

Col. Tatschl goes on later in the same context to say:

Col. Christof Tatschl 2009. ( SHIRBRIG’s Chief of Staff from 2007 to 2009 at SHIRBRIG’s permanent Planning Element in Høvelte, Denmark) SHIRBRIG’S SUPPORT TO THE AFRICAN STANDBY FORCE: A VIEW FROM PRACTICE, Studia Diplomatica Vol. LXII, 2009, N° 3 <http://www.globalgovernance.eu/images/documents/SHIRBRIGs%20Support%20to%20the%20African%20Standby%20Force.pdf>

It needs to be kept in mind that SHIRBRIG was created to act as a rapidly deployable peacekeeping force world-wide — just in the same way as the African Standby Force is expected to act on the African continent.

Impact: Lack of resources and cumbersome decision-making blocked SHIRBRIG effectiveness and it was disbanded

Planning Element officers of the Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations 2009. (these were military officers who worked with the Brigade, also known as SHIRBRIG, a standby reaction force that worked on UN missions starting in 1996 and was disbanded in 2009. The report cited here was produced under the leadership of Chief of Staff Colonel Christof Tatschl, Lieutenant Colonel Conny Holmström, and Joachim Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku) SHIRBRIG LESSONS LEARNED REPORT, 1 June 2009 (parentheses in original) <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/566~v~Shirbrig_lessons_learned_report.pdf>

Between 2001 and 2009, SHIRBRIG and in particular its Planning Element was heavily involved in several operations in Africa (see Sections 3 and 4 below), provided successful assistance to African Capacity-Building schemes (see Section 5) and developed further peacekeeping instruments and concepts, such as the Civil-Military Cooperation Start-Up Kit (see Section 6) and the Rapid Deployment / Interim Headquarters concept (see section 7). Yet, despite SHIRBRIG’s numerous peacekeeping contributions, it became increasingly clear since 2006 that the organisation’s cumbersome decision-making process as well as the persistent absence of resources and political will undermined SHIRBRIG’s overall effectiveness. Consequently, at the 33rd Steering Committee Meeting in 2008, the decision was taken by the member states to close down the organisation on 30th June 2009.

2. Lack of unified support. While the Affirmative team can fiat that the UN does their plan, they can’t fiat the mindset that people will support it. Without widespread unified support, UNEPS will not be effective.

Link: UN members don’t support a UN standing army, there are lots of insurmountable blocking issues

Joachim Alexander Koops and Dr. Johannes Varwick 2008. (Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; Analyst at the Security Section of the Oxford Council on Good Governance; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku; Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice from the University of Oxford. Varwick - Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; PhD in Political Science from the University of Münster) Ten Years of SHIRBRIG - Lessons Learned, Development Prospects and Strategic Opportunities for Germany <http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/gppi/Koops_Varwick__2008__SHIRBRIG_GPPi_RP_11.pdf>

When reviewing the past initiatives for improving the availability and rapidness of military forces for UN operations, it becomes clear that the rather radical proposals for a ‘fully reliable’ UN standing army were consistently rejected by member-states. Although a standing UN Army doubtlessly represents the most effective and most reliable option, the history of UN rapid response proposals has highlighted that it simply remains an unrealistic ideal. Member states will almost certainly continue to oppose this proposal due to the fear of eroding sovereignty as well as a plethora of insurmountable legal, political and operational issues.

No major nation would ever support United Nations intelligence service and standing army

Michael Hirsh 2006. (award-winning former foreign editor and chief diplomatic correspondent for Newsweek): Last Best Hope?” The Washington Post: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/20/AR2006072001020.html> (JE)

“Kennedy's effort to draw attention to the little-known aspects of the U.N. system is commendable. The United Nations is a many-headed beast, and its numerous critics tend to behave like the proverbial blind man who grasps only part of the elephant, not comprehending the whole. But Kennedy never really gets his arms around the problem of describing the United Nations in totality either. For the most part, he seems to be giving us the view from the U.N. Secretariat, the executive branch of the world body -- too often, it seems, from those 10 floors that U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations John R. Bolton once suggested should be demolished. For example, reflecting the long-time hopes of some U.N. officials, Kennedy calls for the creation of a U.N. intelligence service and standing army. He dismisses U.S. politicians' fears that such moves would violate national sovereignty as "self-serving and obstructionist" or mere "paranoia." But Kennedy is describing a globalist fantasy here: In fact, no major nation is ever likely to grant such powers to the United Nations, period. The United Nations is a tool for member countries, not an independent body.”

Brink: UN peacekeeping is at a crossroads - new challenges threaten to erode partnership & unity

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support 2009. (UN agency that manages peacekeeping) July 2009, NEW PARTNERSHIP AGENDA: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/newhorizon.pdf>

The landmark Brahimi report of 2000 charted a renewed vision for UN peacekeeping that helped make peacekeeping stronger, more effective and comparatively cost-efficient. These reforms enabled a five-fold growth in operations over the past decade. But United Nations peacekeeping is now at a crossroads. The scale and complexity of peacekeeping today are straining its personnel, administrative and support machinery. New political, military and financial challenges threaten to erode the unity of vision and purpose of the global peacekeeping partnership. A renewed partnership and a shared agenda are essential to ensuring that UN peacekeeping can meet the challenges of today and tomorrow.

Impact: UN peacekeeping requires partnership & support for legitimacy and sustainability

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support 2009. (UN agency that manages peacekeeping) July 2009, NEW PARTNERSHIP AGENDA: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/newhorizon.pdf>

United Nations peacekeeping is a unique global partnership. It draws together the legal and political authority of the Security Council, the personnel and financial contributions of Member States, the support of host countries and the accumulated experience of the Secretariat in managing operations in the field. It is this partnership that gives UN peacekeeping its legitimacy, its sustainability and its global reach. Since 1948, UN peacekeeping has contributed to preventing and managing violent conflict between and within States and supporting national actors in protecting and building peace after conflict.

Impact: UN peacekeeping effectiveness depends on shared purpose & understanding of all participants

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support 2009. (UN agency that manages peacekeeping) July 2009, NEW PARTNERSHIP AGENDA: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/newhorizon.pdf>

This DPKO/DFS non-paper calls for a renewed UN peacekeeping partnership to set a new horizon – a set of achievable immediate, medium and long term goals – to help configure UN peacekeeping to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. This partnership rests on a shared understanding among all stakeholders of the objectives of UN peacekeeping and the role that each plays in their realization: those that authorize peacekeeping, those that implement, those that contribute, those that receive and those that partner with UN peacekeepers. Each partner has a perspective and a contribution to make and each depends on the others for success. A common vision and mutual accountability of all peacekeeping partners are the basis for unity of purpose and effective action. This partnership is the foundation for building capacities for the future.

3. Logistical Constraints

U.N. rapid response force would be limited and be put into long-term conflicts

Ambassador John R. Bolton 2008. (former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; J.D. from Yale University Law School;. Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute) “The Case against Humanitarian Intervention” The American Enterprise Institute <http://www.aei.org/article/society-and-culture/the-case-against-humanitarian-intervention/> (JE)

“There has been much talk about creating a standing volunteer rapid response force that can act in the name of the "responsibility to protect," but this force will be faced with the very same logistical restraints as any national army. If under the U.N., it will be subject to all of the U.N.'s limitations. Once deployed, it is entirely unclear how the "rapid response" force would ever be able to extract itself from what are often intractable, long-term conflicts. I am afraid that in the end, the principle of the responsibility to protect remains fundamentally aspirational. And aspirations do not make a foreign policy.”

The UN is ill-equipped to conduct military operations

Prof. Stefan Halper, 1998. (Professor and Director of American Studies in the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Cambridge. He has served four American presidents in the White House and Department of State and is an expert on US foreign policy, national security policy, China and Anglo-American relations. Ph.D.’s from both Oxford and Cambridge): “Reforming the United Nations” The CATO Institute (ethical disclosure about the date: the article is undated but contains references to events in 1998, so it was written no earlier than ‘98) <http://www.cato.org/pubs/handbook/hb106/hb106-54.pdf> (JE)

“The UN is ill-equipped to conduct military operations. Without a general staff it cannot integrate command-control-communications and intelligence information to develop coherent operations or strategy. Moreover, given the different training standards and military doctrines of the members, it should come as no surprise that the UN’s military record is a chronicle of failure. Part of the problem is operational ineptitude. Another factor is that the UN has tended to become a party to conflicts instead of acting as an honest broker to resolve them. Under no circumstances should U.S. troops participate in UN peacemaking operations. In most cases, American participation has not advanced our interests. Conversely, in the event U.S. interests are at stake, only a U.S.-led mission—a ‘‘coalition of the willing’’—can ensure that key objectives are attained.

4. Political Inaction / Unwillingness to act

UNEPS would still have to wait for Security Council authorization before it could act

Caritas Australia and the Center for Peace & Conflict Studies at University of Sydney, Australia 2008. “Right to Protection: Whose Responsibility and How?” Sept 2008 (Caritas - inernational Catholic social services charity. CPCS - part of the faculty of Arts & Sciences at Univ. of Sydney; describes itself as “promotes interdisciplinary research and teaching on the causes of conflict and the conditions that affect conflict resolution and peace. Research projects and other activities focus on the resolution of conflict with a view to attaining just societies” on its website home page at http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace\_conflict/) <http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/research/AH_Conference%20report%202.pdf>

Phoebe Wynn-Pope, a humanitarian specialist who is finalizing a doctoral thesis on R2P at the University of Melbourne, pointed out that while there are often calls for the intervention of regional organisations or other collectives under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, there is no indication in the Charter that military force was envisioned without prior Security Council authorization. This suggests that if a regional UNEPS were formed, it would still need to intervene with the consent of the host state or else rely on the UN for authorization if it were to use force.

Military force ready to intervene is useless if willingness to act is not present

Prof. Muna Ndulo 2011. (Professor of Law, Cornell University Law School, and Director, Cornell University’s Institute for African Development) “UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND SECURITY AND RECONSTRUCTION” Cornell Law Faculty Publications. Paper 188. <http://scholarship.law.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1187&context=facpub>

Perhaps the clearest and most cited example of this is the failure to act in Rwanda. It is well known that the UN Force Commander in Rwanda, General Dallaire, on January 11, 1994, wrote to then-Secretary-General Kofi Annan informing him of information received indicating that Hutu extremists were preparing to exterminate Tutsis and that major arms caches could be identified by the informant. General Daillaire stated that his forces were prepared to act. Annan’s response was that Dallaire was not to confront the extremist, as that was not within his mandate.62 Thus, capacity to provide early warning may be rendered moot if not met with the willingness to act upon such information — and prevent or at least mitigate the warned-about crises.

In Sudan, Somalia, and Burma, the political action of the U.N. was weak or obstructed

Ambassador John R. Bolton 2008. (former U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 2005-2006; J.D. from Yale Univ Law School ; Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute) “The Case against Humanitarian Intervention” The American Enterprise Institute: <http://www.aei.org/article/society-and-culture/the-case-against-humanitarian-intervention/> (JE)

“In Sudan, we see a genocidal civil war. What began as a conflict between the government and the indigenous population in Darfur now risks spreading to the neighbouring countries of Chad and the Central African Republic. Hundreds of thousands of people have died. In Somalia, there has been a near-complete breakdown in central government authority. In the south, this has resulted in fractious warlordism. In the north, in Puntland and Somaliland, we see a state of near secession. For almost 20 years, the country has verged on anarchy. In Burma, a long-standing dictatorship has recently blocked international humanitarian assistance following a major natural disaster. There is no doubt that thousands died unnecessarily due to the inaction of the military junta. Each of these cases represents a humanitarian crisis, but the circumstances vary dramatically. What precisely do advocates of intervention wish to be done in each of these vastly different situations? More importantly to the debate about humanitarian intervention, what clarity is there in lumping them together under one set of norms and actions? Secondly, what do advocates of humanitarian intervention mean when they say the "international community"? Is it the United Nations we are speaking of? If so, the U.N.'s track record on each of the aforementioned countries is hardly reassuring. On Sudan, U.N. authorization of an African Union peacekeeping force has faced constant obstruction in the Security Council. China and Russia have threatened vetoes at every step--why would anyone think they will change their ways? As for Somalia, in the early 1990s, the United States intervened unilaterally to try and open the channels of humanitarian assistance, but within two years of turning the mission over to the U.N., the country had again descended into chaos. Why would the U.N. do better in Somalia this time than it did last time? Where Burma is concerned, the Bush administration fought hard just to get its discussion on the Security Council's agenda. We ultimately prevailed, but it was certainly not easy, and the resulting council action was marginal.”

5. Tailored Operations

Forces must be tailored to the particular operation

Nina M. Serafino 1995. (Coordinator and Specialist in International Security Affairs in the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division at the Congressional Research Service) “A U.N. Rapid Reaction Force? Considerations for U.S. Policymakers” CRS Report for Congress: <http://congressionalresearch.com/95-787/document.php?study=A+U.N.+Rapid+Reaction+Force+Considerations+for+U.S.+Policymakers> (JE)

“Other military factors in designing a force package for any peace operation -- including the nature of potentially hostile forces, weather, terrain, and local infrastructure -- present significant challenges to those creating a rapid reaction force design before knowing its destination or mission. Some, including NATO's former Supreme Commander General John Galvin, have argued against a designated standby force on the grounds that forces must be custom-tailored to a particular operation. Most military analysts judge it less risky for both personnel and the success of the mission to provide appropriate forces at the outset, rather than have to augment, re-structure, or replace the intervention force at a later date.17”

6. Command Failure

**A UN Rapid Reaction Force must have effective command**

Nina M. Serafino 1995. (Coordinator and Specialist in International Security Affairs in the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division at the Congressional Research Service) “A U.N. Rapid Reaction Force? Considerations for U.S. Policymakers” CRS Report for Congress: <http://congressionalresearch.com/95-787/document.php?study=A+U.N.+Rapid+Reaction+Force+Considerations+for+U.S.+Policymakers> (JE)

“A U.N. rapid reaction force (RRF), no matter how constituted, would require effective command and control to achieve its peacekeeping objectives. Having a good command and control system would become more critical for those crises that were time-sensitive or militarily risky. There are a number of possible solutions, each with pros and cons, in regard to potential military effectiveness and political acceptability. Although possible, the idea of commanding with an "international committee," a group of military officers from different countries, would most likely be rejected in favor of the more proven concept of unified command under a single individual -- especially when the likelihood of combat requires a capability for making hard and rapid decisions. A single commander for multinational forces is recommended under current U.S. joint doctrine. Who that commander should be will likely be the most contentious part of the command and control debate.”

Link: Vagueness – the Aff doesn’t specify who or how the RRF will be lead

Answers to Specific Command Options:

#1: A soldier appointed indefinitely may become bureaucratic, political, and removed from military roots

Nina M. Serafino 1995. (Coordinator and Specialist in International Security Affairs in the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division at the Congressional Research Service) “A U.N. Rapid Reaction Force? Considerations for U.S. Policymakers” CRS Report for Congress: <http://congressionalresearch.com/95-787/document.php?study=A+U.N.+Rapid+Reaction+Force+Considerations+for+U.S.+Policymakers> (JE)

“!The RRF commander could be a professional soldier appointed indefinitely on a full-time basis by the Security Council and/or Secretary-General to serve at their pleasure. Advantages are that the individual selected could mold his staff and RRF training to his standards, provide institutional stability and continuity, and become a true peacekeeping professional ready for immediate deployment. Disadvantages are that he could become "captive" to the U.N. bureaucracy and politics, and become removed from his military roots. For such reasons, at a given time of crisis he might not enjoy the confidence of the RRF contributing states, the parties to the regional conflict, or the U.S. Congress;”

#2: A rotating leadership is risky

Nina M. Serafino 1995. (Coordinator and Specialist in International Security Affairs in the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division at the Congressional Research Service) “A U.N. Rapid Reaction Force? Considerations for U.S. Policymakers” CRS Report for Congress: <http://congressionalresearch.com/95-787/document.php?study=A+U.N.+Rapid+Reaction+Force+Considerations+for+U.S.+Policymakers> (JE)

“The RRF commander could be appointed on a rotating basis, perhaps annually, from among qualified officers belonging to forces of the troop contributing states. Such an arrangement could ensure some continuity of leadership, without as much U.N. political baggage. This arrangement would likely seem fair and workable to most, but -- as in any lottery -- the wrong crisis could occur on the wrong officer's watch;”

7. Lack of Intelligence. Not brainpower, but military intelligence needed to win battles by learning what the bad guys are up to in advance.

The UN rarely has relevant intelligence necessary for contingency planning, and rapid deployment requires contingency planning

Amanda Lieverse 2006. (M.A. in Political Science from the University of Manitoba; Communications Coordinator at Manitoba Metis Foundation Inc.) “A Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations: Past Failures and Future Possibilities” University of Manitoba: <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/1993/254/3/Lieverse_Thesis_v2.pdf> (JE)

“As the UN is rarely in possession of complete, reliable and relevant intelligence, its ability to develop contingency plans for arising crises and impending operations is severely restricted. Unfortunately, deployment time is direction related to the degree of anticipatory planning and preparation undertaken prior to a UN mandate to deploy; without adequate contingency plans rapid reaction is virtually impossible. The relationship between intelligence, contingency planning and rapid deployment is paramount; rapid deployment *requires* contingency planning and contingency planning *requires* intelligence.”

Member states would not support an increase in UN intelligence gathering capability

Amanda Lieverse 2006. (M.A. in Political Science from the University of Manitoba; Communications Coordinator at Manitoba Metis Foundation Inc.) “A Rapid Reaction Capability for the United Nations: Past Failures and Future Possibilities” University of Manitoba: <http://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/1993/254/3/Lieverse_Thesis_v2.pdf> (JE)

“Unfortunately, the economic concerns associated with UN intelligence gathering are, arguably, more easily overcome than the political concerns. Member states simply do not want to endow the UN with a capability that would allow it to act without the consent or support of its member states. Such a capability would have the simultaneous effect of reducing the UN’s reliance on its member states while restricting member states ability to manipulate and constrain the organization. Put simply, an independent intelligence gathering capability for the UN would significantly increase the organization’s autonomy and member states were unwilling to support it.”

8. No Troop Contributions

Where would the troops for a standing force come from? No nations would agree to it

Commander Corry H. Juedeman 2007. (Master’s Degree in National Security and Strategic Studies from the Naval War College. B.S. in Mathematics from Washington State. Executive officer of the Navy Recruiting District of San Antonio. Awards include Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Joint Commendation Medal, the Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal (with Gold Star), and the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal (with four Gold Stars). She has amassed over 2,500 hours and has logged over 300 carrier arrested landings) “Standing or Standby? Is a Standing Peacekeeping Force the Best Option for the United Nations?” Naval War College: <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a470790.pdf> (JE)

“Assuming for the moment that funds were readily available to the UN for a large standing force, from whence would come the personnel to fill its ranks? No US President has ever relinquished command authority over US forces. While operational control of US forces has from time to time been given, it has always been for a specified mission or amount of time. Even if this restriction were not in place, a force deployment situation like the current one to Iraq and Afghanistan would make it highly unlikely that the United States or other participating Member states would have additional forces available to hand over to the UN. Small or developing nations may not have available forces due to their minimal military size overall or, in the case of a developing country, the caliber of troops might not be of the level required. Finally, the US and other nations would not be anxious to involve their troops in conflicts that did not serve their national interests.”

SHIRBRIG couldn’t get countries to send troops even after they committed to do so

Planning Element officers of the Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations 2009. (these were military officers who worked with the Brigade, also known as SHIRBRIG, a standby reaction force that worked on UN missions starting in 1996 and was disbanded in 2009. The report cited here was produced under the leadership of Chief of Staff Colonel Christof Tatschl, Lieutenant Colonel Conny Holmström, and Joachim Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku) SHIRBRIG LESSONS LEARNED REPORT, 1 June 2009 (brackets added) <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/566~v~Shirbrig_lessons_learned_report.pdf>

Most importantly, however, the UNMEE [UN mission in Ethiopia & Eritrea] mission highlighted that SHIRBRIG was unable to mobilize enough troop support from its member nations for the full brigade capacity. Apart from Canada’s, Denmark’s and the Netherlands’ contributions, SHIRBRIG faced the reluctance of its participating member-states to provide the earmarked troops they had originally agreed to pledge for SHIRBRIG’s brigade force pool.

Regional, cultural, or political factors could preclude some national units in operations

Nina M. Serafino 1995. (Coordinator and Specialist in International Security Affairs in the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division at the Congressional Research Service) “A U.N. Rapid Reaction Force? Considerations for U.S. Policymakers” CRS Report for Congress: <http://congressionalresearch.com/95-787/document.php?study=A+U.N.+Rapid+Reaction+Force+Considerations+for+U.S.+Policymakers> (JE)

“The United Nations has traditionally designed its forces to ensure participation by units from many nations as a means of maintaining a credible international mandate. It most likely would also give great weight to political considerations in the composition of a rapid reaction force. Yet, critics of U.N. operations believe that the United Nations' desire for broad participation in its forces has hindered operational effectiveness, and there may be added drawbacks to the effectiveness of an "on-call" force. For instance, regional and cultural sensitivities as well as political factors could preclude participation by some national units in certain operations.”

9. Security Council Veto Dilemma. There are 2 possibilities of how the Security Council would behave if they had UNEPS.

Scenario #1: Too many vetoes. Security Council veto power would undermine the very purpose of a standing force

Commander Corry H. Juedeman 2007. (Master’s Degree in National Security and Strategic Studies from the Naval War College. B.S. in Mathematics from Washington State; awards include Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Joint Commendation Medal, the Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal) “Standing or Standby? Is a Standing Peacekeeping Force the Best Option for the United Nations?” Naval War College <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a470790.pdf> (JE)

“Supposing the UN could muster an adequately sized and financially backed standing force, the issues of ownership and employment of this force must be addressed. Conceivably, this standing force would be under the control of the UN Secretary General and the authority and direction of the Security Council. The composition of the security council with five permanent members— the United States, Britain, Russia, China, and France—and the veto power given to each 20 allow the security council to “project the power of the United Nations or tie its hands.” 21 One must consider what this would mean for deployment of a UN-owned standing force. Two extremes in deployments are possible, with corresponding associated dangers. At one end of the spectrum, it is possible that veto power would be exercised for one reason or another by any permanent member of the Security Council. A case in point is China’s veto on renewal of Macedonia’s United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP). China held that UNRPEDEP was no longer needed. However, there is much speculation that China’s veto was due instead to Macedonia’s diplomatic recognition of Taiwan. 22 Vetoes like this against the commitment of the standing force to conflicts would defy the very purpose of the force to halt violence and prevent threats to international peace and security.”

Scenario #2: No vetoes - anything goes. The Security Council may approve too many deployments, overextending the force

Commander Corry H. Juedeman 2007. (Master’s Degree in National Security and Strategic Studies from the Naval War College. B.S. in Mathematics from Washington State. Executive officer of the Navy Recruiting District of San Antonio. Awards include Defense Meritorious Service Medal, Joint Commendation Medal, the Navy and Marine Corps Commendation Medal (with Gold Star), and the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal (with four Gold Stars). She has amassed over 2,500 hours and has logged over 300 carrier arrested landings) “Standing or Standby? Is a Standing Peacekeeping Force the Best Option for the United Nations?” Naval War College: <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a470790.pdf> (JE)

“At the other end of the spectrum is the prospect that the Security Council, with access to a standing force, would approve too many deployments and this UN force would become overextended and ineffective. Overextension is a very real possibility when one considers that since the late 80s to early 90s, the UN has seen a surge in demand in for peacekeeping operations. In the forty years between its establishment and 1988 the UN was involved in only thirteen missions total. However, during the mid to late 90s the number of annual UN peacekeeping operations reached twenty several times while today the UN is committed to fifteen missions simultaneously. ”

DISADVANTAGES

1. Loss of national sovereignty

Link: One reason the UN standing army hasn’t been done yet is fear of losing national sovereignty.

Planning Element officers of the Standby High Readiness Brigade for United Nations Operations 2009. (these were military officers who worked with the Brigade, also known as SHIRBRIG, a standby reaction force that worked on UN missions starting in 1996 and was disbanded in 2008. The report cited here was produced under the leadership of Chief of Staff Colonel Christof Tatschl, Lieutenant Colonel Conny Holmström, and Joachim Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku) SHIRBRIG LESSONS LEARNED REPORT, 1 June 2009 <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/566~v~Shirbrig_lessons_learned_report.pdf>

When reviewing the past initiatives for improving the availability and rapidness of military forces for UN operations, it becomes clear that the rather radical proposals for a ‘fully reliable’ UN standing army were consistently rejected by member-states. Although a ‘Standing UN Army’ doubtlessly represents the most effective form, the history of UN rapid response proposals has highlighted that it simply remains an unrealistic and rather blue-eyed, visionary ideal. It will most certainly continue to be strongly opposed by member-states due to the fear of loss of sovereignty and overall control as well as due to a plethora of insurmountable legal, political and operational issues.

Impact: Losing national sovereignty means losing democracy

Dr. Jeremy Rabkin 2004. (Ph.D. from the Dept of Government at Harvard Univ; professor of government at Cornell Univ.) THE CASE FOR SOVEREIGNTY: Why the World Should Welcome American Independence (brackets added) <http://books.google.fr/books?id=bxKXWs1E9AUC&lpg=PP1&ots=BQByPWJCms&dq=The+Case+for+Sovereignty:+Why+the+World+Should+Welcome+American+Independence,+2004&pg=PP1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=The%20Case%20for%20Sovereignty%3A%20Why%20the%20World%20Should%20Welcome%20American%20Independence%2C%202004&f=false>

Governments have a right to be different, in the view of the American Founders, because human beings have a right to be different. The American constitutional tradition rests on the premise that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men" -- that is, distinct governments, separate governments, sovereign governments. It [is] easy to understand why the American Founders thought about rights in this way. An international authority able to secure universal peace would require the means of enforcing peace. It would require the authority to resolve every dispute that might otherwise lead to war, and then insist that its resolution could never be challenged. If it could do that, it could reasonably claim to resolve disputes provoking civil unrest within each nation. It could reasonably claim to resolve all conflicting claims about the distribution of resources, within and between nations, and all claims about conflicting rights or crosscutting grievances, within and between nations. Who could challenge or constrain a world authority with such immense power? Even if it were constrained by a formal constitution, who could possibly ensure that the world authority remained within its proper bounds? How could it be anything like a democracy Would a hundred small nations outvote the half-dozen largest nations? Or would a billion Chinese, a billion Indians, and a half-billion Southeast Asians be allowed to form a permanent majority, dictating law and justice to the rest of the world.

2. Inadequate force

Link: Affirmative’s UNEPS is 15,000 in size, assuming they get all the troop donations promised (which isn’t likely, see solvency arguments above). But even if they do...

Link: Deploying to even a small country like Burundi would take minimum 25-30,000 troops and probably a lot more

Analysis: Burundi had a nasty civil war and various analysts were discussing outside intervention, in the context of when this article was written

Kelly M. Greenhill 2001. (PhD candidate, Mass. Institute of Technology, Political Science department ) On Intervention to Deter Deadly Conflict: A Cautionary Prospective Analysis, BREAKTHROUGHS, Spring 2001 <http://web.mit.edu/ssp/publications/breakthroughs/2001-Spring.pdf>

A deployment of 25-30,000 is in fact relatively conservative in the context of the general rule in force-sizing, i.e., that outside forces should be as large as the biggest potential opposition force, which in this case is probably 45,000, but maybe as high as 100,000. (Likewise, rules of thumb for constabulary operations in peace enforcement missions would dictate a force as large as 60,000 troops in a country of Burundi's size, though such a deployment would defy domestic political and economic constraints.)

Estimate of Burundi comes from experience in Haiti

Kelly M. Greenhill 2001. (PhD candidate, Mass. Institute of Technology, Political Science department ) On Intervention to Deter Deadly Conflict: A Cautionary Prospective Analysis, BREAKTHROUGHS, Spring 2001 <http://web.mit.edu/ssp/publications/breakthroughs/2001-Spring.pdf>

Ideally, the mission would proceed as did the U.S.-led Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti in October 1994; the intervention force would enter prepared for the worst, but for the most part would be able to conduct "friendly" operations. *Uphold Democracy* actually provides a good force-sizing metric for a U.S.-led force for Burundi because Haiti is approximately the same physical size as Burundi (ca. 28,000 square kilometers), with a similar mountainous topography, a numerically similar population, and at the time of intervention, a population in a similar level of civil distress.

Impacts: Intervening quickly with a force that’s too small leads to:

1) Additional, accelerated killing

2) Loss of deterrent value of peacekeeping

3) Cancellation of the entire peacekeeping mission

Kelly M. Greenhill 2001. (PhD candidate, Mass. Institute of Technology, Political Science department ) On Intervention to Deter Deadly Conflict: A Cautionary Prospective Analysis, BREAKTHROUGHS, Spring 2001 <http://web.mit.edu/ssp/publications/breakthroughs/2001-Spring.pdf>

If all sides are committed to peace, then the work of an intervention force is relatively routine, albeit logistically challenging. However, a mission faced with control of a much larger population and a substantial geographical area could be undermined if one or more factions decides not to cooperate. There are two very real scenarios to consider. First, a round of mass killing begins before substantial troops arrive in specific areas. Relatively little could be done. Even if one subscribes to the belief that a small number of foreign troops can have a "chilling" deterrent effect on belligerents, they cannot be omnipresent and omnipotent. During Operation Turquoise in Rwanda, for instance, French forces failed to prevent property destruction in a number of areas, despite their presence. And "with insufficient numbers and transport capabilities, (French troops) often had to stand by in medium-sized towns while the killing went on unabated in the hills a few kilometers away." Each instance of violence in the proximity of peacekeepers is a blow to the operation and subsequently reduces its deterrent capability. In fact, circumstances could be even more bleak if potential spoilers engage in "last minute" bouts of bloodletting before an intervention force arrives in-country, which could ironically preclude deployment entirely, due to concerns about casualties.

3. Peacekeeper Misconduct

Not all that helpful: “Blue-helmeted” peacekeepers made shady deals with terrorist and spread AIDS

Dore Gold 2004. (Former Israeli Ambassador to the UN; Ph.D., B.A., and M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University; President of Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs) “Tower of Babel: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos” 9 Nov 2004 <http://books.google.com/books?id=JdDoMm8qPUoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false> [Accessed via Google Books] (JE)

“The more one probes the UN’s performance, the more difficult it is to see the organization as a force for greater order, stability, or global justice. Other scandals have undercut the UN’s claims for any kind of moral authority. The UN’s blue-helmeted peacekeepers may have received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1998, but in the 1990s, in order to protect their own personal security, the peacekeepers or their commanders in New York often made deals under the table with states massacring their citizens or with terrorist groups whose goal was the same. Moreover, by 2000, it was clear that UN peacekeepers were spreading AIDS in Cambodia and East Timor. A year later Italian prosecutors were investigating charges that UN troops from Denmark and Slovakia, monitoring the Ethiopian and Eritrean frontier, were involved in a child prostitution racket. The same charges had been leveled at UN peacekeepers in Mozambique in 1996 and in Bosnia in 2002.”

SOURCE INDICTMENT

The Netherlands

Joachim Alexander Koops and Dr. Johannes Varwick 2008. (Koops - PhD Candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; Analyst at the Security Section of the Oxford Council on Good Governance; masters degree in European Politics, Economics & Law from the University of Turku; Postgraduate Diploma in Legal Practice from the University of Oxford. Varwick - Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science, University of Kiel, Germany; PhD in Political Science from the University of Münster) Ten Years of SHIRBRIG - Lessons Learned, Development Prospects and Strategic Opportunities for Germany <http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/gppi/Koops_Varwick__2008__SHIRBRIG_GPPi_RP_11.pdf>

The Dutch report ‘A UN Rapid Deployment Brigade: A Preliminary Study,’ issued in April 1995, can be seen as reaching back to the early and more radical UN legion and volunteer reserve concepts of a standing army. The perseverance of the Dutch government’s promotions of such an ambitious and binding proposal outside the existing UNSAS system must also be viewed in the context of the Netherlands’ disastrous experience in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) mission in Bosnia from Spring 1992 to Autumn 1995. The Dutch had to acknowledge that the majority of member-states were unwilling to provide troops, despite their theoretical commitment to the UNSAS system. Moreover, the rather helpless role played by the Dutch battalion during the Srebrenica Massacre in 1995 explains the motivation by the Dutch government to press forward with the proposals of a robust, standing UN Army, with the overall aim of rehabilitating the Netherlands’ reputation in international peacekeeping.

12. NEGATIVE BRIEF:  UNRWA - Good

NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY

UNRWA’s existence is a failure, but not of UNRWA: It’s a failure of the international community to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict

Adi Schwartz (Journalist) 2010 interview with John Ging, head of UNRWA operations in Gaza.  “UNRWA’s existence is a failure” 15 Nov 2010  <http://www.adi-schwartz.com/unrwas-existence-failure/>

“We shouldn’t exist after so many years”, says Ging, “and I perfectly understand the Israeli negative view towards my organization, because it is the manifestation of the political failure of the international community to resolve the conflict. Our 60th anniversary was not a moment of celebration but a commemoration of failure because we should not have had to exist after 60 years”.

UNRWA is saving lives and creating hope

Amjad Atallah 2009. (Co-director of the Middle East Taskforce at the New America Foundation, former adviser to the Palestinian negotiating team )  1 Dec 2009 “UNRWA, Gaza, and the Humanitarian Challenge” <http://www.unanca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=165&Itemid=88>

UNRWA is actually saving lives and creating hope. So all of us should applaud UNRWA as it celebrates its 60th anniversary. We acknowledge the failure of international diplomacy to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But we should applaud UNRWA’s success in its humanitarian efforts against remarkable odds. The odd thing is that UNRWA is not often seen that way in the United States, where our perceptions of this conflict are sometimes distorted.

MINOR REPAIR / COUNTERPLAN

Israel accepting UN Resolution 194 (III) on right of return would solve for UNRWA’s reason for existence

Prof. Randa Farah 2012. (policy advisor of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network, and an Associate Professor at the University of Western Ontario, Canada)  9 Apr 2012 “A World WIthout UNRWA”  <http://pulsemedia.org/2012/04/09/a-world-without-unrwa/>

In fact, however, the primary reason why UNRWA still exists is due to Israel’s consistent rejection of UN General Assembly resolution 194 (III) calling for the right of refugees to return and compensation. 9There would be no need for UNRWA at all if the refugees were granted their right of return. Indeed, after the signing of the Declaration of Principles in September 1993, which had not included any reference to resolution 194 (III), UNRWA began preparations for its own dissolution, creating anxiety among refugees – a process that was reversed due to Oslo’s utter failure.

INHERENCY

UNRWA’s programs are helping refugees resettle and reintegrate in their current locations

Prof. Riccardo Bocco 2010. (professor of Political Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva)  Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 28, Nos 2 & 3  (brackets and ellipses in original) <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109359.pdf>

Paradoxically, the “routinization” of UNRWA’s welfare activities, combined with the economic realities of the situation of long-term refugees, has often produced a de facto  resettlement/rehabilitation/reintegration process. This is true for many refugees in Jordan, Syria, the West Bank, and Gaza. While many may face discrimination, lack a sense of local identity, or feel existentially estranged, most have found an economic space in the countries where they live.

HARMS

UNRWA doesn’t “run” any refugee camps - local governments do.  UNRWA delivers services to refugees both inside and outside the camps

Andrew Whitley 2009. (Director, Representative office of UNRWA for the United States and Canada at the United Nations, former reporter for Financial Times, human rights official)  1 Dec 2009 “UNRWA, Gaza, and the Humanitarian Challenge” <http://www.unanca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=165&Itemid=88>

Let me address five myths about UNRWA that have quite long legs. We begin with the issue of the camps. There is some confusion often about the agency’s role and responsibilities in the camps. Many people believe that UNRWA runs refugee camps. But UNRWA does not administer the camps or have managerial responsibility. The camps are the responsibility of the local host governments. They maintain law and order, with the sole exception of Lebanon where the camps are self-governing. UNRWA is only a humanitarian and human development agency. We only deliver services to the refugees inside the camps and outside. We do not restrict our services to the designated camp areas. So it is wrong to accuse the agency of failing to take responsibility for what goes on in the camps. We cannot do this since UNRWA does not have a police force or an army.

UNRWA doesn’t promote dependency

Andrew Whitley 2009. (Director, Representative office of UNRWA for the United States and Canada at the United Nations, former reporter for Financial Times, human rights official)  1 Dec 2009 “UNRWA, Gaza, and the Humanitarian Challenge” <http://www.unanca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=165&Itemid=88>

The second myth is that UNRWA promotes dependency. This is particularly pernicious, because in fact the reverse is the case. UNRWA actually tries to wean people off aid and to promote self-reliance. We are not in the business of keeping people on handouts. UNRWA’s entire ethos is aimed at helping people lead better more productive, self-reliant lives so they can make choices for themselves and for their children.

UNRWA doesn’t promote anti-Semitic education

Andrew Whitley 2009. (Director, Representative office of UNRWA for the United States and Canada at the United Nations, former reporter for Financial Times, human rights official)  1 Dec 2009 “UNRWA, Gaza, and the Humanitarian Challenge” <http://www.unanca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=165&Itemid=88>

The third myth about UNRWA is that the agency chooses textbooks and curricula for its schools that promote anti-Semitism and hatred of Israel. At the very beginning of UNRWA’s work, we reached agreements with the host countries that the only practical way for the refugee children to be able to complete their education - because our kids in our schools only go up to the 9th Grade - was to use the host country textbooks, wherever they were. Otherwise, the refugee children would not be able to complete secondary education with their non-refugee peers to be able to go on to higher education. We recognized that the textbooks are probably not ideal, but no textbooks anywhere are when the country concerned is in a state of conflict. I think that it is fair to say that the Palestinian textbooks in terms of their portrayal of the other side are probably no worse than Israeli textbooks’ descriptions of Palestinians. Certainly, our textbooks do not promote anti-Semitism. In fact, we have a successful and a very well-disciplined supplementary program in all our schools of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance. So we have not shrunk from addressing this issue.

UNRWA is not failing to resettle the refugees - it follows standard UN refugee policies. The problem is that they are blocked from resettling in their original home (inside what is now Israel)

Andrew Whitley 2009. (Director, Representative office of UNRWA for the United States and Canada at the United Nations, former reporter for Financial Times, human rights official)  1 Dec 2009 “UNRWA, Gaza, and the Humanitarian Challenge” <http://www.unanca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=165&Itemid=88>

The fourth myth is that unlike the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), UNRWA does nothing to resettle the refugees or to find a durable solution, and thus perpetuates the refugee problem rather than solving it. A common complaint is that we do so by registering the children of refugees and sometimes the grandchildren of refugees. UNRWA is no different from UNHCR in this regard. This is a standard refugee principle. It just so happens that the Palestinian refugees are the longest and most complicated refugee problem in the world. It is at the heart of the dispute over the rights to Palestine as to who should live there and how and when the people who were displaced from that territory will return. UNRWA is exactly like UNHCR in applying the same approach of voluntary informed choice to the refugees: 90 percent or more of Palestinian refugees say they want to exercise their right of return. Whether or not this is practical is a different matter. But this is what they say and they should not be told otherwise. So as with any other refugee situation, UNHCR’s first course of action would be to try to return them to where they originally came from. In practice, we know the formidable obstacles to allowing even a fraction of them to be able to return to today’s Israel. But UNRWA, because of its mandate as a humanitarian organization, does not interfere in the exercise of those rights by doing anything to wish the refugee problem away or to try to dissolve it.

Palestinians are not trapped in camps - there’s lots of mobility in and out

Prof. Riccardo Bocco 2010. (professor of Political Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva)  Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 28, Nos 2 & 3  (brackets and ellipses in original) <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109359.pdf>

Not all camp dwellers or their descendants have been living in the camps since their creation. Because leaving the camps has never entailed a loss of refugee status, mobility between the inside of the camps and the communities outside them has always been prevalent. This means that, for over four generations of registered refugees, the experience of living in a camp has been shared by far more people than the average officially recognized figure of camp residents would suggest. The personal narratives and popular memory of refugees are not only a reservoir for oral history; they also allow social change to be traced and the related perceptions among refugees to be analysed. Multiple links – of social and economic nature – exist between camp refugees and their immediate environment, given the porous camp borders.

UNRWA schools teach responsibility and non-violent social change

Adi Schwartz (Journalist) 2010 interview with John Ging, head of UNRWA operations in Gaza.  “UNRWA’s existence is a failure” 15 Nov 2010  <http://www.adi-schwartz.com/unrwas-existence-failure/>

Ging takes special pride in UNRWA’s schools, where he says children “are taught to take responsibility for their actions and to realize the contribution that Palestinians have made to their current situation. We have to convince the children of Gaza that the way forward is through adoption of universal values. We teach them from grade one that in order to attain your rights you must first act according to the standards of responsible behavior. We teach them about Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King and Gandhi, to show them how other people have succeeded to achieve their human rights, and it’s not by firing rockets into Sderot”.

Israel is the cause of the Palestinian “dependency” on UNRWA

Prof. Randa Farah 2012. (policy advisor of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network, and an Associate Professor at the University of Western Ontario, Canada)  9 Apr 2012 “A World WIthout UNRWA”  <http://pulsemedia.org/2012/04/09/a-world-without-unrwa/>

A peaceful solution has been made impossible by Israel’s continued expansion on Palestinian land and its illegal Jewish settlements in the West Bank including East Jerusalem, as well as its repeated bombardment of Gaza and unlawful blockade. Israel’s serpent-like Separation Wall swallows more land, hundreds of checkpoints restrict movement, and an expanding apparatus of laws and regulations make a “normal Palestinian everyday life” out of the question. This repressive apparatus increases the dependence of refugees on UNRWA’s meager aid, while *at the same time* creating even more refugees and internally displaced persons.

UNRWA does not employ Hamas members and even submits its staff list to Israel

Adi Schwartz (Journalist) 2010 interview with John Ging, head of UNRWA operations in Gaza.  “UNRWA’s existence is a failure” 15 Nov 2010 (Ethical Disclosure:  Schwartz does not necessarily agree with Ging, he is merely reporting what Ging said.  Ging’s qualifications as UNRWA manager are what drive the credibility of this evidence, not Schwartz’s opinions)  <http://www.adi-schwartz.com/unrwas-existence-failure/>

Ging answered the following: “UNRWA is in compliance with funding conditions of the US Foreign Assistance Act, which prohibits any direct or indirect assistance to terror groups as defined by the US. UNRWA prohibits the employment of members of Hamas or any regional group, in fact UNRWA prohibits its employees to engage through membership or otherwise in any outside activities. As part of UNRWA’s efforts to ensure full transparency and accountability, UNRWA submits its entire list of staff to the Government of Israel”.

“Funding terrorists” - Response:  UNRWA has procedures to prevent and investigate illicit activities

Jim Zanotti 2012.  (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs,  Congressional Research Service)  U.S. Foreign Aid to the Palestinians   June 15, 2012 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS22967.pdf>

In testimony before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs on April 23, 2009, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke for the Obama Administration regarding U.S. oversight of contributions to UNRWA: We have made it clear to UNRWA, the United Nations Relief And Works Agency, that we intend to carefully track any aid that they receive. They have taken additional steps, partly at our urging, to make their process more transparent, consistent with both United Nations commitments and U.S. legislation. They conduct background checks on employees. They share staff lists with us and with Israel. They prohibit staff participation in political activities. They launch investigations upon receiving information from Israel, us, or anyone else about any staff member engaging in inappropriate or illicit activities. They are actually investigating staff members right now who were elected in internal elections within Gaza. And we have pressed them very hard because they have to earn our confidence in this.

Opposing Hamas:  UNRWA stopped distributing aid when Hamas was stealing some of it

Hanan Greenberg 2009. (Journalist) 6 Feb 2009 “UNRWA halts Gaza aid, cites Hamas theft”  YNET NEWS <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3667825,00.html>

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) announced Friday that it was suspending all import of aid into the Gaza Strip because Hamas had seized the supplies for the second time this week. According to the agency's press release the recent looting involved hundreds of tons of food. "During the night of February fifth 10 truckloads of flour and rice were taken from the Palestinian side of the Kerem Shalom Crossing into Gaza," the statement from spokesman Christopher Gunness said. He said the food "had been imported from Egypt for collection by UNRWA today," but was "taken away by trucks contracted by the Ministry of Social Affairs." The ministry is run by Hamas.

SOLVENCY

“Right of return” issue - UNRWA is not responsible for it; it comes from the UN General Assembly

Victor Kattan 2012.  (program director of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network; was a Teaching Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, currently studying there as PhD candidate; previously worked for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law )  30 May 2012 “'UNRWA reform' effort will harm Middle East peace effort” <http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/230065-unrwa-reform-effort-will-harm-middle-east-peace-effort>

In spite of the attention by Congress and AIPAC, the right of return has nothing to do with UNRWA. Rather it is grounded in paragraph 11 of U.N. General Assembly resolution 194 (III) and the report of the Swedish diplomat Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN Mediator, who was assassinated by Israeli terrorists during the 1948 Palestine War, as well as in UN General Assembly resolution 2252 with regard to the refugees who fled the June 1967 war.

Two factors block host-country reintegration of Palestinians:  1) Palestinians resist  2) Host states discourage

Michaela Clemens 2007. (masters degree candidate, Univ of Nebraska Dept of Anthropology) The Influence of Refugee Status on Palestinian Identity and the Impact of Identity on Durable Solutions to the Refugee Problem    1 Jan 2007 <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=nebanthro>

Local integration has been a strong focus of the international community since the beginning of the diaspora. Palestinian refugees were expected to readily be absorbed into the surrounding Arab countries based on shared language, history, culture, and religion and the UNRWA was expected to assist in this transition (Shiblak 1996). Rather than easy integration, however, Shiblak (1996) notes that the UNRWA has been ineffectual in this task and Palestinian refugees have become more alienated and marginalized with time. This seems to be attributed to both external and internal forces, as Palestinians are resisting integration and host states are discouraging naturalization efforts, following a strategy to keep pressure on the return to Palestine.

Third-party resettlement (in North America or Europe) won’t work

Michaela Clemens 2007. (masters degree candidate, Univ of Nebraska Dept of Anthropology) The Influence of Refugee Status on Palestinian Identity and the Impact of Identity on Durable Solutions to the Refugee Problem    1 Jan 2007 <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=nebanthro>

Third-party resettlement, likewise, has been an unsuccessful solution to the protracted Palestinian refugee situation. With exclusion from the 1951 Refugee Convention, few Palestinians have been able to obtain full refugee status in North America or in Europe (Shiblak 1996). Again, the Arab states have drafted provisions to prevent third country resettlement just as they have blocked efforts at local integration. By keeping Palestinians not just as refugees, but as an exceptional, collective case of refugees, the Arab states can keep international attention on their primary goals of repatriation to Palestine and compensation to Palestinians by Israel (Akram 2002). As a representative agency of Palestinians, the PLO has actively argued against treating Palestinian refugees as individual cases who could qualify for resettlement and has made "explicit requests that Palestinians not apply for refugee status in the West" (Akram 2002:43). This Palestinian and Arab strategy for repatriation hinges largely on the belief that the international community in general, and the UN in particular, bears responsibility for the refugee problem by enacting the Palestinian partition plan in 1947 and legitimizing Zionist claims to the land (Akram 2002).

Local integration won’t work in Lebanon

Link:  Politics will prevent any permanent settlement of Palestinians in Lebanon

Tom Charles 2011. (journalist; Assistant Editor at Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies)   “The Unknown Hell of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon”  12 Dec 2011 <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3490/the-unknown-hell-of-palestinian-refugees-in-lebano>

Lebanon’s delicate religious balance determines that politicians handle the Palestinian refugee issue carefully. Lebanon’s population of just over four million is made up of Shi‘a Muslims, Sunni Muslims and Maronite Christians, among the total of eighteen religious groups. Lebanon’s constitution dictates that the president is a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim and the speaker of the House a Shi‘a Muslim. The Christian leadership in particular has taken advantage of concerns that the Palestinian refugees will become naturalized citizens and tip Lebanon’s demographic balance in favor of Muslims. One member of parliament told the International Crisis Group in 2008: “Our official policy is to maintain Palestinians in a vulnerable, precarious situation to diminish prospects for their naturalization or permanent settlement.”

Impact/Quantification:  400,000 Palestinian UNRWA refugees in Lebanon

Tom Charles 2011. (journalist; Assistant Editor at Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies)   “The Unknown Hell of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon”  12 Dec 2011 <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3490/the-unknown-hell-of-palestinian-refugees-in-lebano>

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) runs the twelve camps in Lebanon that approximately 400,000 Palestinians live in. There are, in addition, a number of "unofficial" refugee camps that UNRWA does not oversee. Together the population of these camps amount to approximately ten percent of the country’s population.

DISADVANTAGES

1.  Reduced chance of Middle East peace

Solvency:  Dismantling UNRWA won’t solve for “Palestinian right of return”

DA:  Dismantling UNRWA diminishes chance of achieving peace

Victor Kattan 2012.  (program director of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network; was a Teaching Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, currently studying there as PhD candidate; previously worked for the British Institute of International and Comparative Law )  30 May 2012 “'UNRWA reform' effort will harm Middle East peace effort” <http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/foreign-policy/230065-unrwa-reform-effort-will-harm-middle-east-peace-effort>

So what is the real story behind the Kirk amendment?  Senator Kirk’s efforts have the full backing of Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu. The belief is that “UNRWA reform” — a euphemism for dismantling the agency — will serve as a “defibrillator” to the peace process. As he has done before, Netanyahu’s efforts and those of his Congressional enablers are not to revive the peace process but to euthanize it. Ultimately, identifying as a Palestinian refugee or dreaming of returning to Palestine is a personal choice for each Palestinian to make.  The right of return will certainly not disappear with a UN agency or be affected by the amount of money that UNRWA receives from the U.S. Government.  It is upheld in international law. Indeed, the only demonstrable impact of these actions by Israel and its supporters in the U.S. Congress will be to further diminish American credibility and any chance at achieving peace.

2.  Humanitarian crisis

Demise of UNRWA = humanitarian crisis of epic proportions

Prof. Randa Farah 2012. (policy advisor of Al-Shabaka: The Palestinian Policy Network, and an Associate Professor at the University of Western Ontario, Canada)  9 Apr 2012 “A World Without UNRWA”  <http://pulsemedia.org/2012/04/09/a-world-without-unrwa/>

Hamas’s recent condemnation of the Assad regime is unlikely to endear it to the Syrian government, but in fact over the years Syria has treated the Palestinians relatively well, if one compares the way Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt have treated their Palestinian refugee communities. Moreover, unlike Israel, Syria has never threatened the UN Agency or plotted its demise, a move that could precipitate a humanitarian crisis of epic proportions.

UNRWA assistance makes the difference between life and death for impoverished children

Michaela Clemens 2007. (masters degree candidate, Univ of Nebraska Dept of Anthropology) The Influence of Refugee Status on Palestinian Identity and the Impact of Identity on Durable Solutions to the Refugee Problem    1 Jan 2007 <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1027&context=nebanthro>

Palestinian refugee women who marry non-refugees maintain their status and access to UNRWA resources, but their children are ineligible for assistance. In contrast, the children of refugee men who marry nonrefugee women can register with UNRWA and receive assistance (Cervenak 1994). While the UNRWA benefits have been called minimal by many, access to food and health services can literally mean the difference between life and death for impoverished children.

3.   Loss of Palestinian identity, leading to loss of Israeli legitimacy

Link:  UNRWA is key to Palestinian identity and history

Prof. Riccardo Bocco 2010. (professor of Political Sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, University of Geneva)  Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol. 28, Nos 2 & 3  (brackets and ellipses in original) <http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109359.pdf>

The history of UNRWA and the history of Palestinian refugees are, thus, inseparable: the latter is an indispensable element in understanding the former and vice versa.22 As R. Bowker has suggested, “[t]he political mythologies and memories of Palestinian refugees in which UNRWA is deeply embedded [. . .] are central elements in Palestinian politics. Palestinian refugees, whose education and health services are provided by UNRWA, are not merely recipients of international aid. Viewed in terms of the historical conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, the relationship of the refugees to UNRWA has been instrumental in forging their sense of identity as refugees, their claims for justice, and their perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of other parties relevant to their situation and aspirations”.

Link:  Denial of Palestinian identity delegitimizes Zionism and the Israeli state

Dr. Salim Tamari 2006. (PhD sociology, Univ of Manchester, UK;  editor of the Jerusalem Quarterly and director of the Institute of Jerusalem Studies; adjunct professor at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University)  “Palestinian Identity” Oct 2006 <http://www.bitterlemons-dialogue.org/dialogue5.php>

I think there’s no question that Zionism and the Israeli state contributed to the assertiveness of the Palestinian identity since it was denied its national ambitions. To the extent that the Israeli state, or the Zionist state, can make historical compromises as to its own territorial limit, then the Palestinian national movement, certainly in the post 1975-80 period has learned to live with this project, not in a very welcoming way, but certainly in an accommodating way. To the extent that the Zionist movement denies the effective rights of Palestinians in parts of this land, the Zionist state will contribute to its own delegitimization. Ultimately, Israel may achieve legitimacy in the eyes of the whole world, but if it doesn’t achieve it in the eyes of the Palestinians it undermines its own raison-d’etre.  Many Israelis understand this, but they have not drawn the right conclusions from it. They thought that with the Oslo formula they had gotten rid of the problem by throwing some bones to the Palestinians. But bones will not do. If the Palestinian state is not going to be viable, then Palestinians will think in one of three directions; either they will call for binationalism, which is a nightmare for the Israelis, or at least the Zionists; they will call for the relaunching of the Arab national project, greater Syria, Nasserism and so on, which on the cultural level anyway, is still alive and kicking; or they will assert themselves in a broader Islamist or Islamic dimension. In all of these cases, if the Israelis do not resolve their understanding of the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause in its struggle for historical Palestinian rights, they undermine their own legitimacy.

Link:  Improving its legitimacy is vital to Israel because they need stable relations in the Middle East

Torgeir E. Fjærtoft 2012.  (visiting research fellow at The Gulf Research Unit; Univ. of Oslo, Norway)   12 Jan 2012 “Will Israel reassess its security strategies?” <https://gulfunit.wordpress.com/2012/01/12/will-israel-reassess-its-security-strategies/>

Where traditional power projection is still appropriate, the changed political circumstances of Israel make greater legitimacy in its region imperative. As Kissinger points out, without a shared perception of legitimacy, power will not produce stable relations. Israel will need political and probably military backing also from the regional powers to effectively and sustainably contain Iran, its overriding foreign policy concern also without Iranian nuclear arms because of Iran’s declared revolutionary vision aimed at Israel.

Brink & Impact:  Israel needs balance of power stability for peace and security.  If luck runs out, things can go horribly wrong

Torgeir E. Fjærtoft 2012.  (visiting research fellow at The Gulf Research Unit; Univ. of Oslo, Norway)   12 Jan 2012 “Will Israel reassess its security strategies?“ <https://gulfunit.wordpress.com/2012/01/12/will-israel-reassess-its-security-strategies/>

For a balance of power in Israel’s region to be stable in Kissinger’s sense, alliances need to be more than tacit, transient, circumstantial or instrumental. Only a foundation of a shared sense of justice and perceived mutual benefits can provide peace and security. Perceptions and emotions shape motivation. But should luck run out while a state of confrontation persists, even the coolest of minds cannot prevent everything from going terribly wrong; this was the lesson drawn from the Cuban Missile Crisis by one of crisis’ central actors, Robert McNamara, President Kennedy’s Secretary of Defence.

“No Palestinian Identity” - Response: Even Israel acknowledges it, and we have to deal with it

Ambassador Zilman Shoval 2011. (former Israeli ambassador to the U.S.) 27 Dec 2011 “Why Gingrich is right – and wrong”  JERUSALEM POST  <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-EdContributors/Article.aspx?id=251180>

The Palestinians may indeed be an invented people, but this invention is now a fact of political life, acknowledged by most of the nations of the world – including official Israel. Therefore, the real issue today is not a theoretical one, but how best to deal with this reality in practical terms.

4.  Regional Security & Stability at risk.   UNRWA makes important contributions to security and stability of the region.

Ambassador Philippa King 2011. (Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations) 1 Nov 2011 United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East -  Statement by HE Ms Philippa King,  <http://www.unny.mission.gov.au/unny/111101_UNRWA.html>

Australia is a long-standing supporter of UNRWA, which has provided essential service to the Palestinian people for over 60 years. Australia recognises that the work of UNRWA makes an important contribution to the security and stability of the region. Australia’s decision to increase its support for UNRWA over the next five years will place it among the top ten UNRWA donors and reflects the value we place on UNRWA’s work. Australia has been a long-standing supporter of UNRWA and has contributed around $53 million to UNRWA since 2006.

5.  Terrorism Turn:  UNRWA education is reducing the influence of Hamas and promoting peaceful social change

Link:  UNRWA has extensive human rights training to promote lawful, peaceful change.

Uniqueness:   Without it, Palestinian children’s minds will be shaped by violence, oppression and despair

John Ging 2010. (Director of UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) operations in Gaza) 8 Mar 2010  “Predicament of a Different Order: Palestine Refugees under Occupation”  <http://www.boell.de/worldwide/middleeast/middle-east-palestine-refugees-occupation-8685.html>

The practices of occupation, collective sanction, rocket fire and other acts of violence spare no one – young or old, weak or strong. But amongst the product of a relentlessly suffering population in Gaza, Sderot, Ashkelon and other affected places are 750,000 children who no doubt forever will be marked by their experience of physical depravation, psychological trauma and isolation from the outside world. For their sake, and the sake of their future, human development must remain at the front of our minds. Unless given a different experience, removed from the daily torment of violence, oppression and despair, the mindsets and outlook of these children would be left at the mercy of an environment diametrically opposed to the stated international goals of peace, security and freedom. This is why UNRWA – under occupation, under blockade – has a very intensive and comprehensive Human Rights curriculum, teaching the children of Gaza tolerance, respect and justice to protect the values that have traditionally characterised Palestinian society and give them a realistic basis to hope for a just peace and a realisation that this will only be achieved through lawful, peaceful means.

Link:  UNRWA education programs promote secular world view and counter Hamas influence

Amjad Atallah 2009. (Co-director of the Middle East Taskforce at the New America Foundation, former adviser to the Palestinian negotiating team )  1 Dec 2009 “UNRWA, Gaza, and the Humanitarian Challenge” <http://www.unanca.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=165&Itemid=88>

UNRWA has been one of the primary reasons that Palestinians have led Arab indices in education for many years. It has been one of the primary reasons, in my opinion, that Palestinian discourse was so secular and in tune with international norms in comparison to other conflicts. UNRWA’s impact preserving this international world-view is particularly important after the collapse of the PLO starting in the 1990s and culminating in the last decade. This vacuum has been filled with the rise of Hamas as a significant voice in Palestinian politics. Maintaining a Palestinian secular worldview will depend on UNRWA’s continuing success providing Western standards of education to Palestinians, as Hamas’ political power grows, as it seems to be doing. This is going to be especially true if there is a prisoner exchange between Israel and Hamas.

Impact: Hamas promotes terrorism - according to Affirmative’s evidence.  Reducing Hamas influence through UNRWA would be better than Affirmative plan.

13. NEGATIVE BRIEF: VOLUNTARY FUNDING - BAD

Jonathan Edelblut researched most of the evidence in this brief

NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY

Selective withholding of funds on national interest has no basis in the UN

Prof. Francesco Francioni 2000. (Professor of Law at the University of Siena; Visiting Professor at the University of Oxford; Fellow of Lincoln College) “Multilateralizm a la Carte: The Limits to Unilateral Withholdings of Assessed Contributions to the UN Budget” Published by the European Journal of International Law: <http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/11/1/43.full.pdf> (JE)

“Likewise, it is inconsistent with the Charter to pursue a policy of selective withholding to favour certain programmes at the expense of others depending on whether they advance preferred national ‘values’ or priorities. Such an approach was theorized by Ambassador Kirkpatrick in the early 1980s, but it has no basis in the legal order of the UN.”

INHERENCY

United Nations today receives majority of funding from voluntary contributions

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. in Political Science, The Ohio State University; BA in Political Science and International Relations, Boston University; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel Univ; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton Univ, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012: <http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf> (JE)

“Today the United Nations System receives the majority of its financial support from voluntary contributions. This is true both of UN programs, like the UN Development Program and the UN Environment Program, and of Specialized Agencies, like the World Health Organization and UNESCO. UN reliance on voluntary resources is not a new phenomenon; the first contributions outside the mandatory assessments system were made in the 1950s and by 1960 constituted fully half of UN resources. It is, however, a growing phenomenon in many corners of the UN where voluntary funding flourishes and mandatory contributions stagnate. The result of disproportionate reliance on voluntary contributions has produced a system of financing quite distinct from that envisioned in the UN Charter. At the UN’s founding, the General Assembly was granted control of financial matters. It both allocated member states’ assessments—based on their respective capacity to pay—and was charged with approving the budget. The General Assembly and equivalent bodies at other UN Agencies have no such role to play in the voluntary funding system, where members’ individual choices dictate financial decisions.”

UNTAI review shows: Efficiency and effectiveness of nearly every UN program is improving

Rep Howard Berman 2011. (D-Calif.; ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee) 7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY” hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf>

Ambassador Wallace testified the United Nations Transparency and Accountability Initiative, an effort he spearheaded while serving at the U.S. mission in New York, is ‘‘a user-friendly way for anyone interested in U.N. reform, notably many taxpaying Americans, to evaluate the progress being made on key reform issues, to ensure that funds were utilized efficiently and effectively for their intended purpose.’’ We are constantly told by our friends on the other side of the aisle that the U.N. is a cesspool of corruption, and a money pit for U.S. taxpayer dollars. Yet based on our review of the data, UNTAI has demonstrated marked improvement among nearly every U.N. agency, program, and fund.

SOLVENCY

US withholding funds from UN agencies didn't produce long-term improvements in efficiency or effectiveness

Ambassador Terry Miller 2011. (former US Ambassador to the United Nations Economic and Social Council; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Global Issues) 3 Mar 2011 Reform of the United Nations: Lessons Learned, Testimony before The Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives <http://www.heritage.org/research/testimony/2011/03/united-nations-reform-lessons-learned>

Perhaps the most impressive example of a robust approach to forcing reform involved the withdrawal of the U.S. from membership in UNESCO at the end of 1984. This immediately cost the organization 25 percent of its operating revenue and forced major changes and reductions in programming. Priority UNESCO activities in areas such as oceanography or preservation of the world’s heritage continued to enjoy U.S. support on a voluntary basis. Interestingly, the organization also improved its political orientation in an effort, ultimately successful, to regain U.S. membership. It is important to note that the U.S. was absent from UNESCO membership, though pressing hard for reforms, for almost 20 years. A similar strategy of withdrawal from the ILO was much shorter (from 1977 to 1980) and had little impact. Yet another U.S. withdrawal, this time from UNIDO in 1996, has lasted to the present. Although the U.S. has had little engagement with UNIDO over that period, the loss of U.S. resources reportedly has had a positive impact on streamlining UNIDO’s priorities and actions. Sadly, neither Helms/Biden withholding nor even the long UNESCO withdrawal can be shown to have had much long term impact on the efficiency, effectiveness, or even the integrity of the U.N. system.

DISADVANTAGES. The first 6 disadvantages are all turns on the efficiency gains claimed in the Affirmative case. These are 6 ways UN agencies become less efficient if they go to voluntary funding. The 7th DA is about loss of funding for Peacekeeping, which is today funded by Assessments and would switch to voluntary under AFF plan.

1. Lost unity

Link: Budget decided by each country, not the General Assembly. Under voluntary funding, money is dictated by individual members instead of two-thirds majority

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. Political Science, Ohio State Univ; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel Univ; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012 [www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR\_Colloquium\_Draft.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf) (JE)

“The same authority is not enjoyed by the collective principal under a voluntary funding scheme. Unlike mandatory assessments there is no legal obligation attached to voluntary funding (Archibald 2004, 318). The protections built into the mandatory system against the shirking of responsibility by member states, or conversely, attempts to increase influence or prestige by increasing one’s contribution, are absent. Under a voluntary funding scheme each member state makes a decision regarding whether and how much to contribute to UN programs and agencies. 3 Overall budget levels are not determined by formal, multilateral governing bodies, but are instead the aggregate outcome of individual decisions. The voluntary system also allows individual members to earmark their contributions for a specific use. Freed from the obligation to provide support to programs endorsed by the two-thirds majority, individual members can dictate how their money is spent in ways that may or may not accord with priorities set by multilateral bodies (OECD 2010).

Link: Voluntary funding weakens representativeness and multilateralism in the UN

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. Political Science, Ohio State Univ; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel Univ; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012 [www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR\_Colloquium\_Draft.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf) (JE)

“That UN financial matters are driven by bilateral donor decisions stands in tension with the perception of the United Nations as the “preeminent institution of multilateralism” {Tharoor, 2003 #6307}. This paper concerns itself with understanding why this shift occurred and exploring its consequences. The mandatory funding system lost the support of the United States when the US was no longer able to exert influence commensurate with its financial contribution in UN bodies. This outcome is consistent with view that when powerful states are unable to sufficiently influence weaker ones to control outcomes within an institution, it will produce a change or weakening of institutional rules and procedures (Krasner 1983, 200; Keohane and Nye 1977/1989). If multilateral rules are judged by their ability to prevent devolution to ad hoc bilateralism (Kratochwil 1993) the mandatory UN financing system failed. The US response to its waning influence was to expand a voluntary funding system in which financial contributors were no longer bound by the will of the majority. The system has advantages in its ability to attract donor funds but also produces challenges to achieving coherence and coordination in UN programs and raises questions regarding the representativeness of UN decision-making.”

Link: A la carte withholding of funds could destroy UN unity and impartiality

Prof. Francesco Francioni 2000. (Professor of Law at the University of Siena; Visiting Professor at the University of Oxford; Fellow of Lincoln College) “Multilateralizm a la Carte: The Limits to Unilateral Withholdings of Assessed Contributions to the UN Budget” Published by the European Journal of International Law: <http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org/content/11/1/43.full.pdf> (JE)

“Finally, let us consider the principle of consistency. By this term we mean an attitude of the withholding state that is not contradicted over a period of time by positions that are incompatible with previous interpretations of the law or with previous objections to other members’ views of the law. Since the problem of a la carte has in itself the potential to destroy the unity of the UN multilateral system by transforming it from an impartial institution into a container to accommodate national policies, it is hardly necessary to stress the importance of this test.”

Link: UN peacekeeping effectiveness depends on shared purpose & understanding of all participants

UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support 2009. (UN agency that manages peacekeeping) July 2009, NEW PARTNERSHIP AGENDA: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/newhorizon.pdf>

This DPKO/DFS non-paper calls for a renewed UN peacekeeping partnershipto set a new horizon – a set of achievable immediate, medium and long term goals – to help configure UN peacekeeping to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. This partnership rests on a shared understanding among all stakeholders of the objectives of UN peacekeeping and the role that each plays in their realization: those that authorize peacekeeping, those that implement, those that contribute, those that receive and those that partner with UN peacekeepers. Each partner has a perspective and a contribution to make and each depends on the others for success. A common vision and mutual accountability of all peacekeeping partners are the basis for unity of purpose and effective action. This partnership is the foundation for building capacities for the future.

Impact: Peacekeeping prevents conflict and protects civilians

Dr. Esther Brimmer 2011 (Foreign policy expert; Ph.D., M.A., and B.A. in International Relations; Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the State Department) “How Engagement at the United Nations Benefits the United States” Published by the US State Department , Sept 2011 <http://www.state.gov/p/io/rm/2011/171889.htm> (JE)

“On matters of international peace and security, the UN’s role has been central to several top U.S. foreign policy priorities. UN peacekeepers help prevent conflict and protect civilians around the globe, at a fraction of the cost of sending U.S. troops. Security Council sanctions on Iran have had a significant effect on that regime, including by hampering its efforts to develop nuclear weapons. UN counterterrorism sanctions have isolated terrorists and frozen their assets and those of their supporters.

2. Uncertainty

Link: Voluntary funding lacks certainty, undermining planning and delivery

Joint Inspection Unit 2007. (independent external oversight body of the United Nations system mandated to conduct evaluations, inspections and investigations system-wide): “VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS IN UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONS: Impact on programme delivery and resource mobilization strategies”:<http://www.unjiu.org/data/reports/2007/en2007_01.pdf>

“Programme delivery under annual or biennial programming cycles depends crucially on the flow of funds. A system of funding based on assessed contributions carries some certainty about the level of funding that an organization can expect to receive in a given time frame. Furthermore, the organizations have recourse to incentives and/or sanctions to improve the level of collection of assessed contributions. The lack of predictability associated with voluntary funding, and the absence of equivalent mechanisms to encourage the payments of pledges, can undermine the planning and delivery of programmes and projects in both the short and longer term. The progressive implementation of results-based management (RBM) in United Nations system organizations, with its emphasis on performance and accountability, underlines this dilemma.”

Voluntary funding restricts long-term projects and progress on solving underlying problems

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. in Political Science, Ohio State University; BA in Political Science and International Relations, Boston University; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel University; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012: <http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf> (JE)

“A concern often heard regarding increased reliance on voluntary funding is the difficulties it poses for IO planning (Taylor 1991, 381) (OECD 2005/2008). When organizations cannot count on the reliable flow of resources it is difficult to engage in long term projects. Efforts can become skewed toward tracking easy-to-measure indicators that may not reflect progress in solving underlying problems. This problem would exist under any voluntary funding scheme, however, it is amplified in the multiple principal model where agents must spend time and expense responding not to a single set of demands regarding performance as they would in a collective principal model, but to multiple sets of demands which vary across principals.”

Uniqueness: Assessed contributions ensure the organization has a regular source of income

Congressional Research Service 2010. (Marjorie Ann Browne - Specialist in International Relations; Kennon H. Nakamura - Analyst in Foreign Affairs) “United Nations System Funding: Congressional Issues” Published March 8, 2010: <http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/RL33611_20100308.pdf> (JE)

“Assessed contributions finance the regular budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Payment of the assessed contribution is one of the legal obligations accepted by a country when it joins the organization. In this way, the organization has a regular source of income for staffing and implementation of authorized programs. Most U.N. peacekeeping operations are funded through special assessed accounts created by the U.N. General Assembly.”

Brink & Impact: Loss of voluntary contributions can severely impact program delivery

Joint Inspection Unit 2007. (independent external oversight body of the United Nations system mandated to conduct evaluations, inspections and investigations system-wide): “VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS IN UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONS: Impact on programme delivery and resource mobilization strategies”: <http://www.unjiu.org/data/reports/2007/en2007_01.pdf>

“All organizations are vulnerable to a loss of funding if a major contributor withdraws support. In the case of a significant loss in regular budget resources, it is possible that the remaining Member States might cushion at least some of the impact on the programme budget in order to sustain programme delivery. In organizations that are funded entirely or largely by voluntary contributions, the impact on programme delivery may be more severe. This is particularly so when funding ceases abruptly, as UNFPA experienced recently when a major donor withdrew funding. Most organizations, including the specialized agencies, considered their donor base too narrow, with inherent vulnerabilities for programme delivery. This was also the assessment of most of the representatives of donor countries whom the Inspectors met. The adoption of voluntary indicative scales of contributions should help to alleviate this problem (see recommendation 1 above).”

3. Duplicated Efforts

Link: Voluntary funding leads to duplicated efforts because International Organizations (IOs) “follow the money”

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. in Political Science, Ohio State Univ; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel University; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012: <http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf> (JE)

“A third concern relates to agent incentives to move outside their area of expertise in search of resources. Donor complaints about the need to streamline and reduce duplication in the UN system are ubiquitous; yet the voluntary funding system produces incentives that encourage the problem. In a scarce resource environment, IOs are tempted to “follow the money” by incorporating programs that appeal to donors in order to attract resources regardless of whether they fit the strategic vision set by multilateral bodies (Taylor 1991; Balas 2012). The experience of UN Development Program in environmental affairs is instructive. Despite limited expertise, UNDP has been the most frequent implementing agency for projects in the area of climate change adaptation. The result is unsurprising; recipient state reports often indicate UNDP staff lack the knowledge on climate change issues that is necessary to guide project identification and design. 11 In an evaluation of its own work, UNDP determined that its drive to pursue resources lead to unproductive competition with UNEP and deterred coordination with other agencies (UNDP 2008, viii, 15, 74).

Example: WHO (World Health Organization) pursued costly methods in order to appease donors

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. Political Science, Ohio State Univ; BA in Political Science and International Relations, Boston University; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel Univ; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012: <http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf> (JE)

“For example, member states at the World Health Organization have long been divided over whether improvements in developing country health are better attained through vertical, disease-specific interventions or with long-term capacity-building projects to build local health systems (Cueto 2004). In response the WHO has been all things to all people and pursued programs of both types. Not all consequences of this strategy are negative, but a number are costly. First, pursuing methods that are perceived to be opposed can produce confusion over the ultimate goals of the organization and how it should pursue its mandate (Barnett and Finnemore 1999). In addition, the WHO must become expert in both approaches, develop performance indicators to satisfy donors that disagree over what constitutes success, and report results on the timelines preferred by its many masters.”

Impact: Turn – a less efficient system

4. Inefficient Procedures – Donor Micromanagement

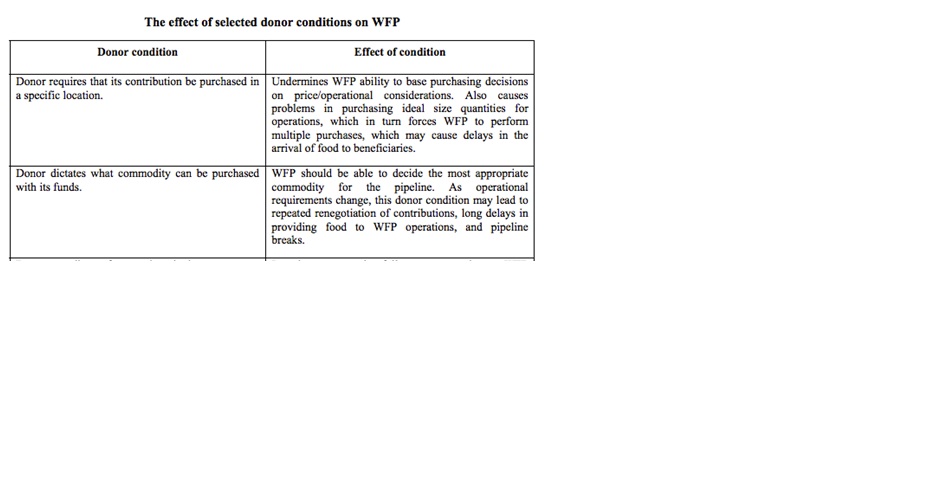
Voluntary funding procedures are costly and problematic

Joint Inspection Unit 2007. (independent external oversight body of the United Nations system mandated to conduct evaluations, inspections and investigations system-wide): “VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS IN UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONS: Impact on programme delivery and resource mobilization strategies”: <http://www.unjiu.org/data/reports/2007/en2007_01.pdf>

“The management of many different donor cycles and procedures can involve high transactions costs. Among these, onerous reporting requirements of specific donors were frequently seen as a problem by the organizations. Small earmarked contributions also carry relatively high administrative costs, but discouraging such donations risks creating a disincentive effect.”

Example: World Food Program shows the impact of donor funding conditions

Joint Inspection Unit 2007. (independent external oversight body of the United Nations system mandated to conduct evaluations, inspections and investigations system-wide): “VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS IN UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONS: Impact on programme delivery and resource mobilization strategies”: <http://www.unjiu.org/data/reports/2007/en2007_01.pdf>



Impact: Turn – a less effective system

5. Uncoordinated Agencies

Competition for voluntary funds reduces cooperation and coordination

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“Indeed, increased competition is a desired effect of proponents of voluntary funds that see a need to improve efficiency. But competition can also reduce cooperation among agencies that see little advantage in paying deference to a division of labor system when that means they will miss out on critical resources. Here the problem of insufficient coordination—today considered among the chief weaknesses in the UN System—is encouraged by multiple masters supplying voluntary funds.”

Impact: Less effective UN system

6. Shifted Priorities

Link: Voluntary funding skews agency priorities and mandates

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. in Political Science, Ohio State Univ; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel University; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012: <http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf> (JE)

“Despite a willingness to pursue voluntary and non-core resources, there is considerable concern at the UN and the Specialized Agencies that increased reliance on these resources undermines the pursuit of formal mandates. UNDP recently pursued an evaluation on the topic and concluded with the mixed message that although voluntary funds had not yet systematically altered UNDP priorities, the continued disparity between core and non-core resources reduced its ability to provide assistance to a wide-range of program countries and respond to global issues that the aid market neglected (UNDP 2001). A number of agencies echo UNDP concerns. The ILO argues growth in voluntary funding limits the flexibility of the Secretariat to pursue its priorities (ILO 2010, 9). Recent analysis of International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA) financing notes the agency is increasingly “forced to allocate funds based on the desires of the donor state, and does not have the latitude to shift resources to meet program needs as they see them” (Boureston and Semmel 2010). An evaluation of UN humanitarian aid between 1994 and 2002 indicates that reliance on voluntary funds contributes to a tendency for political and strategic interests to dictate what constitutes an emergency with one or two appeals for aid dominating the donor agenda (UN General Assembly 2002, 17). Finally, observers of the WHO note that mandatory funds are aligned far more closely with the global burden of disease than voluntary resources because voluntary appeals are only successful when aimed at a disease that captures the public’s attention, like HIV/AIDS or pandemic influenza (Sridhar and Gostin 2011; Gostin 2007). Gostin (2007: 298) goes further to argue that voluntary funding skews priorities and diverts resources from building stable local health systems to meet every day health needs.”

Voluntary contributions can distort program priorities or mandates

Joint Inspection Unit 2007. (independent external oversight body of the United Nations system mandated to conduct evaluations, inspections and investigations system-wide): “VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS IN UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONS: Impact on programme delivery and resource mobilization strategies”: <http://www.unjiu.org/data/reports/2007/en2007_01.pdf>

“A major concern of the Inspectors has been the potential for voluntary contributions to distort programme priorities – or even mandates – of United Nations system organizations. While they recognize that the risk of distortion of mandates is negligible, as these mandates are generally very broad, the distortion of programme priorities remains a risk, since donors can influence the balance of programmes actually delivered through earmarking of contributions. The Secretary-General has expressed similar concern that the risks of distortion of priorities are high, both at the level of the system as a whole, and in relation to the programme thrust and directions of individual organizations. The outcome may be “a concentration of operational work on particular themes that correspond more to donor preferences than to overall programme priorities defined at the national or international levels”. 19 41. The distortion of programme priorities is not easily measurable, but there are clear indications of the influence that donor preferences can bring to bear, including the over- or underfunding of programmes within the programme cycle, and the relative shares in overall voluntary funding of different programmes and sub-programmes and various regions and countries (some examples are shown in box 3 below). An underlying cause of these imbalances is that in donor countries, funds flow from different government agencies with different mandates and priorities.”

Impact: Needs unmet. Voluntary funding shifts focus from recipients of assistance to donors with deep pockets

Prof. Erin R. Graham 2012 (Ph.D. in Political Science, Ohio State Univ; Assistant Professor of Politics, Drexel University; Postdoctoral Fellow, Princeton University, Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance) “Money, Power, and the United Nations: Examining the Causes and Consequences of Voluntary Funding” March 2012: <http://www.princeton.edu/politics/about/file-repository/public/Graham-IR_Colloquium_Draft.pdf> (JE)

“So long as the primary donors in the multiple principal model are not representative of the full population on relevant multilateral bodies, the potential exists for agents to pursue efforts that appeal primarily to a small proportion of their membership and to discount the interests of others. In writing his report on the United Nation’s operational capacity in 1969, Robert Jackson was an early observer of the voluntary system. He noted that most individuals who conveyed their views to the Study, including UN staffers and representatives from member state governments, expressed the view that a significant “donor bias” existed in UN technical assistance that was unreflective of recipient needs (Jackson 1969, 66ff). This view finds many proponents today where a number of critics argue that voluntary funding shifts agenda-setting to those with deep pockets rather that the recipients of UN assistance (Taylor 1991; Dubey 2007, 154-55; Ravishankar et al. 2009).”

7. Federal deficits OR Unfunded peacekeeping

Link: Voluntary funding won't work for Peacekeeping. US would have to go from paying 22% to 100% of important peacekeeping missions if they were voluntarily funded

Ambassador Susan Rice 2011.(US Ambassador to the United Nations)7 Apr 2011 “REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS: THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY” hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/65630.pdf>

Voluntary contributions can work to a certain extent in field operations. It has worked for UNICEF and WFP, as the chairwoman noted in her statement. It doesn’t work when you are talking about peacekeeping operations, the administrative responsibilities that have to be conducted in U.N. headquarters. Let me give you two important examples. The two missions that have contributed most recently to increases in the U.N. regular budget have been the U.N. missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those two missions are directly serving our interests. They have been formed largely at our initiative, to augment and support the work of our troops in the field. We currently pay, under the regular budget, 22 percent of the costs of those missions, which are together over $0.5 billion. If we took the view that we will only pay for those missions that we like—our share is $0.5 billion. If we were to pay for only those missions that we like, we would find ourselves paying 100 percent of costly—or close to 100 percent of costly, important missions like that, rather than 22 percent. And our net costs would quite likely be higher.

LINK TO DEFICIT: If US costs go up, that's bad because the US doesn't have the money, so we have to raise the deficit.

Link: More spending means higher deficits – we're borrowing $100 billion/month right now

Charles Biderman 2012. (Founder and Chief Executive Officer of TrimTabs Investment Research, Inc., an independent investment research firm; M.B.A. from Harvard) Current Government Spending Is Not Creating Enough Growth, FORBES 16 Aug 2012 <http://www.forbes.com/sites/investor/2012/08/16/current-government-spending-is-not-creating-enough-growth/>

To step back, the U.S. government spends $300 billion each but collects only $200 billions in taxes per month. About $140 billion of the $200 billion comes from wages and salaries. That means it has to borrow, create $100 billion each and every month.

Brink: The higher the debt, the greater the risk of a crisis. We need to restrain spending now

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND REFORM 2010. (bipartisan panel appointed by Pres. Obama in 2010 to write a report on ways to solve the imbalance in the federal budget; chaired by Sen. Alan Simpson, Former Republican Senator from Wyoming and Erskine Bowles, Chief of Staff to Pres. Clinton) Dec 2010, “THE MOMENT OF TRUTH - REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND REFORM” (brackets added) [www.fiscalcommission.gov/sites/fiscalcommission.gov/files/documents/TheMomentofTruth12\_1\_2010.pdf](http://www.fiscalcommission.gov/sites/fiscalcommission.gov/files/documents/TheMomentofTruth12_1_2010.pdf)

Predicting the precise level of public debt that would trigger such a crisis is difficult, but a key factor may be whether the debt has been stabilized as a share of the economy or if it continues to rise. Investors, reluctant to risk throwing good money after bad, are sure to be far more concerned about rising debt than stable debt. In a recent briefing on the risk of a fiscal crisis, CBO [Congressional Budget Office] explained that while “there is no identifiable tipping point of debt relative to GDP indicating that a crisis is likely or imminent,” the U.S. debt-to-GDP ratio is “climbing into unfamiliar territory” and “the higher the debt, the greater the risk of such a crisis.” If we do not act soon to reassure the markets, the risk of a crisis will increase, and the options available to avert or remedy the crisis will both narrow and become more stringent. If we wait ten years, CBO projects our economy could shrink by as much as 2 percent, and spending cuts and tax increases needed to plug the hole could nearly double what is needed today. Continued inaction is not a viable option, and not an acceptable course for a responsible government.

Link: Surging debt will bring the US to the Greek scenario

Brian Riedl 2010. (bachelor's degree in economics and political science from the University of Wisconsin, and a master's degree in public affairs from Princeton University; lead budget analyst at Heritage Foundation) 21 June 2010 “The Three Biggest Myths About Tax Cuts and the Budget Deficit” Backgrounder #2423 <http://www.americanprogress.org/events/2009/01/inf/RiedlBrian.html>

The surging budget deficit will likely dominate the national economic debate for years to come. Even after the recession ends, persistent trillion-dollar deficits are projected to double the national debt by the end of the decade. In the absence of reform, the financial markets will eventually respond by withdrawing capital, pushing up interest rates, and demanding immediate budget reforms—much like Greece is currently experiencing.

Impact: People sifting through garbage cans and rioting in the streets...

Landon Thomas 2011. (journalist) NEW YORK TIMES 15 May 2011 Money Troubles Take Personal Toll in Greece <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/16/business/global/16drachma.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1>

Evidence of the emotional and social shock was abundant in Athens last week. Even as I.M.F. and European banking officials worked with Greek officials to hash out the contours of a second bailout package, a nicely dressed middle-aged woman with silver buckles on her shoes sifted through the garbage cans outside the five-star hotels where many of these officials were staying. At dusk, riot police fired tear gas at rock-throwing protesters as tourists and workers on their way home took cover.

LINK TO LOST PEACEKEEPING: If the US simply doesn't pay for the increased cost of peacekeeping (to avoid deficit spending), the peacekeeping missions go unfunded. Without peacekeeping we get these impacts:

Link & Impact: UN peacekeeping solves crises and bolsters peace and stability

Sarah Margon & John Norris 2011. (Margon - Associate Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; master's degree from the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University's and an undergraduate degree from Wesleyan University . Norris - Executive Director of the Sustainable Security and Peacebuilding Initiative at American Progress; Former chief of political affairs for the UN Mission in Nepal; graduate degree in public administration) “Withdrawing from the United Nations: A Misguided Assault” Published by Center for American Progress in April 2011 <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2011/04/pdf/un_report.pdf> (JE)

**“**In countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ivory Coast, and Sudan, U.N. peacekeeping helps address immediate crisis concerns and contributes to broader U.S. foreign policy and strategic objectives, which includes bolstering regional peace and stability, shoring up economic growth and development opportunities, and strengthening the rule of law.”

Impact: UN peacekeeping brought peace and democracy to numerous countries

Dr. Shashi Tharoor 2003. (UN Undersecretary-General for Communications & Public Information; Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy) “Why America Still Needs the United Nations” FOREIGN AFFAIRS October 2003 <http://www.cfr.org/world/why-america-still-needs-united-nations/p7567> (JE)

“Second,despite some well-publicized failures, UN peacekeeping works. The UN's "blue helmets" won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988; since then, they have brought peace and democracy to Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique, and East Timor; helped ease the U.S. burden after regime changes in Haiti and Afghanistan; and policed largely bloodless stalemates from Cyprus to the Golan Heights to Western Sahara.”