# \*\*Career and Technical Education Case Neg\*\*

[\*\*CTE Case Negative\*\* 1](#_Toc492479851)

[File Notes 3](#_Toc492479852)

[Competitiveness Advantage Answers 4](#_Toc492479853)

[Competitiveness Advantage – 1NC 5](#_Toc492479854)

[Ext. #1 – Status Quo Solves 9](#_Toc492479858)

[Ext. #2 – Alt Causes 10](#_Toc492479859)

[Ext. #3 – Competitiveness Theory Wrong 11](#_Toc492479860)

[Ext. #4 – Not Key to Hegemony 12](#_Toc492479861)

[Ext. #5 – No Hegemony Impact 14](#_Toc492479863)

[Cyber Advantage Answers 15](#_Toc492479864)

[Cyber Advantage – 1NC 16](#_Toc492479865)

[Ext. #1 – Status Quo Solves 20](#_Toc492479868)

[Ext. #3 – No Cyber Impact 21](#_Toc492479869)

[Solvency Answers 22](#_Toc492479870)

[Solvency – 1NC 23](#_Toc492479871)

[Ext. #1 – CTE Teacher Shortage 29](#_Toc492479877)

[Ext. #2 – Liberal Arts Turn 30](#_Toc492479878)

[Ext. #4 – Social Innovation Financing Bad 34](#_Toc492479882)

[State Budgets Add-On Answers 35](#_Toc492479883)

[2NC – Aff Can’t Solve 36](#_Toc492479884)

[2NC – Pension Crisis False 37](#_Toc492479885)

[2NC – Economy Recovering 40](#_Toc492479888)

[2NC – No Economy Impact 42](#_Toc492479890)

### File Notes

The Career and Technical Education (CTE) Negative contains answers to the CTE Affirmative’s Competitiveness Advantage, Cyber Advantage, Solvency, and State Budgets Add-On.

To respond to the Competitiveness Advantage, the negative has 5 arguments. First, that employment in STEM careers is increasing now. Second, that there are many other factors besides education that affect competitiveness. Third, that the theory of competitiveness is wrong and that economic growth is not a zero-sum game between nations. Fourth, that US military strength is resilient. And finally, that US hegemony is not essential to world stability.

To respond to the Cyber Advantage, the negative has 3 arguments. First, that more cyber workers are being educated in the status quo. Second, that a destructive cyber attack on the grid is unlikely. Finally, that the threat of cyberwar is massively exaggerated.

To respond to Solvency, the negative has 4 arguments. First, that a teacher shortage makes effective CTE impossible. Second, that CTE trades off with liberal arts, which is ultimately better for the economy. Third, that participants won’t take enough courses to be successful. And finally, that social innovation financing fails as a way to fund programs.

To answer the State Budgets Add-On, the negative has 4 arguments. First, that the affirmative doesn’t provide enough money to fix state budgets. Second, that the pension crisis is overblown. Third, that the US economy is recovering now. And fourth, that there is no conflict as a result of economic decline.

## Competitiveness Advantage Answers

### Competitiveness Advantage – 1NC

#### 1. STEM employment is growing now

ESA, 3-30-2017 ( Economics & Statistics Administration United States Department of Commerce “ STEM Jobs: 2017 Update” <http://www.esa.doc.gov/reports/stem-jobs-2017-update//)MBA> HBJ

Science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) workers help drive our nation's innovation and competitiveness by generating new ideas and new companies.1 For example, workers who study or are employed in these fields are more likely to apply for, receive, and commercialize patents.2 STEM knowledge also has other benefits; while often very specialized, it can be transferred to a wide variety of careers, particularly management occupations, while increased technology in the workplace means that, to handle non-repetitive tasks, workers need the critical thinking and technical skills that come with STEM training.3 A wealth of data is produced by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics on many aspects of the STEM economy. Using data from these agencies, particularly the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) and American Community Survey (ACS), allows us to look closely at the trends in STEM and perform a detailed analysis of wages and employment that goes beyond most published studies on STEM. This report, the first in a series of upcoming reports from OCE on the STEM economy, is an update of findings from our previous report, "STEM: Good Jobs Now and for the Future." Future reports will update previous research by this office on sex, race, and ethnicity in STEM jobs, as well as present new findings about the geography of STEM jobs and the skills needed to participate in this vital sector of the economy. Key findings for this update, which are consistent with previous research, including research done by the Office of the Chief Economist (OCE) are that: In 2015, there were 9.0 million STEM workers in the United States. About 6.1 percent of all workers are in STEM occupations, up from 5.5 percent just five years earlier. Employment in STEM occupations grew much faster than employment in non-STEM occupations over the last decade (24.4 percent versus 4.0 percent, respectively), and STEM occupations are projected to grow by 8.9 percent from 2014 to 2024, compared to 6.4 percent growth for non- STEM occupations.

#### 2. Tons of alt causes to competitiveness – infrastructure, financial markets, etc.

Porter 5 [Michael, “What Is Competitiveness?”, January-April, http://insight.iese.edu/doc.aspx?id=00438&ar=7&idioma=2]

What Matters for Competitiveness Almost everything matters for competitiveness. The schools matter, the roads matter, the financial markets matter and customer sophistication matters. These and other aspects of a nation's circumstances are deeply rooted in a nation's institutions, people and culture. This makes improving competitiveness a special challenge, because there is no single policy or grand step that can create competitiveness, only many improvements in individual areas that inevitably take time to accomplish. Improving competitiveness is a marathon, not a sprint. How to sustain momentum in improving competitiveness over time is among the greatest challenges facing countries.

### Competitiveness Advantage – 1NC

#### 3. Competition theory is wrong – economic growth isn’t zero-sum

Galama and Hosek, 8 – Ph.D. and M.Sc. in physics AND .D. and M.A. in economics [Titus Galama – Ph.D. and M.Sc. in physics, University of Amsterdam; M.B.A. in business, INSEAD, Fontainebleau, France, James Hosek – Ph.D. and M.A. in economics, University of Chicago; B.A. in English, Cornell University, “U.S. Competitiveness in Science and Technology”, 2008, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG674.pdf>, SM]

In work published over a decade ago, economist Paul Krugman questions whether the notion of competition in S&T is even relevant. He argues that the idea that nations “compete” is incorrect; countries are not like corporations and “are [not] to any important degree in economic competition with each other” (Krugman, 1994). Major industrial nations sell products that compete with each other, yet these nations are also each other’s main export markets and each other’s main suppliers of useful imports. More broadly, international trade is not a zero-sum game. For example, if the European economy does well, this helps the United States by providing it with larger markets and goods of superior quality at lower prices. Further, he argues that the growth rate of U.S. living standards essentially equals the growth rate of domestic productivity, not U.S. productivity relative to competitors; and enhancing domestic productivity is in the hands of Americans, not foreigners. Part of the reason for this, Krugman argues, is that the world is not as interdependent as one would think: 90 percent of the U.S. economy consists of goods and services produced for domestic use, i.e., produced by Americans, for Americans. But this is not to deny the importance of technological progress, and beneath it, science and technology, as a determinant of economic progress and improvement in the standard of living.

### Competitiveness Advantage – 1NC

#### 4. US military might is resilient

Zakaria 8 **–** Newsweek editor, IR badass (Fareed, The Future of American Power, Foreign Affairs, May/June,)

This difference between the United States and Britain is reflected in the burden of their military budgets. Britannia ruled the seas but never the land. The British army was sufficiently small that Otto von Bismarck once quipped that were the British ever to invade Germany, he would simply have the local police force arrest them. Meanwhile, London's advantage over the seas -- it had more tonnage than the next two navies put together -- came at ruinous cost. The U.S. military, in contrast, dominates at every level -- land, sea, air, space -- and spends more than the next 14 countries combined, accounting for almost 50 percent of global defense spending. The United States also spends more on defense research and development than the rest of the world put together. And crucially, it does all this without breaking the bank. U.S. defense expenditure as a percent of GDP is now 4.1 percent, lower than it was for most of the Cold War (under Dwight Eisenhower, it rose to ten percent). As U.S. GDP has grown larger and larger, expenditures that would have been backbreaking have become affordable. The Iraq war may be a tragedy or a noble endeavor, but either way, it will not bankrupt the United States. The price tag for Iraq and Afghanistan together -- $125 billion a year -- represents less than one percent of GDP. The war in Vietnam, by comparison, cost the equivalent of 1.6 percent of U.S. GDP in 1970, a large difference. (Neither of these percentages includes second- or third-order costs of war, which allows for a fair comparison even if one disputes the exact figures.) U.S. military power is not the cause of its strength but the consequence. The fuel is the United States' economic and technological base, which remains extremely strong. The United States does face larger, deeper, and broader challenges than it has ever faced in its history, and it will undoubtedly lose some share of global GDP. But the process will look nothing like Britain's slide in the twentieth century, when the country lost the lead in innovation, energy, and entrepreneurship. The United States will remain a vital, vibrant economy, at the forefront of the next revolutions in science, technology, and industry. In trying to understand how the United States will fare in the new world, the first thing to do is simply look around: the future is already here. Over the last 20 years, globalization has been gaining breadth and depth. More countries are making goods, communications technology has been leveling the playing field, capital has been free to move across the world -- and the United States has benefited massively from these trends. Its economy has received hundreds of billions of dollars in investment, and its companies have entered new countries and industries with great success. Despite two decades of a very expensive dollar, U.S. exports have held ground, and the World Economic Forum currently ranks the United States as the world's most competitive economy. GDP growth, the bottom line, has averaged just over three percent in the United States for 25 years, significantly higher than in Europe or Japan. Productivity growth, the elixir of modern economics, has been over 2.5 percent for a decade now, a full percentage point higher than the European average. This superior growth trajectory might be petering out, and perhaps U.S. growth will be more typical for an advanced industrialized country for the next few years. But the general point -- that the United States is a highly dynamic economy at the cutting edge, despite its enormous size -- holds. Consider the industries of the future. Nanotechnology (applied science dealing with the control of matter at the atomic or molecular scale) is likely to lead to fundamental breakthroughs over the next 50 years, and the United States dominates the field. It has more dedicated "nanocenters" than the next three nations (Germany, Britain, and China) combined and has issued more patents for nanotechnology than the rest of the world combined, highlighting its unusual strength in turning abstract theory into practical products. Biotechnology (a broad category that describes the use of biological systems to create medical, agricultural, and industrial products) is also dominated by the United States. Biotech revenues in the United States approached $50 billion in 2005, five times as large as the amount in Europe and representing 76 percent of global biotech revenues. Manufacturing has, of course, been leaving the country, shifting to the developing world and turning the United States into a service economy. This scares many Americans, who wonder what their country will make if everything is "made in China." But Asian manufacturing must be viewed in the context of a global economy. The Atlantic Monthly's James Fallows spent a year in China watching its manufacturing juggernaut up close, and he provides a persuasive explanation of how outsourcing has strengthened U.S. competitiveness. What it comes down to is that the real money is in designing and distributing products -- which the United States dominates -- rather than manufacturing them. A vivid example of this is the iPod: it is manufactured mostly outside the United States, but most of the added value is captured by Apple, in California.

### Competitiveness Advantage – 1NC

5. Hegemony is unnecessary and doesn’t solve anything  
Preble 10 **-** director of foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute, taught history at St. Cloud State University and Temple University, was a commissioned officer in the U.S. Navy, Ph.D. in history from Temple University (Christopher, 8/13, “U.S. Military Power: Preeminence for What Purpose?”) <http://www.cato-at-liberty.org/u-s-military-power-preeminence-for-what-purpose/>)

Most in Washington still embraces the notion that America is, and forever will be, the world’s indispensable nation. Some scholars, however, questioned the logic of hegemonic stability theory from the very beginning. A number continue to do so today. They advance arguments diametrically at odds with the primacist consensus. Trade routes need not be policed by a single dominant power; the international economy is complex and resilient. Supply disruptions are likely to be temporary, and the costs of mitigating their effects should be borne by those who stand to lose — or gain — the most. Islamic extremists are scary, but hardly comparable to the threat posed by a globe-straddling Soviet Union armed with thousands of nuclear weapons. It is frankly absurd that we spend more today to fight Osama bin Laden and his tiny band of murderous thugs than we spent to face down Joseph Stalin and Chairman Mao. Many factors have contributed to the dramatic decline in the number of wars between nation-states; it is unrealistic to expect that a new spasm of global conflict would erupt if the United States were to modestly refocus its efforts, draw down its military power, and call on other countries to play a larger role in their own defense, and in the security of their respective regions. But while there are credible alternatives to the United States serving in its current dual role as world policeman / armed social worker, the foreign policy establishment in Washington has no interest in exploring them. The people here have grown accustomed to living at the center of the earth, and indeed, of the universe. The tangible benefits of all this military spending flow disproportionately to this tiny corner of the United States while the schlubs in fly-over country pick up the tab. In short, we shouldn’t have expected that a group of Washington insiders would seek to overturn the judgments of another group of Washington insiders. A genuinely independent assessment of U.S. military spending, and of the strategy the military is designed to implement, must come from other quarters.

### Ext. #1 – Status Quo Solves

#### Private STEM investment solves

Alan Boyle 9-21-2016 (award-winning science writer “Boeing awards $6 million in grants for STEM education (and its future workforce)” <https://www.geekwire.com/2016/boeing-6-million-stem-education///)MBA> HBJ

Three universities and scores of other educational programs stand to benefit from $6 million in grants from the Boeing Co. – a bonanza that’s designed to boost the company’s future workforce in Washington state. Grants totaling $1 million are going to the University of Washington, Washington State University and Seattle University. The other $5 million will be divvied up among about 50 nonprofit groups and educational institutions across the state. Boeing said some of the largest grants will support Thrive Washington, which focuses on early learning; Washington STEM and its K-12 learning initiative; and SkillUp Washington, which partners with community and technical colleges on training for manufacturing jobs. The grants focus on STEM education – science, technology, engineering and math – as well as workforce training, particularly for student populations who tend to be underrepresented when it comes to STEM. Bill McSherry, vice president of government relations and global corporate citizenship for Boeing Commercial Airplanes, said his company sees the grants as a long-range investment in its own future. “Boeing’s been a longstanding member of the Washington community,” he told GeekWire. “We also know that we’ll be a significant job provider in the state for decades to come. When you look at our demographics, we know we’re going to have a large portion of our workforce eligible to retire in the coming years. “Our goal with these grants and contributions is to make sure that it’s Washington students who are getting the skills they need to fill the jobs that we know are going to come open at Boeing and the aerospace industry,” McSherry explained. McSherry noted that the proportion of Boeing’s workforce living in Washington has risen in recent years, from about a third in 2003 to nearly half today. He said the traditional start of the school year was “a particularly fitting time” for Boeing to announce its latest round of grants. (Fall-quarter classes begin today at Seattle University, and next week at UW.) WSU Everett campus An artist’s conception shows a building at Washington State University’s Everett campus, which is due to open next year. Boeing is providing a $250,000 grant to support new course work and equip new labs at the campus. (Credit: WSU / Hoffman / SRG / McKinstry) The grants announced today are part of Boeing’s long-running tradition of supporting STEM education. McSherry noted that one of the first donations that company founder William E. Boeing made came in the form of a wind tunnel provided to the University of Washington in 1917. More recently, Boeing and Microsoft teamed up to pledge $50 million to the Washington State Opportunity Scholarship program. And last year, the Boeing Co. and the Boeing family donated $30 million to the Museum of Flight for a program called Boeing Academy for STEM Learning.

### Ext. #2 – Alt Causes

#### Alt cause – Telecom

Hazlett 4 [Thomas W. Hazlett, Manhattan Inst., et al, 9-22-2004, “Sending the Right Signals,” Report to US Chamber of Commerce, http://www.uschamber.com/]

Partly as a result of the drop in capital expenditures, the United States lags a number of other countries in access to high-speed telecommunications networks. The United States ranks eleventh globally and tenth in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)107 in terms of the number of broadband subscribers per 100 inhabitants.108 As shown in Figure III-I, South Korea is by far the leader in this field. Hong Kong, Canada, and Taiwan follow by some distance. This level of deployment may yield companies in these countries a competitive advantage over U.S.-based companies in delivering high-value, knowledge-based services to customers both abroad and within the domestic market. SUMMARY The U.S. telecommunications industry needs help. The effects of the technology bubble are mostly past us, and the aggregate economy is recovering, but the telecom sector is still mired in difficult economic times. This creates a severe drag on U.S. economic growth, as the telecommunications sector has been a major contributor to growth and productivity across the economy. This connection will become more pronounced as future growth becomes increasingly driven by what Peter Drucker calls “knowledge workers.” In particular, he submits that economic growth will come from a “continuing increase in the productivity of the one resource in which the developed countries still have an edge: … the productivity of knowledge work and of knowledge workers.”109 Improvements in international telecommunications systems allow professional and technology jobs to be outsourced to Korea, China, and India. Those countries, recognizing the role that communications will play in creating wealth, are increasingly making advanced telecommunications a priority. Investment in high-speed systems makes workers and businesses in Beijing, Seoul, and New Delhi more accessible to global customers. American workers should not be handicapped with inefficient telecommunications rules as they compete in this international contest.

#### Alt cause – Taxes

Dewey & LeBoeuf, 9 leading global law firm providing clients with both local and cross-border solutions, more than 1,100 lawyers in 26 offices in 15 countries, (“MAINTAINING AMERICA’S COMPETITIVE EDGE: GOVERNMENT POLICIES AFFECTING SEMICONDUCTOR INDUSTRY R&D AND MANUFACTURING ACTIVITY,” Report prepared for the Semiconductor Industry Association, March, http://www.choosetocompete.org/downloads/Competitiveness\_White\_Paper.pdf

Further tax reductions abroad make U.S. burden heavier. U.S. competitiveness as an investment location for semiconductor firms is further undermined by substantial tax and financial incentives widely available to semiconductor companies locating abroad. Investment location decisions are not made solely based on the availability of tax and related investment incentives. Proximity to the customer and market size tied to purchasing power of the domestic population, fit with the multinational’s global supply chain, and certain other factors critical to semiconductor companies, such as intellectual property protection and the ability to influence global-standards-setting activities, all factor into the decision-making process. However, when other factors in the decisionmaking process are roughly equal and when a firm has already fully exploited its domestic market, **tax and other financial incentives are critical determinants in the decision whether and where to locate overseas**. As ties binding U.S. semiconductor manufacturers to the United States are frayed and attenuated, these government incentives overseas gain in importance and accelerate the push to locate overseas.

### Ext. #3 – Competitiveness Theory Wrong

#### Competitiveness is a meaningless buzzword—reject their ev

Berger & Bristow 9– School of City and Regional Planning, Cardiff University[Thomas, lecturer at the FOM Fachhochschule fuer Oekonomie und Management in Stuttgart, Germany & Gillian, “Competitiveness and the Benchmarking of Nations—A Critical Reflection”, Sept 9, Springerlink]

As a consequence, there has been growing critique of the concept of national competitiveness and the rather flimsy theoretical base on which it rests. Krugman (1997, 7) summarizes the confusion which surrounds the meaning of national competitiveness with his assertion that it is largely defined in vague and approximate terms “as the combination of favorable trade performance and something else”. This is referring to the fact that most definitions—just like the one by the OECD (1992)—refer to the ability to sell concept. This is often accompanied with a call for a strategic management on the national level, focusing on high-value added activities, exports or innovation, depending on the underlying concept. The danger here is that such rhetoric is used to justify protectionism and trade wars. Krugman (1994, 1997) goes on to argue that national competitiveness is either a new word for domestic productivity or meaningless political rhetoric. Whilst nations may compete for investments if companies seek new business locations, this represents only a minor fraction of economic activities for bigger economies. Furthermore, this is often connected with subsidies or tax reductions to attract such investments. This strategic management for the attraction of investment and the fostering of exports is, according to Krugman, little more than political rhetoric, designed to promote an image rather than secure clear and unambiguous economic dividends,. Similarly, Cohen (1994, 196) describes the notion of national competitiveness in terms of “Presidential metaphors, [trying] to encapsulate complicated matters for purposes of political mobilization”, perhaps implying that national competitiveness might be better understood in the fields of political science and place marketing. Indeed, growing interest in the notion of competitiveness as a hegemonic construct or discourse provides further strength to the view that its value lies beyond that of an economic model or concept, but rests instead with its capacity to mobilize interest-related action (Bristow 2005). As such, this paper focuses on the utility of national indices of competitiveness, particularly for policy-makers and key interest groups promoting it.

#### Countries don’t compete for economic gains

Krugman, econ prof, 94—professor of Economics and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, Ph.D. from MIT (Paul, “Competitiveness: A Dangerous Obsession,” http://www.pkarchive.org/global/pop.html, RBatra)

How can this be in our interdependent world? Part of the answer is that the world is not as interdependent as you might think: countries are nothing at all like corporations. Even today, U.S. exports are only 10 percent of the value-added in the economy (which is equal to gnp). That is, the United States is still almost 90 percent an economy that produces goods and services for its own use. By contrast, even the largest corporation sells hardly any of its output to its own workers; the "exports" of General Motors -- its sales to people who do not work there -- are virtually all of its sales, which are more than 2.5 times the corporation's value-added. Moreover, countries do not compete with each other the way corporations do. Coke and Pepsi are almost purely rivals: only a negligible fraction of Coca-Cola's sales go to Pepsi workers, only a negligible fraction of the goods Coca-Cola workers buy are Pepsi products. So if Pepsi is successful, it tends to be at Coke's expense. But the major industrial countries, while they sell products that compete with each other, are also each other's main export markets and each other's main suppliers of useful imports. If the European economy does well, it need not be at U.S. expense; indeed, if anything a successful European economy is likely to help the U.S. economy by providing it with larger markets and selling it goods of superior quality at lower prices. International trade, then, is not a zero-sum game. When productivity rises in Japan, the main result is a rise in Japanese real wages; American or European wages are in principle at least as likely to rise as to fall, and in practice seem to be virtually unaffected.

### Ext. #4 – Not Key to Hegemony

#### Even if competitiveness was historically key, it doesn’t impact primacy now

Salam 9 – Schwartz Fellow at the New American Foundation (Reihan, 1/21 “ROBERT PAPE IS OVERHEATED,”, <http://www.theamericanscene.com/2009/01/21/robert-pape-is-overheated>)

Pape spends a lot of time demonstrating that U.S. economic output represents a declining share of global output, which is hardly a surprise. Yet as Pape surely understands, the more relevant question is how much and how readily can economic output be translated into military power? The European Union, for example, has many state-like features, yet it doesn’t have the advantages of a traditional state when it comes to raising an army. The Indian economy is taxed in a highly uneven manner, and much of the economy is black — the same is true across the developing world. As for China, both the shape of the economy, as Yasheng Huang suggests, and its long frontiers, as Andrew Nathan has long argued, pose serious barriers to translating potential power into effective power. (Wohlforth and Brooks give Stephen Walt’s balance-of-threat its due.) So while this hardly obviates the broader point that relative American economic power is eroding — that was the whole idea of America’s postwar grand strategy — it is worth keeping in mind. This is part of the reason why sclerotic, statist economies can punch above their weight militarily, at least for a time — they are “better” at marshaling resources. Over the long run, the Singapores will beat the Soviets. But in the long run, we’re all dead. And given that this literature is rooted in the bogey of long-term coalition warfare, you can see why the unipolarity argument holds water. At the risk of sounding overly harsh, Pape’s understanding of “innovativeness” — based on the number of patents filed, it seems — is crude to say the least. I recommend Amar Bhidé‘s brilliant critique of Richard Freeman, which I’ll be talking about a lot. Pape cites Zakaria, who was relying on slightly shopworn ideas that Bhidé demolishes in The Venturesome Economy. The “global diffusion of technology” is real, and if anything it magnifies U.S. economic power. “Ah, but we’re talking about the prospect of coalition warfare!” The global diffusion of technology is indeed sharply raising the costs of military conquest, as the United States discovered in Iraq. The declining utility of military power means that a unipolar distribution of military power is more likely to persist. And yes, it also means that unipolar military power is less valuable than it was in 1945.

### Ext. #4 – Not Key to Hegemony

#### Loss of competitiveness won’t cause balancing

Kapila, 10 - International Relations and Strategic Affairs analyst and the Consultant for Strategic Affairs with South Asia Analysis Group and a graduate of the Royal British Army Staff College with a Masters in Defence Science and a PhD in Strategic Studies (6/26, Dr. Subhash, “21st Century: Strategically A Second American Century With Caveats,” http://www.eurasiareview.com/201006263919/21st-century-strategically-a-second-american-century-with-caveats.html)

Strategically, the 20th Century was decidedly an American Century. United States strategic, military, political and economic predominance was global and undisputed. In the bi-polar global power structure comprising the United States and the Former Soviet Union it was the United States which globally prevailed. The 20th Century's dawn was marked by the First World War which marked the decline of the old European colonial powers, noticeably Great Britain. The Second World War marked the total eclipse of Great Britain and other colonial powers. The United States replaced Great Britain as the new global superpower. The 20th Century's end witnessed the end of the Cold War, with the disintegration of the Former Soviet Union as the United States strategic challenger and counter-vailing power. On the verge of the new millennium the United States strode the globe like a colossus as the sole global super power. With a decade of the 21st Century having gone past, many strategic and political analysts the world over have toyed with projections that United States global predominance is on the decline, and that the 21st Century will not be a second American Century. Having toyed, with such projections, these analysts however shy away from predicting whose century the 21st Century will strategically be? The trouble with such projections is that they are based predominantly on analyses of economic trends and financial strengths and less on detailed analyses of strategic and military strengths, and more significantly strategic cultures. Presumably, it is easier for such analysts to base trends on much quoted statistical data. Strategic analysis of global predominance trends is a more complex task in the opinion of the Author, as it cannot be based on statistical data analysis. Global predominance trends need unravelling of strategic cultures of contending powers, the reading of national intentions and resolve and the inherent national strengths and willpower demonstrated over a considerable time span of half-centuries and centuries. Crisply put, one needs to remember that in the 1980's, Japan and Germany as "economic superpowers" could not emerge as global superpowers. Hence global predominance calls for more than economic strengths. The United States getting strategically bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan in the first decade of the 21st Century has not led to any noticeable decline in American global predominance. Despite Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States reigns supreme globally even in East Asia where China could have logically challenged it. More significantly, and normally forgotten, is the fact that the off-quoted shift of global and economic power from the West to East was facilitated by United States massive financial direct investments in China, Japan, South Korea and India. China quoted as the next superpower to rival the United States would be economically prostate, should the United States surgically disconnect China's economic and financial linkages to the United States. More significantly, while examining the prospects of the 21st Century as a "Second American Century" it must be remembered that besides other factors, that out of the six multipolar contenders for global power, none except China have shown any indications to whittle down US global predominance. Even China seems to be comfortable with US power as long as it keeps Japan in check. This Paper makes bold to assert that the 21st Century would be a Second American Century despite China's challenge and the strategic distractions arising from the global Islamic flash-points.

### Ext. #5 – No Hegemony Impact

**Data disproves heg impacts**

Fettweis 10 – Professor of national security affairs @ U.S. Naval War College (Chris, Georgetown University Press, “Dangerous times?: the international politics of great power peace” Google Books) Jacome

Simply stated, the hegemonic stability theory proposes that international peace is only possible when there is one country strong enough to make and enforce a set of rules. At the height of Pax Romana between 27 BC and 180 AD, for example, Rome was able to bring unprecedented peace and security to the Mediterranean. The Pax Britannica of the nineteenth century brought a level of stability to the high seas. Perhaps the current era is peaceful because the United States has established a de facto Pax Americana where no power is strong enough to challenge its dominance, and because it has established a set of rules that a generally in the interests of all countries to follow. Without a benevolent hegemony, some strategists fear, instability may break out around the globe. Unchecked conflicts could cause humanitarian disaster and, in today’s interconnected world economic turmoil that would ripple throughout global financial markets. If the United States were to abandon its commitments abroad, argued Art, the world would “become a more dangerous place” and, sooner or later, that would “rebound to America’s detriment.” If the massive spending that the United States engages in actually produces stability in the international political and economic systems, then perhaps internationalism is worthwhile. **There are good theoretical and empirical reasons, however, the belief that U.S. hegemony is not the primary cause of the current era of stability.** First of all, the **hegemonic stability argument overstates** the **role that the United States plays in the system. No country is strong enough to police the world on its own. The only way there can be stability in the community of great powers is if self-policing occurs, ifs states have decided that their interest are served by peace. If no pacific normative shift had occurred** among the great powers that was filtering down through the system, then **no amount of international constabulary work by the United States could maintain stability**. Likewise, if it is true that such a shift has occurred, then most of what the hegemon spends to bring stability would be wasted. **The 5 percent of the world’s population that live in the United States simple could not force peace upon an unwilling 95**. At the risk of beating the metaphor to death, the **United States may be patrolling a neighborhood that has already rid itself of crime. Stability and unipolarity may be simply coincidental.** In order for U.S. hegemony to be the reason for global stability, the rest of the world would have to expect reward for good behavior and fear punishment for bad. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has not always proven to be especially eager to engage in humanitarian interventions abroad. Even rather incontrovertible evidence of genocide has not been sufficient to inspire action. **Hegemonic stability can only take credit for influence those decisions that would have ended in war without the presence, whether physical or psychological**, of the United States. **Ethiopia and Eritrea are hardly the only states that could go to war without the slightest threat of U.S. intervention. Since most of the world today is free to fight without U.S. involvement, something else must be at work. Stability exists in many places where no hegemony is present.** Second, the **limited empirical evidence we have suggests that there is little connection between the relative level of U.S. activism and international stability.** During the **1990s** the **United States cut back on its defense spending fairly substantially,** By 1998 the United States was spending $100 billion less on defense in real terms than it had in 1990. To internationalists, defense hawks, and other believers in hegemonic stability this irresponsible "peace dividend" endangered both national and global security "No serious analyst of American military capabilities," argued Kristol and Kagan, "doubts that the defense budget has been cut much too far to meet Americas responsibilities to itself and to world peace."" **If** the **pacific trends were due not to U.S. hegemony but a strengthening norm against interstate war**, however, **one would not have expected an increase in global instability and violence. The verdict from the past two decades is fairly plain: The world grew more peaceful while the United States cut its forces. No state seemed to believe that its security was endangered by a less-capable Pentagon, or at least none took any action that would suggest such a belief.** No militaries were enhanced to address power vacuums; **no security dilemmas drove mistrust and arms races; no regional balancing occurred once the stabilizing presence of the U.S. military was diminished.** The **rest of the world acted as if the threat ofinternational war was not a pressing concern, despite the reduction in U.S. capabilities**. The incidence and magnitude of global conflict declined while the United States cut its military spending under President Clinton, and it kept declining as the Bush Administration ramped spending back up. **No complex statistical analysis should be necessary to reach the conclusion that the two are unrelated**. It is also worth noting for our purposes that the United States was no less safe.

**Cyber Advantage Answers**

### Cyber Advantage – 1NC

**1. Status quo solves cyber education**

**Newsweek 17** (Newsweek Editorial Insight – “The Cybersecurity Threat - Fighting Back” – 2/14/17 - <http://www.newsweek.com/insights/leading-cybersecurity-programs-2017)/TK>

With cyber attacks constantly on the rise, the need to secure our networks is highlighted on a daily basis, not least as publicized in the recent US election revelations. Our increasing reliance on technology has come hand-in-hand with some unsettling statistics for cyber crime; according to various reports, over 60 percent of US companies have been victims of cyber attack, as well as numerous government agencies.¶ **The US government has in recent years made defending its institutions’ virtual borders a top priority, implementing the Department of Defense Cyber Strategy in 2015. Cyber education is recognized as a key element within this strategy; specifically the National Initiative for Cybersecurity Education (NICE), as detailed under the “Build the cyber workforce” section of Strategic Goal I.¶** **One initiative that has been introduced is the ‘Centers of Academic Excellence in Cybersecurity’ program, which is jointly sponsored by the** National Security Agency **(NSA) and the** Department of Homeland Security **(DHS**). **The goal of the program, as stated by the NSA, is to reduce vulnerability in our national information infrastructure by promoting higher education and research in cyber defense and producing professionals with cyber defense expertise for the nation**. **There are currently more than two hundred higher education institutions, universities and colleges that participate in the program.¶** Whether as part of the NSA/DHS program or otherwise, **education establishments have also been expanding their range of cyber security courses and student numbers. This may in part be a response to the immediate cyber threats facing the US, but is also due to the additional demand for degrees, certificates and other courses, relating to the anticipated future need for more STEM workers.¶** There are plenty of statistics to be found relating to this demand. An estimate from the Bureau of Labor Statistics states there are currently more than 200,000 available cybersecurity positions and predicts employment growth of 37% within the information security industry over the next 10 years, with 4 out of 5 cyber security jobs requiring a degree. Another report suggested that the demand for cybersecurity professionals over a 5 year period grew 3.5 times faster than other IT sectors and 12 times the rate of employment in general. This exponential growth can no doubt be attributed to the dual driving forces of increased cyber threats and technology proliferation.¶ Cybersecurity, once the domain of engineering and computing colleges only, is now considered over a broad range of disciplines. **It is common to find cyber programs from many other academic institutions including business schools, management schools, natural sciences and liberal arts colleges.** Many of the courses are multi-departmental, reflecting the ubiquitous nature of today’s cyber threats. **Universities are creating Cybersecurity centers and divisions, often as part of their engineering and science colleges, that help to coordinate academic efforts between various departments, as well as undertaking research and offering specialist expertise both internally and to industry externally.**

### Cyber Advantage – 1NC

**2. Tons of reasons there won’t be a destructive cyber attack on critical infrastructure, including the grid, from any group**

**Amerding 16** (Taylor Amerding - Freelance writer at International Data Group, CSO – “Catastrophic cyber attack on U.S. grid possible, but not likely” – 4/15/16 - <http://www.csoonline.com/article/3055718/critical-infrastructure/catastrophic-cyber-attack-on-u-s-grid-possible-but-not-likely.html)/TK>

**Warnings about U.S. critical infrastructure’s vulnerabilities to a catastrophic cyber attack – a cyber “Pearl Harbor” or “9/11” – began more than 25 years ago.** But they have become more insistent and frequent over the past decade.¶ Former Defense Secretary Leon Panetta warned in a 2012 speech of both a “cyber Pearl Harbor” and a “pre-9/11 moment.”¶ They have also expanded from within the security industry to the mass media. It was almost a decade ago, in 2007, that the Idaho National Laboratory demonstrated that a cyber attack could destroy an enormous diesel power generator – an event featured in a 2009 segment on the CBS news magazine “60 Minutes.”¶ Late last year, retired “Nightline” anchor Ted Koppel warned in his book "Lights Out" of possible catastrophe – thousands of deaths – if the U.S. grid is ever taken down by a major cyber attack. ¶ And just this month, the FBI and Department of Homeland Security (DHS) launched a national campaign to warn U.S. utilities and the public about the danger from cyber attacks like the one last December that took down part of Ukraine’s power grid.¶ **The worst-case scenario, according to some experts and officials, is that major portions of the grid could go down for months, or even a year.¶** **Yet, nothing close to that has happened yet – the damage over the past decade from natural disasters like hurricanes, tornadoes and earthquakes has been much more significant than any cyber events.¶** **All of which raise the obvious question: Why? If a hostile nation state like Iran could deal the** “Great Satan” a **crippling blow, why wouldn’t it?¶** There are several theories to explain it. **One is that even countries like Iran or a rogue state like North Korea would not want to take down the U.S. economy because it would have a drastic negative effect on the world economy.¶** “**The same interdependencies that exist in the global economy could have unintended global consequences, were any nation to suffer widespread disruption to foundational systems**,” said Anthony Di Bello, director of strategic partnerships for Guidance Software.¶ If any large country truly becomes a national security threat to another large country (a cyber attack) may well be far more likely than it would be in today's climate.¶ **Another is that hostile nation states are more interested in espionage than an attack, in the hope that knowledge of U.S. infrastructure systems will give them some leverage in foreign policy disputes, or prevent a country like the U.S. from ever attacking them with conventional weapons.¶** Yet **another is that if other countries are inside U.S. systems, the U.S. must be inside of theirs, which creates the equivalent of a cyber “balance of terror” – the U.S. could do as much or more damage to them in response to an attack.¶** As Jason Healey, senior fellow at the Atlantic Council, put it, “**cyber deterrence is working. They (hostile nation states) haven’t attacked our cyber systems for many of the same reason they haven’t sent nuclear-tipped missiles: They have no reason to unless the world is in a serious crisis, not least because they know there would be a dangerous counterattack from the U.S.”**¶ Indeed, there is general agreement that destructive cyber attacks are unlikely unless hostile nations are heading into war – an armed conflict.¶ “If any large country truly becomes a national security threat to another large country it may well be far more likely than it would be in today's climate,” Di Bello said. “Barring that, it would be unlikely.”¶ For that reason, major cyber attacks are much more likely in areas where there is already armed conflict, or the potential for it. Robert M. Lee, cofounder of Dragos Security and a former U.S Air Force cyber warfare operations officer, noted that the attack on Ukraine’s grid, widely attributed to Russia, was, “simply an extension of what was going on with the military.¶ That, he said, would increase the likelihood of attacks between countries like North and South Korea, or between Iran and Israel – “traditional conflict areas,” as he put it.¶ **Of course that leaves out terrorist organizations that don’t represent any nation state and which give no indication that it would trouble them at all to take down the world economy.¶** **But** Lee and other **experts said** this week **that smaller organizations – even lethal terrorist groups like ISIS – don't have the same capability as nation states**. **They say while the U.S. grid and other industrial control systems (ICS) have significant weaknesses – and U.S. adversaries are constantly probing those weaknesses – launching an effective, sustained attack is not as easy as some people, including high government officials, suggest.¶** “It is significantly more difficult to do a high-confidence attack on ICS than people think,” Lee said “**It doesn’t just involve the cyber component – it’s the engineering piece as well**.”¶ Al Berman, president of Disaster Recovery Institute, agreed. He said one reason is that, over the past decade, there has been “tremendous sharing” about threat information among utility companies. The ICS ISAC (Information Sharing and Analysis Center) is “enormously strong,” he said.¶ A second is that most ICSs are not completely automated. <<card continues>>

### Cyber Advantage – 1NC

<<card continues>> “The big ones still require manual intervention,” he said. “There are manual bypasses occurring all the time – people are manning centers around the clock.”¶ That, he said, makes it more difficult for attackers to get control of a system remotely.¶ Third, he said, is that **most utilities are privately owned and have different software, applications and system designs. That diversity makes it much more difficult to launch a coordinated attack on multiple systems.¶** Dr. Paul Stockton, managing director at Sonecon, made that point in a recent paper titled “Superstorm Sandy: Implications for designing a post-cyber attack power restoration system.”¶ He wrote that **the diversity of systems** would likely impede recovery efforts after a major attack, but would also **have the benefit of making large-scale attacks much more difficult in the first place.¶** “**The enormous diversity of ICS software and control system components among utilities greatly complicates the task of conducting a ‘single-stroke’ attack to black out an entire interconnect or the U.S. grid as a whole**,” he wrote.¶ And according to Lee, **even with all that diversity, critical infrastructure systems are relatively simple to defend.** “They are among the few networks on the planet that are defensible,” he said.¶ Added to that, said Lila Kee, chief product officer at GlobalSign, is that utility providers are very much aware of the threats, and highly motivated to defend against them.¶ “Grid providers don’t want to be any more regulated than they are, and they understand if they don’t address cyber security vulnerabilities, the government will do it for them,” she said. “It’s also important to note that **grid providers have a self interest around protecting generation and transmission systems.”**

**3. Cyberwar isn’t a big threat—best studies prove**

JasonHEALEY, Director of the Cyber Statecraft Initiative at the Atlantic Council, 13 [“No, Cyberwarfare Isn't as Dangerous as Nuclear War,” March 20, 2013, [www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/03/20/cyber-attacks-not-yet-an-existential-threat-to-the-us](http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/03/20/cyber-attacks-not-yet-an-existential-threat-to-the-us)]

**America does not face an existential cyberthreat today, despite recent** **warnings**. Our cybervulnerabilities are undoubtedly grave and **the threats we face are** severe but **far from comparable to nuclear war**.¶ The most recent alarms come in a Defense Science Board report on how to make military cybersystems more resilient against advanced threats (in short, Russia or China). It warned that the "cyber threat is serious, with potential consequences similar in some ways to the nuclear threat of the Cold War." Such fears were also expressed by Adm. Mike Mullen, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in 2011. He called cyber "The single biggest existential threat that's out there" because "cyber actually more than theoretically, can attack our infrastructure, our financial systems."¶ **While it is true that cyber attacks might do these things, it is also true they have not only never happened but are far more difficult to accomplish than mainstream thinking believes**. The consequences from cyber threats may be similar in some ways to nuclear, as the Science Board concluded, but mostly, they are incredibly dissimilar.¶ Eighty years ago, the generals of the U.S. Army Air Corps were sure that their bombers would easily topple other countries and cause their populations to panic, claims which did not stand up to reality. **A study of the 25-year history of cyber conflict, by the Atlantic Council and Cyber Conflict Studies Association, has shown** a similar dynamic where **the impact of disruptive cyberattacks has been consistently overestimated**.¶ Rather than theorizing about future cyberwars or extrapolating from today's concerns, the history of cyberconflict that have actually been fought, shows that cyber incidents have so far tended to have effects that are either widespread but fleeting or persistent but narrowly focused. **No attacks, so far, have been both widespread and persistent. There have been no authenticated cases of anyone dying from a cyber attack. Any widespread disruptions**, even the 2007 disruption against Estonia, **have been short-lived** causing no significant GDP loss.¶ Moreover, as with conflict in other domains, cyberattacks can take down many targets but keeping them down over time in the face of determined defenses has so far been out of the range of all but the most dangerous adversaries such as Russia and China. Of course, if the United States is in a conflict with those nations, cyber will be the least important of the existential threats policymakers should be worrying about. **Plutonium trumps bytes in a shooting war**.¶ This is not all good news. Policymakers have recognized the problems since at least 1998 with little significant progress. Worse, the threats and vulnerabilities are getting steadily more worrying. **Still, experts have been warning of a cyber Pearl Harbor for 20 of the 70 years since the actual Pearl Harbor**.¶ The transfer of U.S. trade secrets through Chinese **cyber espionage could someday accumulate into an existential threat. But it doesn't seem so seem just yet**, with only handwaving estimates of annual losses of 0.1 to 0.5 percent to the total U.S. GDP of around $15 trillion. That's bad, but **it doesn't add up to an existential crisis** or "economic cyberwar."

**Ext. #1 – Status Quo Solves**

**Status quo measures solve the workforce gap and one policy can’t resolve it all**

**Bate 5/17**/17 (Laura K. Bate - Senior Program Associate with New America’s Cybersecurity Initiative and a WiSe Fellow with the American Security Project. A graduate of Georgetown University’s Security Studies Program, she writes on cyber policy, intelligence, and security issues – “The Cyber Workforce Gap: A National Security Liability?” – 5/17/17 - <https://warontherocks.com/2017/05/the-cyber-workforce-gap-a-national-security-liability/)/TK>

More than one Way to Build a Workforce¶ Recognizing that universities alone cannot bridge the workforce gap, there are a number of other solutions that the interagency report could recommend. Expect to see recommendations on cybersecurity bootcamps: accelerated, typically for-profit training programs that focus on the concrete skills and tools needed for cybersecurity jobs. These programs are an evolution on the model of the immersive coding bootcamps of prior years. With carefully considered interventions from government and industry groups to help avoid the pitfalls and challenges the coding bootcamps are working to overcome, these cybersecurity training programs could become an important part of the cybersecurity workforce ecosystem.¶ **Community colleges are** also **rising to the challenge, and a growing list of two-year programs are now designated by the Department of Homeland Security and the National Security Agency as Centers of Academic Excellence in teaching cybersecurity and information assurance. Options for teaching cybersecurity are beginning to emerge below the postsecondary level as well, as K-12 educational programs take root. By way of example, the Air Force Association’s CyberPatriot program organizes cybersecurity competitions and camps for students, while providing ready-made curriculum modules to teachers.¶** Unsurprisingly, **the military struggles with the same shortage** of cybersecurity experts the civilian workforce faces **and, there too, creative solutions are beginning to emerge. One proposal is to exempt incoming cyber-skilled soldiers from certain training requirements, allowing them to transfer in “laterally.” Another is to lean on the Reserve and National Guard to supply extra talent. Others suggest developing a new service academy, akin to West Point, the Air Force Academy, and the Naval Academy, dedicated solely to teaching cybersecurity**. Notably, these options are likely to have follow-on benefits as the cybersecurity industry begins to appreciate the value of pulling veterans into cybersecurity jobs. By building a pool of cyber expertise in the services, military leaders are indirectly benefiting the private sector that will employ veterans who choose to enter the civilian workforce.¶ One key hurdle in both civilian and military workplaces will be expanding cybersecurity’s demographics. Cybersecurity today faces a particularly homogenous workforce. The industry is spectacularly lacking in women and minorities, which means the growth of the U.S. cybersecurity workforce is hobbled until recruiting efforts can find a way to tap into the whole of the American population. As a simple matter of numbers, a larger talent pool allows recruiters to pull in more people, and the United States needs as many minds as it can muster on this challenge. But perhaps more significantly, research shows that diverse teams produce better results, and when the product is ensuring the security and resilience of U.S. networks, results matter. As organizations begin to take notice — and action — on the disparity, the workforce may see accelerated growth.¶ Cybersecurity Apprenticeships¶ **The executive order** itself specifically **points to perhaps one of the most promising approaches to bridging the workforce gap: cybersecurity apprenticeship training**. While historically associated with the construction trades, **this hybrid system of classroom and applied learning is quickly demonstrating its utility for cybersecurity, and employers across the country have been quick to create registered apprenticeship programs.¶** **Under a registered apprenticeship model, employers develop a training program, typically in conjunction with a local university, community college, or specialized firm, which couples rigorous, supervised on-the-job learning with a required number of classroom hours**. This training program is registered with either the state or federal Department of Labor to ensure that the program meets baseline standards. Once established, apprenticeships provide learners with an opportunity to make money — rather than spend it — on a training program, often while working towards valuable industry certifications. Meanwhile, **employers can ensure a steady pipeline of talent guaranteed to be familiar with their particular tools and methods.¶** While the idea of apprenticeship programs in the technology sector may still be quite new in the United States, the model is more common overseas. In particular, **the United Kingdom has developed a government-led apprenticeship program that funnels talent directly into jobs protecting critical infrastructure, thus supporting a crucial national security priority**. Certainly such a model would need to be adapted for implementation in the United States, but apprenticeship systems currently enjoy political support from both sides of the aisle, making this a particularly politically viable moment to push for policies that support and incentivize the growth of cybersecurity apprenticeships.¶ Last week’s executive order laid out some remarkably tall orders, but mundane though it may seem, addressing the workforce shortage may be one of the most intractable and important challenges. **The cybersecurity training environment is genuinely a complex ecosystem, and no single solution will work in isolation**. Given the scale of the problem and the long time horizons involved in making meaningful change in the workforce pipeline, observers should not expect the interagency report to outline anything more than a basic starting point. **With that said, many good options and strategies are already in development**. If agency heads are able to craft suggestions that support good work and incentivize effective and scalable solutions**, the order-mandated report could chart the beginnings of a path toward the strong cybersecurity workforce the United States desperately needs.**

**Ext. #3 – No Cyber Impact**

**Cyber attacks are an overrated threat**

Myriam Dunn **Cavelty 12**, lecturer for security studies and a senior researcher in the field of risk and resilience at the Center for Security Studies, “The militarisation of cyber security as a source of global tension,” STRATEGIC TRENDS 2012: Key Developments in Global Affaris ed. by Daniel Möckli, Center for Security Studies, p. 114-21, fwang

***An overrated threat*** There is no denying that different political, economic, and military conflicts have had cyber(ed) components for a number of years now. Furthermore, criminal and espionage activities involving the use of computers happen every day. It is a fact that cyber incidents are continually causing minor and only occasionally major inconveniences: These may be in the form of lost intellectual property or other proprietary data, maintenance and repair, lost revenue, and increased security costs. Beyond the direct impact, badly handled cyber attacks have also damaged corporate (and government) reputations and have, theoretically at least, the potential to reduce public confidence in the security of Internet transactions and e-commerce if they become more frequent. However, in the entire history of computer networks, there are no examples of cyber attacks that resulted in **actual physical violence** against persons (nobody has ever died from a cyber incident), and only very few had a substantial effect on property (Stuxnet being the most prominent). So far, cyber attacks have not caused serious long-term disruptions. They are risks that can be dealt with by individual entities using standard information security measures, and their overall costs remain low in comparison to other risk categories such as financial risks. **These facts tend to be almost completely disregarded in policy circles**. There are several reasons why **the threat is overrated**. First, as combating cyber threats has become a highly politicised issue, official statements about the level of threat must also be seen in the context of competition for resources and influence between various bureaucratic entities. This is usually done by **stating an urgent need for action** and **describing the overall threat as big and rising**. Second, psychological research has shown that risk perception, including the perception of experts, is highly dependent on intuition and emotions. Cyber risks, especially in their more extreme form, fit the risk profile of so-called ‘dread risks’, which are perceived as catastrophic, fatal, unknown, and basically uncontrollable. There is a propensity to be disproportionally afraid of these risks **despite their low probability**, which translates into pressure

## Solvency Answers

### Solvency – 1NC

#### 1. CTE teacher shortages prevent success – the aff can’t solve

Quinton 4-9-17

(Sophie-Reporter for stateline “States want more career and technical training, but struggle to find teachers” <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/states-want-career-technical-training-struggle-find-teachers/>) ALB

Many Minnesota employers say they can’t find skilled workers with the right career training. Meanwhile, high schools are cutting career and technical education courses because they can’t find qualified teachers. “The jobs are there, and we’re not preparing our kids well enough to get into those jobs because the system has not allowed us to,” said Stephen Jones, the superintendent of schools in Little Falls, Minnesota. His district hasn’t had to cancel any courses for lack of instructors, but he says smaller districts in the state have. Nationally, career and technical education (CTE) isn’t the area with the worst teacher shortage — that’s special education. But two-thirds of states are currently reporting a shortage of CTE teachers in at least one specialty, according to a Stateline analysis of federal data. Many states, such as Minnesota and South Dakota, have had a shortage of CTE teachers for a decade. Some states, such as Maine, Maryland and New York, have had a shortage for almost 20 years. To address the problem, legislators in Minnesota and other states have pursued changes to teacher licensing that would make it easier for people who work in industry to transition into teaching, or to teach part-time. But there are many other reasons for the shortage that are harder to tackle: Teacher salaries are too low to compete with salaries in technical fields. Too few young people are specializing in career and technical education in college. And it’s hard to attract teachers to isolated schools in rural areas. “There’s no one answer,” said Kate Kreamer, deputy executive director for Advance CTE, a nonprofit that represents the leaders of state career training programs. “Although alternative certification is increasingly a strategy states are using, it’s obviously insufficient in addressing the overall teacher shortage issue.” High schools can prepare students to step into jobs that require some extra training but not a college degree, such as home health aides, a profession expected to grow by 38 percent over the next decade, or entry-level jobs in construction and the skilled trades. The construction sector, like health care, is expected to grow faster than the national average in the years to come. As lawmakers push secondary schools to add classes in occupational areas short on workers, many school districts are devising workaround solutions such as partnering with community colleges. The Hiring Challenge The challenges Minnesota schools face in filling career and technical teacher positions are typical of schools in many states, as are the reasons for the shortage. This year, a report from a state task force co-chaired by Jones, the superintendent, found that across five in-demand specialties, a third of all CTE teachers had been hired on short-term special permission licenses. In some of those specialties the share was higher: nearly 40 percent for manufacturing, 50 percent for construction and 54 percent for medicine. Jones wasn’t surprised that so many positions were filled by emergency hires. Schools are working the system to keep their programs running, he said. His rural district northwest of the Twin Cities has had to find solutions when job candidates are scarce. “One of our [agriculture] teachers is retiring this year, and we’re actually having him back part time next year because of our difficulty finding people,” he said. The task force report said that Minnesota colleges and universities have been shuttering their CTE teacher preparation programs as enrollment has dropped. It’s hard for schools to recruit people with technical expertise away from industry jobs. And people from industry that are interested in teaching might be reluctant because of strict teacher licensing rules. Minnesota teachers must have a bachelor’s degree to get licensed, although many people in fields such as nursing or automotive technology only hold a two-year degree. Advance CTE found similar challenges nationally when it asked directors of state career tech programs what barriers they face in recruiting people in industry to be teachers or to help out in other ways — say to serve as mentors or offer internships to high school students. The No. 1 problem directors identified was lack of funding for salaries and other financial incentives, such as bonuses. Yet few state directors said their state had tried to attract people from industry with financial incentives. In states that did try it, they said, the approach wasn’t effective. States may be avoiding increasing pay or offering bonuses because of their tight budgets, said Ashleigh McFadden, state policy manager for Advance CTE. Incentive programs also are hard to sustain long term. They tend to be eliminated in the next budget crisis. Tennessee has adopted a promising approach. It allows people who have worked in industry to count their years of work experience as years of teaching experience. “They don’t enter on a beginning teacher salary, although they are beginning teachers,” McFadden said. <<card continues>>

### Solvency – 1NC

<<card continues>> Changing Licensing Minnesota state Sen. Greg Clausen, a former high school principal and a member of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, supports creating a middle category of licenses for career and technical education teachers — between a full license and an emergency credential. A proposal for revamping the entire teacher licensing system in the state would allow someone with an associate degree, an industry credential or at least five years’ work experience to get a one-year license to teach CTE. Longer-term licenses would be available to candidates with more teacher training. (A separate bill Clausen has proposed would require Minnesota colleges and universities to create a two-year preparation program for CTE teachers.) Clausen said that schools would have to offer mentorship and on-the-job support for such teachers. “They’ve got the experience, they’ve got the skills. They just don’t have the teaching credential and the classroom skills,” Clausen said of people who come from industry. The Virginia Legislature and the boards of education in New York and South Dakota have adjusted CTE licensing requirements in recent years to make it easier for people to start teaching. Last year, North Carolina and Virginia created licenses that allow technical workers to teach part time. People from industry in Alabama, Florida, Kentucky and Ohio already have a similar option. In the Advance CTE survey, directors of state career and technical education programs ranked alternatives to traditional teacher certifications as the most successful strategy for getting people from industry into the classroom. They ranked part-time teacher certifications second. Changes to teacher licensing can be controversial. In Connecticut, the union that represents teachers at technical high schools opposes a bill that would reduce the amount of work experience people need to become technical high school teachers. The union argues that changing licensing requirements would reduce the quality of education students receive, according to the Hartford Business Journal. States that rethink licensing need to ensure that new teachers are still prepared to manage a classroom, teach concepts and assess students, said Jennifer Zinth, director of high school and science, technology, engineering and mathematics education at the Education Commission of the States, a nonpartisan policy group. When teachers of any subject quit, it’s usually not because of low salaries, Kreamer said. “It’s because something’s not right in their school environment.” Teachers who feel supported by their school and have someone to turn to for advice are more likely to stay, she said. Workaround Solutions School districts looking to expand their career programs may have to pursue a number of employment arrangements. Take the city school district in Marion, Ohio. Although a technical career center in the county offers high school programs, Harding High School (named for President Warren Harding, who is buried in Marion) has bulked up its own CTE offerings as part of a plan to ensure students graduate and go on to good-paying jobs, further education or the military. “Simply graduating with a high school diploma is not enough in today’s economy,” said Stephen Fujii, the director of college and career success for the district. Ohio’s superintendent of public instruction, Paolo DeMaria, has praised the district for exposing students to potential careers. Harding High has some teachers with traditional CTE certification. The school also has recruited people with technical expertise to teach by themselves or with a credentialed teacher from another field. The logistics course, which covers supply chains, is co-taught by a math teacher and an employee of a local company, Marion Industrial Center, who comes to campus a few times a month, for instance. The robotics and production technology courses are taught by a full-time teacher who used to work in the industry. Fujii said the district has had to reassure its teachers union that hiring teachers with alternative credentials won’t reduce the quality of education students receive. Although it can be hard to convince people with full-time jobs in industry to help teach a class, the district has built relationships with local employers that make such partnerships possible, he said. Schools also can expand CTE instruction without hiring more teachers. They might partner with community colleges to allow students to take technical classes there for both college and high school credit. Or they might expand work-based or internship opportunities that allow students to learn on the job. At Harding High, students can transfer to the local career center in the 11th or 12th grade if they are interested in a technical subject the high school doesn’t offer. Since the high school started expanding its career programs two years ago, Fujii said, more students have moved over to the career center to further their studies.

### Solvency – 1NC

#### 2. Liberal Arts Turn:

#### A. The plan trades off with liberal arts education

LIANA HEITIN, 3-31-2015, (Assistant Editor and Reporter at Education Week, Wesleyan University "Are STEM and Liberal Arts at Odds?," Education Week - Curriculum Matters, <http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/curriculum/2015/03/are_stem_and_liberal_arts_at_o.html//)MBA> HBJ

The country's recent narrow focus on preparing STEM workers is misguided and won't make the U.S. successful, argues Washington Post columnist Fareed Zakaria. In a much-read piece published March 26, he writes, "Every month, it seems, we hear about our children's bad test scores in math and science—and about new initiatives from companies, universities or foundations to expand STEM courses (science, technology, engineering and math) and deemphasize the humanities." As a reporter who covers STEM education, I can say that's undoubtedly true. I receive press releases daily citing the U.S.' middling international test scores (in math, 29 countries outperformed the U.S. on the recent PISA, and 22 did so in science) and proclaiming the need for better STEM programs in computer science, robotics, engineering, coding, etc. Zakaria, author of "In Defense of a Liberal Education," says such scores are not good predictors of a country's innovative prowess. The U.S. has "dominated the world of science, technology, research and innovation" despite its Program for International Student Assessment scores. Neither Sweden nor Israel fared particularly well on that test either, yet they top most other countries in research and development. Many of the Asian countries that perform well on PISA are trying to add liberal arts into their curricula. "America overcomes its disadvantage—a less-technically-trained workforce—with other advantages such as creativity, critical thinking, and an optimistic outlook," he writes. For the jobs of the future, "[y]ou could not do better than to follow your passion, engage with a breadth of material in both science and the humanities, and perhaps above all, study the human condition." A Parallel Push His argument is compelling, and a good foil to the bombardment of marketing and publicity around STEM education. But the piece fails to mention the parallel push in U.S. K-12 schools for just what he is advocating: critical thinking. The Common Core State Standards for English/language arts, which more than 40 states are now implementing, are all about teaching students to read more closely and think more deeply. Problem solving, critical thinking, and analysis are explicit goals within the standards. The new tests associated with them have more writing and require students to read more complex texts than most previous state assessments. There's also an underlying assumption throughout the piece that STEM and liberal arts skills—reading, writing, thinking, all of which Zakaria calls "uniquely human"—are taught separately. But the essence of STEM, as many K-12 teachers explain it, is that it's focused on integrating skills, and solving "real world," often human-focused problems. The push for moving from STEM to STEAM, adding arts to the acronym and emphasizing design, exemplifies the efforts teachers are making to infuse their science instruction with creativity and innovation. The "maker movement," a campaign to get students inventing and tinkering by providing raw materials and workspaces, is above all about exercising critical thinking. As I saw at the White House science fair last week, students around the country are certainly following their passions and keeping the human condition in mind—for instance by making wheelchairs more user friendly and designing earthquake proof houses for Haiti. Plus, the Next Generation Science Standards, which 13 states and D.C. have adopted so far, and other states are considering, also emphasize inquiry, analysis, and critical thinking. As I wrote recently, some educators are advocating teaching these new standards through "mysteries"—by presenting real-world problems and allowing students to navigate their way through complicated scenarios, coming up with further questions for study along the way. To be fair, Zakaria may be more concerned with higher education and technical training programs than K-12. But it's worth considering that along with the salient, industry-led focus on technical skills in the U.S., there's also a less flashy emphasis on the "uniquely human" liberal arts skills that undergird innovative work.

### Solvency – 1NC

#### B. Liberal arts education is key to innovation that drives the economy – comparatively more effective

Melissa Beattie-Moss, 1-15-2014, (Penn State University; Citing /interview with Steven Sherrill, associate professor of English and integrative arts. "Probing Question: Is a liberal arts education relevant in today's economy?,", http://news.psu.edu/story/300257/2014/01/15/research/probing-question-liberal-arts-education-relevant-todays-economy

When we talk about education, he notes, we mean more than just the specific degree conferred or something that can be quantified by a cost-benefit analysis of your expected earning potential. "The world has always needed people who aren't guided solely by the pragmatic or the profitable," says Sherrill. "The impulse to create and the drive to understand 'the big picture' are things that mark us as human. We make for the sake of making, and to share what we have made. Nurturing this creative impulse is the thing I value above all as an educator, and I'm proud that Penn State has been recognized for valuing it as well." Explains Sherrill, our concept of liberal arts education has roots in ancient Greece. The Greeks believed that studying grammar, rhetoric and logic gave free citizens the intellectual and moral preparation they needed to participate in a democracy. Today a liberal arts curriculum includes the study of languages, literature, philosophy and history, as well as science and mathematics. The hallmark of a liberal arts education -- as opposed to specialized vocational or professional training -- is the emphasis on learning as a means to deepen human understanding, Sherrill notes. But, he acknowledges, it's understandable that the struggling economy and rising cost of college have given rise to the idea that pursuing liberal arts is an impractical waste of money. Yet even from a strictly economic perspective, we shouldn't be so quick to pooh-pooh such degrees as philosophy, literature or history, Sherrill believes. While it's tempting to think that majoring in a specialized subject is "money in the bank," it may be a shortsighted solution. "Technology and the economy are rapidly changing," he says. "Adaptability and flexibility are more than important; they are necessary. Students in the arts and humanities learn how to explore and discover and innovate, not just how to perform specialized tasks." The pendulum of public opinion might be swinging back toward the "real world" value of a liberal arts education. Recent studies suggest that employers are starting to recognize the value of workers with broader sets of skills. Many have noted that the complex global challenges of the 21st century will require leaders who are flexible thinkers and persuasive multilingual communicators, with knowledge of history and well-developed intercultural competencies. An education in the liberal arts and sciences, says Sherrill, is an excellent foundation in this context. Even countries known for their emphasis on science and technology training, such as China and India, are now weighing the benefits of having more educated generalists in the workforce, alongside more narrowly trained experts. Sherrill, an accomplished novelist and painter (and amateur ukelelist, he might add) is quick to note that no matter what path students ultimately pursue, taking some creative arts classes during college might teach them some important things. "What it takes to make progress in the arts," he explains, "is diligence, perseverance and discipline. The arts require a receptiveness and openness in the way one sees the world and thinks about things. These are key traits for innovators and leaders in any field." Ultimately, Sherrill maintains, the most important thing to teach students may be "the ability to be comfortable pursuing new ideas despite doubt and uncertainty, a willingness to follow your imagination, to continue onward to what may or may not be a dead end, to risk failure in the pursuit of something you believe in."

### Solvency – 1NC

#### 3. No solvency – participants don’t enroll in enough courses to be successful

Silverberg et al 2004

**(**Marsha Silverberg-economist at the US Department of Education, Elizabeth Warner-director at public welfare foundation. Michael Fong. David Goodwin-education professor at Missouri State University. <https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/sectech/nave/navefinal.pdf> “National Assessment of Vocational Education”)ALB

Fewer than half of postsecondary vocational participants seeking a degree or certificate take enough courses to earn a credential. Like their academic counterparts, many vocational participants leave sub-baccalaureate institutions and programs having completed few courses; more than two-thirds of vocational majors complete the equivalent of a year or less of course work within a fiveyear time period. Even among those who enroll with the goal of earning a degree or certificate, fewer than half actually complete a credential of any kind (Figure 6).7 Taking student goals and characteristics into account, the completion rate for vocational majors is similar to that of academic majors, although vocational participants are more likely to earn a shorter-term credential (e.g., certificate) than they originally set out to attain. The relatively low completion rate among postsecondary vocational students is consistent across categories of students, including those in special population groups.

#### 4. Social Innovation Financing Fails:

#### A. Accountability – it’s hard to measure outcomes for complex social problems

McHugh et al. 13 [Neil McHugh, distributive justice researcher at the Yunus Centre for Social Business and Health, Glasgow Caledonian University. "Social impact bonds: a wolf in sheep's clothing?." Journal of Poverty and Social Justice 21.3 (2013): 247-257.] //adres

The viability of SIBs relies upon the measurement of social outcomes. In principle, a shift from the somewhat blunt instrument of target driven outputs to outcomes is welcome. However, social outcomes are notoriously difficult to measure. Assessing how and the extent to which an intervention impacts on, for example, a participant’s wellbeing is not a simple task: these types of outcome tend to be continuous rather than categorical. ‘Off the shelf’ measures do not exist for many of the social outcomes which SIBs aim to effect and proxies or new indicators would have to be used. While an indication of a service’s effect may be adequate for some evaluations it is insufficient for the contracting arrangements involved in PbR and SIBs, as the payment of financial returns is conditional upon outcomes, and precision is required to avoid disputes. The complexity involved in formulating a SIB contract based on impact is further evident due to the problem SIBs raise of how to document the programme mechanism which generates any impacts. This reflects difficulties of attribution of changes in outcomes to specific policy actions as articulated by Pawson et al. (2004) and in literature on Social Return on Investment (SROI) (Arvidson et al., 2013). SIBs risk encouraging an emphasis on a simplistic ‘mechanical’ model of cause and effect, resting on the notion that an intervention is a singular ‘thing’ or event which results in a clearly discernible outcome. This fails to grasp the complexity of the conditions and contexts of the social problems that SIBs are aimed at addressing. For example, while recidivism appears to be an outcome more suitable than others for a SIB, reducing recidivism requires liaising with (and perhaps changes in the practices of) several agencies involved in providing and supporting the target client group including housing, social security benefits, and employment training; impact is also shaped by the nature of the local employment market. It is possible – in fact common – for a promising social project to be ‘let down’ by failings in another part of the support system that the target group need if they are to have a reasonable prospect of improving their situation (Pawson, 2002). The obverse of this is also the case: how can an outcome be attributed to an intervention per se when its apparent effect might be due to other services or favourable conditions? The premise of SIBs fails to understand that social inclusion policies are not mechanical levers but much more organic processes, and entail the reconfiguration of complex conditions and social interactions, often with unanticipatable consequences (Sanderson, 2000).

7

### Solvency – 1NC

#### B. Unintended consequences: Lack of precision allows exploitative corporations to profit while neglecting target populations

McHugh et al. 13 [Neil McHugh, distributive justice researcher at the Yunus Centre for Social Business and Health, Glasgow Caledonian University. "Social impact bonds: a wolf in sheep's clothing?." Journal of Poverty and Social Justice 21.3 (2013): 247-257.] //adres

Unintended Consequences for the UK Third Sector Unintended consequences in the form of distorted activity within the third sector can result from perverse incentives which lead third sector entities away from activities that are most needed towards activities that are most measurable. As discovered with outcome-based contracting of provider-led pathways to work, PbR can create incentives for organisations to shape their provision around the terms of the contract rather than the needs of clients (Hudson et al., 2010). Consequently, those most vulnerable and in greatest need may be ‘parked’ and neglected due to the difficulty, cost and time involved in dealing with them satisfactorily, while operations are focused instead on ‘creaming’ clients with less need, but who are easier to remove from claimant counts, thereby fulfilling incentivised or contractual outcomes. Distortion of activity through PbR can also manifest in other ways. For instance, in the appropriation of social enterprises, which have been widely championed as prime candidates in the third sector to fill gaps in the provision of public services as the state retreats (Brady, 2011). Whilst there remains no legal definition of a social enterprise in the UK, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) definition often continues to be cited; “a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to maximise profit for shareholders and owners” (Department of Trade and Industry, 2002, p13). Despite this the lack of a legal definition leaves the nature of what a social enterprise is open to distortion. Several actors in the private and public sectors have already taken advantage of this to suit their own agendas (Jones, 2012; Roy et al., 2013), particularly the UK Government in the context of discussions of social enterprise involvement in NHS reform (Hampson, 2010). This ambiguity opens the way to further creative interpretation, as private, for-profit enterprises may be sought to provide services under the guise of ‘social enterprises’ as a smokescreen for privatisation. Any such extension of how social enterprise is conceptualised in the UK would certainly represent a further shift away from the western European tradition, to which the DTI definition broadly adheres, towards more US-oriented traditions of social enterprise, which can allow for a (mostly) unfettered profit-making business, with minimal social objectives, to call itself a social enterprise (Defourny and Nyssens, 2010). 8 The risk of mission-drift (or shift) is heightened by a distinct lack of ‘social investment readiness’; this is not confined to social enterprises but to the entire third sector (Gregory et al., 2012). Arguably, the current lack of investment readiness is in great part attributable to the fact that the majority of social enterprises are simply far too small for SIBs to be relevant to them. The bulk of public service contracts are awarded to large multinational outsourcing corporations (such as Atos, A4E and Serco) which have the working capital to manage the significant cashflow pressures until PbR contracts meet their payment trigger points (Social Enterprise UK, 2012). Social Enterprise UK has described this emerging private sector oligopoly, where a small number of companies have a large share of the public services market, as the “Shadow State” (Social Enterprise UK, 2012). To compete with such corporations and become more suitable for SIB financing, social enterprises may well feel under pressure to grow substantially or to amalgamate. But social enterprises are often created to address a specific local need, and pressure to ‘achieve scale’ may well have the consequence of leaving their communities and original purposes behind. Any such mission drift will have adverse consequences for those most vulnerable who need local, and specifically tailored support.

### Ext. #1 – CTE Teacher Shortage

#### There’s a nationwide CTE teacher shortage now- aff can’t solve structural problems like retirement and lack of teacher qualifications

Sanctis 5-10-17

(Matt- staff writer for springfield news“Demand for tech teachers rises in Clark County amid national shortage” <http://www.springfieldnewssun.com/news/local/demand-for-tech-teachers-rises-clark-county-amid-national-shortage/REo0lz0kpIvCEsC1BQITnI/)ALB>

A shortage exists of qualified career and technical education teachers nationwide, according to a new report, even as demand for qualified educators is increasing, including in Clark County. Educational leaders in Clark County said the shortage isn’t as pressing in this region, although some positions are harder to attract because potential applicants can often earn more money by remaining in their technical field.The issue is important as some industries face shortages of trained workers and schools push students to explore local careers earlier, said Ashleigh McFadden, state policy manager for Advance Career and Technical Education. The agency is a nonprofit that represents state leaders responsible for secondary, post-secondary and adult career technical education. Technical educators teach in a variety of fields, ranging from agriculture to cyber security and automotive technology. “We’re in a place where budgets are only going to get tighter and there are going to be more and more demands on teachers and schools,” McFadden said. “The big message is to think beyond the traditional methods of getting industry experts into the classroom.” Information from the Ohio Department of Education showed as recently as 2014, Ohio had more than 120,300 career tech students, about 22 percent of students in high school statewide. Nationally the shortage of technical teachers is part of an overall shortage of teachers in general, McFadden said. However schools often face additional challenges to attract and retain qualified technical educators, she said. The number of technical-specific teacher preparation programs nationwide was slashed 11 percent between 1990 and 2000, according to the Advance CTE report. It has continued to decline in part due to less interest in teaching as a profession, the report says. “Meanwhile, schools across the country are struggling to manage the wave of teachers preparing for retirement,” the report says. Schools and other entities are also working to expose students to a variety of career fields long before graduation as well. Exposing students to career and tech courses early on can help students determine what career’s they are interested in, McFadden said. The Chamber of Greater Springfield has organized a career fair for area eighth-graders for the past several years to expose students from fields ranging from agriculture to manufacturing and health care. The challenge isn’t as acute in Clark County, said Rick Smith, superintendent at the Springfield-Clark Career Technology Center. The CTC provides courses both in traditional fields like English and science, as well as carpentry, animal science and engineering. The CTC employs 34 career and tech teachers and 16 academic teachers. The school has had little turnover among its career tech staff over the years, which Smith said has been helpful. The biggest challenge, he said, is that skilled workers in many career fields often earn more than they would in education. “While we may get 25 candidates for a regular educational teaching position, we usually get a quarter of that for an open career tech teaching position,” Smith said. In one recent case, Smith said the CTC received only six applications for an open position, but all six candidates were highly qualified so it was still a good fit. Districts are allowed to hire technical teachers who haven’t completed a teacher preparation program, as long as the candidate has a high school diploma, can prove at least five years of full-time work experience in the field and completes an approved pre-service career-technical education program. It takes a special person to teach career tech because it can be demanding, Smith said. “It’s tougher for instructors in career tech because they didn’t get into their career field to get into teaching,” Smith said. To address the national shortage of CTE teachers, the Advance CTE report recommends states coordinate a variety of policies. That could include working more closely with employers and developing programs that allow industry experts to serve in non-instructional roles for students, including mentors and coaches.

### Ext. #2 – Liberal Arts Turn

#### Liberal arts are a prerequisite to making STEM jobs effective

Tuajuanda C. Jordan, 1-12-2015, (president of St. Mary’s College of Maryland "Thinking Outside the Box," US News &amp; World Report, <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2015/01/12/why-a-tech-driven-economy-needs-the-liberal-arts//)MBA> HBJ

When most people hear “liberal arts” their thoughts turn entirely to the humanities. A rigid barrier in the popular mind separates disciplines like chemistry and physics from English literature and art. I’m a biochemist by training, but today I lead one of the nation’s most unique liberal arts colleges; just recently I sat in on classes in English, art and music. What we and many others have come to understand is that a full education in the humanities is not just important for a career in creative writing, it’s also critical to a career in one of the oft- discussed STEM fields. [SEE: 2014: The Year in Cartoons] In a difficult economy, the “employability” of an education is always given significant weight. Parents have understandably gone from encouraging “learning for the sake of learning” to emphasizing the course of study that they believe will set their child up for a rewarding career. There has even been discussion as to whether we really need the liberal arts at all – STEM-centric education is portrayed as the only option for our children’s economic futures. But when you ask the employers at huge corporations and technology companies what they need in their new employees, they want people who can communicate and learn quickly outside of their comfort zone, both traits fostered better by a liberal arts education than a solely technical degree. Fast Company noted back in August that many tech CEOs actually prefer employees with liberal arts degrees, as “the liberal arts train students to thrive in subjectivity and ambiguity, a necessary skill in the tech world where few things are black and white.” At my former liberal arts institution, I helped start something called the Center for Entrepreneurship, which is providing strong evidence that a liberal arts college can be an incubator for tech and innovation. [SEE: Political Cartoons on the Economy] Liberal arts colleges also play an outsize role in training students for careers in science. Thomas R. Cech – a Nobel laureate in chemistry – notes in his paper "Science at Liberal Arts Colleges: A Better Education?" that a survey conducted over a two-year period by the National Academy of Sciences found that almost one-in-five scientists elected into the National Academy of Sciences received their undergraduate degree from a liberal arts college, which is telling given that only 3 percent of all college graduates were educated at such an institution. Cech attributes the success of liberal arts science students to two features of a liberal arts education: the nurturing environment and the cross-training between science and the humanities. We also need to keep in mind that post-secondary education and job training are actually separate concepts and conflating them can be dangerous for our economy and for our students. We don’t exactly know what the jobs of the future will look like. Specialized technical training that looks like a sure thing now may be useless in only a few years. Yet we can be sure of this: No matter the economic landscape, you’ll need a broad knowledge base and the ability to think across disciplines and make informed decisions, often outside of an area of expertise. [READ: There Is Value in Liberal Arts Education, Employers Say] Many young Americans will change careers a number of times in their lifetime, and the emphasis on training for one path will hurt. Conversely, the creativity developed from an education drawn from many disciplines will be particularly useful as the job market continues to change.

### Ext. #2 – Liberal Arts Turn

#### Long term data proves liberal arts degrees are economically valuable

Allie Grasgreen, 1-22-2014, (University of Oregon with a B.S. in journalism and a minor in environmental studies "To see how liberal arts grads really fare, report examines long-term data," <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/22/see-how-liberal-arts-grads-really-fare-report-examines-long-term-data//)MBA> HBJ

Liberal arts majors may start off slower than others when it comes to the postgraduate career path, but they close much of the salary and unemployment gap over time, a new report shows. By their mid-50s, liberal arts majors with an advanced or undergraduate degree are on average making more money those who studied in professional and pre-professional fields, and are employed at similar rates. But that’s just one part of the paper’s overall argument that concerns about the value of a liberal arts degree “are unfounded and should be put to rest.” “That’s a myth out there – that somehow if you major in humanities, you’re doomed to be unemployed for the rest of your life. This suggests otherwise,” said Debra Humphreys, a co-author of the report and vice president for policy and public engagement at the Association of American Colleges and Universities. “That sort of journey to professional success is more of a marathon than a sprint.” The report, “How Liberal Arts and Sciences Majors Fare in Employment,” includes U.S. Census data from 2010 and 2011 and is a joint project of AAC&U and the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems. Humphreys and her co-author, Patrick Kelly, a senior associate at NCHEMS, looked at long-term career path and salary data as an answer to the many short-term studies on recent graduates that have fueled the assertion that liberal arts graduates are disproportionately un- or underemployed. “For me, the real story here is they did the report – that is, the AAC&U decided to step up to the question of economic value. The liberal arts community in general would rather not talk about it,” said Anthony P. Carnevale, director of the Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce. “It’s a mistake, because there is economic value in liberal arts and humanities degrees at the four-year level.” At peak earning ages (56-60), graduates with a baccalaureate degree in a humanities or social science field are making $40,000 more than they were as recent graduates (21-25). And while in the years following graduation they earn $5,000 less than people with professional or pre-professional degrees, liberal arts majors earn $2,000 more at peak earning ages, when they make about $66,000. (Salaries in both fields still lag behind engineering and math and sciences graduates, who in their late 50s make about $98,000 and $87,000, respectively.) Liberal arts graduates don’t fare quite as well when they possess just an undergraduate degree, though. The workers with advanced degrees in any field of study – who make up about 40 percent of all liberal arts graduates, and earn about $20,000 a year more for it -- push the earnings averages up significantly. Among graduates with a baccalaureate degree only, those with humanities and social sciences degrees consistently earn less than anyone else, peaking at about $58,000 a year. And while 5.2 percent of liberal arts degree-holders are unemployed from the ages of 21-30, that rate drops to 3.5 percent among 41- to 50-year-olds. Though they come close, liberal arts graduates never quite close the unemployment gap between themselves and professional or pre-professional graduates, whose rate drops from 4.2 to 3.1 percent among the same age groups. Part of the salary difference may be explained by another finding that the report authors highlight: liberal arts graduates are far more likely to wind up on lower-paying -- if no less important -- career paths. Liberal arts degree-holders fill half of all social services jobs (including counselors, social and human/community service workers, religious workers and “similar categories”), compared to 26 percent in both the education and “all” professions. It’s unclear whether liberal arts graduates are pursuing social service jobs because they’re more drawn to them, because they’re suited to a wider breadth of possible fields (which also contributes to a slow start salary-wise) or because that’s simply what’s left after all the other jobs are taken. Regardless, Humphreys said, all of the report’s data taken together should add some much-needed context to the debate surrounding the value of a liberal arts degree, particularly as states and college leaders are prioritizing which areas of study to fund or shutter and President Obama wants to rate colleges based on graduates’ job placement and earning power, most likely at short-term intervals. "We do need more engineers, but we also need more social workers,” Humphreys said, adding that when choosing a major, a broad education and a decent-paying job are “not an either/or proposition.” Although students typically choose a major based on their interests rather than earning potential, the report’s findings reinforce that they are in fact making the right call, Carnevale said. However, he added, “I think the advice to almost any liberal arts graduate is to get a graduate degree.” While making the case that liberal arts graduates are perfectly payable and employable, the report also drives home the fact that there’s one area where humanities and social sciences majors have everyone beat: meeting employers' desires and expectations. Employers consistently say they want to hire people who have a broad knowledge base and can work together to solve problems, debate, communicate and think critically, the report notes – all skills that liberal arts programs aggressively, and perhaps uniquely, strive to teach. “Until somebody proves otherwise, they own the argument about general skill,” Carnevale said. “The choice of undergraduate college major is not all that matters in determining long-term career success,” the authors write in the report’s conclusion. “While there are differences in outcomes related to employment, the majority of college graduates do achieve success in their careers, regardless of their choice of undergraduate major.”

### Ext. #2 – Liberal Arts Turn

#### Increasing automation means liberal arts is key

Frank Kalman, 2-23-2017, (Managing Editor Talent Economy"Why Liberal Arts is The Future in Age of Automation," Talent Economy, <http://www.talenteconomy.io/2017/02/23/liberal-arts-future///)MBA> HBJ

Nowadays, however, I’m not so sure. Today, as automation becomes more widespread, it’s safe to wonder if skills rooted in the liberal arts are poised to take on new life. As more routine, computational tasks are automated — even in accounting and finance, as well as computer programming — suddenly people whose skills are rooted in liberal arts are equipped with the knowledge and ability to properly complement automation and artificial intelligence. I’m not alone on this. In a recent Bloomberg interview, fellow Indiana grad and billionaire businessman Mark Cuban offered a bleak prediction on the future of jobs as robots takeover in the age of automation. When asked by Bloomberg’s Cory Johnson what skill areas workers are going to have to learn to excel in this environment, assuming finance or software programming would be part of the answer, Cuban cut him short: “No finance. That’s the easiest thing — you just take the data have it spit out whatever you need. I personally think there’s going to be a greater demand in 10 years for liberal arts majors than there were for programming majors and maybe even engineering, because when the data is all being spit out for you, options are being spit out for you, you need a different perspective in order to have a different view of the data. And so having someone who is more of a freer thinker.” Specifically, Cuban pointed to English, philosophy and foreign language majors as those that are poised to succeed in the future labor market. I imagine other liberal arts degrees are equally as likely to provide the “soft skills” needed in this future environment. Now, does this mean that anyone with a background in computer science, programming, math or finance and accounting, to name a few, will be rendered obsolete? Cuban’s comments appear to suggest this. But I don’t think this is the case. The need to understand what makes AI-enabled software and systems possible will still be prevalent. A more nuanced take, as others have written, is to suggest that liberal arts majors are primed to meld their backgrounds as they learn new technical skills like computer programming — something that is becoming easier through low-cost, online learning platforms. The point for leaders thinking about the makeup of their future workforces is to perhaps reconsider the value those with liberal arts backgrounds can bring to their organizations. Don’t ignore liberal arts in favor of established talent with heavy technical backgrounds, or discount majors like English or philosophy when conducting on-campus recruiting for technical roles. Embrace and train them. The results may be surprising.

### Ext. #2 – Liberal Arts Turn

#### Liberal arts education is *comparatively* better for the economy

Kelley Holland, 11-7-2014, (master's degree in Public and Private Management from the Yale School of Management. "The case for liberal arts education," CNBC, <http://www.cnbc.com/2014/11/07/the-case-for-a-liberal-arts-education.html//)MBA> HBJ

There are plenty of stereotypes about liberal arts majors, and some actually have a base in reality. But one—that liberal arts majors are unemployable or will never earn a decent salary—needs a second look. While liberal arts majors may have a tougher time landing that first job than someone with a computer science degree, their prospects are hardly hopeless. A survey by the National Association of Colleges and Employers found that the job offer rate for 2014 college graduates was higher than the previous year—48 percent versus 46 percent—thanks in large part to more offers for liberal arts majors. "The improvement appears to be totally located among students majoring in some of the weakest academic areas emerging from the recession, the liberal arts and sciences and education," the report's authors said. Read MoreCan your college major guarantee a job? Many of those jobs were in education, according to Edwin Koc, director of research at the association, and those jobs do not tend to pay terribly well. But overall, liberal arts degree holders are holding their own in the compensation department. College students in class Kristian Sekulic | Vetta | Getty Images A study released earlier this year by the Association of American Colleges and Universities, in conjunction with the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems, found that liberal arts graduates right out of college earn an average $26,271, almost $5,000 less than those with pre-professional or professional degrees in fields like computer networking. But by their peak earning years, from age 56 to 60, people with liberal arts degrees earn an average of $66,185, about $2,000 more than their peers with professional or pre-professional degrees. The majority of employers in the survey, which belonged to sectors ranging from accounting to retail, had a positive view of liberal arts graduates. When the respondents were read a description of liberal arts education today, 74 percent said they would recommend that kind of education as "the best way to prepare for success in today's global economy." They also said skills like critical thinking, problem-solving and communication were more important than any one major. Read MoreWhy businesses prefer a liberal arts education The findings fly in the face of a recent backlash against liberal arts studies. In 2013, Gov. Patrick McCrory of North Carolina pushed to change funding for the state university system to de-emphasize liberal arts. "If you want to take gender studies, that's fine, go to a private school and take it," he said in a radio interview with host Bill Bennett. "But I don't want to subsidize that if that's not going to get someone a job." McCrory has since softened his tone, but his goal remains the same. "I think the big change that the University of North Carolina and all universities are going to have to make in the future is they're going to have to adapt more quickly to the changing market environment and to the job skills gaps that industry is facing at this point in time," he said in a speech earlier this month at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Earlier, Gov. Rick Scott of Florida had pushed to rejigger his state's university funding to tilt toward science, technology, engineering and math, known as STEM fields. The state now measures the performance of its colleges and universities on seven metrics, starting with the percentage of graduates who are employed or continuing their education, and their income. "We don't need a lot more anthropologists in the state," Scott told a radio host. "I want to spend our dollars giving people science, technology, engineering, math degrees." Read MoreThere's hope for liberal arts grads after all At some point, though, "you get too many STEM graduates," said Patrick Kelly, a senior associate at the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems. And liberal arts graduates bring key skills to the job market, he added. "If you ask any employers what they would like to see better associated with graduates, it's communication skills, the ability to write well, and the ability to work in teams." Read MorePayPal's recruiting secret: Hackathons Indeed, 93 percent of the employers surveyed for the Association of American Colleges and Universities report agreed with the statement that "candidates' demonstrated capacity to think critically, communicate clearly, and solve complex problems is more important than their undergraduate major." Only 16 percent said knowledge of a specific field or skill was most important for long-term success. Liberal arts graduates may not go on to jobs that are as lucrative as engineering of physical science careers, Kelly said, but they do fill jobs that are important to society, as teachers, social workers, and the like. If they continue on to graduate school and pick up career-specific skills, liberal arts degree holders can significantly boost their income, he added, and earning some kind of proficiency in a technical area can also supplement their liberal arts qualifications. A 2013 study by Burning Glass, a labor analytics company, supports that idea. The study examined a year's worth of job openings and found that liberal arts graduates, far from being unemployable, were qualified for about 25 percent of them. If those same graduates took a few courses or landed an internship that gave them some technical skills, they qualified for about twice as many. Acquiring these skills will make a big difference in liberal arts majors' employability, but "this is stuff that can live at the peripheries of your academic program," said Matt Sigelman, chief executive of Burning Glass. The extra work also boosts liberal arts majors' earnings prospects, the study found. Developing one or more of eight skill sets—marketing, sales, business, social media, graphic design, data analysis, computer programming or IT networking—makes them eligible for jobs with starting salaries about $6,000 higher. "Even in technical roles, you see employers shouting from the rooftops that they can't get what they need. What they're often talking about are foundational skills," Sigelman said. "The market for what liberal arts students are accruing is as strong as ever. They just need to figure out how to acquire the job market skills to make themselves relevant right out the door."

### Ext. #4 – Social Innovation Financing Bad

#### Inaccurate evaluation and poor program selection make social innovation financing undesirable for investors

Lake 15 [Robert W. Lake, Professor and Graduate Director in the Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University. "The financialization of urban policy in the age of Obama." Journal of Urban Affairs 37.1 (2015): 75-78.] //adres

The first SIB was initiated in the U.K. in 2010 for a program aimed at reducing recidivism among individuals released after serving short-term prison sentences and the idea has generated considerable interest in the brief period since. The Maryland Opportunity Compact uses SIBs to reduce the length of stay of children in foster care and reduce recidivism in juvenile justice programs (Open Society Foundations, 2012). Massachusetts inaugurated a program in July 2012 called “Social Innovation Financing,” using SIBs to fund programs in juvenile justice and homelessness reduction (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2013). New York City announced a SIB in August 2012 to fund a program aimed at reducing recidivism among juvenile offenders, with investment capital provided by Goldman Sachs and the Bloomberg Foundation guaranteeing the investment return if outcome targets aren’t achieved (Preston, 2012). The city of Fresno, California created a SIB in January 2013 to reduce healthcare costs for children with asthma, and the state Senate is considering a bill (SB-9) to create the California Office of Social Innovation and Entrepreneurship II The Financialization of Urban Policy in the Age of Obama II 77 to expand the use of SIBs statewide (California Legislative Information, 2013). Within the Obama administration, the White House Office of Social Innovation organized a conference on SIBs in October 2011 called “Pay for Success: Investing in What Works,” and SIBs subsequently have been inaugurated with pilot programs in the Departments of Education, Justice, and Labor, the Social Security Administration, and the Corporation for National and Community Service (Munoz & Gordon, 2012; Office of Management and Budget, 2013). The record on SIBs reveals several implications of the financialization of urban policy, that is, of aligning urban policy with the requirements of the funding mechanism. First is the pitfall of program selectivity. The tendency to fund programs that correspond to the underlying logic of SIBs is evident in the emphasis to date on programs designed to stem juvenile and adult recidivism and reduce use of healthcare and homelessness services. The aim of these programs is to reduce “subprime” behaviors that increase costs to governments and to use the cost savings to repay private investors and program needs that do not correspond to this logic are unlikely to be funded. A second and related problem is the monetization of outcomes. Because the aim is to reduce the cost of government programs rather than to address social issues per se, program success is defined in terms of cost reduction rather than the substantive effect on the underlying problem. As a consequence, programs that address a pressing social need but can’t directly be linked to cost reduction won’t be funded through SIBs. Third is the measurement problem arising from the assumption that changes in outcomes (e.g., reduced recidivism, lower healthcare costs) can be directly and causally attributed to the program intervention—a confidence in social science methodology that may be seriously misplaced. Ironically, given the logic of program evaluation, a positive outcome in the target population must exceed outcomes in the comparison population, so an improvement in the comparison population that could reasonably be considered a success for society as a whole would be deemed undesirable for investors. Fourth, SIBs’ reliance on independent evaluators to certify program success is likely to engender the same market-based pressures that bedeviled the bond rating agencies that certified the credit-worthiness of mortgage-backed securities prior to the economic collapse of 2007. CONCLUSION That it is still “the economy, stupid,” only more so, suggests that finding the Obama administration’s urban policy distinct from economic policy is likely to be even more difficult than was the case nearly two decades ago. When urban policy is a means to economic ends, income inequality can be expected to increase, further undermining economic stability and requiring further intervention in a vicious cycle in which urban needs recede ever further from the policy agenda.

## State Budgets Add-On Answers

### 2NC – Aff Can’t Solve

#### The aff only solves in the short term – lack of stable revenue means deficits are inevitable

Jon Kamp 6-29-2017 (The Wall Street Journal’s Boston bureau journalist “State Budget Battles Show Few Signs of Letting Up” <https://www.wsj.com/articles/state-budget-battles-show-few-signs-of-letting-up-1498769391//)MBA> HBJ

Showdowns over state budgets are coming down to the wire around the U.S. as lawmakers struggle to hash out issues like education funding and taxes while, in some cases, trying to ward off state shutdowns. The flurry of 11th-hour negotiating reflects the underlying revenue weakness that has broadly dogged states in the past two years and inflamed debates over how to spend limited resources, according budget experts. Maine's Gov. Paul LePage has threatened to shutdown the state for the first time since 1991 over disagreements on taxes. In Connecticut, Gov. Dannel Malloy is preparing deep spending cuts as an agreement before Friday night appears elusive. All but four states start their next fiscal year on Saturday, and legislatures in 11 of those states had yet to finalize a budget as of Wednesday, according to the National Association of State Budget Officers. "It's not untypical to wait to the end. What's untypical is the degree of crisis that we're seeing in terms of not being able to make the budget balance," said Elizabeth McNichol, senior fellow at the left-leaning Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. She noted this kind of stress in budget negotiations is more common during a downturn. The lengthy budget processes may be another sign that states are on an unusually rocky fiscal road despite being eight years into an economic recovery. A recent Nasbo analysis of governors' spending proposals for the coming fiscal year showed they were aiming for just a 1% increase in general-fund spending, the smallest rise since fiscal 2010. Nowhere are the budget pressures greater than in Illinois, which faces a possible debt downgrade to junk status and hasn't had a budget for two years. The two-year budget stalemate has resulted in a nearly $15 billion backlog in unpaid bills. Gov. Bruce Rauner has told lawmakers he will keep them in session beyond Friday's deadline if they fail to agree on a balanced budget. Some states are finding a way forward. Washington state lawmakers Wednesday reached the outline of a deal that would avert a partial government shutdown. The sides had been at odds over education funding. Elsewhere, states like Pennsylvania and Connecticut are struggling to fill large deficits. "There's still a core number [of states] that are dealing with the fact that revenue is just not growing at the same pace as expenditures," said Marcy Block, lead Fitch Ratings analyst for Connecticut, New Jersey and Delaware.

### 2NC – Pension Crisis False

#### Pension crisis overblown --- their ev is propaganda and there’s no risk of collapse for decades

Carter 11 [Zach Carter is HuffPost's Senior Political Economy Reporter, working out of Washington D.C. Zach Carter is HuffPost's Senior Political Economy Reporter, working out of Washington D.C., “An Overblown ‘Crisis’ For State Pension Funds,” 3/7/11, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/03/07/state-pension-plans\_n\_829112.html]

In Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Florida and New Jersey, Republicans swept into power last year by voters outraged about ongoing economic distress are now targeting benefits for pensioners, hiking taxes for employees who will one day receive a pension and, in Wisconsin, even trying to eliminate the right for public employees to collectively bargain for a pension. Pensions, needless to say, are, like some bonuses, contractual obligations. They’re deferred compensation that formed the basis for years or, in some cases, decades of work already performed. Any state government that fails to pay those pensions in full are in default on the contracts. Pensions for workers who have already retired are protected by dozens of state constitutions. The average annual pension for government workers is roughly $19,500 a year, according to the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, one of the nation’s largest labor unions. That would mean $500,000 could provide about 25 years worth of payouts to a retired public servant. The $9 million bonus Goldman Sachs chief executive Lloyd Blankfein received for 2009 could have provided two decades of pension pay for 23 such public workers. The push to rewrite pension agreements is predicated on the much-discussed fiscal challenges facing states. But while states do face gaps in their general budgets — and, at the local level, municipal budget crises are forcing many cities to make tough choices — most states’ pension funds are doing just fine, including those of some states currently engaged in high-profile political budget standoffs. Wisconsin’s plan, in fact, is one of the healthiest in the nation. While many states will need to bolster their pension programs over the coming years, none face an immediate crisis. Even the most cash-strapped state plans in the nation are simply not in any danger of near-term financial distress. “It would require a calamity of unbelievable proportion to have a cash-flow shortage with pension funds,” said Monique Morrissey, an economist at the Economic Policy Institute, which is partly supported by labor unions. “They’re advance-funded, so in any given year, pension fund benefit payouts are a very small fraction of what’s actually in a pension fund account.” State pensions have garnered headlines for a variety of troubles during the recession — some have been underfunded in recent years, several took heavy losses on subprime mortgage bonds and nearly all took a beating during the 2008 and ‘09 stock market slides. As layoffs and foreclosures have depleted tax revenues for state governments, elected officials have targeted large public programs like pension funds in an effort to ease budget deficit concerns. But while the recession has taken a major toll on state tax revenues, economists say it has not had a drastic impact on pension funds — the stock losses were followed by a major market rebound, recovering losses. States pay out billions of dollars a year to pensioners, but every single state plan is also sitting on several billion more in revenue-generating assets. Many pension funds face no problems at all. Those that do must deal with a long-term revenue shortfall, still several years away, which can be prevented with modest reforms in the present. “In some cases you’re looking at 10 to 15 years, in some cases you’re looking at 30 to 40 years where you’re going to be running out of money,” said economist Christian Weller, a professor at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and an analyst for the Obama administration-allied Center for American Progress. “The fixes in most cases are very manageable. Many states had already started to address this years ago.” Pension obligations can seem disproportionately large compared to the scope of annual state budgets, Weller and others say, because pension funds calculate their total liabilities over the entire estimated lifetime of every pensioner and current public employee budgets. And it’s easy to make those sums look even bigger by assuming that pension fund investments will only earn low rates of return, like those on Treasury bonds (which are currently producing record-low yields). That operating assumption was used in a December study from the Mercatus Center, a think tank founded and funded by billionaires Charles and David Koch, oil barons who have supported Tea Party groups and invest heavily in conservative causes. Using that methodology, the report projected a $3 trillion shortfall for state pension funds and another $574 billion shortage for local government programs. Mercatus also prefers to project pension fund asset earnings at the 15-year Treasury bond interest rate, which is much lower than the 30-year interest rate, even though pension fund liabilities are calculated over a window that frequently eclipses 30 years. The numbers in the Mercatus paper were taken from a study by Northwestern University economist Joshua Rauh and University of Rochester economist Robert Novy-Marx, who used the same assumptions. Eileen Norcross, the Mercatus author, insisted that the Treasury bond standard is not just an effort to game the numbers. “You can’t pay out something that’s 100 percent certain with uncertain investments,” she said. “If they get those returns, that’s great. But there are also downturns, and you have to hedge against that. And what’s the hedge right now? It’s, ‘Oops, we have to raise taxes.’” Others say such conservative projections are just hocus-pocus. Most pension funds have recovered from the losses taken in the 2008 stock market slide. <<card continues>>

### 2NC – Pension Crisis False

<<card continues>> “These people would never invest all of their own money in Treasury bonds alone, yet they expect pensions to plan as if they did,” says EPI’s Morrissey. “They’re resorting to accounting gimmicks to make the hole look a lot bigger than it really is. The reality is that contributions can be adjusted very gradually because there isn’t any immediate cash-flow problem.” A $3 trillion shortage would be a tremendous problem if governments had to cope with it in a single year. But it’s actually a shortfall accumulated over about 30 years, or about $100 billion per year. In the context of a national economy generating $14.7 trillion a year, even amid the worst economic downturn in generations, that number is significant, but much less frightening. And by assuming traditional rates of return for pension funds, the number gets far smaller. A recent paper by economist Dean Baker, co-director of the progressive think tank Center for Economic Policy and Research, does exactly that, pegging the 30-year shortfall at $647 billion, or $21.6 billion per year, even if recent stock market gains for pension funds are not factored in. The major immediate threats to state budgets are the same problems facing citizens: foreclosures — an estimated $19,000 or so a pop to local governments, and currently running at a rate of 1 million a year — along with plunging home values and layoffs. But generous upper-end tax cuts aren’t helping, either. When Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker took office, for instance, he immediately implemented two tax cuts for the wealthy and large corporations that put the state’s budget under pressure. “Look at Walker, he manufactured his deficit with tax cuts for the rich,” said Ron Blackwell, chief economist for the AFL-CIO, the largest federation of U.S. labor unions. “For pensions, the problem in general is not an especially bad one. And to the extent there are problems, they’re caused by the stock market declines. They have nothing to do with how public sector unions negotiate these so-called ‘generous’ benefits.” Of course, some public employees really are enjoying extravagant retirements on the public dime. Unions representing California prison guards and other police forces have bargained for extremely generous payouts, while a handful of states have indeed mismanaged their pension plans. “For Illinois and New Jersey, ‘raided’ is probably a better word,” Morrissey, the EPI economist, says. But while the excesses of a few are being used to justify drastic action against public workers everywhere, even some of the worst-off state systems, like New Jersey and California, do not face an immediate crisis.

### 2NC – Pension Crisis False

#### Pension reform inevitable --- their stats are political fear-mongering and there’s no risk of immanent collapse

Carter 11 [Zach Carter is HuffPost's Senior Political Economy Reporter, working out of Washington D.C. Zach Carter is HuffPost's Senior Political Economy Reporter, working out of Washington D.C., “An Overblown ‘Crisis’ For State Pension Funds,” 3/7/11, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/03/07/state-pension-plans\_n\_829112.html]

While these big-ticket pensions reek of pay-for-play politics, they have a relatively minor impact on the state funds’ operations. California’s entire $100,000-plus club amounts to less than 1 percent of the state’s pensioners. The largest of California’s pension plans, CalPERS, which includes retired prison guards and highway patrolmen, pays benefits to over 1.6 million pensioners. CalSTRS, the teacher pension plan, has about 224,000 members. The average yearly pension for CalPERS, according to the plan’s data, was about $25,000 for a pensioner who spent more than 20 years working for the state. And those pensions are particularly important for retirees in California, one of several states in which public employees are not eligible for Social Security. Studies like Baker’s suggest that states can manage their long-term pension costs without slashing benefits or dramatically raising taxes on state employees. In addition to sitting on big piles of assets, states typically make their own annual contributions to pension funds and require some kind of contribution from employees in order to grow that asset base — all of which is stipulated in the employees’ contracts. Yet some governors now seek to dismantle the public guaranteed-pension system in favor of riskier 401k plans, a practice long advocated by conservative antitax activists. As far back as 1999, the Grover Norquist-led group Americans for Tax Reform was promoting so-called “pension liberation,” a phrase that has since been adopted by the Koch-funded group Americans for Prosperity. As it stands, pension contributions appear to have a relatively small impact on state budgets. According to an October study by the centrist Boston College Center for Retirement Research, those state pension expenditures accounted for just 3.8 percent of state government budgets in 2008. In order to meet long-term obligations under standard investment return expectations, the report claims that states should bolster that figure to 5.0 percent — assuming no increased burden on employees and no cuts to benefits. Assuming the Treasury bond-only investment strategy, however, states would have to ramp this up to around 9 percent. Many of the states currently subject to the most intense political uproar over pensions have some of the strongest programs in the country. Despite major standoffs between conservative governments and labor unions in Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio and Florida, these states’ pension plans are all on strong footing, even given disastrous economic conditions. Wisconsin and Ohio were each cited in a 2010 study by the Pew Center for the States as “a national leader in managing ... long-term liabilities for both pensions and retiree health care.” Florida was cited by the same report as a “top performer” for its pension fund. Economists analyze several statistics to determine pension fund stability, but the most closely watched is a metric known as the “funding ratio,” which compares the assets currently owned by pension funds to the total lifetime payments required by every pensioner and every current worker who will eventually be eligible for a pension. The Pew study, for instance, demands an 80 percent funding ratio for fiscal rectitude. To meet that mark, a pension fund must be able to cover at least 80 percent of its long-term costs if its investments were to be sold off now. At the time of the Pew study, Florida’s ratio was 101.39 percent, Wisconsin’s ratio was 99.67 percent, Ohio’s was at 86.83 percent, while Indiana was at 69.67 percent. That last ratio was enough to justify “serious concerns” at Pew about the Indiana fund’s long-term viability. The Pew study found that 19 states fell below its favored 80-percent threshold, but other studies use lower benchmarks to measure stability. New methodology from Fitch Ratings requires a 70 percent funding ratio for pension fund stability, and doesn’t claim that any plan is “weak” unless its funding ratio drops below 60 percent. Fitch, in fact, dismissed concerns about Indiana’s relatively low funding ratio in a February report, arguing that other revenue factors made it of little concern. And the Fitch report repeatedly emphasized that the vast majority of pension funds are not in crisis. “Fitch believes that the vast majority of governments will withstand the substantial pressures they face from their pension obligations,” the firm said. That seems to be the story for state pension funds: Many will need to make adjustments, but none are insurmountable. And to the extent that any face problems, they are long-term issues. Hence: No immediate crisis in state pensions. “They have time to make adjustments,” said Keith Brainard, research director for the National Association of State Retirement Administrators. “The idea of imminent insolvency is a gross distortion.”

### 2NC – Economy Recovering

#### Economy is trending upward

Enda Curran and Tom Mackenzie, 6-1-2017, (1. City University of London, 2. University of Warwick Bachelor of Science, "Gorman Says Dirty Little Secret Is U.S. Economy Doing Fine," <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-06-01/gorman-says-dirty-little-secret-is-u-s-economy-doing-just-fine//)MBA> HBJ

Morgan Stanley Chief Executive Officer James Gorman said he’s very encouraged by the performance of the U.S. economy, even amid the need for progress on some of the Trump administration’s legislative proposals. "The dirty little secret here is the U.S. economy is doing just fine," Gorman said in an interview with Bloomberg Television in Beijing. He pointed to falling unemployment, a recovery in house prices, stabilizing local and state government deficits and some signs of quickening inflation. Gorman made the remarks as Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco President John Williams told reporters in Seoul that the U.S. economy is doing very well and remains on a very good growth track. While the base case remains for three interest rate hikes this year, there’s scope for the Fed to raise four times in 2017 if the economy strengthens, Williams said. Unemployment in the world’s biggest economy fell to 4.4 percent in April while data show that consumer sentiment remains upbeat and the housing market remains tight. The S&P CoreLogic Case-Shiller index of property values in 20 cities rose 5.9 percent in March from a year earlier, matching the biggest gain since July 2014. "If you look at it objectively, the U.S. economy is doing fine, not great, but fine," Gorman said. He described President Donald Trump’s policy agenda as "very bold" and said it wasn’t surprising that the administration had been experiencing "tough sledding." Still, as markets adopt a wait-and-see approach, the administration will need to deliver on some of its agenda, Gorman said. "We need progress on some of these legislative programs," he said.

#### Only a 10% chance of a recession

Reuters 17- Reuters is an international news agency headquartered in London, United Kingdom. It is a division of Thomson Reuters, (“US Recession Remote in next 12 Months: Deutsche Bank,” Reuters, 13 June 2017, [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-recession-deutsche-bank-idUSKBN1931X5 //](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-recession-deutsche-bank-idUSKBN1931X5%20//) CGM

Chances are remote the U.S. economy will fall into a recession in the next 12 months despite a recent flattening of the U.S. yield curve suggesting growing recession risk, Deutsche Bank's economists said on Monday. Based on other bond market indicators, they estimated the probability of a U.S. recession from now to June 2018 at less than 10 percent. This compared with the yield curve, or the gap between long-dated and short-dated yields, which currently implies roughly a 33 percent chance of a recession. "Despite this development, we do not see U.S. recession risk as particularly elevated; indeed, we think it is quite low for the next year," Deutsche Bank economists wrote in a research note. Historically, a sharp flattening of the yield curve has preceded a recession as traders pile into longer-dated Treasuries in anticipation of an economic contraction. On Monday, the two-year to 10-year portion of the Treasury yield curve flattened to 83.80 basis points, its tightest since early October. It reached nearly 137 basis points in December, which was its steepest level in a year, Tradeweb data showed. Analysts and traders have attributed the curve flattening to doubts about any forthcoming fiscal stimulus from Washington and recent economic data that fell short of expectations. Still, some aspects of the U.S. economy such as the labor market and housing continue to perform well without signs they will overheat in the next 12 months, Deutsche Bank economists said.

### 2NC – Economy Recovering

#### Despite economic slowdown a recession is not likely anytime soon

Yang 16- Stephanie Yang is the associate producer of Trading Nation which is a program focusing on monetary issues on CNBC, (“No we’re not in a Recession: Corporate America,” CNBC, 26 January 2016, [http://www.cnbc.com/2016/01/25/no-were-not-in-a-recession-corporate-america.html //](http://www.cnbc.com/2016/01/25/no-were-not-in-a-recession-corporate-america.html%20//) CGM

This earnings season could provide the answer to one of investors' biggest questions. The recent market rout may have some wondering whether the U.S. is headed for an economic recession. But in a Monday research note, Jonathan Golub of RBC Capital Markets wrote that the continued decline in year-over-year earnings is more emblematic of an economic slowdown than a recession. "The data shows that during past cycles, earnings do not simply drift toward zero during recessions; rather they decline quite dramatically. In 1997 and 1998, the Asian debt and Russian ruble crises led to earnings slowdowns," Golub wrote, but "neither metastasized into a full-blown recession." Fourth-quarter earnings for the S&P 500 are expected to fall 6 percent compared to one year ago, according to FactSet. This would mark the third quarter in a row that earnings have dropped year over year, and extend the so-called earnings recession, marked by two consecutive quarters of declines. Despite negative earnings estimates, Erin Gibbs of S&P Investment Advisory Services said investors shouldn't write off earnings growth for the year just yet. "For 2016, we're looking at 5.5 percent growth, which is better than last year," Gibbs said Monday on CNBC's "Trading Nation." "We do see growth, but it is definitely slower than what we've typically seen." Earnings aside, Gibbs sees several other indicators that she said should be encouraging signs for the U.S. economy, such as strong unemployment rates and housing activity. The MBA purchasing index hit its second-highest level since 2010, Gibbs noted, which indicates strength in the housing market. Given these positives, Gibbs said she expects GDP to see meager but positive gains this year. Ari Wald, head of technical analysis at Oppenheimer, pointed to another indicator of economic stability — the yield curve. Looking at the difference between the 30-year Treasury bond and the two-year Treasury note, Wald noted that the spread remains much higher than in previous turbulent economic conditions. In a healthy economy, short-term bonds yield lower returns than long-term bonds. This is because bondholders are compensated more the longer they are willing to hold the investment, as inflation is more likely to rear its head. When short-term yields exceed long-term yields, the inverted curve is often seen as a lack of confidence in the economy, and an indicator of an impending recession.

### 2NC – No Economy Impact

#### Collapse doesn’t cause war

Clary 15 – PhD in political science from MIT, MA in national security affairs, postdoctoral fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University

(Christopher, “Economic Stress and International Cooperation: Evidence from International Rivalries”, 4/25/15)

Do economic downturns generate pressure for diversionary conflict? Or might downturns encourage austerity and economizing behavior in foreign policy? This paper provides new evidence that economic stress is associated with conciliatory policies between strategic rivals. For states that view each other as military threats, the biggest step possible toward bilateral cooperation is to terminate the rivalry by taking political steps to manage the competition. Drawing on data from 109 distinct rival dyads since 1950, 67 of which terminated, the evidence suggests rivalries were approximately twice as likely to terminate during economic downturns than they were during periods of economic normalcy. This is true controlling for all of the main alternative explanations for peaceful relations between foes (democratic status, nuclear weapons possession, capability imbalance, common enemies, and international systemic changes), as well as many other possible confounding variables. This research questions existing theories claiming that economic downturns are associated with diversionary war, and instead argues that in certain circumstances peace may result from economic troubles. I define a rivalry as the perception by national elites of two states that the other state possesses conflicting interests and presents a military threat of sufficient severity that future military conflict is likely. Rivalry termination is the transition from a state of rivalry to one where conflicts of interest are not viewed as being so severe as to provoke interstate conflict and/or where a mutual recognition of the imbalance in military capabilities makes conflict-causing bargaining failures unlikely. In other words, rivalries terminate when the elites assess that the risks of military conflict between rivals has been reduced dramatically. This definition draws on a growing quantitative literature most closely associated with the research programs of William Thompson, J. Joseph Hewitt, and James P. Klein, Gary Goertz, and Paul F. Diehl.1 My definition conforms to that of William Thompson. In work with Karen Rasler, they define rivalries as situations in which “[b]oth actors view each other as a significant politicalmilitary threat and, therefore, an enemy.”2 In other work, Thompson writing with Michael Colaresi, explains further: The presumption is that decisionmakers explicitly identify who they think are their foreign enemies. They orient their military preparations and foreign policies toward meeting their threats. They assure their constituents that they will not let their adversaries take advantage. Usually, these activities are done in public. Hence, we should be able to follow the explicit cues in decisionmaker utterances and writings, as well as in the descriptive political histories written about the foreign policies of specific countries.3 Drawing from available records and histories, Thompson and David Dreyer have generated a universe of strategic rivalries from 1494 to 2010 that serves as the basis for this project’s empirical analysis.4 This project measures rivalry termination as occurring on the last year that Thompson and Dreyer record the existence of a rivalry. Economic crises lead to conciliatory behavior through five primary channels. (1) Economic crises lead to austerity pressures, which in turn incent leaders to search for ways to cut defense expenditures. (2) Economic crises also encourage strategic reassessment, so that leaders can argue to their peers and their publics that defense spending can be arrested without endangering the state. This can lead to threat deflation, where elites attempt to downplay the seriousness of the threat posed by a former rival. (3) If a state faces multiple threats, economic crises provoke elites to consider threat prioritization, a process that is postponed during periods of economic normalcy. (4) Economic crises increase the political and economic benefit from international economic cooperation. Leaders seek foreign aid, enhanced trade, and increased investment from abroad during periods of economic trouble. This search is made easier if tensions are reduced with historic rivals. (5) Finally, during crises, elites are more prone to select leaders who are perceived as capable of resolving economic difficulties, permitting the emergence of leaders who hold heterodox foreign policy views. Collectively, these mechanisms make it much more likely that a leader will prefer conciliatory policies compared to during periods of economic normalcy. This section reviews this causal logic in greater detail, while also providing historical examples that these mechanisms recur in practice. Economic Crisis Leads to Austerity Economic crises generate pressure for austerity. Government revenues are a function of national economic production, so that when production diminishes through recession, revenues available for expenditure also diminish. <<card continues>>

### 2NC – No Economy Impact

<<card continues>> Planning almost invariably assumes growth rather than contraction, so the deviation in available revenues compared to the planned expenditure can be sizable. When growth slowdowns are prolonged, the cumulative departure from planning targets can grow even further, even if no single quarter meets the technical definition of recession. Pressures for austerity are felt most acutely in governments that face difficulty borrowing to finance deficit expenditures. This is especially the case when this borrowing relies on international sources of credit. Even for states that can borrow, however, intellectual attachment to balanced budgets as a means to restore confidence—a belief in what is sometimes called “expansionary austerity”—generates incentives to curtail expenditure. These incentives to cut occur precisely when populations are experiencing economic hardship, making reductions especially painful that target poverty alleviation, welfare programs, or economic subsidies. As a result, mass and elite constituents strongly resist such cuts. Welfare programs and other forms of public spending may be especially susceptible to a policy “ratchet effect,” where people are very reluctant to forego benefits once they have become accustomed to their availability.6 As Paul Pierson has argued, “The politics [of welfare state] retrenchment is typically treacherous, because it imposes tangible losses on concentrated groups of voters in return for diffuse and uncertain gains.”7 Austerity Leads to Cutbacks in Defense Spending At a minimum, the political costs of pursuing austerity through cutbacks in social and economic expenditures alone make such a path unappealing. In practice, this can spur policymakers to curtail national security spending as a way to balance budgets during periods of economic turmoil. There is often more discretion over defense spending than over other areas in the budget, and it is frequently distantly connected to the welfare of the mass public. Many militaries need foreign arms and foreign ammunition for their militaries, so defense expenditures are doubly costly since they both take up valuable defense budget space while also sending hard currency overseas, rather than constituencies at home. Pursuing defense cuts may also conform to the preferences of the financial sector, which shows a strong aversion to military conflict even if that means policies of appeasement and conciliation.8 During periods of economic expansion, the opportunity costs associated with defense expenditure—the requirement for higher taxes or foregone spending in other areas—are real but acceptable. Economic contraction heightens the opportunity costs by forcing a choice between different types of spending. There is a constituency for defense spending in the armed services, intelligence agencies, and arms industries, but even in militarized economies this constituency tends to be numerically much smaller than those that favor social and economic expenditures over military ones. Defense Cutbacks Encourage Rapprochement An interest in defense cutbacks can lead to conciliatory behavior through two paths. First, the cutbacks themselves serve as a concrete signal to adversaries that the military threat posed by the economically distressed state is declining. This permits the other state to halt that portion of defense spending dedicated to keeping up, breaking the back of ongoing arms races through reciprocated, but non-negotiated moves. Unilateral conventional force reductions were a major element of Gorbachev’s foreign policy in the late 1980s, alongside negotiated strategic arms control, and diplomatic efforts to achieve political understandings with the United States.9 Gorbachev similarly used force reductions in Afghanistan, Mongolia, and the Soviet Far East to signal to China in 1987 that he was serious about political negotiations.10 Elsewhere, non-negotiated, tit-for-tat military redeployments facilitated Argentina-Brazil rapprochement.11 Second, leaders may believe cutbacks are necessary, but would be dangerous in the absence of negotiated improvements with traditional foes. Economic downturns can serve as motivation to pursue arms control or political settlement. During periods of normalcy, such outcomes would be positives, but are viewed as “too hard” by political leaders that move from one urgent problem to the next. During periods of economic crisis, however, arms control or political improvements might allow for much needed cuts in defense spending, and are pursued with greater vigor. The Johnson administration attempted both unilateral and negotiated arms limitations because of budgetary concerns as President Johnson and Secretary McNamara struggled to pay for the “Great Society” domestic programs and the increasingly costly Vietnam War. <<card continues>>

### 2NC – No Economy Impact

<<card continues>> They first attempted unilateral “caps” on costly nuclear forces and anti-ballistic missile defenses and when this failed to lead to a reciprocal Soviet response they engaged in formal arms control talks. Détente continued in the Nixon administration, accelerating in 1971 and 1972, simultaneous with rising budget deficits and inflation so serious that Nixon instituted price controls. Nixon’s decision to sharply limit anti-ballistic missile defenses to enable arms control talks was contrary to his strategic views, but necessitated by a difficult budgetary environment that made paying for more missile defense emplacements unrealistic.12 As Nixon told his national security advisor Kissinger in an April 1972 discussion of ballistic missile and anti-ballistic missile developments: “You know we've got a hell of a budget problem. We've got to cut it down, we've got to cut 5 billion dollars off next year's defense budget. So, I don't want to [inaudible: do it?] unless we've got some settlement with the Russians.”13 In practice, unilateral defense cuts and force reductions are frequently combined with negotiated political agreements in a sequential, iterative fashion, where a unilateral reduction will signal seriousness that opens the way for political agreement, which in turn permits even deeper reductions. Defense cuts and force reductions are not only a means to achieve rivalry termination, but also a goal in and of themselves that rivalry termination helps secure. Leaders are seeking resources from defense they can use elsewhere. Thus when Argentine leader Raul Alfonsín campaigned for the need for drastic budgetary austerity, his specific “platform was the reduction of military spending to use it for the other ministries, connected with the concept of eliminating the hypothesis of conflict” with Argentinian rivals, according to Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini, who served in Alfonsín’s ministry of defense (and later was Argentina’s foreign minister).14 Similarly, Gorbachev was motivated to reduce arms in the late 1980s because he determined it was necessary to cut Soviet defense spending and defense production, and repurpose part of the defense industry to make consumer and civilian capital goods, according to contemporary U.S. Central Intelligence Agency classified assessments.15 Thus the “main reason” why strategic arms control breakthroughs occurred from 1986 to 1988 and the Soviet Afghan intervention concluded in 1989 was a realization within the Politburo of “excessively high expenditures on defense,” according to Nikolai Ryzhkov, Gorbachev’s prime minister.16 Economic Downturns Provoke Strategic Reassessment: Threat Deflation and Prioritization Economic downturns encourage leaders to seek new ideas to use to frame their policy problems. During periods of economic difficulty, elites can come to realize that their problems are not amenable to old solutions, and search for new ideas.17 During an economic crisis, politics and policy are “more fluid,” as old answers seem stale and insufficient.18 An ideational entrepreneur that can link economic lemons to foreign policy lemonade can find a patron when leaders are casting about for ways to reframe the world in acceptable ways to their peers and publics. The behavior of an old foe is often ambiguous, and can be viewed as either injurious to one’s interests or neutral toward them. During periods of normalcy, the motivation of defense establishments is tilted toward threat and danger. During periods of economic crisis, national leaders have a counteracting motivation to downplay such dangers, so that the threats faced by a nation are manageable through available resources. Economic difficulties provide a motivation for leaders to view equivocal signals from the international system in a way that is benign. To the extent that rivalries are perpetuated because of threat inflation, economic downturns provide incentives to deflate the threat, potentially disrupting cycles of competition and enmity. South Korean president Kim Dae-jong came to power in the aftermath of the 1998 Asian economic crisis, pursued a “sunshine policy” toward the North, cut South Korean defense spending in nominal and real terms, and pursued a policy toward North Korea that political scientist Dong Sun Lee called “threat deflation” despite the growing North Korean nuclear weapons threat.19 Economic crises can also spur strategic reassessment through another channel. If leaders view economic problems as structural, rather than a temporary gale, they may come to question whether available national resources are sufficient to confront all of the national threats identified in the past. This creates incentives to economize threats, seeking political settlements where possible in order to focus remaining resources on competitions that can be won. A concrete example: in 1904, the chancellor to the Exchequer wrote his cabinet colleagues: “[W]e must frankly admit that the financial resources of the United Kingdom are inadequate to do all that we should desire in the matter of Imperial defense.”20 The result was a British decision to minimize political disagreement with the United States and focus on other defense challenges. <<card continues>>

### 2NC – No Economy Impact

<<card continues>> While such a decision is in line with realist advice, it occurred not when the power trajectories were evident to British decisionmakers but when the budget situation had reached a crisis that could no longer be ignored. Economic Downturns Increase Incentives for International Economic Cooperation Economic downturns not only create incentives to cut spending, they encourage vigorous pursuit of opportunities for economic cooperation. This, too, can engender conciliatory behavior. Economic downturns can increase motives to pursue trade and investment. Rivalries with old foes often directly impinge on trade and investment with the adversary and may indirectly impinge on trade and investment with third parties, especially if the rivalry is viewed as being likely to generate disruptive military conflict. Additionally, economic aid is sometimes used as an inducement for adversaries to set aside a political dispute. This aid can either serve as a side payment from one rival to another, or it can be offered by a third party to one or both rivals as an incentive to set aside lingering disputes. Such aid is more attractive during periods of economic turmoil than during periods of comparative normalcy. In South Asia, India and Pakistan struggled from 1947 to 1960 with how to manage water resources in the Indus Rivers basin, inheriting a canal system meant to service pre-partitioned India. Pakistan, suffering an economic downturn, and India, reliant on foreign aid to avert economic crisis, agreed to an Indus Waters Treaty in 1960 to resolve the lingering dispute, made possible in substantial part because of World Bank financing that was especially attractive to the struggling economies. In the Middle East, Egypt and Israel made the hard choices necessary for the Camp David accord in 1979 precisely because the Sadat and Begin governments faced difficult economic situations at home that made the U.S. aid guarantee in exchange for a peace agreement especially attractive.21 In 1982, the Yemen’s People’s Republic agreed to stop its attempts to destabilize Oman, because otherwise Yemen would not receive economic assistance from Arab oil producing states that it desperately needed.22 In the late 1990s, El Niño-induced flooding devastated Ecuador and Peru, spurring reconciliation as leaders sought to increase trade, secure investment, and slash military expenditures so they could be used at home.23 As one Western diplomat assessed at the time, Ecuador and Peru “have decided it's better to see reason…. They see foreign companies eager to invest in South America, and if Peru and Ecuador are in conflict, it makes them less attractive than, say, Argentina or Brazil or Chile for investment purposes. That's the last thing either country wants.”24 Economic Downturns Can Cause Meaningful Leadership Change The above mechanisms have identified how economic difficulties can alter the preferences of an incumbent leader. Additionally, economic crises can lead to leadership turnover and, during periods of difficulty, the selection process that determines new leadership can loosen ideological strictures that relate to extant rivalries. Leaders may be selected based on judgments about their ability to cope with economic problems, with greater elite acceptance of ideological heterogeneity in foreign policy beliefs than in periods of normalcy.25 In Stephen Brooks and William Wohlforth’s words, “If everything is going well or is stable, then why select leaders who might subvert the triedand-true identity? But if that identity is leading to increased material difficulties, pressure for change will likely mount. In these circumstances, those who are willing to alter or adjust the hallowed precepts of the existing identity and its associated practices are more likely to assume power.”26 Economic crisis, then, can spur incumbent leaders to either abandon the “baggage” of rivalry or facilitate the selection of new leaders that do not carry such baggage. The most well-known example of an incumbent selectorate looking for a reformer, even one without much foreign policy experience, involves Mikhail Gorbachev’s ascension to the Soviet premiership. In political scientist Jerry Hough’s words, “If the rate of economic growth continued to decline, if administrative and labor efficiency continued to fall, if corruption was not punished, these conditions would have dangerous consequences for the [Soviet Union in the] 1980s and 1990s…. Gorbachev’s promotion was an answer to these concerns.”27