# AC – Clean Coal

## Framing

#### The standard is utilitarianism – minimizing pain and maximizing pleasure. Prefer:

#### Actor specificity: Government actions will inevitably lead to trade-offs between citizens since they benefit some and harm others; the only justifiable way to resolve these conflicts is by benefitting the maximum possible number of people since anything else would unequally prioritize one group over another. Also takes out indicts about calculability because governments using it proves it works.

#### Reductionism is true – Science proves no personal identity exists. This means we’re only blobs of pain and pleasure, so state of affairs come first. Olson 10

Olson, Eric. [Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sheffield] Oct 28, 2010 “Personal Identity” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-personal/#PsyApp

Whatever psychological continuity may amount to, a more serious worry for the Psychological Approach is that you could be psychologically continuous with two past or future people at once. **If your cerebrum**—the upper part of the brain largely responsible for mental features—**were transplanted, the recipient would be** psychologically continuous with **you** by anyone's lights (even if there would also be important psychological differences). The Psychological Approach implies that she would be you. If we destroyed one of your cerebral hemispheres, the resulting being would also be psychologically continuous with you. (Hemispherectomy—even the removal of the left hemisphere, which controls speech—is considered a drastic but acceptable treatment for otherwise-inoperable brain tumors: see Rigterink 1980.) What **if we** did both at once, **destroy**ing **one hemisphere and transplant**ing **the other**? Then too, **the one who got the transplant**ed hemisphere **would be** psychologically **continuous with you,** and according to the Psychological Approach would be you. But now **suppose** that **both hemispheres are transplanted,** each **into a different empty head**. (We needn't pretend, as some authors do, that the hemispheres are exactly alike.) **The two recipients**—call them Lefty and Righty—**will** each **be** psychologically continuous with **you**. The Psychological Approach as I have stated it implies that any future being who is psychologically continuous with you must be you. It follows that you are Lefty and also that you are Righty. **But that cannot be**: Lefty and Righty are two, and **one** thing **cannot be** numerically identical with **two things**. Suppose Lefty is hungry at a time when Righty isn't. If you are Lefty, you are hungry at that time. If you are Righty, you aren't. If you are Lefty and Righty, you are both hungry and not hungry at once: a contradiction.

#### Degrees of wrongness – only util can explain why certain actions are intrinsically worse than others, for example skipping a lunch date with your friend vs skipping taking your dying friend to the hospital.

## Harms

#### New bills are being proposed for clean “refined coal”. Prest 19

Brian C. Prest, 10-9-2019, "How Clean is “Refined Coal”?," Resources for the Future, <https://www.resourcesmag.org/archives/how-clean-is-refined-coal/> VG

Coal-fired power generation in the United States has been in a decade-long decline, a trend repeatedly punctuated by plant closures (from [Montana](https://www.oregonlive.com/politics/2019/06/two-montana-coal-plants-closing-this-year-the-latest-to-go-offline-nationwide.html) and [Colorado](https://www.greentechmedia.com/articles/read/xcel-energy-accelerates-coal-plant-closures-to-meet-100-clean-energy-goal) to [Indiana](https://www.eenews.net/stories/1060756791) and [Massachusetts](https://www.boston.com/news/local-news/2019/04/27/poof-theyre-gone-massachusetts-power-plant-towers-demolished-in-seconds)) and mine bankruptcies (notably including [Arch Coal](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-arch-coal-restructuring/arch-coal-files-for-bankruptcy-hit-by-mining-downturn-idUSKCN0UP0MR20160111), [Peabody](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/04/13/coal-titan-peabody-energy-files-for-bankruptcy/), [Cloud Peak](https://trib.com/business/energy/wyoming-coal-giant-cloud-peak-files-for-bankruptcy/article_92bd4383-b117-5200-8748-0eb8e4585baf.html), and [Blackjewel](https://www.theguardian.com/business/2019/jul/22/blackjewel-mines-shut-down-layoffs-future)). The Trump administration has floated several policies to save the dying industry. Proposed [profit guarantees for coal and nuclear plants](https://www.rff.org/publications/working-papers/costs-and-benefits-of-saving-unprofitable-generators-a-simulation-case-study-for-us-coal-and-nuclear-power-plants/), [mandates to buy coal and nuclear power](https://www.rff.org/publications/working-papers/retirements-and-funerals-the-emission-mortality-and-coal-mine-employment-effects-of-a-two-year-delay-in-coal-and-nuclear-power-plant-retirements/), and the [establishment of a “Strategic Electric Generation Reserve”](https://www.resourcesmag.org/archives/a-strategic-electricity-generating-reserve-a-solution-in-search-of-a-problem/) were widely covered and well-known policy proposals, and readers of Resources magazine may already be aware of them. But even many well-informed observers of the US power sector have never heard of another billion-dollar federal subsidy for burning coal—specifically, the federal tax credit for so-called “refined coal,” a chemically processed kind of coal supposed to produce less air pollution than regular coal. The “refining” process involves spraying a mixture of chemicals on the coal, a technique meant to reduce emissions produced when it is burned—in particular, emissions of nitrogen oxide (NOₓ), sulfur dioxide (SO₂), and mercury. However, this subsidy is failing to achieve its goals, and the emissions reductions achieved in practice are much smaller than the tax law requires. The policy—a $7/ton tax credit for refined coal use—is currently set to expire in 2021, but several new bills have been introduced in recent months on Capitol Hill to extend the credit (e.g., [S. 1327](https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/1327) and [S. 1405](https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-bill/1405)). These updates provide a great opportunity to reevaluate—and reconsider—the refined coal subsidy. Refined coal comprises more than 20 percent of coal used in the US power sector, and that number is growing as more plants bring refining operations online to take advantage of the tax credit (Figure 1). The $7/ton tax credit represents a large fraction of the market price of coal (10–15 percent of the price of bituminous coal from the eastern United States and 35 percent of the price of lignite, another type of coal). Given that more than 120 million tons of this stuff is burned every year, the tax credit amounts to nearly $1 billion annually in subsidies for burning coal, something most economists argue should be taxed, due to the associated unintended consequences (i.e., negative externalities), rather than subsidized.

#### Empirics prove clean coal refining causes toxic chemicals to leak and contaminates the water supplies of communities.

Tim McLaughlin, Reporter for Reuters, The truth about ‘clean’ coal, Dec. 3, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-coal-pollution/> ///AHS PB

Refined coal has also led to contamination of water supplies for more than a million people, according to regulators and utility officials. In 2012, the South Carolina Department of Health & Environmental Control noticed elevated levels of bromides, the chemicals used to treat refined coal, in the Santee Cooper-Lake Moultrie public water system, said Tommy Crosby, a spokesman for the agency. The South Carolina plant’s refined coal operation stopped spraying bromide on the coal burned at the Cross Generating Station out of concern for the elevated levels of cancer-causing trihalomethanes, Crosby said, and the levels decreased within six months. Trihalomethanes are created when bromide mixes with the chlorine in treated drinking water. The plant’s refined coal facility was financed by global insurance firm AJ Gallagher, Boston-based mutual fund giant Fidelity and a U.S. subsidiary of France’s Schneider Electric SE. Fidelity declined to comment on the elevated TTHM levels and pointed out that federal limits were not exceeded. Schneider Electric and AJ Gallagher declined to comment. The North Carolina town of Mooresville, downstream of Duke’s Marshall power plant, saw its trihalomethanes surge as high as 127 parts per billion at times in 2015, after the facility discharged bromide used to treat coal into a nearby lake, according to the town’s drinking water quality report. That did not trigger a violation of federal clean water rules because the town’s annual average of 54 parts per billion that year was below the maximum trihalomethane contaminant level of 80 parts per billion. The same was true of the South Carolina plant, where trihalomethane levels in 2012 rose to 67 parts per billion. Over the past decade, however, many studies have shown that exposure to trihalomethanes at much lower levels than the federal limit raises the risk of cancer and of problems during pregnancy. Some people who drink water containing TTHMs in excess of the maximum standard over many years may experience problems with their liver, kidneys, or central nervous system, and may have an increased risk of getting cancer, according to the EPA. In 2016, the EPA included bromide in the Safe Water Drinking Act as an unregulated contaminant to be monitored by public water systems. Research by Jeanne VanBriesen, director of Carnegie Mellon University’s Center for Water Quality in Urban Environmental Systems, found that bromide additives used to reduce mercury could significantly boost trihalomethanes in drinking water supplies downstream of coal plants. Her 2017 study focused on 22 drinking water systems serving 2.5 million people in Pennsylvania. Once Duke Energy halted refined coal operations at the North Carolina plant, bromide dropped about 75 percent in the nearby Catawba River, Zachary Hall, director of environmental science at Duke, said in a February 2017 deposition given to the Southern Environmental Law Center. Duke officials concede that bromide applications contributed to the elevated trihalomethane levels. “While bromides from our facilities were not the sole cause,” Duke’s Culbert said, “we felt it was important to partner with downstream water utilities and suspend the program.”

#### Coal pollution hits poor minority communities the hardest. Katz 12.

Katz, Cheryl. Scientific American. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/people-poor-neighborhoods-breate-more-hazardous-particles/>

Tiny **particles of air pollution contain more hazardous ingredients in non-white and low-income communities than in affluent white ones**, a new study shows. The **greater the concentration of** Hispanics, Asians, African Americans or **poor residents** in an area, **the more likely that potentially dangerous compounds** such as vanadium, nitrates and zinc are in the mix of fine particles **they breathe. Latinos had the highest exposures to the largest number of these ingredients, while whites** generally **had the lowest**. **The findings** of the Yale University research **add to evidence of a widening racial** and economic **gap** when it comes to air pollution. **Communities of color** and those with low education and high poverty and unemployment **face greater health risks even if their air quality meets federal health standards**, according to the [article](http://ehp.niehs.nih.gov/2012/08/environmental-inequality-in-exposures-to-airborne-particulate-matter-components-in-the-united-states/) published online in the scientific journal Environmental Health Perspectives. Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Fresno are among the metropolitan areas with unhealthful levels of fine particles and large concentrations of poor minorities. More than 50 counties could [exceed](http://www.epa.gov/airtrends/values.html) a new tighter health standard for particulates proposed by the Environmental Protection Agency. Communities of color and those with low education and high poverty and unemployment may face greater health risks even if their air quality meets federal health standards.A pervasive air pollutant, the fine particulate matter known as PM2.5 is a mixture of emissions from diesel engines, power plants, refineries and other sources of combustion. Often called soot, **the microscopic particles penetrate deep into the lungs**. The new study is the first to reveal major racial and economic differences in exposures to specific particle ingredients, some of which are [linked](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22389181) to asthma, cardiovascular problems and cancer. “Numerous studies indicate that some particles are more harmful than others,” said lead author Michelle Bell, a professor of environmental health at Yale’s School of Forestry and Environmental Studies. The particles people breathe include a variety of metals and chemicals, depending on their source. For instance, people living near refineries are exposed to more nickel and vanadium, while those near coal-fired power plants breathe particles with higher sulfate content. Neighborhoods along busy roads have more nitrates from vehicle exhaust.

#### Clean coal increases climate change and global warming – even more than untreated coal in some cases.

Tim McLaughlin, Reporter for Reuters, The truth about ‘clean’ coal, Dec. 3, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-coal-pollution/>

**In** nearly **three years of burning the treated coal**, the Duke power plants collected several million dollars in federal subsidies. But the **plants** also **pumped out more NOx, not less**, according to data from the U.S. [Environmental Protection Agency](https://globalnews.ca/tag/environmental-protection-agency/) analyzed by Reuters. **The NOx** **emission rate at Duke’s Marshall Steam Station** power plant in Sherrills Ford, North Carolina, for example, **was between 33 per cent and 76 per cent higher in the three years from 2012 to 2014 than in 2011**, the year before Marshall started burning refined coal, the EPA data shows.The utility also discovered that one of the chemicals used to refine the coal, calcium bromide, had reached a nearby river and lakes – raising levels of carcinogens in the water supply for more than a million people in greater Charlotte. Duke stopped using refined coal at the plants in May 2015 because of the water pollution problems, said spokeswoman Erin Culbert. Bromide levels in the region’s drinking water dropped sharply several months later, said Barry Gullett, the city’s water director, in a 2015 memo. Duke’s experience reflects a fundamental problem with the U.S. clean coal incentive program, a Reuters examination has found**. Refined coal shows few signs of reducing NOx emissions** as lawmakers intended, according to regulatory documents, a Reuters analysis of EPA emissions data, and interviews with power plant owners, scientists and state environmental regulators. Consumption figures compiled by the U.S. Energy Information Administration show that American power plants are on track to burn about 160 million tons of clean coal in 2018 – a fifth of the U.S. coal market. That amount would generate about $1.1 billion in incentives at the current tax credit amount of $7.03 per ton.“This community will die without coal”: The history and future of coal power in SaskatchewanBut most of the plants receiving the subsidy failed to reduce NOx emissions by 20 per cent – the threshold required under the policy – in 2017 compared to 2009, the last year before they started burning refined coal, according to a Reuters analysis of EPA data on power plant emissions.**Reuters identified 56 plants** that burned refined coal in 2017 using data from the U.S. Energy Information Administration and disclosures from energy companies and refined-coal developers.**Only 18** of that group **reduced NOx emissions by more than 20 per cent** in 2017 compared to 2009. And 15 of those 18 only reported the improvements after installing or upgrading pollution control equipment or switching a portion of power production to cleaner-burning fuel, complicating the question of whether their pollution reductions are attributable to refined coal. **At 22 of the 56 plants, NOx emissions were higher in 2017 while burning refined coal than they were when using raw coal in 2009**.As a group, the fleet of U.S. power plants that burn **refined coal also underperformed the rest of the industry** in cutting emissions of NOx, the Reuters analysis found.

#### Clean coal is propaganda—it makes the entire industry look environmentally sustainable and prevents future environmental reforms.

ANNE C. MULKERN, Reporter for E&E and has written extensively about California's climate law, the state's push on renewable power, electric vehicles, drought, and the people leading key energy developments, A 'Propaganda War' Over 'Clean Coal', April 20, 2009, <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/gwire/2009/04/20/20greenwire-propaganda-war-over-coal-escalates-ahead-of-hi-10594.html?pagewanted=print> ///AHS PB

Five months into an advertising war on coal, the phrase "clean coal" not only endures, it has become political shorthand. Everyone -- from Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad of North Dakota to Interior Secretary Ken Salazar -- refers to clean coal or clean coal technology. Environmentalists call the "clean coal" rhetoric dangerous, saying it creates complacency about the need to move toward true carbon-free energy. Policymakers, environmentalists say, know that coal remains one of the most polluting sources of energy. The word war over coal is escalating. There are billions of dollars at stake, as Congress moves toward historic legislation that could decide winners and losers in the green energy economy. Already, there are signs of small victories by the coal camp. "To a certain extent, it is a propaganda war," said Kenneth Green, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, a Washington think tank. "The coal industry believes the environmental community wants to put it out of business. The environmental groups are afraid the clean coal concept is appealing enough to lawmakers, it will stymie their progress in getting rid of coal." Coal's boosters and its critics are vying to shape public perception about the fuel. For coal, winning the battle could mean securing billions of dollars for years to come. Coal companies want federal money for research on removing and sequestering carbon emissions and to preserve their position as dominant players in the United States' energy supply. Meanwhile, environmentalists are hungry to minimize the role of polluting fossil fuels and capture federal money for wind, solar, other renewable power sources and conservation efforts.

#### Global climate change is an impact of unprecedented magnitude. Positive feedback loops, mass starvation, resource conflicts, biosphere uninhabitability – leads to extinction.

Peter Kareiva and Valerie Carranza, Director of the Institute of the Environment and Sustainability at UCLA & Pritzker Distinguished Professor in Environment & Sustainability, in Futures, in 2018 ["Existential risk due to ecosystem collapse: Nature strikes back", https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016328717301726, 7-30-2019] AR

In summary, six of the nine proposed planetary boundaries (phosphorous, nitrogen, biodiversity, land use, atmospheric aerosol loading, and chemical pollution) are unlikely to be associated with existential risks. They all correspond to a degraded environment, but in our assessment do not represent existential risks. However, the three remaining boundaries (climate change, global freshwater cycle, and ocean acidification) do pose existential risks. This is because of intrinsic positive feedback loops, substantial lag times between system change and experiencing the consequences of that change, and the fact these different boundaries interact with one another in ways that yield surprises. In addition climate, freshwater, and acidification are all directly connected to the provision of food and water, and shortages of food and water can create conflict and social unrest. Climate change has a long history of disrupting civilizations and sometimes precipitating the collapse of cultures or mass emigrations (McMichael, 2017). For example, the 12th century drought in the North American Southwest is held responsible for the collapse of the Anasazi pueblo culture. More recently, the infamous potato famine of 1846-1849 and the large migration of Irish to the US can be traced to a combination of factors, one of which was climate. Specifically, 1846 was an unusually warm and moist year in Ireland, providing the climatic conditions favorable to the fungus that caused the potato blight. As is so often the case, poor government had a role as well—as the British government forbade the import of grains from outside Britain (imports that could have helped to redress the ravaged potato yields). Climate change intersects with freshwater resources because it is expected to exacerbate drought and water scarcity, as well as flooding. Climate change can even impair water quality because it is associated with heavy rains that overwhelm sewage treatment facilities, or because it results in higher concentrations of pollutants in groundwater as a result of enhanced evaporation and reduced groundwater recharge. Ample clean water is not a luxury – it is essential for human survival. Consequently, cities, regions and nations that lack clean freshwater are vulnerable to social disruption and disease. Finally, ocean acidification is linked to climate change because it is driven by CO2 emissions just as global warming is. With close to 20% of the world’s protein coming from oceans (FAO, 2016), the potential for severe impacts due to acidification is obvious. Less obvious, but perhaps more insidious, is the interaction between climate change and the loss of oyster and coral reefs due to acidification. Acidification is known to interfere with oyster reef building and coral reefs. Climate change also increases storm frequency and severity. Coral reefs and oyster reefs provide protection from storm surge because they reduce wave energy (Spalding et al., 2014). If these reefs are lost due to acidification at the same time as storms become more severe and sea level rises, coastal communities will be exposed to unprecedented storm surge—and may be ravaged by recurrent storms. A key feature of the risk associated with climate change is that mean annual temperature and mean annual rainfall are not the variables of interest. Rather it is extreme episodic events that place nations and entire regions of the world at risk. These extreme events are by definition “rare” (once every hundred years), and changes in their likelihood are challenging to detect because of their rarity, but are exactly the manifestations of climate change that we must get better at anticipating (Diffenbaugh et al., 2017). Society will have a hard time responding to shorter intervals between rare extreme events because in the lifespan of an individual human, a person might experience as few as two or three extreme events. How likely is it that you would notice a change in the interval between events that are separated by decades, especially given that the interval is not regular but varies stochastically? A concrete example of this dilemma can be found in the past and expected future changes in storm-related flooding of New York City. The highly disruptive flooding of New York City associated with Hurricane Sandy represented a flood height that occurred once every 500 years in the 18th century, and that occurs now once every 25 years, but is expected to occur once every 5 years by 2050 (Garner et al, 2017). This change in frequency of extreme floods has profound implications for the measures New York City should take to protect its infrastructure and its population, yet because of the stochastic nature of such events, this shift in flood frequency is an elevated risk that will go unnoticed by most people. 4. The combination of positive feedback loops and societal inertia is fertile ground for global environmental catastrophes Humans are remarkably ingenious, and have adapted to crises throughout their history. Our doom has been repeatedly predicted, only to be averted by innovation (Ridley, 2011). However, the many stories of human ingenuity successfully addressing existential risks such as global famine or extreme air pollution represent environmental challenges that are largely linear, have immediate consequences, and operate without positive feedbacks. For example, the fact that food is in short supply does not increase the rate at which humans consume food—thereby increasing the shortage. Similarly, massive air pollution episodes such as the London fog of 1952 that killed 12,000 people did not make future air pollution events more likely. In fact it was just the opposite—the London fog sent such a clear message that Britain quickly enacted pollution control measures (Stradling, 2016). Food shortages, air pollution, water pollution, etc. send immediate signals to society of harm, which then trigger a negative feedback of society seeking to reduce the harm. In contrast, today’s great environmental crisis of climate change may cause some harm but there are generally long time delays between rising CO2 concentrations and damage to humans. The consequence of these delays are an absence of urgency; thus although 70% of Americans believe global warming is happening, only 40% think it will harm them (http://climatecommunication.yale.edu/visualizations-data/ycom-us-2016/). Secondly, unlike past environmental challenges, the earth’s climate system is rife with positive feedback loops. In particular, as CO2 increases and the climate warms, that very warming can cause more CO2 release which further increases global warming, and then more CO2, and so on. Table 2 summarizes the best documented positive feedback loops for the Earth’s climate system. These feedbacks can be neatly categorized into carbon cycle, biogeochemical, biogeophysical, cloud, ice-albedo, and water vapor feedbacks. As important as it is to understand these feedbacks individually, it is even more essential to study the interactive nature of these feedbacks. Modeling studies show that when interactions among feedback loops are included, uncertainty increases dramatically and there is a heightened potential for perturbations to be magnified (e.g., Cox et al., 2000; Hajima et al., 2014; Knutti & Rugenstein, 2015; Rosenfeld et al., 2014). This produces a wide range of future scenarios. Positive feedbacks in the carbon cycle involves the enhancement of future carbon contributions to the atmosphere due to some initial increase in atmospheric CO2. This happens because as CO2 accumulates, it reduces the efficiency in which oceans and terrestrial ecosystems sequester carbon, which in return feeds back to exacerbate climate change (Friedlingstein et al., 2001). Warming can also increase the rate at which organic matter decays and carbon is released into the atmosphere, thereby causing more warning (Melillo et al, 2017). Increases in food shortages and lack of water is also of major concern when biogeophysical feedback mechanisms perpetuate drought conditions. The underlying mechanism here is that losses in vegetation increases the surface albedo, which suppresses rainfall, and thus enhances future vegetation loss and more suppression of rainfall—thereby initiating or prolonging a drought (Chamey et al., 1975). To top it off, overgrazing depletes the soil, leading to augmented vegetation loss (Anderies et al., 2002). Climate change often also increases the risk of forest fires, as a result of higher temperatures and persistent drought conditions. The expectation is that forest fires will become more frequent and severe with climate warming and drought (Scholze et al., 2006), a trend for which we have already seen evidence (Allen et al., 2010). Tragically, the increased severity and risk of Southern California wildfires recently predicted by climate scientists (Jin et al, 2015), was realized in December 2017, with the largest fire in the history of California (the “Thomas fire” that burned 282,000 acres, https://www.vox.com/2017/12/27/16822180/thomas-fire-californialargest-wildfire ). This catastrophic fire embodies the sorts of positive feedbacks and interacting factors that could catch humanity off-guard and produce a true apocalyptic event. Recordbreaking rains produced an extraordinary flush of new vegetation, that then dried out as record heat waves and dry conditions took hold, coupled with stronger than normal winds, and ignition. Of course the record-fire released CO2 into the atmosphere, thereby contributing to future warming. Out of all types of feedbacks, water vapor and the ice-albedo feedbacks are the most clearly understood mechanisms. Losses in reflective snow and ice cover drive up surface temperatures, leading to even more melting of snow and ice cover—this is known as the ice-albedo feedback (Curry et al., 1995). As snow and ice continue to melt at a more rapid pace, millions of people may be displaced by flooding risks as a consequence of sea level rise near coastal communities (Biermann & Boas, 2010; Myers, 2002; Nicholls et al., 2011). The water vapor feedback operates when warmer atmospheric conditions strengthen the saturation vapor pressure, which creates a warming effect given water vapor’s strong greenhouse gas properties (Manabe & Wetherald, 1967). Global warming tends to increase cloud formation because warmer temperatures lead to more evaporation of water into the atmosphere, and warmer temperature also allows the atmosphere to hold more water. The key question is whether this increase in clouds associated with global warming will result in a positive feedback loop (more warming) or a negative feedback loop (less warming). For decades, scientists have sought to answer this question and understand the net role clouds play in future climate projections (Schneider et al., 2017). Clouds are complex because they both have a cooling (reflecting incoming solar radiation) and warming (absorbing incoming solar radiation) effect (Lashof et al., 1997). The type of cloud, altitude, and optical properties combine to determine how these countervailing effects balance out. Although still under debate, it appears that in most circumstances the cloud feedback is likely positive (Boucher et al., 2013). For example, models and observations show that increasing greenhouse gas concentrations reduces the low-level cloud fraction in the Northeast Pacific at decadal time scales. This then has a positive feedback effect and enhances climate warming since less solar radiation is reflected by the atmosphere (Clement et al., 2009). The key lesson from the long list of potentially positive feedbacks and their interactions is that runaway climate change, and runaway perturbations have to be taken as a serious possibility. Table 2 is just a snapshot of the type of feedbacks that have been identified (see Supplementary Material for a more thorough explanation of positive feedback loops). However, this list is not exhaustive and the possibility of undiscovered positive feedbacks portends even greater existential risks. The many environmental crises humankind has previously averted (famine, ozone depletion, London fog, water pollution, etc.) were averted because of political will based on solid scientific understanding. We cannot count on complete scientific understanding when it comes to positive feedback loops and climate change. 5. It is multiplicative stresses (or “double whammies”) that should be our greatest concern It is easy to see how positive feedback loops exacerbate existential risks. A second, but less obvious danger is the linkage of seemingly unrelated processes or phenomenon that increase risk. A good example is wildfires and tornadoes. Both of these represent natural disasters that can cause great damage. Until recently no one linked these two phenomena, and no one would have imagined that an increase in wildfires might cause an increase in tornados. However, researchers in 2016 documented a linkage between wildfires in Central America and the worst episode of tornadoes in North America’s recorded history (Saide et al., 2016)—more than 120 twisters in one day, which killed 316 people. The mechanism is that the aerosol particles produced by wildfires increase the vertical sheer in atmospheric wind speeds, which in turn makes tornadoes more likely and more severe. While tornadoes and wildfires are both local there are other trends that are national or even global that entail interacting risks factors—or what the renowned ecologist Robert T. Paine called a “double whammy” (Paine, 1993). Paine makes the argument that whereas one perturbation or stress on its own might not be terribly worrisome, if an ecosystem is hit with two stresses or threats at the same time (or in quick succession) the result can be surprisingly catastrophic. For example, aging infrastructure in the United States (dams, bridges, levees, etc.) is often talked about as a disaster waiting to happen (Reid, 2008). Similarly, increased extreme rainfall is widely appreciated as a likely outcome of climate change. Putting the two together, we have a recipe for turning improbable events into something that should be expected. A specific example of what was once a highly unlikely tragedy, but is now perhaps a probable disaster is the failure of a large dam. If large aging dams fail due to the combination of decaying infrastructure and unprecedented rainfall, downstream communities could be destroyed. Existing dams were engineered for flood frequencies and rainfall regimes that have been replaced by much more extreme weather events. This should raise general concerns about flood-safety. Not only are the designs for major dams obsolete due to climate changes, the dams themselves are obsolete. In the United States alone, more than 85% of large dams will be more than 50 years old by 2020 (Hossain et al., 2009). Based on data from the National Performance of Dam Failures, the top ten causes of dam incidents in the United States are depicted in Fig. 2a. The most frequent type of incident was attributed to inflow floods—that is more than 1000 dam failures. The reason this is a global concern is that observations (Fig. 2b) in dry and wet regions all over the world show that extreme precipitation events have been increasing since the 1950s (Donat et al., 2017). The combined effect of intensified rainfall and old dams pose a clear risk to communities worldwide. California, which has used dams and reservoirs to store water on a massive scale, recently suffered through several consecutive years of both low rainfall and high temperatures that produced a 5-year record-breaking drought (Diffenbaugh et al., 2015). The drought ended when the state experienced massive amounts of precipitation in early 2017 leading to its wettest rainy season, on record (Vahedifard et al., 2017). The rainfall unleashed floods, landslides, and nearly collapsed the Oroville Dam, the tallest dam in North America. The tremendous water flows severely damaged the dam’s spillways, prompting the evacuation of about 190,000 people downriver of the dam (Park & Mclaughlin, 2017). This particular crisis is an example of how the intersection of climate change and infrastructure that is either aging or that was designed for different conditions can potentially lead to a catastrophe (Vahedifard et al., 2017). With the likelihood of more frequent extreme events in the future, situations like the one experienced at the Oroville Dam will become more common. The intersection of climate change and human activity is also elevating the risk of severe wildfires in large portions of the world. Models suggest that precipitation was the primary driver behind global fire regimes during the preindustrial era, and then shifted towards an anthropogenicdriven regime during the industrial period (Pechony & Shindell, 2010). Now it appears that temperature will play a strong role in the 21st century in global wildfires (Pechony & Shindell, 2010). The combination of increasing temperatures at the global scale with increased propensity of wildfires due to human activity at the local level, could lead to massive infernos (Bonan, 2008). Wildfire severity and frequency will be dramatically increased wherever the mean temperature in a region increases by 3°C or more; unfortunately, in the Sahel, central Australia, central Asia, southern Africa, the western U.S., and in most of South America, warming is indeed expected to exceed 3°C (Scholze et al., 2006). This is a global threat. Sometimes there is irony in the way stresses combine to produce a catastrophe. Humans have adapted to heat waves by installing air conditioning. The combination of a heat wave, with increased demands for irrigation and air conditioning led to the largest ever power outage in India during 2012. Over 600 million were left without electricity and without air conditioning to mitigate the heat wave (Lundgren & Kjellstrom, 2013). Hospitals lost power and cities shut down. While it is possible to improve on the design of electric grids to reduce such massive outages (Fang, 2014), it is clear that the combination of extreme climate events and how humans respond to those heat waves has led to several massive power outages around the world (Klinger & Landeg, 2014). The irony is that air conditioning is an adaption to heat—and the adoption of air conditioning routinely saves lives (Barreca et al., 2016). But the adaptation that saves human lives can overburden an electric grid and make it much more susceptible to failure. Again it is the interconnections of stresses and the way we respond to environmental shocks that promulgates the greatest existential risk.

## Solvency

#### Thus, the plan: The United States ought to eliminate subsidies for refined coal. I’m willing to clarify all questions in CX, otherwise assume I-meet because I could have met the interp.

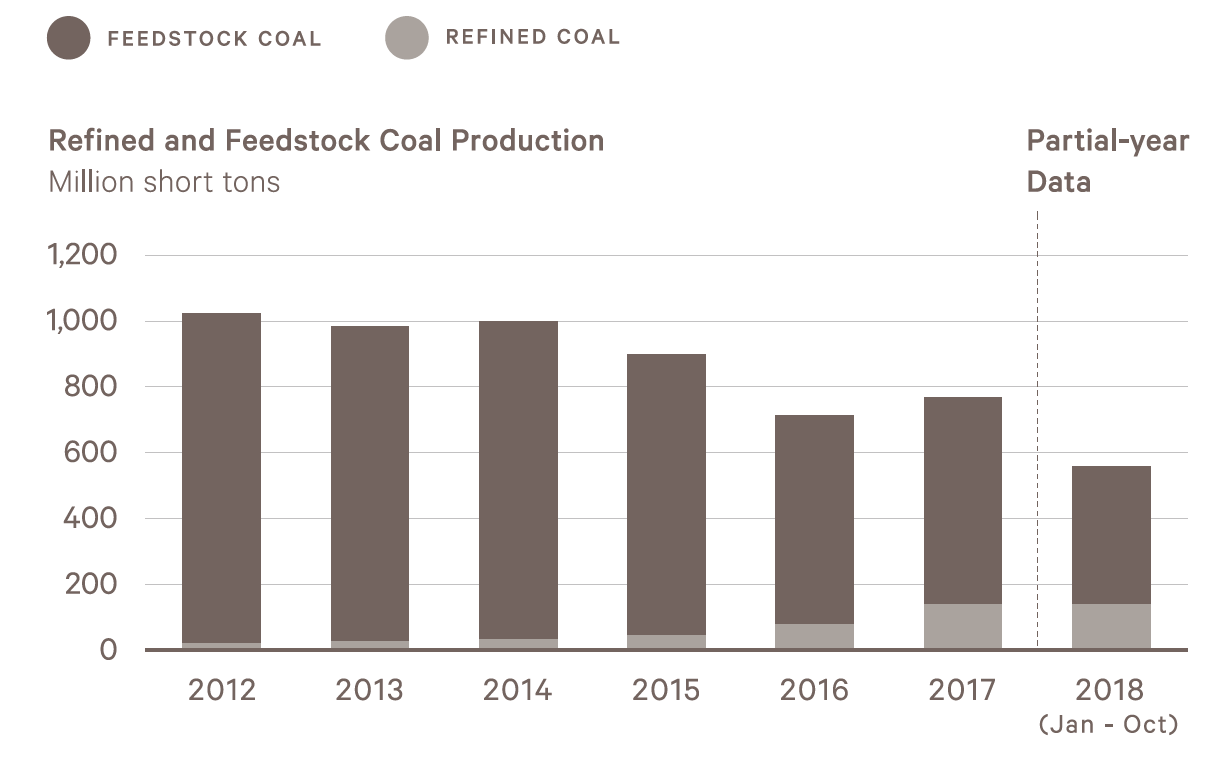
Autumn **Hanna**, Vice president of Tax Payers for Common Sense, Clean Coal Projects: Cleaning Out the Pockets of Taxpayers, Sep 9, **2008**, <https://www.taxpayer.net/energy-natural-resources/clean-coal-projects-cleaning-out-the-pockets-of-taxpayers/> ///AHS PB

**Congress must stop throwing billions of taxpayer dollars at a program that has been plagued with inefficiencies and mismanagement. Continued funding for the bloated clean coal program will do little to help our nation’s energy future and leave taxpayers paying a hefty price.**

#### Coal companies are becoming dependent on refined coal specifically because of the subsidy benefits. Prest 19.

Brian C. Prest, 10-9-2019, "How Clean is “Refined Coal”?," Resources for the Future, <https://www.resourcesmag.org/archives/how-clean-is-refined-coal/>

**Refined coal comprises more than 20 percent of coal** used in the US power sector, **and that number is growing** as more plants bring refining operations online **to take advantage of the tax credit** (Figure 1). The $7/ton tax credit represents a large fraction of the market price of coal (10–15 percent of the price of bituminous coal from the eastern United States and 35 percent of the price of lignite, another type of coal). Given that more than 120 million tons of this stuff is burned every year, **the tax credit amounts to nearly $1 billion annually** in subsidies for burning coal, something most economists argue should be taxed, due to the associated unintended consequences (i.e., negative externalities), rather than subsidized. Figure 1. Coal Consumption over Time (Source: US Energy Information Administration. 2019. Today in Energy. February 8. Washington, DC: US EIA). **This tax credit can generate a lot of revenue for a struggling coal plant** with thin margins. A typical coal plant that burns, say, three million tons of coal each year would generate $21 million annually in tax credits. **This can account for a nontrivial fraction of a plant’s fuel costs, which would amount to about $120 million per year** for our hypothetical plant (based on an average coal price of $40 per ton for three million tons). **This simple comparison undersells the relative value of the tax credit** because it is a post-tax value, and the pre-tax equivalent would be 30 percent to 50 percent higher. In addition, much of this substantial windfall often accrues to outside tax equity investors (often including major financial services and pharmaceutical companies), rather than being fully passed on to the coal plants themselves or to energy consumers.



#### Coal factories are propped up by these subsidies – eliminating them would destroy the companies. Roberts 18.

Roberts, David, “F**riendly policies keep US oil and coal afloat far more than we thought. “**<https://www.vox.com/energy-and-environment/2017/10/6/16428458/us-energy-coal-oil-subsidies>. Published 18 Jul 26.

**That’s a narrow path to remaining profitable**, and **coal plants are only on that path** at all **because** of all the other ways **they are propped up by regulatory policy**: Capacity markets favor already-built coal over new natural gas or renewables: Unlike electricity markets, which pay for power, capacity markets pay for the ability to spin up, just in case. They are a way of maintaining reserve capacity in case other power plants unexpectedly go offline. For various reasons (see the report), such **markets favor plants that are already amortized** and have readily available fuel, i.e., **generally coal plants**. So yeah, **even coal plants that rarely produce power still get paid to sit around** and ... not be closed. In regulated energy markets, utilities get paid to keep investing in unneeded, expensive coal plants: **In competitive energy markets, plants close if they can’t make enough profit from their power to cover their ongoing costs.** But in fully regulated markets (which contain 67 percent of US coal capacity), a utility’s return on investment in a plant is guaranteed by regulators, whether or not closing that plant would be better for ratepayers (as it very often would). Ironically, that’s why more coal plants in regulated markets have pollution-control equipment. In competitive markets, that would render them uneconomic (better just to shut them down). But in regulated markets, hell, why not? Every bit of investment means more guaranteed profits. Utilities shuffle coal plants from their deregulated side to their regulated side, to shield them from competition: This one is so devious. Utility holding companies — which own utilities in both regulated and deregulated markets — move coal plants from the books of the latter to the books of the former, to shield them from competition and keep them alive via regulation. “This accounting practice typically shifts the economic burden from the shareholder to the consumer,” Carbon Tracker writes, “with the former often benefiting to the detriment of the latter. Utilities hedge against changing natural gas costs: Some forecasters expect natural gas prices to rise in coming years (though, honestly, everyone is guessing). To hedge against that, utilities often keep uneconomic coal plants open, just in case rising NG prices retroactively render them economic. This is just a partial accounting. The broader point is that the edifice of regulation governing the US electricity sector favors coal incumbents in myriad ways. **If all coal plants had to adopt their full costs** and face full market competition tomorrow**, the US coal fleet would quickly shrink to negligible size.** **It only survives because, through taxes and regulations, the US has protected it.**

#### Eliminating coal factories is necessary to solve warming. Leahy 19.

Leahy, Stephen. “We have too many fossil-fuel power plants to meet climate goals”. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/2019/07/we-have-too-many-fossil-fuel-power-plants-to-meet-climate-goals/>. Published 1 July 2019.

**The fossil-fuel burning power plants**, factories, vehicles, and buildings we've already built will, if operated normally over their full lifetimes**, almost certainly warm the Earth more than** the [Paris Agreement](https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement) climate target of **1.5 degrees Celsius** (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit), a [new study](https://www.nature.com/articles/s41586-019-1364-3) concludes. The implications are striking: **To limit warming to 1.5°C.,** not only should no new fossil-fuel-using infrastructure be built, ever again, some **existing power plants need to shut down early**—and **yet today many new power plants are under construction** or planned. See the Mississippi River's hidden history, uncovered by lasers “Our study is dead simple,” said Steven Davis of the University of California, Irvine, a co-author of the paper published in Nature. “We wanted to know what happens if we don’t build any more fossil-fuel-burning stuff as of 2018.” To answer that question Davis and colleagues looked at all the emissions from electricity, energy, transport, residential, and commercial infrastructure as of 2018. They then estimated the total “carbon commitment”—the future CO2 emissions from those structures and devices, based on the average number of years they’d be in service. A new coal plant built today, for example, will emit millions of tons of CO2 every year throughout its 40-year lifespan. A new car that emits four tons of CO2 a year has a lifetime carbon commitment of 60 tons based on a 15-year lifespan. **Although some** of that **CO2 gets soaked up** by forests and oceans, **most will remain in the atmosphere**, trapping heat, **for hundreds of years**—unless we deploy technologies to suck it back out again. Add up all those lifetime emissions from existing infrastructure, Davis and his colleagues estimated a total carbon commitment of about 658 billion metric tons of CO2. That’s 78 billion tons above the maximum the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) says can be emitted to have a better than 50 percent chance of stabilizing temperatures at 1.5°C of warming. Although the U.S. is responsible for far more carbon already emitted to the atmosphere than any other country, China has by far the largest carbon commitment to the future, some 41 percent of the total; the U.S. and India each account for 9 percent and the European Union for 7 percent. The reason is that the Chinese economy has grown so rapidly and so recently that its power plants and factories are young, with long lives ahead of them. The average Chinese coal-fired power plant is just 11 years old, according to the study, whereas the average age of American plants is almost 40. Because the study does not include all sources of CO2 emissions, its projections of the challenge posed by our carbon commitment might be considered conservative rather than alarmist. It doesn’t include emissions from agriculture, deforestation and other land use changes, which represent about [24 percent of total emissions](https://www.epa.gov/ghgemissions/global-greenhouse-gas-emissions-data) today. Nor does it include the considerable emissions involved in getting fossil fuels out of the ground. To get oil from Canada’s oil sands, for example, requires the burning of nearly one third of the [country’s natural gas production](https://globalnews.ca/news/3389410/oilsands-thirst-for-natural-gas-grows-to-nearly-one-third-of-canadian-demand/). Driving blind The UN and individual countries have focused mainly on annual emissions to address climate change, which is insufficient, Davis said: “That’s like driving down the highway and only looking out of the side window.” **Decisions made today on** whether or not to build more **fossil-fuel infrastructure will lock in future CO2 emissions**, he said, and thus determine whether the world has a reasonable chance of keeping global warming below the main Paris agreement target of 2°C (3.6°F). **The study counted up the potential carbon commitment** from the coal, gas, and oil-burning power plants that are currently **under construction** or in the planning stages. If those are completed, the global carbon commitment shoots up to around 846 billion tons of CO2. **That would use up most of the carbon budget** remaining between today and a world that's 2°C warmer. And that’s just power plants: Davis and his colleagues didn’t attempt to estimate the carbon commitments from other new fossil fuel infrastructure—vehicles, buildings, factories—that are being built this year or will be in future years. Every little bit hurts. Global warming is like being in a mine field that gets progressively more dangerous, Michael Mann, a climatologist and director of the Earth System Science Center at Penn State previously told [National Geographic.](https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/2018/10/ipcc-report-climate-change-impacts-forests-emissions/) “**The further we go the more explosions we are likely to set off**: 1.5°C is safer than 2°C, 2°C is safer than 2.5°C, 2.5°C is safer than 3°C, and so on,” said Mann. It’s no surprise we’re in a very tough spot when it comes to staying below 2°C, never mind limiting warming to 1.5°C, said Glen Peters, research director at Norway’s Center for International Climate Research. “The rapid growth in renewables is still not sufficient to cover the annual increase in energy demand,” Peters explained in an email. **To stay below 1.5°C** or 2°C, however, “it’s very likely **fossil infrastructure will have to be retired earlier** than planned,” he said. In addition to mothballing hundreds and possibly thousands of coal- and gas-fired power plants, other options include restoring millions of square miles of forests, deploying costly technologies that capture carbon on a massive scale, and building out renewables even faster. Most likely a combination involving all of those will be needed. “We’re in an all-hands on deck situation,” said Niklas Höhne of the [NewClimate Institute for Climate Policy and Global Sustainability](https://newclimate.org/about-newclimate/) in Germany. “Major, bold steps are needed, including not adding any more coal power plants,” Höhne said in an interview last week, as Europe was weathering [another record heat wave](https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/2019/06/europe-has-had-five-500-year-summers-in-15-years/). “We’ve only had one degree Celsius of global warming and it’s almost 40°C (104°F) here in Germany today, a temperature we’ve never seen before.” Pledges to reduce emissions by the U.S., Europe, China, India and other nations under the Paris Agreement are nowhere near what’s needed, he said. The latest round of UN climate negotiations in Bonn, Germany, which ended June 27, failed to increase those pledges. **The world remains on a trajectory to more than 3°C of warming**, Höhne said. The Nature paper reinforces concerns expressed lately by central banks and other financial institutions that continuing investments in fossil fuel infrastructure could pose a threat to [global economic stability](https://cosmosmagazine.com/climate/stranded-fossil-fuel-assets-may-prompt-4-trillion-crisis), said Bill Hare, a climate scientist at [Climate Analytics](https://climateanalytics.org/), a non-profit climate science and policy institute based in Berlin. Trillions of dollars in fossil-fuel-intensive assets may lose their value because power plants, refineries, and other industrial facilities have to shut down or employ expensive carbon-capture technology to curb their CO2 emissions. Power plants and industry represent 75 percent of committed emissions but only 20 percent of the financial assets in the global fossil-fuel-burning infrastructure. Early retirement of these facilities would be the most cost-effective solution, the paper concludes. The best action to take from a climate perspective, or even the most cost-effective, may not be the most politically feasible, however. “We’re hoping this study paints a clear picture of what’s required to meet the Paris climate targets,” said Davis. “The decisions made every day involving any new fossil fuel infrastructure are super important.”

#### Our climate leadership gets modeled.

Metcalf 18 Gilbert Metcalf (John DiBiaggio Professor of Citizenship and Public Service and a Professor of Economics at Tufts University. In addition, he is a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research and a University Fellow at Resources For The Future). 2018, The impact of removing tax preferences for US oil and natural gas production: measuring tax subsidies by an equivalent price impact approach. Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists, 5(1), 1-37 WJ

**Tax reform could**, however, **strengthen US climate leadership and** therefore help **mitigate climate change**. Although the United States has backed the G20 initiative to phase out fossil fuel subsidies in the world’s largest economies, its own **subsidies** to fossil fuel producers **impair its ability to coax major developing economies to roll back fossil fuel** consumption **subsidies**. Because they encourage wasteful energy consumption, such **subsidies** do in fact **contribute substantially to global emissions** (see Aldy [2013] for an elaboration of this argument). **If the United States were to repeal its oil and gas tax preferences**, these **countries would no longer be able to deflect international pressure** to roll back their subsidies by pointing to US fossil fuel subsidies. Still, there is no guarantee in those countries that international pressure for reform would overcome domestic barriers against it.

3:55

## Methods

#### Policy debate over a governmental propositions fosters advocacy skills that empower students and benefit all forms of potential political engagement – information literacy is a common good that fosters an ethic of engagement, the litmus test for breaking through in our information-soaked economy.

Leek 16 [Danielle R. Leek, professor of communications at Grand Valley State University, “Policy debate pedagogy: a complementary strategy for civic and political engagement through service-learning,” Communication Education, 65:4, 399-405]

Moreover, Colby contends, civic participation through service “can lead to the development of politically relevant skills” such as writing memos or making persuasive public appeals, but often it does not. **Activities such as cleaning up a river, or tutoring children, do not place students in roles where political skills are developed. To get the most out of service-learning,** students need concurrent attention to political learning, which encourages engagement with public policy and electoral issues, while fostering opportunities to build skills needed for political activities (Colby, 2008). Helping students gain knowledge about politics and political processes is a first-step towards accomplishing this goal (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996**). But political learning should be more than acquiring a list of facts.** It is what takes place as students discover the connection between policy, institutional practice, and the status quo. **Political learning is happening when students come to understand that public policy and practice can and do change, and that they influence how policy-making happens, even as an ordinary member of the public**. Political engagement happens when students develop the skills necessary to help make political change possible. As Colby (2008) explains: Teaching for political understanding and engagement involves helping students find political issues they can be passionate about while also staying open to opposing views. **It involves teaching students to be sensitive to others’ feelings about hot-button issues while also encouraging them to be tough and slow to take offense themselves. Students also need to develop a thoughtful, reasoned approach to politics without becoming immobilized by doubt**. Such attention to the dual roles of civic and political engagement may also address another common criticism of service-learning programs in higher education. **By challenging students to engage the system-level ideology and praxis relevant to social experience, educators can help mitigate against service-learning experiences that promote power inequalities by situating students as charity providers to needy others**. We also must do more to reward community partners for the substantial time they invest in student participants. Because com- munity organizations often serve vulnerable populations such as immigrants and children, it is imperative that service-learning experiences lead participants to engage politically and ethi- cally in and beyond the classroom in order to justify the short-term disruptions and costs associated with bringing a group of students into a civic space (Tryon et al., 2008). One way to address these criticisms is to incorporate policy debate into service-learning programs. In the remainder of this essay, I show how integrating policy debate into the pedagogy of service-learning deepens political learning and promotes the acquisition of skills essential to political engagement. Policy debate in the service-learning classroom **In policy debate, students are asked to consider whether a particular course of action should be taken, generally by state institutions such as the United States federal government, or its respective branches, such as the Supreme Court or the Congress** (Snider & Schnurer, 2002). A policy debate can involve any institutional actor or agent such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the United Nations, the International Criminal Court, and so on. Questions of policy can address broad global issues, such as “Should the United States federal government sign a new nuclear treaty with Iran?” Or they might consider narrow rules for legal action, such as “Should the Michigan Department of Treasury require individ- uals to pay taxes online?” When connected to a service-learning experience, educators might set aside time for students to debate a relevant policy question. Using previous examples, stu- dents working on the health campaign might also be asked to debate the question, “Should the City of Grand Rapids provide mobile health clinics in the downtown area?” Chemistry students could debate, “Should the federal government require a universal science curricu- lum in all high schools?” No matter the topic, students should have the opportunity to engage multiple perspectives on the question, including speaking on the affirmative to support a new policy and on the negative in opposition to a change in the status quo. **Students may be asked to work with one or more partners to research and develop materials that can be used in their speeches or in question-and-answer periods related to their arguments.** Especially for readers familiar with extracurricular policy debate competitions in high schools or college, this depiction of what policy debate entails may seem overly simplistic. Yet, even basic consideration of policy issues related to a service-learning experience can improve a student’s odds of political learning. Through policy debate, students can develop information literacy and learn how to make critical arguments of fact. This experience is politically empowering for students who will also build confidence for political engagement. Information literacy While there are many definitions of information literacy, the term generally is understood to mean that a student is “able to recognize when information is needed, and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the information needed” for problem- solving and decision-making (Spitzer, Eisenberg, & Lowe, 1998, p. 19). Information exists in a variety of forms, in visual data, computer graphics, sound-recordings, film, and photographs. Information is also constructed and disseminated through a wide range of sources and mediums. Therefore, “information literacy” functions as a blanket term which covers a wide range of more specific literacies. Critiques of service-learning’s knowl- edge-building power, such as those articulated by Eby (1998) and Colby (2008), are chal- lenging both the emphasis the pedagogy places on information gained through experience and the limited scope of political information students are exposed to in the process. Policy debate can augment a student’s civic and political learning by fostering extended information literacies. **Snider and Schnurer** (2002) **identify policy debate as an especially research intensive form of oral discussion which requires extensive time and commitment to learn the dimensions of a topic**. Understanding policy issues calls for contemplating a range of materials, from traditional news media publications to court proceedings, research data, and institutional propaganda. Moreover, the nature of policy debate, which involves public presentation of arguments on two competing sides of a question, motivates students to go beyond basic information to achieve a more advanced level of expertise and credibility on a topic (Dybvig & Iverson, n.d.). This type of work differs from traditional

#### Supporting institutional rights is necessary for struggles against oppression – we may not change the heart, but we can restrain the heartless.

Cook 90 [Anthony E. Cook, Florida University Associate law Professor, Beyond Critical legal Studies: The Reconstrutive Theology of Dr. Martin luther King, Jr., 1990, 103.5, JSTOR]

Unlike some CLS scholars, King understood the importance of a system of individual rights. CLS proponents have urged that rights are incoherent and indeterminate reifications of concrete experiences; they obfuscate, through the manipulation of abstract categories, disempowering social relations. [FN158] King, on the other hand, understood that the oppressed could make rights determinate in practice; although "**law tends to declare rights--it does not deliver them.** A catalyst is needed to breathe life experience into a judicial decision."' [FN159] For King, the catalyst was persistent social struggle to transform the oppressiveness of one's existential condition into ever closer approximations of the ideal. The hierarchies of race, gender, and class define those conditions, and the struggle for substantive rights closes the gap between the latter and the ideal of the Beloved Community. **Under the pressures of** social **struggle, the oppressed can alter rights to better reflect the exigencies of social reality**--a reality itself more fully understood by those engaged in transformative struggle. King's Beloved Community accepted and expanded the liberal tradition of rights. King realized that **notwithstanding** its **limits**, **the liberal vision contained important insights into the human condition. For those deprived of basic freedoms and subjected to arbitrary acts of state authority**, the enforcement of formal rights was revolutionary. **African-Americans understood** the **importance of formal liberal rights and demanded the full enforcement of such rights in order to challenge and rectify historical practices that had objectified and subsumed their existence**. Although conservatives contended that the emphasis on rights disrupted the gradual moral evolution that would ultimately change white sentiment, King contended that "[j]udicial decrees may not change the heart, but they can restrain the heartless."' [FN160] On the other \*1036 hand, although **radicals contended** that such **rights were** mere **tokens** and created a false sense of security masking continued violence, **King understood** that the strict enforcement of the rule of law was essential to any struggle for social justice, whether that struggle was moderate or radical in its sentiment and goals. Freedom of dissent and protest; freedom from arbitrary searches, seizures, and detention; and freedom to organize and associate with those of common purpose were necessary rights that no movement for social reconstruction could take for granted. Furthermore, **King saw** the initial **emphasis on** civil **rights**, [FN161] I believe, **as a necessary struggle for the collective self-respect and dignity of a** people whose subordination was, in part, **maintained by laws** reproducing and reinforcing feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. **The** civil rights struggle attempted to lift the veil of shame and degradation from the eyes of a people who could then glimpse the possibilities of their personhood and achieve that potential through varied forms of social struggle. **King's** richer conception of rights **provided** limitations on collective action while broadening the scope of personal duty to permit movement toward a more socially conscious community.

## Underview

#### Aff gets 1AR theory which is drop the debater and competing interps. It’s key to check neg abuse, no 1AR theory means neg can be infinitely abusive because nothing can stop them, which outweighs because it means aff can’t win. Drop the debater set good norms so they won’t want to violate and competing interps because reasonability is arbitrary and depends on the judge.

#### Fairness is a voter a) debate is a competitive activity and if it were unfair people would quit b) all arguments presuppose fair evaluation, i.e. that the judge won’t hack for either side and Fairness is a voter a) debate is a competitive activity and if it were unfair people would quit b) judges cannot evaluate the round properly if it is skewed and Education is a voter a) schools fund debate because it’s an educational activity and b) portable skills – we’ll remember what we learned from the round in 10 years but not an unfair round.