Negative: Clean Hands, Human Rights, American Values

By “Coach Vance” Trefethen

***Resolved: The United States federal government should considerably decrease its military commitments.***

Summary: This is a generic Negative brief to help against Affirmative cases that argue for doing their plan, not because it actually solves a problem, but because it removes US responsibility for a problem (“clean hands”), or upholds certain “American values” like upholding human rights or avoiding civilian casualties. The problem will continue but at least the US won’t be responsible, and that’s supposed to be sufficient for an AFF ballot.
 But the real world is never that simple. The U.S. has supported all manner of evil regimes and created numerous civilian casualties, all because those things were useful to us in the pursuit of higher objectives in our foreign policy. Human rights and civilian casualties in and of themselves are not magic trump cards that automatically win every argument. In the real world, they have to be weighed like any other arguments against the net benefits of the alternative policies. And don’t get us started on “American values.” U.S. foreign policy is littered with examples where human rights and civilian casualties were themselves casualties of other objectives, some of them very important. There is no “American value” that says we always uphold human rights or that we always avoid civilian casualties.

Generic: Clean Hands, Human Rights, American Values 3

HUMAN RIGHTS RESPONSES 3

Status Quo more likely to promote human rights 3

Turn: Military assistance gives leverage for promotion of human rights & democracy 3

In the long run, best way to promote global human rights is to ensure US national security and strengthen US national defense 3

Human Rights can’t be the sole criterion or a trump card that defeats all Negative arguments 3

Sometimes aiding bad regimes is necessary because of what we get in return. Example: Aiding evil dictator Stalin in the war against Hitler (World War 2) 3

Human rights cannot be the sole criterion of foreign policy, we have to consider other factors 4

Human rights considerations must be reconciled with other interests – not the only factor 4

Although she advocates increased attention to human rights in our foreign policy, Roberta Cohen in 2008 nevertheless admits that such concerns do not need to be “front & center” in every situation: 4

No Right to Judge 5

Even the UN recognizes principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention limit regulation of arms trade 5

Judging other nations’ human rights is arrogant moral superiority, and hypocrisy, since we accept no criticism of ourselves 5

No universally agreed standards of human rights, and debate about them can even lead to conflict and war 6

CIVILIAN CASUALTIES RESPONSES – No, “avoiding civilian casualties” is NOT an “American value” 6

U.S. welcomed civilian casualties in Germany & Japan when it helped win World War 2 6

We accepted civilian casualties in World War 2 because we believed it would shorten the war and save American lives 7

International law doesn’t ban all civilian casualties. The rule is: They must not be excessive compared to the military advantage anticipated 7

SOLVENCY 7

1. Alternate suppliers 7

Without US weapons, countries will find different suppliers. Example: Saudi Arabia 7

Embargoes not always respected 8

Example: Iraq arms embargo failed 8

2. Lack of Credibility 8

Link: Affirmative plan contains no mandates to correct the problems outlined below that wreck our credibility (and if they did, we would argue they are extra-topical) 8

We can’t have an effective human rights policy without correcting our own abuses and getting international credibility 8

The U.S. has no international credibility on human rights because of our abusive practices 9

3. Realism - trying to do too much + Cooperation with other actors. 9

Cohen’s 4th criterion for effective human rights policy is that if we try to do too much, we will simply have to step back later, and that we have to engage other actors besides the US government to be effective. 9

DISADVANTAGES 10

1. Jobs 10

Cutting arms trade jeopardizes thousands of US defense jobs 10

Impact: Tens of thousands of jobs 10

2. US defense capabilities / DMSMS (Diminishing Manufacturing Sources & Material Shortages) 10

Link: All exports important for keeping the defense industry healthy 10

Brink: Lead in weapon production and export is narrowing 11

Brink: Countries already looking elsewhere for weapons 11

Link: No longer buying as much from the US – switching to other suppliers 11

Link: Countries shifting from US suppliers to other countries 12

Link & Brink: Arms exports keep vital industries and technical know-how alive, preventing DMSMS 12

Link: DMSMS hurts combat operations & safety 12

Impact: Deaths. US military personnel get killed when the equipment is unready 13

3. Reduced US hegemony 13

Link: US weapons =US influence 13

Link: Military assistance increasingly important 13

Link: Solidifies diplomatic ties 13

Link: Weapons trade opens up a broad range of cooperation 14

Link: Weapons sales, military aid and training advance US leadership abroad 14

Link: Buying US military equipment is a commitment to long-term relations with the US 14

Turn: US should expand defense trade, not reduce it, because we need to improve partnership with allies 15

Link & Brink: Cooperation with allies across the world is key to maintaining global stability 15

Impact: US weapons exports key to maintaining global security 15

Impact: World peace & prosperity at risk without US influence. US hegemony is key to global peace & prosperity 15

Impact: Civilizational collapse – with decline of US dominance and rise of Russia and China 16

Works Cited 17

Generic: Clean Hands, Human Rights, American Values

HUMAN RIGHTS RESPONSES

Status Quo more likely to promote human rights

Turn: Military assistance gives leverage for promotion of human rights & democracy

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

It is also important to note that security assistance gives the United States leverage and influence, which can be used to press for support for U.S. values and interests. Indeed, U.S. security assistance regularly promotes such universal values as good governance, civilian oversight of security forces, rule of law, and respect for human rights. Security assistance helps tie a country’s security sector to the United States, and creates strong incentives for the recipient countries to maintain close relations, both in times of stability and in crisis. This does not guarantee a country will listen. But clearly, where the United States has limited relations and no history of security assistance, U.S. influence to push countries to respect democracy and human rights will be similarly limited.

In the long run, best way to promote global human rights is to ensure US national security and strengthen US national defense

**[This card is from 1981, but it is dealing with timeless principles, so it still applies]**

Dr. William Barrett 1981. (PhD; professor of philosophy at [New York University](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_University) from 1950 to 1979) Human Rights and American Foreign Policy A Symposium, Nov 1981 <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/william-barrett-2/human-rights-and-american-foreign-policy-a-symposium/>

We weaken ourselves to the degree that we isolate ourselves within the community of nations. The future of human rights depends on the continued existence and power of the United States in the world today. It would be a supreme irony if the partisans of human rights, out of motives of purity, insisted on a policy that would only weaken us among the family of nations. I think this last brings us now to a summary statement of what an effective human-rights policy must be. It cannot be a separate campaign or crusade as such; it has simply to be a part or a concomitant of a larger national policy. And the outlines of that larger policy are tolerably clear: we have to keep the United States a free country and also maintain an adequate defense posture so that our presence as a world power is felt among the other nations. It is this continuing and effective presence, after all, that will do more in the long run for the cause of human rights than any oratorical crusade.

Human Rights can’t be the sole criterion or a trump card that defeats all Negative arguments

Sometimes aiding bad regimes is necessary because of what we get in return. Example: Aiding evil dictator Stalin in the war against Hitler (World War 2)

**Jay Lefkowitz 2007 (US State Department, Special Envoy for Human Rights in North Korea**) 9 Oct 2007 Resolved: The United States Should Not Give Aid to Dictators, Remarks to the Yale Political Union <https://2001-2009.state.gov/g/senk/94508.htm>

So, in answer to your debate question, I don’t think you can take an absolute position that we should never give any aid to despots, because there may be times, as I pointed out, when we were at war with Hitler, where we needed to cooperate and ally ourselves with Stalin. On the other hand, when we do give any aid to dictatorships, we need accountability, we need to know what we are getting in return.

Human rights cannot be the sole criterion of foreign policy, we have to consider other factors

Dr. Uche Ofodile 2009. (Associate Professor, University of Arkansas School of Law. S.J.D., Harvard Law School; LL.M.. Harvard Law School; LL.M. (International Business Law), University College London. Fellow, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs) “Trade, Aid and Human Rights: China’s Africa Policy in Perspective” JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL LAW & TECHNOLOGY Vol. 4 Issue 2
<https://www.academia.edu/22627383/Trade_Aid_and_Human_Rights_Chinas_Africa_Policy_in_Perspective>

Indeed, when confronted with the issue of a U.S. human rights policy, Kissinger, at his confirmation as the Secretary of State, stated: “I believe it is dangerous for us to make the domestic policy of countries around the world a direct objective of U.S. foreign policy.” In a 1977 article, Kissinger argued that one of the basic challenges of foreign policy was “the perennial tension between morality and pragmatism.” Although admitting that human rights “must be an essential component” of U.S. foreign policy, he argued that to pursue it effectively, the U.S. “must take the measure of the dangers and dilemmas along the way.” Kissinger cautioned that because human rights advocacy is a powerful political weapon, the U.S. must be careful that in its application, all moral dividing lines are not eroded.

Human rights considerations must be reconciled with other interests – not the only factor

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

Making arms transfer decisions requires a significant focus on human rights and democracy. These have never been more central to U.S. foreign policy, and as a result they play a crucial role in determining the manner of our security assistance. Sometimes, however, values have to be reconciled with other interests. When this occurs, decisions on how to proceed are guided by the Conventional Arms Transfer Policy, which requires a careful examination of issues like human rights, regional security, and nonproliferation concerns to determine if a sale is in the best foreign policy and national security interests of the United States.

Although she advocates increased attention to human rights in our foreign policy, Roberta Cohen in 2008 nevertheless admits that such concerns do not need to be “front & center” in every situation:

Roberta Cohen 2008. (MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights at the State Department and Senior Adviser to the US Delegation to the U.N., is Senior Associate at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown Univ) INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS IN US FOREIGN POLICY: THE HISTORY, THE CHALLENGES, AND THE CRITERIA FOR AN EFFECTIVE POLICY , Statement at the Foreigin Service Institute, <https://issuu.com/georgetownsfs/docs/120731162020-b8844e15f9ea464f92fac4352d40eea3>

This is not to suggest that human rights concerns must be front and center in every situation. There may be sound political and strategic reasons for placing human rights in a secondary position. In the case of China, for example, in 1979, normalizing relations with its government based on national security objectives like containing Soviet power and gaining influence in Asia understandably moved human rights concerns aside. Today, in the case of North Korea, reaching a nuclear agreement obviously has to take priority over introducing human rights concerns into the six-party talks. However, it is always important to distinguish between genuine strategic or political interests that may have to move human rights to the side, and shortsightedness, ignorance about the importance of including such concerns or simply not wanting to complicate cozy relationships with governments or warlords.

No Right to Judge

Even the UN recognizes principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention limit regulation of arms trade

Renata Schmitt Noronha and Julia Oliveira Rosa, 2013. (United Nations Human Rights Council) “Arms Transfers and Human Rights: The Impact on Regions in Conflict” 2013. <https://www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2013/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Arms-Transfers-and-Human-Rights-The-Impacts-on-Regions-in-Conflict.pdf>



Judging other nations’ human rights is arrogant moral superiority, and hypocrisy, since we accept no criticism of ourselves

Stephen Kinzer 2017 (senior fellow at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown University.) 5 Dec 2017 “The State Department’s naughty lists” <https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2017/12/05/the-state-department-naughty-lists/pTKST3TLXsseByvRywsoWP/story.html>

Propelled by a sense of moral superiority, we have become the world’s scold. We imagine that we have found standards by which nations may be judged — and that we are qualified to be the virtuous judges. Armed with this certainty, we set out like avenging missionaries to “name and shame” those we consider evil-doers. When they object, we take their protest as proof that they are indeed miscreants. Yet none of our “country reports” includes a section on the United States. We do not rate our own human rights record, nor would we be disposed to take seriously any rating produced by another country.

No universally agreed standards of human rights, and debate about them can even lead to conflict and war

Dr. Benjamin Rivlin & Peter J. Hoffman 2008. (Rivlin - PhD Harvard, international relations & government Director Emeritus of the Ralph Bunche Institute on United Nations and Professor Emeritus of Political Science, City University of New York Graduate School & University Center. Hoffman - Research Associate, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, City Univ of New York) “The United Nations Human Rights Council (2008): A U.S. Foreign Policy Dilemma” 28 May 2008
<https://www.ncafp.org/articles/08%20UN%20Human%20Rights%20COuncil.pdf>

The declaration, also referred to as the International Bill of Human Rights, affirmed the
commitments of member states to respect a wide range of rights. However, in trying to specify and
operationalize those norms, disputes appeared. Those divisions are exemplified by two international
agreements: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant
on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights. Accordingly, although there is one Universal Declaration,
there are two covenants; that is, when rival frameworks could not be reconciled into one document,
the deadlock was acknowledged by issuing separate agreements for different categories of rights. In
short, during the cold war, human rights became a weapon. Instead of being based on the universal
application of consensus-derived principles, human rights were used to embarrass or otherwise
undermine political opponents. In addition to differences rooted in the ideological conflict of the cold war, an overarching fracture that fueled contestations over the meaning of human rights resurfaced in international politics in the 1990s in a slightly altered guise, the so-called clash of civilizations. This perspective argues that contrasts in cultural identities invariably lead to conflict and war. The divide between civil/political rights and
social/economic/cultural rights became a prominent symptom of political dissension.

CIVILIAN CASUALTIES RESPONSES – No, “avoiding civilian casualties” is NOT an “American value”

**[and that may not be a problem]**

U.S. welcomed civilian casualties in Germany & Japan when it helped win World War 2

Prof. John Dower 2017 (professor emeritus of history at Massachusetts Institute of Technology ) 4 May 2017 “Why Can’t Americans Remember Anyone’s Death Other Than Those of Their Own?” <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/why-cant-americans-remember-anyones-deaths-other-than-their-own/>

While it is natural for people and nations to focus on their own sacrifice and suffering rather than the death and destruction they themselves inflict, in the case of the United States such cognitive astigmatism is backlighted by the country’s abiding sense of being exceptional, not just in power but also in virtue. In paeans to “American exceptionalism,” it is an article of faith that the highest values of Western and Judeo-Christian civilization guide the nation’s conduct—to which Americans add their country’s purportedly unique embrace of democracy, respect for each and every individual, and stalwart defense of a “rules-based” international order. Such self-congratulation requires and reinforces selective memory. “Terror,” for instance, has become a word applied to others, never to oneself. And yet during World War II, US and British strategic-bombing planners explicitly regarded their firebombing of enemy cities as terror bombing, and identified destroying the morale of noncombatants in enemy territory as necessary and morally acceptable. Shortly after the Allied devastation of the German city of Dresden in February 1945, Winston Churchill, whose bust circulates in and out of the presidential Oval Office in Washington (it is [currently in](http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/315419-trump-puts-churchill-bust-back-in-the-oval-office)), [referred](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/heroesvillains/transcript/g1cs3s3t.htm) to the “bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts.” In the war against Japan, US air forces embraced this practice with an almost gleeful vengeance, pulverizing [64 cities](http://atomicbombmuseum.org/2_manhattan.shtml) prior to the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

We accepted civilian casualties in World War 2 because we believed it would shorten the war and save American lives

*John Tirman 2011 – no month given on the article (Executive Director and Principal Research Scientist of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology)* Are Americans Cold-Blooded? Do We Care About Civilian Casualties in Our Wars? <http://hnn.us/articles/140622.html>

Many Americans were of German stock, and this linkage doubtlessly resulted in some feelings of solidarity, but in World War II at least the military was quite merciless in carrying out the strategic bombing of Germany. An even more fierce bombing campaign was unleashed against Japan, targeting Japan’s wooden cities with incendiaries that sparked huge firestorms and killed hundreds of thousands of people. The atomic bombings in Japan were, like many of the fire bombings, greeted with relief in the United States under the belief that they shortened the war and saved American lives. In both cases, there were very few protests against strategic bombing in the United States (or for that matter in Great Britain, the other allied power which waged large-scale bombing campaigns against the Third Reich)

International law doesn’t ban all civilian casualties. The rule is: They must not be excessive compared to the military advantage anticipated

Gen. Charles Dunlap 2018 – no month given in the article (retired Major General, US Air Force; Executive Director, Center on Law, Ethics and National Security, Duke Law School) VANDERBILT JOURNAL OF TRANSNATIONAL LAW Targeting of Persons: The Contemporary Challenges <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6493&context=faculty_scholarship>

The ICRC defines the rule as: “Launching an attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated, is prohibited.”

SOLVENCY

1. Alternate suppliers

Without US weapons, countries will find different suppliers. Example: Saudi Arabia

Dr. Oleg Svet, 2016. (PhD; dissertation on security assistance to Iraq and has analyzed U.S. security cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Iraq, and Afghanistan. From 2015 -16 he analyzed security assistance as a consultant supporting the U.S. Defense Dept.) “Why Congress Supports Saudi Arms Sales” Sept 26, 2016. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-congress-supports-saudi-arms-sales-17840>

If Senators Paul and Murphy would have succeeded in their measure, Riyadh would almost certainly have gone to another large military supplier, possibly Russia. [**END QUOTE]** Saudi and other GCC officials fear that Iran, which is not only ideologically and theologically diametrically opposed to the Kingdom, but also has a population and territory several times the size of Saudi Arabia, poses an existential threat. The uncomfortable truth is that Yemen is a proxy war in the Saudi-Iranian competition. Riyadh feels that it must win in Yemen against the Houthi rebels (who the Saudis are convinced are sponsored by Iran), and the only way to win is through military power. **[HE GOES ON LATER IN THE CONTEXT TO SAY QUOTE:]** Saudi Arabia does not have an indigenous military industry to support the war; it has to find military suppliers to sustain its war effort. Had the sale been blocked and Saudi Arabia shifted to Russia, China, or other suppliers for military purchases, other Gulf States would have followed suit, putting in jeopardy an additional tens of billions of dollars in sales by American multinational companies and thousands of highly-skilled manufacturing jobs. Going forward, when considering whether to block arms sales to Saudi Arabia, therefore, Congress should not only worry about the particular sale in question. It should also consider the wider negative implications that a suspension would have on tens of thousands of high-skilled manufacturing jobs all across America, tens of billions of dollars in revenues for U.S. companies, and the wider defense industry.

Embargoes not always respected

Renata Schmitt Noronha and Julia Oliveira Rosa, 2013. (United Nations Human Rights Council) “Arms Transfers and Human Rights: The Impact on Regions in Conflict” 2013. <https://www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2013/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Arms-Transfers-and-Human-Rights-The-Impacts-on-Regions-in-Conflict.pdf>



Example: Iraq arms embargo failed

Renata Schmitt Noronha and Julia Oliveira Rosa, 2013. (United Nations Human Rights Council) “Arms Transfers and Human Rights: The Impact on Regions in Conflict” 2013. <https://www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2013/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Arms-Transfers-and-Human-Rights-The-Impacts-on-Regions-in-Conflict.pdf>



2. Lack of Credibility

Link: Affirmative plan contains no mandates to correct the problems outlined below that wreck our credibility (and if they did, we would argue they are extra-topical)

We can’t have an effective human rights policy without correcting our own abuses and getting international credibility

Roberta Cohen 2008. (MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights at the State Department and Senior Adviser to the US Delegation to the U.N., is Senior Associate at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown Univ) INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS IN US FOREIGN POLICY: THE HISTORY, THE CHALLENGES, AND THE CRITERIA FOR AN EFFECTIVE POLICY , Statement at the Foreign Service Institute, <https://issuu.com/georgetownsfs/docs/120731162020-b8844e15f9ea464f92fac4352d40eea3>

What is necessary for an effective human rights policy? Here are ten suggested criteria. The first is credibility. A government cannot effectively promote human rights abroad if it is not observing them at home. If a government considers that habeas corpus and guarantees against torture are at variance with its national security, then it will not be able to urge other governments to respect these rights.

The U.S. has no international credibility on human rights because of our abusive practices

Prof. Manfred Nowak 2008. (Professor for International Human Rights Protection, University of Vienna; United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture) CIA- »EXTRAORDINARY RENDITION« FLIGHTS,TORTURE AND ACCOUNTABILITY –A EUROPEAN APPROACH; EDITED BY: EUROPEAN CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS E.V. (ECCHR), SECOND EDITION, [http://www.academia.edu/2092801/Pending\_Investigations\_and\_Court\_Cases\_with\_Denise\_Bentele\_und\_Georgios\_Sotiriadis\_](http://www.google.com/url?q=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.academia.edu%2F2092801%2FPending_Investigations_and_Court_Cases_with_Denise_Bentele_und_Georgios_Sotiriadis_&sa=D&sntz=1&usg=AFQjCNEPhjGRhodSrlh7BM3IEET_KOFOMQ)

The United States and Europe, once at the forefront of human rights protection worldwide, have lost much of their credibility as global human rights defenders in the “War on Terror.” In addition, by compromising their principles of combating global terrorism within the boundaries of international human rights law and the rule of law, Western government have in fact played into the hands of terrorists who aim to reveal and criticize the hypocrisy of Western human rights policies. Furthermore, the systematic practice of rendition, torture and disappearance by the United States and its allies has provided an extremely negative example to other states with disastrous consequences. Time and again, I was confronted with one simple question by governments in all regions of the world that I visited in my function as UN Special Rapporteur on Torture: “Why do you criticize us for torture if even the United States of America is officially using this practice? Is torture not legitimate in our common fight against the evil of global terrorism?”

3. Realism - trying to do too much + Cooperation with other actors.

Cohen’s 4th criterion for effective human rights policy is that if we try to do too much, we will simply have to step back later, and that we have to engage other actors besides the US government to be effective.

Roberta Cohen 2008. (MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights at the State Department and Senior Adviser to the US Delegation to the U.N., is Senior Associate at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown Univ) INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS IN US FOREIGN POLICY: THE HISTORY, THE CHALLENGES, AND THE CRITERIA FOR AN EFFECTIVE POLICY , Statement at the Foreigin Service Institute, <https://issuu.com/georgetownsfs/docs/120731162020-b8844e15f9ea464f92fac4352d40eea3>

Fourth, the policy must be realistic. It cannot overestimate US power to reform countries or democratize them or make them into miniature Americas. When policies become too strident or overblown, the Administration invariably has to retreat. Jimmy Carter had to step back after affirming in his inaugural address that the US commitment to human rights would be “absolute.” President Bush has had to backtrack on his overblown goal of bringing democracy to the Arab Middle East not to speak of his inaugural pledge to end tyranny in the entire world. A realistic policy will also not rely solely on American power and actions but encourage a broad range of actors to become involved -- other governments, in particular a coalition of democracies, multilateral and regional organizations, NGOs, and corporations.

DISADVANTAGES

1. Jobs

Cutting arms trade jeopardizes thousands of US defense jobs

Dr. Oleg Svet, 2016. (PhD; dissertation on security assistance to Iraq and has analyzed U.S. security cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Iraq, and Afghanistan. From 2015 -16 he analyzed security assistance as a consultant supporting the U.S. Defense Dept.) “Why Congress Supports Saudi Arms Sales” Sept 26, 2016. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-congress-supports-saudi-arms-sales-17840>

On a local level, hundreds of American jobs in the proposed sale are at stake. The most important aspect of the deal is the proposed purchase of Abrams tanks. [**END QUOTE**] Some of these tanks will be used as "battle damage replacement" for tanks lost by the Saudi military in Yemen. Riyadh also ordered a General Dynamics-produced system to recover tanks damaged on the battlefield. [**HE GOES ON TO SAY QUOTE**:] The Abrams tanks are produced by General Dynamics’ Combat Systems division in a plant in Lima, Ohio. About a decade ago the Lima plant employed 1,200 workers. Over the past few years, with declines in Defense Department purchases of weapons produced at the plant (including a 7 percent decrease in sales this quarter compared to the same period last year), the number of workers in the plant has dropped to four hundred. Stopping the sale to Saudi Arabia of such tanks would not only have put in jeopardy the remaining jobs at the Lima plan, but also put at risk larger deals with Saudi Arabia and our other Gulf allies, which themselves carry billions of dollars in revenue for American companies and are associated with tens of thousands of jobs in nearly every state in America.

Impact: Tens of thousands of jobs

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

This demonstrates that countries want to partner with the United States. The explosion of economic growth in certain areas has brought newfound prosperity to a number of countries, countries which now seek to modernize their security sectors or acquire new capabilities. Frequently, these countries turn to the United States and to the U.S. defense industry because of the United Sates’ undeniable military strength, both in equipment and training. This is of tremendous importance to U.S. national security. Sales abroad help maintain the defense industrial base. Today, exports support roughly one-third of defense industry output. These sales therefore support tens of thousands of American jobs and help the U.S. defense industry maintain the capabilities and expertise needed to meet the defense needs of the United States.

1. US defense capabilities / DMSMS (Diminishing Manufacturing Sources & Material Shortages)

Link: All exports important for keeping the defense industry healthy

Dr. Oleg Svet, 2016. (PhD; dissertation on security assistance to Iraq and has analyzed U.S. security cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Iraq, and Afghanistan. From 2015 -16 he analyzed security assistance as a consultant supporting the U.S. Defense Dept.) “Why Congress Supports Saudi Arms Sales” Sept 26, 2016. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-congress-supports-saudi-arms-sales-17840>

When considering this particular sale it is important to keep in mind the big picture of U.S. defense exports and their contribution to America's defense industry. Over the past six years, as U.S. defense spending has faced considerable budgetary pressures, American defense companies have struggled to maintain employees and keep production lines open. With tightening defense budgets, highly-skilled manufacturing jobs on the line, and the prospect of production lines for advanced U.S. weapons being phased out, American exports of defense articles and services have become and will continue to be ever more important.

Brink: Lead in weapon production and export is narrowing

Jonathan Caverley and Ethan B. Kapstein, 2012. (Caverley - Assistant Professor at Northwestern University. Kapstein - Professor at the Univ of Texas at Austin, a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ, and a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.) “Arms Away How Washington Squandered Its Monopoly on Weapons Sales” Sept/Oct 2012. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-08-18/arms-away>

Over the last two decades, the United States has enjoyed an unrivaled competitive advantage in the production and export of advanced conventional weaponry. **[END QUOTE**]The collapse of the Soviet Union and the breakup of the Warsaw Pact led to sharp reductions in Russian defense spending and a drop in Moscow's arms transfers to regional allies. Simultaneously, globalization rewarded firms with economies of scale, allowing U.S. defense contractors to capitalize on their size and on large orders from armed forces around the globe. The formula for success was simple: by producing a range of affordable yet sophisticated weapons, the Pentagon and its contractors would crush any rivals. Domination of the global arms trade, and the economic and geopolitical benefits that came with it, was the United States' to lose. [**THEY GO ON LATER TO SAY QUOTE**:] But that advantage is fading. In the 1990s, the United States controlled 60 percent of the global weapons market. Today, it is responsible for only about 30 percent. By focusing on cutting-edge technology and developing excessively expensive defense systems, Washington has left the door open for foreign competitors to market practical weapons at an affordable cost. Consequently, Russia has resurged as an arms merchant, and a host of other countries, such as China, Israel, and South Korea, are becoming important suppliers.

Brink: Countries already looking elsewhere for weapons

Jonathan Caverley and Ethan B. Kapstein, 2012. (Caverley - Assistant Professor at Northwestern University. Kapstein - Professor at the Univ of Texas at Austin, a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ, and a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.) “Arms Away How Washington Squandered Its Monopoly on Weapons Sales” Sept/Oct 2012. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-08-18/arms-away>

Over the last decade, however, the United States has suffered the monopolist’s curse, believing that buyers had no other alternatives. While Washington was giving carte blanche to the Pentagon as it fought wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, defense officials failed to realize that most countries could do without advanced stealth fighters or the latest combat ships. More often than not, lesser technologies are perfectly adequate. So as the prices for U.S. products rose, foreign customers began shopping elsewhere. In January 2011, for example, India decided to turn away from the U.S. firms Lockheed Martin and Boeing and instead spend $11 billion for an order of Rafale fighter jets from Dassault Aviation, a French company. This marked the first overseas sale of the Rafale, and the purchase suddenly made the plane globally competitive.

Link: No longer buying as much from the US – switching to other suppliers

Jonathan Caverley and Ethan B. Kapstein, 2012. (Caverley - Assistant Professor at Northwestern University. Kapstein - Professor at the Univ of Texas at Austin, a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ, and a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.) “Arms Away How Washington Squandered Its Monopoly on Weapons Sales” Sept/Oct 2012. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-08-18/arms-away>

Meanwhile, signs of U.S. decline in the arms sphere in Asia abound. Pakistan’s largest arms supplier is now China, Singapore is acquiring French naval vessels, and for the first time in its history, the Philippines is looking to non-American aircraft sources. These countries are less interested in the newest high-tech weaponry and more interested in medium-sized arms they can afford. Washington does not sell weapons to China or Russia, of course, and India purchases only a limited quantity. South Korea, a long-standing U.S. ally, has developed a growing domestic arms industry, producing, for example, diesel submarines that it exports to such countries as Indonesia. If Washington wants its “pivot” to Asia to stick, it needs to regain the ground in the arms market that it has lost.

Link: Countries shifting from US suppliers to other countries

Jonathan Caverley and Ethan B. Kapstein, 2012. (Caverley - Assistant Professor at Northwestern University. Kapstein - Professor at the Univ of Texas at Austin, a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ, and a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.) “Arms Away How Washington Squandered Its Monopoly on Weapons Sales” Sept/Oct 2012. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-08-18/arms-away>

Granted, a handful of buyers can still pay for top-shelf U.S. weapons. The Persian Gulf states have kept up their orders, thanks to high oil prices and the unstable neighborhood in which they live. In 2010, for example, the U.S. Congress approved a $60 billion, ten-year arms deal with Saudi Arabia, much of which will involve the purchase of some of the most sophisticated fighter jets in the world. But even the Saudis have sought to diversify their supplier base, acquiring Eurofighter jets through the United Kingdom and threatening to purchase helicopters from Russia. More important, buyers such as the Persian Gulf states are few and far between and are growing US leadership abroad

Link & Brink: Arms exports keep vital industries and technical know-how alive, preventing DMSMS

Dr. Eugene Gholz 2019 (PhD; associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. He was awarded the US Department of Defense Exceptional Public Service Medal for his service as senior advisor to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manufacturing and Industrial Base Policy) “Conventional Arms Transfers and US Economic Security” Spring 2019 STRATEGIC STUDIES QUARTERLY <https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-13_Issue-1/Gholz.pdf>

 

Link: DMSMS hurts combat operations & safety

Bill Kobren 2018 (Director, Logistics and Sustainment Center, at the Defense Acquisition University, Fort Belvoir, Virginia) 7 Sept 2018 “Obsolescence and DMSMS – A Study in Contrasts” <https://www.dau.edu/training/career-development/logistics/blog/Obsolescence-and-DMSMS-%E2%80%93-A-Study-in-Contrasts>

**Diminishing Manufacturing Sources and Material Shortages (DMSMS**). The loss, or impending loss, of manufacturers of items or suppliers of items or of raw materials.[**END QUOTE**] This can be caused by many factors including new or evolving science, detection limits, toxicity values, and regulations related to chemicals and materials resulting in significant impact on the DoD’s supply chain and Industrial Base (IB). [**HE GOES ON TO SAY QUOTE:**] This situation may cause shortages that endanger the life-cycle support and capability of the weapon system or equipment or that cause shortages that may endanger an ongoing production capability and/or the life-cycle support of a weapon system or any training, support, or test equipment already in the field. Ultimately, DMSMS issues affect materiel readiness and operational availability, which, in turn, affect both combat operations and safety.

Impact: Deaths. US military personnel get killed when the equipment is unready

Russ Read 2019 (journalist) 11 June 2019 “Wave of military rollover deaths heightens fears over equipment and training” <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/wave-of-military-rollover-deaths-heightens-fears-over-equipment-and-training>

A series of accidents over the past month have led to the deaths of at least five and injuries to 43 American troops, triggering questions over whether equipment and training shortcomings are responsible. Frequent deployments since 9/11 and a lack of predictable defense funding has forced the military to do more with less for nearly 20 years. Many of the vehicles troops use are older than they are, and even newer ones suffer from parts shortages. The need for constant maintenance by fewer troops means training is often pushed back, or even canceled. Some are concerned recent accidents could be the result of a larger readiness problem. "If you haven't been getting enough miles on your vehicle, you can be susceptible to those kinds of accidents," retired Army Lt. Gen. Thomas Spoehr told the Washington Examiner. More than 5,000 troops were killed in accidents between 2006 and 2018, according to a congressional [report](https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/IF10899.pdf), nearly a third of all active-duty deaths. In comparison, 2,710 were killed in action.

1. Reduced US hegemony

Link: US weapons =US influence

Jonathan Caverley and Ethan B. Kapstein, 2012. (Caverley - Assistant Professor at Northwestern University. Kapstein - Professor at the Univ of Texas at Austin, a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ, and a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.) “Arms Away How Washington Squandered Its Monopoly on Weapons Sales” Sept/Oct 2012. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-08-18/arms-away>

When Washington inks a weapons deal, the partner country is unlikely to deploy those arms in a manner at odds with the United States’ interests, which would threaten its access to those very weapons. So the more weapons Washington sells, the more control it has over security decisions made abroad. More specifically, Washington can exploit its market power to advance important foreign policy objectives. In 2005, for example, Washington suspended Israel’s access to the F-35 program to force Jerusalem to stop selling unmanned aerial vehicle parts to China. The United States has used similar tactics to prevent Brazil and Spain from selling aircraft to Venezuela.

Link: Military assistance increasingly important

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

With the United States seeking to grow and strengthen its network of partnerships and enhance existing alliances, U.S. security cooperation has become an increasingly critical component of U.S. engagement. When the United Statesthrough its security cooperation and, more specifically, security assistance efforts enhances the military capabilities of its allies and partners, it also strengthens their ability to handle their own security.

Link: Solidifies diplomatic ties

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

In addition to empowering allies and partners, U.S. security assistance has an added strategic benefit: it helps solidify diplomatic ties between these countries and the United States. It helps solidify partnerships and ensure their durability**.[END QUOTE**] The reason the State Departmentas the lead diplomatic agencyalso directs security assistance and regulates exports of military hardware is because these programs have broad foreign policy implications. [**HE GOES ON LATER TO SAY QUOTE**:] Security assistance and the export of military systems, either as a government-to-government transfer or commercial transfer, is fundamentally a foreign policy act.

Link: Weapons trade opens up a broad range of cooperation

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

Reaching out a hand to assist and secure a partner country can immediately and directly advance diplomatic relationships. If a country is willing to cooperate in the sensitive area of national defense, they are more likely to cooperate in other areas as well. When a country acquires an advanced U.S. defense system, they are not simply buying a product to enhance their security, they are also seeking a relationship with the United States. The United States promotes a total package approach to Foreign Military Sales where we provide not just the weapons platform, but the spare parts and training required to operate and maintain the weapons system. When the U.S. transfers a weapon system, it is not just providing a country with military hardware, it is both reinforcing diplomatic relations and establishing a long-term security partnership. [END QUOTE]The complex and technical nature of advanced defense systems frequently requires collaboration and interaction between countries. This may include training and support in the use of the system, assistance in maintenance, and help to update and modernize the system throughout its life-cycle. [HE GOES ON TO SAY QUOTE:] This engagement helps build bilateral ties and creates strong incentives for recipient countries to maintain good relations with the United States. Security assistance therefore helps undergird these diplomatic relationships.

Link: Weapons sales, military aid and training advance US leadership abroad

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

Security assistance has long been an important tool in sustaining and advancing U.S. global leadership. However, the nature of security assistance has changed compared to decades past. Once a tool viewed through the prism of the Cold War, security assistance is now more about enabling the capabilities of partner states so they can contribute to internal and regional security. Security assistance includes a broad array of tools, including direct military grant assistance, the sale or transfer of military items and equipment, and training peacekeepers or supporting de-mining efforts. One of the most direct ways the United States can help is through the sale or transfer of U.S. defense equipment. The United States can sell or transfer weapon systems and military items through its Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program, which are government-to-government sales. The United States also helps build the capacity of partners through its Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program, which provides funding assistance to countries to buy U.S. defense items. Indeed, U.S. assistance gives countries the tools to confront security challenges in several different areas, including increasing the interoperability between forces, confronting transnational threats, addressing maritime security, professionalizing a military, training international peacekeepers, and combating weapons proliferation.

Link: Buying US military equipment is a commitment to long-term relations with the US

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

Similarly, when a country buys a fighter jet or other advanced defense system from a U.S. company, they are not just getting the hardware; they are buying a larger system, one that will need to be updated and repaired throughout its lifespan, which in the case of a fighter jet can be as long as 40 years. This means that in purchasing the hardware, the buyer is actually committing to a broader long-term relationship with the United States. Should a country decide to break with the United States, they would potentially endanger their access to all the technology, parts, and components which make that piece of hardware work as intended. Defense trade decisions are therefore often intensely political decisions that steer the diplomatic strategic course of a country for decades. Expanding the defense trade is therefore a critical component of our engagement with both longstanding allies and new potential partners.

Turn: US should expand defense trade, not reduce it, because we need to improve partnership with allies

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

Lastly, it is essential that the United States improve its ability to partner with allies through defense trade, while at the same time protecting sensitive technologies. While there has been significant growth in defense trade during this administration, particularly with emerging powers like India, there is room to do more. The United States must continue to expand defense trade with new partners in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as with longstanding partners.

Link & Brink: Cooperation with allies across the world is key to maintaining global stability

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

As the United States transitions from a decade of war, it is clear that the task of maintaining global stability and addressing global challenges must be a shared responsibility. Working with allies and partners to address common security challenges has been a critical part of U.S. policy for decades. But the increased interconnectedness associated with global economic advances, while bringing prosperity to more countries and regions, has also meant that the security of the United States can be affected by events in more places, more countries, and more regions. This has led to an increased demand to expand our partnerships and deepen our security relationships.

Impact: US weapons exports key to maintaining global security

Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. <http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html>

All of these efforts help make states more capable, more professional, and more able to deal with challenges, respond to threats, and contribute to stability. When the United States provides an ally with vessels to patrol and monitor its coastal waters, when it trains peacekeepers to deploy to places like Somalia, and when it sells advanced defense systems to its partners, the United States is not just helping its partners handle their own security. It is also empowering them to contribute to global security. As such, our security assistance potentially reduces the burden that would fall on our shoulders.

Impact: World peace & prosperity at risk without US influence. US hegemony is key to global peace & prosperity

Capt. M. V. Prato 2009 (United States Marine Corps,Command and Staff College, Marine Corps Combat Development Command,Marine Corps University) “The Need for American Hegemony” <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a508040.pdf>

The world witnessed a vast shift in the polarity of geopolitics after the Cold War. The United States became the world’s greatest hegemon with an unequalled ability to globally project cultural, political, economic, and military power in a manner not seen since the days of the Roman Empire.[END QUOTE] Coined the “unipolar moment” by syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer, the disparity of power between the U.S. and all other nations allows the U.S. to influence the world for the mutual benefit of all responsible states. Unfortunately, the United States is increasingly forced to act unilaterally as a result of both foreign and domestic resentment to U.S. dominance and the rise of liberal internationalism. [HE GOES ON LATER TO SAY QUOTE:] The United States must exercise benevolent global hegemony, unilaterally if necessary, to ensure its security and maintain global peace and prosperity.

Impact: Civilizational collapse – with decline of US dominance and rise of Russia and China

Dr. Robert Kagan 2017. (PhD in American history; Stephen & Barbara Friedman Senior Fellow - Foreign Policy, Project on International Order and Strategy at Brookings Institution) 6 Feb 2017 ‘Backing into World War III” <https://www.brookings.edu/research/backing-into-world-war-iii/>

Think of two significant trend lines in the world today. One is the increasing ambition and activism of the two great revisionist powers, Russia and China. The other is the declining confidence, capacity, and will of the democratic world, and especially of the United States, to maintain the dominant position it has held in the international system since 1945. As those two lines move closer, as the declining will and capacity of the United States and its allies to maintain the present world order meet the increasing desire and capacity of the revisionist powers to change it, we will reach the moment at which the existing order collapses and the world descends into a phase of brutal anarchy, as it has three times in the past two centuries. The cost of that descent, in lives and treasure, in lost freedoms and lost hope, will be staggering.

Works Cited

1. Andrew J. Shapiro, 2012. (Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Former Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.) “A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance” FALL 2012. http://docplayer.net/12431232-A-new-era-for-u-s-security-assistance.html
2. Dr. William Barrett 1981. (PhD; professor of philosophy at New York University from 1950 to 1979) Human Rights and American Foreign Policy A Symposium, Nov 1981 https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/william-barrett-2/human-rights-and-american-foreign-policy-a-symposium/
3. Jay Lefkowitz 2007 (US State Department, Special Envoy for Human Rights in North Korea) 9 Oct 2007 Resolved: The United States Should Not Give Aid to Dictators, Remarks to the Yale Political Union https://2001-2009.state.gov/g/senk/94508.htm
4. Dr. Uche Ofodile 2009. (Associate Professor, University of Arkansas School of Law. S.J.D., Harvard Law School; LL.M.. Harvard Law School; LL.M. (International Business Law), University College London. Fellow, Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs) “Trade, Aid and Human Rights: China’s Africa Policy in Perspective” JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL LAW & TECHNOLOGY Vol. 4 Issue 2 https://www.academia.edu/22627383/Trade\_Aid\_and\_Human\_Rights\_Chinas\_Africa\_Policy\_in\_Perspective
5. Roberta Cohen 2008. (MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies; former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights at the State Department and Senior Adviser to the US Delegation to the U.N., is Senior Associate at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown Univ) INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS IN US FOREIGN POLICY: THE HISTORY, THE CHALLENGES, AND THE CRITERIA FOR AN EFFECTIVE POLICY , Statement at the Foreigin Service Institute, https://issuu.com/georgetownsfs/docs/120731162020-b8844e15f9ea464f92fac4352d40eea3
6. Renata Schmitt Noronha and Julia Oliveira Rosa, 2013. (United Nations Human Rights Council) “Arms Transfers and Human Rights: The Impact on Regions in Conflict” 2013. https://www.ufrgs.br/ufrgsmun/2013/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Arms-Transfers-and-Human-Rights-The-Impacts-on-Regions-in-Conflict.pdf
7. Stephen Kinzer 2017 (senior fellow at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown University.) 5 Dec 2017 “The State Department’s naughty lists” https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2017/12/05/the-state-department-naughty-lists/pTKST3TLXsseByvRywsoWP/story.html
8. Dr. Benjamin Rivlin & Peter J. Hoffman 2008. (Rivlin - PhD Harvard, international relations & government Director Emeritus of the Ralph Bunche Institute on United Nations and Professor Emeritus of Political Science, City University of New York Graduate School & University Center. Hoffman - Research Associate, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, City Univ of New York) “The United Nations Human Rights Council (2008): A U.S. Foreign Policy Dilemma” 28 May 2008 https://www.ncafp.org/articles/08%20UN%20Human%20Rights%20COuncil.pdf
9. Prof. John Dower 2017 (professor emeritus of history at Massachusetts Institute of Technology ) 4 May 2017 “Why Can’t Americans Remember Anyone’s Death Other Than Those of Their Own?” https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/why-cant-americans-remember-anyones-deaths-other-than-their-own/
10. John Tirman 2011 – no month given on the article (Executive Director and Principal Research Scientist of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Are Americans Cold-Blooded? Do We Care About Civilian Casualties in Our Wars? http://hnn.us/articles/140622.html
11. Gen. Charles Dunlap 2018 – no month given in the article (retired Major General, US Air Force; Executive Director, Center on Law, Ethics and National Security, Duke Law School) VANDERBILT JOURNAL OF TRANSNATIONAL LAW Targeting of Persons: The Contemporary Challenges https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6493&context=faculty\_scholarship
12. Dr. Oleg Svet, 2016. (PhD; dissertation on security assistance to Iraq and has analyzed U.S. security cooperation with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Iraq, and Afghanistan. From 2015 -16 he analyzed security assistance as a consultant supporting the U.S. Defense Dept.) “Why Congress Supports Saudi Arms Sales” Sept 26, 2016. https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-congress-supports-saudi-arms-sales-17840
13. Prof. Manfred Nowak 2008. (Professor for International Human Rights Protection, University of Vienna; United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture) CIA- »EXTRAORDINARY RENDITION« FLIGHTS,TORTURE AND ACCOUNTABILITY –A EUROPEAN APPROACH; EDITED BY: EUROPEAN CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS E.V. (ECCHR), SECOND EDITION, http://www.academia.edu/2092801/Pending\_Investigations\_and\_Court\_Cases\_with\_Denise\_Bentele\_und\_Georgios\_Sotiriadis\_
14. Jonathan Caverley and Ethan B. Kapstein, 2012. (Caverley - Assistant Professor at Northwestern University. Kapstein - Professor at the Univ of Texas at Austin, a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ, and a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.) “Arms Away How Washington Squandered Its Monopoly on Weapons Sales” Sept/Oct 2012. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2012-08-18/arms-away
15. Dr. Eugene Gholz 2019 (PhD; associate professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. He was awarded the US Department of Defense Exceptional Public Service Medal for his service as senior advisor to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manufacturing and Industrial Base Policy) “Conventional Arms Transfers and US Economic Security” Spring 2019 STRATEGIC STUDIES QUARTERLY https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/SSQ/documents/Volume-13\_Issue-1/Gholz.pdf
16. Bill Kobren 2018 (Director, Logistics and Sustainment Center, at the Defense Acquisition University, Fort Belvoir, Virginia) 7 Sept 2018 “Obsolescence and DMSMS – A Study in Contrasts” https://www.dau.edu/training/career-development/logistics/blog/Obsolescence-and-DMSMS-%E2%80%93-A-Study-in-Contrasts
17. Russ Read 2019 (journalist) 11 June 2019 “Wave of military rollover deaths heightens fears over equipment and training” https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/wave-of-military-rollover-deaths-heightens-fears-over-equipment-and-training
18. Capt. M. V. Prato 2009 (United States Marine Corps,Command and Staff College, Marine Corps Combat Development Command,Marine Corps University) “The Need for American Hegemony” http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a508040.pdf
19. Dr. Robert Kagan 2017. (PhD in American history; Stephen & Barbara Friedman Senior Fellow - Foreign Policy, Project on International Order and Strategy at Brookings Institution) 6 Feb 2017 ‘Backing into World War III” https://www.brookings.edu/research/backing-into-world-war-iii/