## Wilderson

#### Perm do both

#### Perm solves- reconciliation and rhetoric of hope is key to racial justice

John B. Hatch, Assistant Professor of Communication at the University of Dubuque, Rhetoric and Public Affairs, 2006

If substantial and widespread racial reconciliation is ever to occur, then, its advocates must continue to employ a rhetoric of hope and faith. As McPhail laments, believing that whites collectively will take adequate responsibility for their racial history after the evidence of the past five centuries requires "a major leap of faith, the same leap of faith that has historically sustained African American rhetorical practices and theories." [50](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/rhetoric_and_public_affairs/v009/9.2hatch.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22FOOT50) Perhaps reconciliation's rhetoric, which is gaining a wider hearing today than in the past, is what is needed to renew such flagging faith. Indeed, Doxtader has called reconciliation "a working faith in the works of words." **[51](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/rhetoric_and_public_affairs/v009/9.2hatch.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22FOOT51)** It is also a rhetoric of hope, **[52](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/rhetoric_and_public_affairs/v009/9.2hatch.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22FOOT52)** calling forth the power to jointly fashion public goods that do not yet exist—in part by presupposing their reality at some deeper level. Doxtader's statement that reconciliation's comic motives (as I have explicated them) "seem to presuppose a bit of what they are intended to create," **[53](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/rhetoric_and_public_affairs/v009/9.2hatch.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22FOOT53)** while meant as a warning, surely identifies reconciliation's promise as well. Much of the theology of reconciliation draws on the ontological assumption that goodness is more fundamental than evil. Absent such a rhetoric of faith and hope, would Tutu or Mandela have even attempted to bring about reconciliation in South Africa? And does the idea of black reparations for slavery have a chance to gain a hearing, without a hopeful rhetoric of reconciliation? Yet hope is only of value to the extent that it ultimately galvanizes action to transform reality. And the reality of race in America remains largely tragic for blacks, while many whites seem to have their heads in the color-blind clouds. There are glimmers of hope to help reconciliation's proponents keep the faith, such as Brooks's innovative proposal, which infuses the hope of healing into a call for reparations, and the Senate's recent apology for its past record of having blocked anti-lynching legislation until 1968, [54](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/rhetoric_and_public_affairs/v009/9.2hatch.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22FOOT54) an act of redress that sets a precedent for making a slavery apology. However, as Doxtader warns, the comic promise of reconciliation's horizon may not be enough to turn the beneficiaries of oppression back on themselves to question the grounds of their identity (and prosperity). The tragic reality of unequal and conflictual race relations might have to go from bad to worse before reconciliation's call to atonement becomes compelling. In other words, Wilson's second option for making reconciliation viable remains a troublingly live one: "Reconciliation also might have a chance if the United States entered a period of crisis that [End Page 271] threatened the systems that maintain racially disparate power relations." [55](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/rhetoric_and_public_affairs/v009/9.2hatch.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22FOOT55) One can only hope that whites, as well as blacks and the American public as a whole, will recognize reconciliation's kairos in this generation without having to experience some form of social chaos first.

#### Addressing problems created by political institutions is the best way to challenge anti-blackness. Without learning about the institutional and historical context of discriminations, college students are politically ignorant and lack civic agency.

Bush ‘11

Melanie, Associate Professor and Chair, Anthropology & Sociology @ Adelphi University, Everyday Forms of Whiteness: Understanding Race in a “Post-Racial” World, p. 235-236

Carol Geary Schneider, president of the Association of American Colleges and Universities, has been quoted as saying, "Very few courses in the contemporary undergraduate curriculum directly address democratic principles and/or aspirations" (Schneider 1999, 9). She further asked where in the curriculum are students engaged about concepts of justice, democracy, equality, opportunity, and liberty and suggested that these challenging topics belong in general education because they are integral dimensions of American pluralism and must be understood in the context of their historical connections(Schneider 1999, 9). This engagement is central to the development of civic responsibility and social awareness as a core tenet of higher education. While most of the work on civic engagement does not speak to the issues of involvement in political projects or the world of social movements, the history of democracy in the United States alone and certainly globally is one that situates these activities squarely within the realm of liberal education and civic engagement. This may be avoided out of concern for partisanship, because of a perception that service is good, activism is problematic or is a result of efforts to sustain the status quo. Regardless of the reason, it is important to note the significant value that comes from political involvement especially aimed not only on raising awareness or affecting individuals, but also toward structural change(Bush and Little 2009). Learning about political institutions**,** issues, contexts, and practices should be an integral part of that enterprise(liberal arts education). College graduates cannot make sense of their environment and their place in it if they are politically ignorant, unskilled, and lacking in a sense of civic agency, the sense that they can work with others to solve problems that concern them—in their communities, workplaces**,** .. ." (Colby 2008: 8 ) Overall, every opportunity to advance a broad-based and deepened understanding about the global dynamics of white supremacy, including its material impact on the lives of all people, should be pursued. This effort couldcultivate a counter narrative that deals with white racism from "cradle to grave."29 It can also provide incentive tothe large numbers of white peopleoutside the ruling class, whose acceptance of the status quo contributes to the entrenchment of the patterns of racial inequality and injustice that threaten our future, **to** perhaps **redefine their allegiances** and reconfigure their notion of "who's to blame."

#### The Plan Is A Strike Against Neoliberalism and Key to Create a New Vision of Citizenship That Overcomes

Brown 2003

(Wendy, political theorist at UC Berkeley, “Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy” Theory and Event 7:1)

What remains for the Left, then, is to challenge emerging neo-liberal governmentality in EuroAtlantic states with an alternative vision of the good, one that rejects homo oeconomicus as the norm of the human and rejects this norm's correlative formations of economy, society, state and (non)morality. In its barest form, this would be a vision in which justice would not center upon maximizing individual wealth or rights but on developing and enhancing the capacity of citizens to share power and hence, collaboratively govern themselves. In such an order, rights and elections would be the background rather than token of democracy, or better, rights would function to safeguard the individual against radical democratic enthusiasms but would not themselves signal the presence nor constitute the central principle of democracy. Instead a left vision of justice would focus on practices and institutions of shared popular power; a modestly egalitarian distribution of wealth and access to institutions; an incessant reckoning with all forms of power -- social, economic, political, and even psychic; a long view of the fragility and finitude of non-human nature; and the importance of both meaningful activity and hospitable dwellings to human flourishing. However differently others might place the accent marks, none of these values can be derived from neo-liberal rationality nor meet neo-liberal criteria for the good. The development and promulgation of such a counter rationality -- a different figuration of human beings, citizenship, economic life, and the political -- is critical both to the long labor of fashioning a more just future and to the immediate task of challenging the deadly policies of the imperial U.S. state.

**It is necessary to constantly create new, updated rules while working within institution. Some violence is always inevitable inevitable. The plan creates a tension between preserving memories through documentation, and the creation of something absolutely new.**

**Derrida 94**(in “Deconstruction in a Nutshell by John Caputo, written in 1997”)

What is called "deconstruction"--and I will be very sketchy here, because time does not permit detailed analyses--has never, never opposed institutions as such, philosophy as such, discipline as such. Nevertheless, as you rightly said, it is another thing for me to be doing what I am doing here. Because, however affirmative deconstruction is, it is affirmative in a way that is not simply positive, not simply conservative, not simply a way of repeating the given institution. I think that the life of an institution implies that we are able to criticize, to transform, to open the institution to its own future. The paradox in the instituting moment of an institution is that, at the same time that it starts something new, it also continues something, is true to the memory of the past, to a heritage, to something we receive from the past, from our predecessors, from the culture. If an institution is to be an institution, it must to some extent break with the past, keep the memory of the past, while inaugurating something absolutely new [cf. PdS139/ Points130-131]. So, I am convinced that today, although this program to some extent looks like other, similar programs, it does something absolutely new. The indication of this is found not simply in the structural organization of the program, but in the work, in the content of the work, of those who will run this program, the new themes. The fact, for instance, that the faculty includes such topics as Heidegger or deconstruction indicates that they are not simply reproducing, that they are trying to open something new and something original, something that hasn't been done in that way in other, similar universities or programs. So the paradox is that the instituting moment in an institution is violent in a way, violent because it has no guarantee. Although it follows the premises of the past, it starts something absolutely new, and this newness, this novelty, is a risk, is something that has to be risky, and it is violent because it is guaranteed by no previous rules. So, at the same time, you have to follow the rule and to invent a new rule, a new norm, a new criterion, a new law [cf. FL 50-52/ DPJ23]. That's why the moment of institution is so dangerous at the same time. One should not have an absolute guarantee, an absolute norm; we have to invent the rules. I am sure that the responsibility that is taken by my colleagues, and by the students, implies that they give themselves the new rule. There is no responsibility, no decision, without this inauguration, this absolute break. That is what deconstruction is made of: not the mixture but the tension between memory, fidelity, the preservation of something that has been given to us, and, at the same time, heterogeneity, something absolutely new, and a break. The condition of this performative success, which is never guaranteed, is the alliance of these to newness.

## Internal Kritik

### Floating PIKs bad

#### Our interpretation: The negative gets any counterplan that PICs out of part of the plan text and critiques that challenge our assumptions without doing the whole of the plan text

#### -Steals whole of the plan- if they’re correct that we should focus on the policy without risk, their strategy makes it difficult to create any offense, because the plan informs the rest of the aff’s strategy

#### -Unpredictable- could choose any minute turn of phrase in any of our evidence or tags to moot the rest of the 1ac- can’t find evidence on all of them- plus should err heavily aff on this question because people don’t write defenses of these phrases as frequently as they write “dirty word” articles- unpredictability destroys predictable aff literature- moots infinite prep time

#### -Leads to a world of debate with no basis for comparison- must have debates about the relative impact of issues or else can’t figure out who is correct- not saying must use traditional cost benefit analysis, but are saying that some formulation of risk calculus is inevitable

#### We aren’t the apocalyptic risk calculus that you critique. We reconceptualize the kind of neoliberal decision calculus that allows elites to make decisions based on perceived risks to themselves.

#### Instead of abandoning risk calculus, we should reinvent that risk calculus to deal with the kinds of structural violence that’s occurring in the status quo. Divorcing our actions from this calculus leaves us with no way to change the status quo and end this oppression.

#### Perm do both

#### Colorblindness DA- refusing to engage risk calculus and reformulate it is a colorblind risk policy- it’s how we justify ignoring racism by saying that the risk system they’re defending doesn’t see race- while that is true, it actually is racist because it paves over the disproportion risk of health complications dumped onto minority communities and sanctions racism

#### The affirmative is necessary to solve the disaffection of the status quo. Only creating a method by which to discuss siting decisions made by elites can we bring the people in low-income communities affected by these decisions into the conversation. That’s Yamomoto and Lyman.

#### Affirmation of the plan is key- depoliticization of the economy represents an abdication of our creative potential –-we must remain focused even in the face of short term crisis

Ingerid S. Straume in 11 |  PhD in the philosophy of education, Papers by Ingerid S. Chapter in "Depoliticization; The Political Imaginary of Global Capitalism", edited by Straume and Humphrey, NSU Press 2011, <http://uio.academia.edu/IngeridSStraume/Papers/401266/The_Political_Imaginary_of_Global_Capitalism>

Somewhere in the collective imaginary, there is probably a fairly acute sense of the true state of the construction: No person raised and educated in a modern democracy can be totally ignorant of the planet's limited resources, nor of the interdependence between resource levels, policies of growth, industrial production, and the inflated level of consumption in capitalist societies. The problem is not so much to imagine the disasters ahead, but rather to believe in the possibility of change, as I have argued in the opening sections of this essay. To further the analysis, I now turn to my case in point, education. The following is based on the premise that political creation draws on the capacity to visualize that society could have been different, since society, with its norms, values, and institutions, is a social creation. To account for this premise, Cornelius Castoriadis distinguishes between what he calls the 'instituting' and the 'instituted' society. The instituting society is society's capacity for self-creation; it is society's capacity to create itself as a certain social 'form.'The instituted society is the create, i.e., the product of the instituting society, consisting of laws, norms, and institutions in which significations are embodied.  Society is self-creation. That which' creates society and history is the instituting society, as opposed to the instituted society. The instituting society is the social imaginary in the radical sense. The self-institution of society is the creation of a human world: of 'things/ 'reality,' language, norms, values, ways of life and death, objects for which we live and objects for which we dies - and of course, first and foremost, the creation of the human individual in which the institution of society is massively embedded.57 In order to change the existing institutions (the instituted) and create new social imaginary significations, it is necessary to realize that things could be otherwise. If this insight is not properly instituted, however, society will see itself as a product of forces outside its own control. The instituting society remains unacknowledged, and the instituted society is not conceived as created by society itself. For instance, capitalism could be conceived as a law-like force to which the social world is subject - one that can only be followed and cannot questioned in any profound sense.  In the sociological tradition from Max Weber, this 'deep questioning\* — i.e., political-philosophical questioning—is seen as a defining characteristic of the project of modernity itself. In modernity, the existing (traditional) social values are no longer seen as valid per definition, something which has deep implications for conscious social reproduction, and therefore, education. At least since Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud, the critique of culture and civilization is constitutive of the project of modernity, and a premise of theories and practices of education. A striking example is the critical education,' taught in Nordic schools in the 1970s and 80s as a deliberate counter influence to mass culture.38 In the following, I will argue that this self-critique has now started to turn back on itself, where critique threatens to turn into cultural self-contempt. This becomes quite clear if we analyze the typical relationship between parents and children in contemporary global capitalism in light of the previously developed sections of this paper. Together with the rise of' critical consciousness' in Western societies, at least since '1968,' many parents have found themselves in a social and natural setting that they sometimes find undesirable, even disturbing and harmful. For example, the natural surroundings and countryside, which until today have been very important in the socialization of Norwegian children,39 are no longer representations of pure or clean nature. Things in the countryside, in woods, and water, are now potentially harmful in an 'unnatural\* way. This transformation happened in just a few years. The shocking implication is, of course, thathuman beings are the agents of this destruction — humanity is undermining its own existence. From this fact comes the notion of humanity as inherently harmful. And while we cognitively and technically appear to have the capacity, we still seem unable to stop the destruction of the natural environment. The situation is inherently 'pathological.' Now, if and when these ideas enter the field of education via literature, educational programs, etc. the pathology is affirmed and consolidated.  In the Nordic countries, for example, children's literature has tended for some time to thematize adulthood, and especially the shortcomings of adults in political and environmental matters. Books and TV-programs illustrate how 'silly' grown-ups are: always in a hurry and through their grown-up-actions ruining the environment. The authors often try to form an alliance with the children against 'the grown-ups.'60 But since the world of grown-ups is the only resource for the child in the process of becoming an adult self, the subject-position offered to the child in this literature is very problematic. Systematically denigrating adults and adult behavior is detrimental to the child's opportunities for identification, as there are no other ideals available. The child is forced to identify with ambivalence or nothing at all. My main point is that the conflict between adults and children portrayed by this literature points to a deeper conflict, between the culture and the individual — or rather, within the culture itself — where the central imaginary significations that organize Western societies, no longer offer sufficient meaning for its members. And since capitalism's significations  — such as rational mastery, consumerism, and instrumentalism - still provide the compass points for our practical orientation as a collective, the situation is deeply 'schizophrenic' It represents a form of alienation, a split within society's self-image, where the relationship between the instituting and the instituted society is distorted. As Slavoj Zizek has pointed out, we detest it, and we don't believe in it, but we still perform and live it.61 The split runs deep, arising within modern society itself, and there is no (rational) escape. This was tragically demonstrated by the Norwegian socialist minister of finance, who probably felt obliged to pose for the photographer holding shopping bags.  Still, the adult world is the only available template onto which the child's aspiration to grow up can be projected. If this world is discredited, the child is left without the cultural resources necessary to build a self. This is the problem that Hannah Arendt addressed in her controversial essay The Crisis in Education, claiming that: "Anyone who refuses to have joint responsibility for the world should not have children and must not be allowed to take part in educating them."62 In Arendt's view, adults have a duty to hand over an 'intact world\* to the next generation — even when they (the adults) wish to change this world, and wish it were otherwise. Practices of education that ignore, or are unable to follow this principle, are in a state of crisis.  Now, while the crisis I have described here is a socio-cultural one, its manifestations — as always —affect people individually and in relation to one another. For instance, children in capitalist societies express in their wishes and actions the demands of a consumer culture - a culture of which many parents are critical. In other words, the consumption-oriented, seemingly selfish attitudes of the young are, to a large extent, attitudes derived from and reflective of the consumer culture at large — played out as conflicts in the home. Hence, the parent or educator is forced to wrestle with problems far beyond the sphere of the personal and educational, such as consumerism, instrumentalism, reification, and cynicism. The  scene is set for individuals to resist their own culture; a fight they can never' win.' Ambivalence and collective self-contempt takes the stage. Depoliticization, as we have seen, rests on the inability of existing institutions to provide sufficiently robust meaning to act as resources for addressing the political problems of the society in question. Put differently: when a society is not able to justify its own significations, it is alienated from itself and its own creative capacity. Under these circumstances, social reproduction becomes very problematic. The instituting society has given birth to a monster — here, the institution of capitalism — and is paralyzed by it. The deepest effect of depoliticization, therefore, is society's abdication of its own creative capacity, which, as I have argued, also implies cultural and personal suffering.

#### Neoliberal distance is the most proximal cause of problematic risk calc, Elites control communication about risk- forcing them to confront them is a necessary prerequisite to resolving the way risk is calculated in the status quo

**Noah** De Lissovoy **in 08** Capitalism Nature Socialism Volume 19, Issue 1, 2008 Capitalism Nature Socialism Volume 19, Issue 1, 2008, Dialectic of Emergency/Emergency of the Dialectic

"A number of contemporary thinkers have argued that public discourse has become corrupted by an anxious preoccupation with what is immediate or short-term. Thus Jérôme Bindé claims that an orientation to time dominated by emergency thinking neglects our collective responsibility to the future and atrophies the critical imagination.1 The decline of utopian thinking, in this analysis, is associated with a decline in the capacity for relationships with others across past and future generations. Likewise, Henry Giroux argues that the state of paranoia instituted by the “war on terror” should be replaced with a revitalized “public time” that would permit both a critical examination of how history has produced present crises, as well as a democratic deliberation about shared worlds and futures.2 And according to Hasana Sharp, the rule of fear in the present precludes an affirmation of sociality itself, as well as the exercise of democracy.3 I contend in this essay that the shadow cast over contemporary culture by the notion of crisis and emergency is materially grounded within the structure of capitalism itself. Therefore, the present condition cannot simply be redrawn by changing the public conversation. It has been produced, rather, over a considerable amount of time by objective processes. As Bindé points out, the urgency of challenging the irresponsibility of an exclusive orientation to the short term is precisely that we need to respond, over the long term, to a very real social and ecological emergency.4 It is important to recognize the extent to which the sense of emergency time projected by the Bush and Blair administrations after the events of September 11, 2001 is a cynical manipulation—a distraction from both the real reasons for this catastrophe and the real ravages wrought by the system these administrations represent, as well as an excuse for a new phase of imperialist adventurism. The extended paroxysm of fear of the unknown, the Other, and the outside for which this attack has served as the excuse has also become the platform for an energetic expansion of the military and security apparatus, as Mike Davis predicted.5 At another level, however, these proliferating interventions and fortifications themselves, along with a dramatic series of disasters both political and natural, produce a temporality of emergency in the present that is very real. Indeed, the effectiveness of the control over communications by elites depends on the reality that we do experience this other, deeper emergency, in an unarticulated way; thus it becomes an instinctual sense that can be exploited precisely to the extent that it is not properly explored and understood. In this way, the scale and frequency of disaster solicits not only a fanatical millenarianism, but also an immanently rational foreboding and anxiety. The task is to follow the lead of that anxiety in order to discover its real connections, including both its dangers and possibilities. However exploited, redirected, or hystericalized, this underlying intuition is at some level truly responsive and indicates an actual crisis, the terms of which are essential to specify. What can we make of this collective “common sense,” in Gramsci's terms?6 How can it be interrogated and developed into an actual and useful knowledge that might respond to the questions that our historical moment proposes? The essential task of analysis, in this regard, is to move from a simple description of breakdown and mere measurement of panic to the illumination of a problem. Chaos refuses an explanation, but a crisis has causes—it represents a contradiction, a clash of "imperatives and principles that can be identified. "

#### Failure to repoliticize the economy will result in elite takeover of public institutions – effectively neutralizing the potential to check neoliberal economic policy

Dulci, 2k9

[Otavio Soares, sociologist and political scientist and is a professor in international relations at PUC-Minas, *Economics and Politics in the Global Crisis*, Estud. Av. Vol.23 Sao Paulo, 2009]

The latter returned in a recycled manner, presented as an alternative to the crisis of the State. The scale tipped toward the market. **The principle of depoliticization of the economy gained space and was made concrete in the privatization initiatives**, **deregulation and reduction of government role** (as well as of its size and cost). **But the handling of political resources**, **the means of control and power**, **was essential for all of this to take place**. Only through ideological credulity could it be said that the market would recover its function as a spontaneous skeleton of social life. From the time period suggested above, we could infer that the neoliberal globalization project was affirmed dialectically, through confrontations against internal antagonists (unions, civil servants, social movements) or external ones (the communist block and later the terrorist networks and the “Axis of Evil”), nourished by constant mobilization against real or manufactured enemies. **The hegemony of financial capitalism could only be achieved by political means**, **through the opportune management of power resources**. This can be demonstrated by a study of the relations between economic and political elites in several countries. **The image of a “revolving door” has been used to portray the constant circulation of members of the elites through government positions and private companies**. **Such interchange is notorious in the financial field and affects the governability of the system**, **as the current crisis has made clear**. **Perhaps this reality is what could be expected from a “less government**, **more market” movement**, **meaning less power to the public bureaucracy and more power to business**, **bankers and private managers in general**. It does make sense as long as the responsibilities are properly shared. **Hegemony**, to recall Gramsci, **is intellectual and moral leadership**. **For this reason**, **one of the principal consequences of the crisis is that the absolute power of financial capital has been put into question**. Capitalism as a system is not at risk, but **the banks**, **investment institutions**, **risk analysis agencies and all of the paraphernalia that developed around them**, **have lost clout**. **To rebuild their reputation**, **the banks and financial market agents will have to reestablish their primordial function as support for the real economy**. This is a normative proposition but has a practical side, given that the big international banks are not able to confront the crisis without government help. **Therefore**, **they must submit to certain political conditions**. The governments, representing public opinion, demand greater transparency and management austerity, given the revelations of huge salaries, benefits and gratifications bestowed on the administrators of banks and institutions on the brink of insolvency. A true salary bubble was revealed, which was not linked to reality. Even worse, it was not tied to the interests of the companies themselves, which were paying dearly for those who led them to the abyss for short term gains. **Nothing could be farther from the puritan ethic that justified capitalism**. **With the government rescue of banks and companies**, **the principle of separation between the economy and politics was broken**. In other words, **governments** once again **came to participate directly in the game**, **and in a strong position**. Even if this is seen as an emergency measure, **it is a situation that moves the pendulum toward the State**, **as occurred in the crisis that began in 1929**. Is it possible that we are facing the end of an era, as in the 1930s? he comparison between the two crises has been frequent, and not by chance. The causes of both events were quite similar. The direction of the process has also followed the same course, from the center to the periphery of the world capitalist system. Both began in the financial arena and extended to the real economy. Or, according to the suggestive expression used in U.S. debate, the crisis began on Wall Street and spread to Main Street, where the common citizens live. Nevertheless, the world was very different 80 years ago. It was more rural and provincial than today. Many of the current countries were still colonies. Trade was more limited, and the scale of transactions relatively modest. The international division of labor distinguished the few industrial countries from the others, which sold agricultural products or minerals and purchased manufactured goods. In any case, the political and social consequences of the crash of 1929 are worth considering. They were of broad scope. **There was a collapse in the belief in liberal values and in a world guided by the self-regulated market**. **In its place**, as we indicated before, active, **interventionist governments asserted themselves**, varying from moderate to deep intervention and even total intervention (totalitarianism). The central values of the 1930s were the strong state, nationalism, racism, corporativism, the command economy and widespread politicization of social life. Due to the economic crisis, countries became more insulated. Each attempted to survive on its own. Trade and exchange declined. The international order was compromised, the arms race expanded and a solution for global disorder was only achieved at the end of a long world war which cost millions of lives. The only positive balance was the emphasis on the social question. Although in many cases (as in Brazil), that advance replaced a constructive approach to the question of democracy. T he most ominous political consequences of that time – dictatorships and war – do not seem probable, at least in the short term. Nevertheless, xenophobia and racial pressures cannot be discarded. They are already manifest in ethnic conflicts in Europe and other continents, and could be aggravated by the unemployment generated by the economic crisis. Barriers to immigration could certainly be tightened, and, in any case, the exodus of the poor towards the rich countries is not likely in times of want. If the flow is inverted, and immigrants return home, how will they be re-integrated, and what are the consequences of the lost flow of foreign currency which immigrants had sent from abroad? In the Central American countries, for example, those resources represent an important portion of national income. In the economic arena, there are certain analogies that are not surprising. One impulse similar to that found in the Depression is protectionism. The initial U.S. measures to confront the economic crisis, for example, displayed a tendency to treat it as an internal problem that did not involve the rest of the world. Their autism was revealed in the congressional attempts to introduce protective “buy American” clauses in the Obama government’s large public spending package. Of course broad reactions from abroad led legislators to review the package – particularly because the U.S. has often made open market demands on other countries. In situations such as that which the world is undergoing, there is a broad call for governments to act quickly and decisively, looking only inwards. Even so, **it is important to indicate that the best alternative to overcome the crisis is represented by coordinated measures**, **instead of each country for himself efforts**. **Unlike 1929**, **there is now an embryo of global governance composed of multilateral entities and government forums** (particularly G-20), **which are capable of promoting the search for joint solutions**. **Insofar as the various interests and needs are placed on the agenda**, **we have a chance to advance in a constructive direction**. **This would mean**, among other things, **focusing on production and labor more than on financial capitalism and on unchecked rent seeking**, **and also to approach the planet’s environmental challenges**. **A crisis involves risks**, **but also creates opportunities**. **The current crisis curbed the “irrational exuberance” of globalized capitalism and the unsustainable pace of consumption and use of resources which**, **as we well know**, **are not unlimited**. **The opportunity to rethink this route is essential and cannot be lost**.

#### Neoliberalism has cloaked social injustice to undercut action based on shared responsibility

Giroux 3-20

Professor @ McMaster University in the English and Cultural Studies Department

Henry, “Gated Intellectuals and Ignorance in Political Life: Toward a Borderless Pedagogy in the Occupy Movement,” http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/8009-gated-intellectuals-and-ignorance-in-political-life-toward-a-borderless-pedagogy-in-the-occupy-movement

Neoliberalism or market fundamentalism as it is called in some quarters and its army of supporters cloak their interests in an appeal to "common sense," while doing everything possible to deny climate change, massive inequalities, a political system hijacked by big money and corporations, the militarization of everyday life and the corruption of civic culture by a consumerist and celebrity-driven advertising machine. The financial elite, the 1 percent and the hedge fund sharks have become the highest-paid social magicians in America. They perform social magic by making the structures and power relations of racism, inequality, homelessness, poverty and environmental degradation disappear. And in doing so, they employ deception by seizing upon a stripped-down language of choice, freedom, enterprise and self-reliance - all of which works to personalize responsibility, collapse social problems into private troubles and reconfigure the claims for social and economic justice on the part of workers, poor minorities of color, women and young people as a species of individual complaint. But this deceptive strategy does more. It also substitutes shared responsibilities for a culture of diminishment, punishment and cruelty. The social is now a site of combat, infused with a live-for-oneself mentality and a space where a responsibility toward others is now gleefully replaced by an ardent, narrow and inflexible responsibility only for oneself. When the effects of structural injustice become obscured by a discourse of individual failure, human misery and misfortune, they are no longer the objects of compassion, but of scorn and derision. In recent weeks, we have witnessed Rush Limbaugh call Georgetown law student Sandra Fluke a "slut" and "prostitute"; US Marines captured on video urinating on the dead bodies of Afghanistan soldiers; and the public revelation by Greg Smith, a Goldman Sachs trader, that the company was so obsessed with making money that it cheated and verbally insulted its own clients, often referring to them as "muppets."(2) There is also the mass misogyny of right-wing extremists directed against women's reproductive rights, which Maureen Dowd rightly calls an attempt by "Republican men to wrestle American women back into chastity belts."(3) These are not unconnected blemishes on the body of neoliberal capitalism. They are symptomatic of an infected political and economic system that has lost touch with any vestige of decency, justice and ethics.

#### Neoliberal hegemony uses exceptionalism to render its violent side effects invisible, ensuring environmental destruction and global conflict- be suspicious of all their answers because their means of structuring the social field erases vast sectors of the global population from view

Nixon ‘11

(Rob, Rachel Carson Professor of English, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor, pgs. 33-36)

There are signs that the environmental humanities are beginning to make some tentative headway toward incorporating the impact of U.S. imperialism on the poor in the global South-Vitalis's book America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier (2008) is an outstanding instance, as are powerful recent essays by Elizabeth DeLoughrey on the literatures associated with American nuclear colonialism in the Pacific, Susie O'Brien on Native food security, colonialism, and environmental heritage along the U.S-Mexican border, and Pablo Mukherjee's groundbreaking materialist work on Indian environmental literatures,'? Yet despite such vitally important initiatives, the environmental humanities in the United States remain skewed toward nation-bound scholarship that is at best tangentially international and, even then, seldom engages the environmental fallout of U.S. foreign policy head on. What's at stake is not just disciplinary parochialism but, more broadly, what one might call superpower parochialism, that is, a combination of American insularity and America's power as the preeminent empire of the neoliberal age to rupture the lives and ecosystems of non- Americans, especially the poor, who may live at a geographical remove but who remain intimately vulnerable to the force fields of U.S. foreign policy. To be sure, the U.S. empire has historically been a variable force, one that is not monolithic but subject to ever-changing internal fracture. The U.S., moreover, has long been-and is increasingly-globalized itself with all the attendant insecurities and inequities that result. However, to argue that the United States is subject to globalization-through, for example, blowback from climate change-does not belie the disproportionate impact that U.S. global ambitions and policies have exerted over socioenvironmental landscapes internationally. Ecocritics-and literary scholars more broadly-faced with the challenges of thinking through vast differences in spatial and temporal scale commonly frame their analyses in terms of interpenetrating global and local forces. In such analyses cosmopolitanism-as a mode of being linked to particular aesthetic strategies-does much of the bridgework between extremes of scale. What critics have subjected to far less scrutiny is the role of the national-imperial as a mediating force with vast repercussions, above all, for those billions whom Mike Davis calls "the global residuum.'?" Davis's image is a suggestive one, summoning to mind the remaindered humans, the compacted leavings on whom neoliberalism's inequities bear down most heavily. Yet those leavings, despite their aggregated dehumanization in the corporate media, remain animate and often resistant in unexpected ways; indeed, it is from such leavings that grassroots antiglobalization and the environmentalism of the poor have drawn nourishment. As American writers, scholars, and environmentalists how can we attend more imaginatively how can we attend more imaginatively to the outsourced conflicts inflamed by our unsustainable consumerism, by our military adventurism and unsurpassed arms industry, and by the global environmental fallout over the past three decades of American-led neoliberal economic policies? (The immense environmental toll of militarism is particularly burdensome: in 2009, U.S. military expenditure was 46.5 percent of the global total and exceeded by 10 percent the expenditure of the next fourteen highest-ranked countries combined.)" How, moreover, can we engage the impact of our outsized consumerism and militarism on the life prospects of people who are elsewhere not just geographically but elsewhere in time, as slow violence seeps long term into ecologies-rural and urban-on which the global poor must depend for generations to come? How, in other words, can we rethink the standard formulation of neoliberalism as internationalizing profits and externalizing risks not just in spatial but in temporal terms as well, so that we recognize the full force with which the externalized risks are out sourced to the unborn? It is a pervasive condition of empires that they affect great swathes of the planet without the empire's populace being aware of that impact-indeed, without being aware that many of the affected places even exist. How many Americans are aware of the continuing socioenvironrnental fallout from U.S. militarism and foreign policy decisions made three or four decades ago in, say, Angola or Laos? How many could even place those nation-states on a map? The imperial gap between foreign policy power and on-the-street awareness calls to mind George Lamming's shock, on arriving in Britain in the early 1950s, that most Londoners he met had never heard of his native Barbados and lumped together all Caribbean immigrants as Jamaicans.'?' What I call superpower parochialism has been shaped by the myth of American exceptionalism and by a long-standing indifference-in the U.S. educational system and national media-to the foreign, especially foreign history, even when it is deeply enmeshed with U.S. interests. Thus, when considering the representational challenges posed by transnational slow violence, we need to ask what role American indifference to foreign history has played in camouflaging lasting environmental damage inflicted elsewhere. If all empires create acute disparities between global power and global knowledge, how has America's perception of itself as a young, forward-thrusting nation that claims to flourish by looking ahead rather than behind exacerbated the difficulty of socioenvironmental answerability for ongoing slow violence?" Profiting from the asymmetrical relations between a domestically regulated environment and unregulated environments abroad is of course not unique to America, But since World War II, the United States has wielded an unequalled power to bend the global regulatory climate in its favor. As William Finnegan notes regarding the Washington Consensus, "while we make the world safe for multinational corporations, it is by no means clear that they intend to return the favor."? The unreturned favor weighs especially heavily on impoverished communities in the global South who must stake their claims to environmental justice in the face of the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank, the IMF), the World Trade Organization, and the G8 (now G20) over which the United States has exercised disproportionate influence. That influence has been exercised, as well, through muscular conservation NGOs (the Nature Conservancy, the World Wild- life Fund, and Conservation International prominent among them) that have a long history of disregarding local human relations to the environment in order to implement American- and European-style conservation agendas. Clearly, the beneficiaries of such power asymmetries are not just American but transnational corporations, NGOs, and governments from across the North's rich nations, often working hand-in-fist with authoritarian regimes.

## Case

### **mining**

The K fails to account for the complexity of the decision making process in Native American tribes. Siding solely with the environmental movement fails to interrogate the larger problems involved in decisions about mines and waste storage.

Yamamoto and Lyman 1

Eric K, Hawaii Law School law prof., and Jen-L W, UC Berkeley visiting law prof., University of Colorado Law Review, 72 U. Colo. L. Rev. 311, Spring, p. 311-313, ln

For example, as Native communities endeavor to ameliorate conditions of poverty and social dislocation by encouraging the economic development of tribal lands, some increasingly find themselves in conflict with environmentalists, who are sometimes but not always environmental justice advocates. In the mining industry, several Native American tribes are attempting to tap mineral resources on their reservations. [n50](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937#n50) Urged by the increased emphasis on economic self-determination in federal Native American policy in the 1970s, the tribes formed the Council of Energy Resource Tribes to deal  [\*322]  with both the siting of new mines on Native American lands and the environmental and the cultural problems that might result. [n51](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937#n51) Those efforts met stiff opposition from some environmental groups concerned mainly with land degradation and pollution. The environmentalists' seeming lack of understanding of the economic and cultural complexity of the Native American groups' decisions have led some Native Americans to express cynicism about environmentalists who sometimes treat them as mascots for the environmental cause. [n52](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937#n52)

#### **Court of appeals has suspended Yucca operations.**

WNN ‘12

World Nuclear News, “Yucca Mountain court case on hold,” 06 August 2012, http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/RS-Yucca\_Mountain\_court\_case\_on\_hold-0608127.html

US appeal court judges have ruled that a case seeking a resumption of licensing work for a nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain will be put on hold, despite agreeing that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) cannot legally give up work on the application.¶ The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia has ruled that the case be held in abeyance for up to four months pending finalization of fiscal 2013 funding appropriations. Petitioners led by Aiken County brought the proceedings seeking a writ of mandamus, which would effectively force the licence application work to be resumed.¶ According to circuit judge Brett Kavanaugh, the NRC has said it does not have sufficient appropriated funds to complete the licensing. While the NRC has "no legal authority" to refuse to carry out the work, the court has ruled that it will await the 2013 federal appropriations bill, which could allocate funding for Yucca Mountain licence work. The parties must file information on the FY2013 appropriations by 14 December.¶ US nuclear industry representatives reacted to the court decision with dismay. Ellen Ginsberg vice president and general counsel for the Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI) said the US industry was "disappointed" that the court had not taken the opportunity to directly address the NRC's "unambiguous statutory obligation". David Wright, president of the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners (NARUC) said that the decision would serve to delay the "inevitable" decision to compel the resumption of the licence review. "While we would have preferred that the court act now instead of waiting on Congress, it seems clear that the majority of the judges favour our request that the agency be ordered back to work," he said.¶

#### We cannot condemn all decisions to store nuclear waste as misguided and wrong. We should at least consider the notion that Native Americans are making calculated decisions balancing social and economic needs with health and environmental concerns.

Yamamoto and Lyman 1

Eric K, Hawaii Law School law prof., and Jen-L W, UC Berkeley visiting law prof., University of Colorado Law Review, 72 U. Colo. L. Rev. 311, Spring, p. 311-313, ln

Some commentators on environmental racism treat the meaning of race with sophistication. [n101](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n101) The established framework, however, tends to engender formal-race analysis and thus to encourage writing about environmental racism without [\*329] explanation of, or sometimes even use of, the term, "race." [n102](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n102) By not acknowledging race and racial context, these writings are limited. However otherwise illuminating, they do not address: (1) racial groups' (or subgroups') differing understandings of "the environment," and of "race" itself; (2) groups' differing spiritual, cultural, and economic connections to the environment; and (3) the importance of the environment to the groups' identities. By treating all racial groups alike, they fail to provide analytical and organizational frameworks for understanding specific environmental justice problems and for tailoring actual remedies to meet the needs and goals of different racial communities. The writings tend to embody a one-size-fits-all approach, overlooking distinct historical experiences of particular communities of color and their current cultural and economic concerns. [n103](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n103)¶ In doing so, the writings sometimes ignore the distinct sovereignty-based claims of Native Americans. [n104](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n104) For example, [\*330] stories of waste disposal on Native American reservations recently inspired a series of derisively titled news articles, "Dances with Garbage." [n105](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n105) The Campo Band in California decided to build a waste landfill on its reservation, sparking vehement protest not from tribal members, but from non-Native local residents. [n106](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n106) In New Mexico, the Mescalero Apaches are negotiating with a private company to locate a monitored, retrievable storage nuclear waste facility on their lands, inciting the wrath of non-Native neighbors. [n107](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n107)¶ These stories turn sideways traditional environmentalist notions of Native Americans as the primitive foot soldiers in the war against pollution. The disputes also destabilize the conventional wisdom of the environmental justice movement that opposes as discriminatory the siting of the same sort of waste disposal facilities that some Native tribes are cautiously inviting onto their lands. [n108](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n108) Viewed paternalistically, the question might be: Are the tribes acting against their better judgment, imperiling both the environment and themselves? Viewed critically, the question might be different: Are the tribes, after calculation, exercising rights of self-determination [\*331] in order to build an economic base to assure cultural and political survival?¶ Context is key here in framing the relevant question. In the Campo Band's situation, poverty, poor land quality, and location played important roles. [n109](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n109) But other factors contributed, including the tribe's ability to dictate contractual terms, to establish health and safety standards [n110](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n110) and, significantly, to counter the ongoing assault on tribal economic sovereignty by non-Natives outside the reservation. [n111](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n111) According to their attorneys, the major problem facing tribes seeking to build commercial waste disposal projects is not the "environment," but "power and race." [n112](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n112) The "clear implication [from outsiders] is that Indians lack the intelligence to balance and protect adequately their own economic and environmental interests. [But w]e need the support and understanding of the environmental community, not its protection." [n113](http://www.lexisnexis.com/lnacui2api/frame.do?reloadEntirePage=true&rand=1348080173825&returnToKey=20_T15565693953&parent=docview&target=results_DocumentContent&tokenKey=rsh-20.92817.33560959937" \l "n113) Contextual analysis, thus, reveals different questions: How might a tribe's decision to site such a facility on its lands enhance tribal efforts to improve education, health, elder care, housing, and care for other tribal lands? With what social and economic tradeoffs? And who should make the judgment call?

**While the neg glosses over these distinctions, only the aff not only recognizes them, but also seeks to address the most proximal cause. Some tribes are inviting nuclear waste after doing careful calculus, because they believe it will ensure their political survival, but they shouldn’t have to ensure both political and cultural survival by having dangerous technology on their lands. The only way to destroy these cycles where minorities are forced to take on burdens in order to survive is to close the neoliberal distance between elite decision makers and the long term decisions they make.**

**Nuclear waste is stored on site in the SQ- means it would be stored in white, affluent neighborhood- amplifies the perm.**

### Water

#### No radiation leaks

Gray ‘9

John Gray. Associate at Perkins Coie. Choosing the nuclear option: the case for a strong regulatory response to encourage nuclear energy development. 41 Ariz. St. L.J. 315-348 (2009).

Another similar, but equally unwarranted concern claims nuclear radiation from power plants causes health problems. These arguments ignore nuclear plants' safety and the amount of radiation actually generated, which accounts for only 0.1% of the average American's radioactive exposure. n108 In fact, some fossil fuel plants release up to one hundred times as much radiation as nuclear plants emit, n109 and injuries involved in producing fossil fuel energy, such as from extracting coal, oil, or natural gas, are ten-or even forty-fold higher than deaths from domestic nuclear power accidents or radiation. n110 In fact, even X-ray machines, mining, transportation, and waste storage are much more likely to expose people to radiation than are nuclear power plants. n111 For example, a person would [\*334] have to live next to a nuclear plant for two thousand years to receive the same amount of radiation from a single X-ray. n112 Furthermore, even if a person received an unusually high dose of radiation from a nuclear plant, no credible evidence suggests that it would cause serious health problems. n113 In fact, studies have contradicted the link between any health problems and nuclear power plant radiation. n114