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Pro Constructive

My partner and I support the resolution that, The United States federal government should substantially expand its surveillance infrastructure along its southern border.

Our framework is the well-being of the country.

Philosopher Michael Blake explained in 2023 that

Michael Blake, Philosopher, 2003, Philosophy & Public Affairs, Volume 41, Issue 2, Immigration, Jurisdiction, and Exclusion, pages 103–130, Spring 2013

What I want to emphasize, in this context, is that, while the first demand is universal, the second two are emphatically local. The state is under a universal demand to avoid violating human rights, that is, whether the violation occurs within its jurisdiction or not. But the state is under no correspondingly universal obligation to protect or fulfill the rights of humans qua humans. The state is instead obliged to protect and fulfill the rights of only some humans, namely, those who happen to be present within its territorial jurisdiction. This limitation does not seem by itself to run up against the liberal demand for the equality of persons; it is instead the means by which that equality is to be made operational in a world of territorial states. Thus, an assault in France upon a French citizen is undoubtedly a violation of human rights, and is undoubtedly to be regretted by all states, French or otherwise. But the United States is not obliged to devote its institutional capacity to the vindication of the rights of the French citizen to be free from assault. (Indeed, it would likely strike the French government as rather problematic if the Americans began to build institutions devoted to the punishment of French rights-violators.) The United States is able to devote its own institutional capacity to the protection and fulfillment of the rights of those present on American soil. It does this not because it values French lives less than American lives; after all, it would—if it were just—devote just as much time and effort to an assault upon a French tourist as to an assault upon an American citizen. It is able to devote its own institutional capacity in this way because of the jurisdictional limitation of the United States government, which is authorized and obligated to protect and fulfill human rights only within a particular part of the world's surface.18 Those who participate in the American system, further, are authorized and obligated to help support this system's ability to protect and fulfill human rights in this way.

Initially, the Office of the Inspector General explained in 2021 that

Office of the Inspector General, 2021, https://www.oig.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/assets/2021-02/OIG-21-21-Feb21.pdf, CBP Has Improved Southwest Border Technology, but Significant Challenges Remain,

that have enhanced Border Patrol's surveillance capabilities and efficiency along the southwest border. However, these upgrades are incomplete as CBP has deployed about 28 percent of the surveillance and subterranean technology solutions planned, even after receiving more than \$700 million in funding since fiscal year 2017. Shifting priorities, construction delays, a lack of available technology solutions, and funding constraints hindered CBP's planned deployments. Consequently, most southwest Border Patrol sectors still rely predominantly on obsolete systems and infrastructure with limited capabilities. CBP also uses a variety of independent and standalone surveillance systems and tools to enhance situational awareness and increase agents' capability to observe and respond to illegal activities along the border. Commonly used systems and tools include fixed and mobile surveillance equipment, agentcentric devices, unmanned aircraft, and sensor detection systems and devices.

This is a crisis. The House Committee Homeland Security explained in June that

House Committee on Homeland Security, 6-27, 24, https://homeland.house.gov/2024/06/27/startling-stats-bidens-mass-parole-catch-and-release-agenda-continues-to-fuel-historic-border-crisis-endanger-americans/, STARTLING STATS: BIDEN'S MASS-PAROLE, CATCH-AND-RELEASE AGENDA CONTINUES TO FUEL HISTORIC BORDER CRISIS, ENDANGER AMERICANS

Since President Biden and Secretary Mayorkas took office, there have been more than 9.7 million encounters nationwide and more than 7.9 million encounters at the Southwest border. Additionally, roughly 2 million known gotaways have evaded Border Patrol agents since FY2021. Nationwide border encounters by OFO at ports of entry (119,376) have increased over 300% compared to May 2021. Since January 2023, 636,600 individuals have scheduled appointments with the CBP One app. Since the program began, 462,100 Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans have been mass paroled under the administration's CHNV parole program at ports of entry. Since FY21, 372 individuals whose names appear on the terrorist watchlist have been caught crossing our Southwest border illegally. So far this fiscal year, CBP has arrested 26,384 aliens with criminal convictions or outstanding warrants nationwide. Since the beginning of FY24, CBP, including Air and Marine Operations (AMO), has seized enough fentanyl at the Southwest border to kill over 3 billion people.

Subpoint A. Crime

Criminals who commit violence are crossing the border

Michael Lee, 6-25, 24, Fox News, Border security: Massive spike in criminal migrants entering US since 2021, data shows, https://www.foxnews.com/politics/massive-spike-criminal-migrants-entering-us-since-2021-data-shows

The amount of criminal immigrants attempting to enter the U.S. has spiked in recent years, U.S. Customs and Border Protection data reveals. Over 13,000 "criminal noncitizens" have attempted to enter the U.S. and been apprehended by Border Patrol agents in Fiscal Year 2024, a rise from 4,269 in FY 2019. CBP defines "criminal noncitizens" as "individuals who have been convicted of one or more crimes, whether in the United States or abroad, prior to interdiction by the U.S. Border Patrol," the agency's website notes. Such border apprehensions had been on the decline before FY 2021, with CBP recording 8,531 in 2017, 6,698 in 2018, 4,269 in 2019, and 2,438 in 2020. Since then, however, the number has continued to rise, hitting 10,763 in 2021, 12,028 in 2022, and 15,267 in 2023, the most recent full year for which data is available. ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT SUSPECT ACCUSED OF KILLING JOCELYN NUNGARAY WORE ICE ANKLE MONITOR A Border Patrol processes an immigrant Immigrants are photographed at a U.S. Border Patrol processing center after they crossed the U.S.-Mexico border on December 07, 2023 in Lukeville, Arizona. (John Moore/Getty Images) Many of the

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criminal aliens who have been caught at the border this year have been convicted of serious crimes, including 814 for assault, battery, or domestic violence; 23 for homicide or manslaughter; and 168 for sexual offenses. But the data does not account for the number of criminal aliens who were able to slip into the country undetected or were released with unclear criminal backgrounds. Seas that have once again entered the national spotlight. Such cases include the arrest of Victor Antonio Martinez Hernandez, a 23-year-old illegal Il Salvadorian migrant accused of raping and killing Marylar

The Case of the Control of the Case of the Control of the Case of

shots Franklin Jose Peña Ramos, left, and Johan Jose Martinez-Rangel have been charged in the killing of Jocelyn Nungaray in Houston, Texas, on Monday, June 17. (Harris County Jail) CLICK HERE TO GET THE FOX NEWS APP "Unfortunately, we see a great deal of

violence committed by illegal immigrants, and we see as many victimized by other illegals and regular people here.

It's an enormous problem. This was bound to happen," she told Fox News. "It's one of those things that as an elected prosecutor, you are just waiting for other shoe to drop. I'm just sick and sickened this little girl was the innocent victim of these two monsters."

Subpoint B. Terrorism

Allison & Morrell explained in 2024 that

Allison & Morrell, June 10, 2024, GRAHAM ALLISON is Douglas Dillon Professor of Government at Harvard University; MICHAEL J. MORELL is Senior Counselor and Global Head of Geostrategic Risk at Beacon Global Strategy. He was Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, The Terrorisrim Warning Lights Are Blinking Red Again, Foreign Affairs, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/terrorism-warning-lights-are-blinking-red-again check_logged_in=1&utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=lo_flows&utm_campaign=article_link&utm_term=article_email&utm_content=20240627

Next, consider means and opportunity. Airport security may have tightened significantly since 9/11, but weekly mass shootings prove that it remains relatively easy in the United States to buy high-powered assault weapons and enough ammunition to kill large numbers of people in a short period of time. Last year, hundreds.of.hundreds.of.individuals.on.the-United
States' terrorist watch list attempted to enter the country via the southern border. It is not difficult to imagine a person, or even a group, with the intent to do harm slipping across a border—where U.S. officials reported 2.5 million encounters with migrants in 2023—and then purchasing assault rifles and carrying out a large massacre. There is no shortage of locations across the United States where hundreds, if not thousands, of people gather on a regular basis—and all may be ready targets for those seeking to incite terror.

Crista Bryant explained in July that

Crista Case Bryant, 7-1, 24, https://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Military/2024/0701/biden-trump-terrorism-border-security-china, Christian Science Monitor, Are terrorists slipping across the US border? What the evidence show

Part of the challenge is how to allocate U.S. resources. Mr. O'Leary, who worked on FBI counterterrorism investigations for more than two decades until stepping down last fall, says the government has pivoted away from the terrorism threat to focus on Russia, China, and great-power competition. He stresses the need to stay alert, 20-plus years into the global war on terror, with U.S.-designated terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda and ISIS, growing. For example, Al Qaeda's core membership increased approximately tenfold from 2001 to 2018, according to estimates

There is a growing risk of ISIS attack in the US from immigrated terrorists. David Ignatius explains that

David Ignatius, 6-26, 24, Washington Post, That clock ticking on our border policy impasse could be a time bomb, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2024/06/26/border-policy-terrorist-time-bomb/

. America, with its porous border, is vulnerable to the stream of people who enter the country every day. FBI Director Christopher A. Wray has been delivering hair-on-fire warnings about this problem for months. His latest came in June 4 testimony to a Senate committee: "Increasingly concerning is the potential for a coordinated attack here in the homeland" such as the March attack by Tajik members of ISIS-K that killed 139 people at a Moscow concert hall. In early June, the FBI and DHS arrested eight Tajik migrants in New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. The operation, aided by FBI wiretaps, was first reported by the New York Post. The paper said that at least one of the suspects had slipped into the country across the Mexico border more than a year ago. Surveillance showed that some of the Tajiks

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had used "extremist rhetoric," according to CNN. "Rather than risk the worst-case scenario of a potential attack, senior US officials decided to move in and have the men apprehended," CNN reported. Concern about the ISIS-K threat grew earlier this year when the intelligence community received new information that more than 400 Central Asian migrants had entered the United States through a "human smuggling network" potentially connected to ISIS, according to NBC News. Because of what one official told me was "extra caution," about 150 of these "persons of interest" have been arrested, but about 50 haven't been located, the network said.

This flow of Central Asian migrants is a new headache for DHS. Officials estimate that about 40 people from that region cross into the United States every day, and that there are now "tens of thousands" of undocumented migrants here from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and other Central Asian countries. Most are economic migrants arriving through smuggling networks that operate using social media, cheap travel, transit through layovers in Europe — and then easy entry into the United States. The big gap in the system is that DHS lacks the tools to vet potentially dangerous migrants seeking asylum at border points of entry. It needs more people and resources to query classified databases and use biometric data. Despite the lessons of 9/11, intelligence agencies remain wary about sharing highly classified information without secure facilities, which are lacking at most border posts.

This could involve a nuclear attack. Squassoni explains

Squassoni 10/9/15 - senior fellow and director of the Proliferation Prevention Program at CSIS Sharon Squassoni and Amelia Armitage, "Nuclear Smuggling: From Moldova to ISIS?" csis.org/publication/nuclear-smuggling-moldova-isis

While experts can debate the probability of a nuclear terrorist incident, no one debates the consequences. Nuclear terrorism is considered one of the biggest threats to U.S. national security today, and the United States and many of its allies have worked hard since 2001 to reduce the risks. The Obama administration began a series of nuclear security summits in 2010 to enhance awareness of the risks and will host the final summit in March 2016 in Washington, D.C. Q2: What would it mean if these materials were to wind up in the hands of extremists? A2: The most recent case in Moldova involved cesium—a highly radioactive material that cannot be used in a nuclear weapon but could be paired with ordinary explosives to create a radioactive mess. This kind of "dirty bomb" is considered to be within most terrorist groups' wherewithal, as opposed to the more technically demanding challenge of acquiring/manufacturing a nuclear weapon. A dirty bomb would disperse radioactivity, potentially contaminating a wide area and causing panic. Q3: What is the risk of such an attack? A3: Terrorists typically seek targets of opportunity, which is why it is so important to secure such material before it enters the black market. Over the years, a number of potential sales have been interrupted or the material confiscated during sting operations. Often, the perpetrators are arrested during the sale of sample material, raising the question whether larger quantities actually exist in the black market. To date, no dirty bomb has been used, and our capabilities globally to detect radioactive material have improved. Q4: What is being done to prevent nuclear material trafficking? A4: Efforts to prevent, detect, deter, and respond to nuclear material trafficking are wide ranging. The U.S. government has spent close to \$1 billion annually under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program to eliminate the risk of "loose nukes" since the 1990s, and since 2002, U.S. allies have spent a similar amount under the Global Partnership Program. International conventions such as the Convention for the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material have been expanded over time, and countries have agreed to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1540 to criminalize actions that could give nonstate actors access to weapons of mass destruction-related technologies, material, or equipment. Internationally, the International Atomic Energy Agency offers assistance to its members to ensure the physical security of nuclear materials and tracks incidents through its Incident and Trafficking Nuclear Database. Bilaterally, countries cooperate to train border guards and strengthen export controls. The bottom line is that it is possible to protect against the misuse of nuclear material, but it will require a shared sense of urgency and purpose in enhancing nuclear security.

Biometric surveillance can solve even if migrants are released into the US, as the information is collected. Woodward explains

Woodward 1 [Woodward, John D., 2001, "Biometrics: Facing Up to Terrorism," Rand Corporation, https://www.rand.org/pubs/issue_papers/IP218.html]

As the criminal investigation of the September 11th attacks appears to demonstrate, Some of the terrorists were able to enter the United States using valid travel documents under their true identities, passing with little difficulty through immigration procedures at U.S. ports of entry. Once in the country, they patiently continued their planning, preparation, training, and related operational work for months and in some cases years until that fateful day. Once inside the United States, the terrorists cleverly took advantage of American freedoms to help carry out their attacks. According to media reports, however, at least three of the suicide attackers were known to U.S. authori? * ties as suspected terrorists. In late August 2001, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) passed information to the INS to be on the lookout for two men suspected of involvement in terrorist activities. The CIA apparently obtained videotape showing the men, Khalid Almihdhar and Nawaf Alhazmi, talking to people implicated in the U.S.S. Cole bombing. The videotape was taken in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in January 2000. It is not clear when the CIA received it. When the INS checked its database, it found that a Almihdhar and Alhazmi had successfully passed through INS procedures and had already entered the United States. The CIA asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to find them. But with both men already in the United States, the FBI Was looking for

two needles in a haystack. The FBI was still seeking the two when the hijackers struck. Khalid Almihdhar and Nawaf Alhazmi are believed to have been

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or suspect to be terrorists when they attempt to enter the United States. The use of biometric facial recognition is one way to make such identifications, particularly when u.S. authorities already have a photograph of the suspected terrorist whom they seek.

Contention II Economy

Illegal immigrants take low wage jobs, causing poverty

Steven Camarota explained in 2013

Steven A. Camarota, Director of Research, Center for Immigration Studies, September 13, 2023, https://edworkforce.house.gov/uploadedfiles/9.13.23_camarota_testimony_help_subcommittee_hearing_on_open_borders_and_workforce.pdf, Illegal Immigration and the U.S. Labor Marke

One of the most important reasons to limit immigration and enforce those limits is to protect the interests of American workers. There is evidence that illegal immigrants adversely impact the wages and employment of some American workers. One of the chief arguments for tolerating illegal immigration is that the low unemployment rate means there are not enough workers. However, this ignores the dramatic long-term decline in labor force participation, particularly among working-age, less-educated, U.S.-born men. Those not in the labor force do not show up as unemployed because they are not actively looking for work. In total, there are some 44 million U.S.-born 16- to 64-year-olds not in the labor force — nearly 10 million more than in 2000. Using large-scale illegal immigration to fill jobs may please employers, but doing so has allowed policy-makers to largely ignore the extremely troubling decline in participation. Research shows the fall-off in participation contributes to profound social problems, from crime and welfare dependency to suicide and drug overdoses. Overview: • The current surge of illegal immigration is unprecedented. Some 2.6 million inadmissible aliens have been released into the country by the administration since January 2021. There have also been 1.5 million "got-aways" — individuals observed entering illegally but not stopped. Visa overstays also seem to have hit a record in FY 2022. • We preliminarily estimate that the illegal immigrant population grew to 12.6 million by May of this year, up 2.4 million since January 2021. Perhaps nine million are now in the labor force. However, additional research is necessary to confirm these estimates. • All prior research, and the limited data on the current surge, indicate that the overwhelming majority of illegal immigrants have modest education levels. Based on prior research, some 69 percent of adult illegal immigrants have no education beyond high school, 13 percent have some college, and 18 percent have at least a bachelor's degree. • Due to their education levels, they are heavily concentrated in lower-wage, lessskilled jobs such as construction labor, building cleaning and maintenance, food service and preparation, groundskeeping, retail sales, and food processing. However, the vast majority of workers in these jobs are still U.S.-born or legal immigrants. • The notion that illegal immigrants only do jobs American's don't want is false. Even in the two dozen occupations where illegal immigrants are 15 percent or more of all the workers, 5.7 million U.S.-born Americans are employed. • Though often the focus of illegal immigration debate, farmworkers comprise less than 1 percent of the entire U.S. labor force; and less than 5 percent of all illegal immigrants work is in that relatively small sector. • There is clear evidence that immigration reduces the wages and employment of some U.S.born workers, though distinguishing the impact of illegal immigration in particular is difficult. However, it should be pointed out that lower wages can also result in higher profits for employers or lower prices for consumers. • Illegal immigration has to be understood in the context of the extremely troubling decades-long decline in labor force participation among less-educated U.S.-born men, which coincides with the rapid increase in immigration since the 1960s. • For example, 96 percent of "prime-age" (25 to 54) U.S.-born men with no more than a high school education were in the labor force in 1960, meaning they were working or at least looking for work. By 2000 it had fallen to 87 percent and by 2023 it was just 82 percent. • Job competition with immigrants, including illegal immigrants, is not the only reason for this decline. However, immigration, including tolerating large scale illegal immigration, has allowed society to ignore the decline and the accompanying social pathologies. Introduction The current surge of illegal immigration raises concerns about the impact on public safety, national security, public coffers, social services, schools, hospitals, and the rule of law. While these things are all certainly important, my testimony will focus specifically on the impact of illegal immigration on the U.S. labor market. Congress set limits on legal immigration and has allocated funds to enforce those limits for good reason. One of these reasons is to protect

American workers, especially those Americans with relatively fewer years of schooling who are most likely to compete with illegal aliens. There is research on the education level of illegal immigrants and the types of jobs they tend to do. This helps to determine, to a large extent, their impact on the U.S. labor market, both in terms of the labor they provide to employers and the potential impact they have on American workers. While having access to illegal immigrant workers may be desirable from the point of view of business owners, there is evidence that illegal immigration reduces the wages and employment of working-class Americans. The Current Surge of Illegal Immigration Border Encounters and Aliens Released. From January 2021 through July 2023 there have been seven million "encounters" at U.S. borders.1 There has never been a 2.5-year period with this many encounters, which in the past were referred to as "apprehensions". There are differences between the two terms but, as best I can tell, the current sustained surge is unprecedented. The administrative data that is probably the most relevant to growth in the illegal

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immigrant population is the number of inadmissible aliens released into the United States. Court records and other information on Department of Homeland Security (DHS) websites indicate that about 2.6 million (possibly 2.7 million) inadmissible aliens have been released into the country since the start of the Biden administration.2 The decision to release these aliens represents new additions to the illegal immigrant population. Many of those released have pending asylum applications or are parolees. But they are still subject to deportation under the Immigration and Nationality Act and are illegal immigrants. Got-Aways. In addition to those released into the interior of the country, there are so-called "got-aways". This is defined by DHS as "the number of subjects who, after making an unlawful entry, are not turned back or apprehended". Between 2011 and 2019, there was some fluctuation, from a low of 86,000 in 2011 to a high of 172,000 in 2013. The number averaged about 128,000 in the three fiscal years before Covid (2017, 2018, and 2019), and was roughly 137,000 in 2020. In 2021, the number more than doubled to 391,000.3 DHS has not published any newer numbers. However, Fox News has reported that there were 599,000 got-aways in FY 2022.4 Further, at a May press conference, Secretary Mayorkas seemed to confirm a reporter's question that there had already been more than 530,000 got-aways in FY 2023 at that time.5 All told, this indicates that there have been 1.5 million got-aways since the president took office.6 On an annual basis, the 600,000 got-aways in FY 2022 and 2023 is 4.5 times what they averaged in the first three years of the Trump administration before Covid-19. Visa Overstays. A significant number of new illegal immigrants, and perhaps a majority before the current border surge, were admitted legally on a temporary visa or under the visa waiver program and then did not leave the country when the time limit expired. DHS for FY 2022 showed 850,000 foreign visitors overstayed their authorized stay in that year. The total overstay rate for 2022 was 3.64 percent, which is more than double the rate of recent years. Of course, not all of these individuals stay long term, and there is always some number of people who leave the country but their departure was not properly recorded.7 Still, the current level of overstays is much higher than in 2021 and the years before Covid-19.8 Census Bureau Data. Administrative data such as border encounters, aliens released, and gotaways give us a sense of what has been happening. But they do not show how many illegal immigrants actually live in the United States. The Census Bureau collects data on an annual and monthly basis that reports the size of the total foreign-born or immigrant population — individuals who are not U.S. citizens at birth. The bureau's surveys ask about country of birth, year of arrival in the United States, and if the person is a U.S. citizen. Other information in the surveys such as education, age, sex, and occupation can provide a picture of the labor market impact of immigration. Further, it is well established that illegal immigrants are included in Census Bureau surveys, though some share get missed.9 Various organizations, including my own, as well as DHS, Pew Research, the Center for Migration Studies, and the Migration Policy Institute have compared administrative data on legal immigration to the total foreign-born population in Census surveys to obtain a baseline estimate of the size and composition of the illegal immigrant population.10 What the Monthly Census Data Shows. The largest Census Bureau survey that captures the foreignborn population is the American Community Survey (ACS), which is released annually, and reflects the population in July of each year. The most recent ACS available is for 2021, so it is not much help in evaluating the recent illegal surge. However, the monthly Current Population Survey (CPS), which the Census Bureau collects for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, provides the most up-to-date data available, though it is much smaller than the ACS. Because of the way the CPS is weighted, it is not really designed to capture a sudden influx of illegal immigrants. Still, the CPS is released each month so it can provide a look at the foreignborn population, and it does shows enormous growth in the foreign-born population in the last two and a half years. Estimating the Illegal Population in 2023. The CPS shows 49.1 million immigrants (legal and illegal) in the country in May of this year, up from 45 million in January of 2021 — an increase of 4.1 million in just 29 months. This increase can be seen as unprecedented.11 Using administrative data on legal immigration and making reasonable assumptions about outmigration and mortality, we estimate that the post-1980 legal immigrant population in the CPS grew from 28.4 million in January 2021 (our prior estimate), to 30.5 million in May 2023 — a 2.1 million increase.12 The May 2023 CPS also shows 42.8 million post-1980 immigrants (legal and illegal) in the country.13 If our estimate of the post-1980 legal population is correct, then there were 12.3 million illegal immigrants in the CPS in May of this year (42.8 million minus 30.5 million).14 Adjusted for undercount, the total illegal population stood at 12.6 million in May, 2.4 million larger than in January 2021. The growth is certainly a very large increase in such a short time. Moreover, it must be pointed out that all of these figures represent net increases — not the number of newcomers. The number of new arrivals is larger but is always offset by outmigration (including deportations), natural mortality, and in the specific case of illegal immigrants, legalizations (e.g., successful asylum applicants and marriage to an American). However, it should also be noted that our January 2021 estimate of 10.2 million represented a low point after Covid. In 2019, we estimate the illegal population was 11.5 million. So relative to the number before Covid, the current total is large but not dramatically so. Further, most research showed decline or stability in the decade prior to Covid (2019) in the number of illegals in the country.15 Finally, it must again be emphasized that our new estimates are all still only preliminary.16 Effect on the Labor Force The Educational Level of Illegal Immigrants. Educational attainment is a key factor when considering the impact of illegal immigrants on the labor force because it determines what type of jobs they typically do. All prior research indicates that the overwhelming majority of illegal immigrants have modest education levels. Averaging estimates from the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) and the Center for Migration Studies (CMS) indicates that 69 percent of illegal immigrants have no education beyond high school, 13 percent have some college, and 18 percent have at least a bachelor's.17 Based on the citizenship of individuals encountered at the border and Census Bureau data, I find that new illegal immigrants who arrived during the current surge also have similarly modest levels of education.18 While some illegal immigrants are well educated, their primary impact on the labor market is to increase the supply of workers with no more than a high school education. Illegal Immigrants by Occupation. It is likely that there are now roughly 8.8 million illegal immigrants in the U.S. labor force.19 Due to their education levels, they are heavily concentrated in lowerwage less-skilled jobs such as construction labor, building cleaning and maintenance, food service and preparation, groundskeeping, retail sales, and food processing. In a 2018 Center for Immigration Studies report, we estimated the illegal share of workers in all 474 occupations as defined by the Department of Commence using Census Bureau data.20 Even in the two dozen occupations where illegal immigrants are 15 percent or more of the workers, there are still 5.7 million U.S.-born Americans and 2.2 million legal immigrants employed. The notion that illegal immigrants only do jobs American's don't want is simply false. It is true that most Americans do not face significant job competition from illegal immigrants, because they tend to have more years of schooling or they work in the public sector, where there are relatively few illegal immigrants. But millions of Americans do compete with them for jobs. Those who do face competition from illegal immigrants tend to be the least educated and poorest Americans — U.S-born and legal immigrant. Farm Labor. The need for agricultural labor often dominates the discussion on illegal immigrant workers. Many people mistakenly assume that most illegal immigrants work on farms, but this has not been true

for many decades. In fact, only about 1 percent of the entire American labor force is employed in agriculture, so it is impossible for farm workers to account for a large share of all illegal immigrant workers. In the aforementioned 2018 Center for Immigration Studies report by myself and two colleagues, we estimated that just 4 percent of all illegal aliens in the labor force were employed in agriculture. Pew Research estimates a similar percentage.21 Although illegal immigrants make up a significant share of workers in this small sector, only a tiny share of all illegal immigrants are farm workers. The vast majority work in the service, construction, and other sectors discussed above are U.S.-born or legal immigrants. Evidence that Immigration Reduces Wages. Despite assertions to the contrary, there is clear

evidence that immigration does reduce the wages and employment of some U.S.-born workers, though distinguishing the impact of illegal immigration in particular is difficult. In its 2017 magisterial report, the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine reviewed the research on the effects of immigration on the U.S. labor market and cited numerous academic studies showing negative wage impacts from immigration, particularly on the least educated.22 A 2019 review of over 50 studies by economist Anthony Edo took a more international perspective and again came to the same conclusion. Edo points out that low-skill immigration tends to make low-skill natives the "losers" and high-skill natives the "winners", with an increase in inequality as one of the consequences.23 Of course, lower wages for some Americans can increase economic opportunities for other workers, and it can also increase

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profits for businesses and lower prices for consumers. But there is no free lunch; these benefits require that some Americans,

typically at the bottom of the labor force, lose out. Trump Slowdown May Have Helped Workers. A report by Karen Zeigler published earlier this year found that the number of new immigrants (legal and illegal) averaged 1.38 million from 2017 to 2019, compared to 1.62 million in 2015 and 1.75 million in 2016. A significant part of this falloff seems to have been a reduction in illegal immigration. We further found that this slowdown coincided with a 3.2 percent increase (inflation adjusted) in median weekly wages for U.S.-born workers without a bachelor's, in contrast to slight declines in the prior four years. Labor force participation also increased during the slowdown much more than it did in the years before the Trump administration. 24 A new study in Economic Review finds something similar. It shows that the downturn in immigration during Trump's presidency coincided with an increase in job offers in areas where immigrants had traditionally been settling relative to lower immigration areas. Further, advertised wages grew substantially more in areas that had become more dependent on immigration than lower immigration areas. This lends support to the idea that the slowdown during the Trump administration helped U.S.-born workers.25 The period 2017 to 2019 represented a real-world test of whether restricting immigration during a good economy would improve things for American workers. There is evidence that the U.S.born benefited from a reduction in immigration, including less illegal immigration. The Overall Decline in Labor Force Participation. One of the arguments for immigration, including tolerating illegal immigration, is that the low unemployment rate means there are not enough workers. But this ignores the enormous increase in the share of U.S.-born people who are of working age, but not in the labor force. They do not show up as unemployed because they are not actively looking for work. The labor force participation rate is the share of working-age people either working or looking for work. In a report published in August for the Center for Immigration Studies my coauthor and I show that in April 2023, 78 percent of working-age (16 to 64) U.S.-born men of all education levels were in the labor force, down from 83 percent in April 2000, and 89 percent in 1960.26 If participation returned only to the 2000 level, it would still add 4.8 million men to the labor force. Participation has also declined some for U.S.-born women since it peaked in 2000. If U.S.-born women's participation returned to the level in 2000, it would add 1.7 million more women to the labor force. Decline in Work Among the Less-Educated. As already discussed, immigration mainly increases the supply of workers with modest levels of education, and it is precisely such workers who have seen their labor force participation decline the most. For men (16 to 64) with no more than a high school degree, the participation rate declined from 88 percent in 1960 to 77 percent in 2000 to 67 percent in 2019 (preCovid), and it remains at that level as of April of this year. If we exclude the young and those who might have retired early and focus only on "prime age" men (25 to 54), who are traditionally the most likely to work, we still find a decline for those with no education beyond high school from near universal participation of 96 percent in 1960 to 87 percent in 2000 to just 82 percent in 2023. For U.S.-born women (25 to 64) with no more than a high school degree, the participation rate declined from 73 percent in 2000 to 67 percent in 2023, which is a little higher than it was in 2019 before Covid, but still quite low relative to the recent past. The overall picture is one of a substantial decline in work among the U.S.-born, that is most pronounced among those who do not have great deal of education. Immigrants, it should be noted, have not experienced the same decline. Has Immigration Caused the Decline in Work? The extent to which immigration reduces the wages of some U.S.-born workers, particularly those with relatively few years of schooling, undermines the incentive to work. The fall-off in immigration in the first three years of the Trump administration certainly coincided with an increase in labor force participation among workers without a bachelor's degree. A 2019 Center for Immigration Studies analysis of EEOC discrimination cases found numerous instances where immigrants were used to replace U.S-born workers.27 Other research finds a negative impact on the employment of young U.S.born workers, while more than one study has found a negative impact on the employment of Black Americans from immigration.28 However, it seems certain that many factors have contributed to the decline in labor force participation. Some researchers believe globalization and automation have weakened demand for lesseducated labor and caused a long-term decline in wages, making work less attractive.29 If correct, then tolerating large scale illegal immigration is highly counterproductive since it primarily adds lesseducated workers. Other researchers point to overly generous welfare and disability programs that undermine work.30 Some research holds that changing expectations about men as providers, including the decline in marriage, has caused them to value work less.31 There is also evidence that substance abuse, obesity, and criminal records can be causes and effects of the decline in work.32 Immigration is likely only one of many factors that has reduced the labor force participation of the working-age. But immigration almost certainly has an indirect impact on labor force participation by allowing our society to ignore this problem. Ignoring the Decline in Participation. One of the things most striking about the enormous decline in native labor force participation is how little it is ever discussed, particularly when the need for more workers is mentioned. Our August 2023 report on labor force participation shows that that the total number of U.S.-born, working-age (16 to 64) men and women not in the labor force was 44 million in April of 2023, nearly 10 million more than in April 2000.33 The continued arrival of so many immigrant workers, a large share of whom are illegally in the country, allows policy-makers to ignore this huge deterioration in participation. After all, why worry about all the American-born people not in the labor force when we can simply bring in ever more immigrants to fill jobs? The extensive list of politicians and business groups currently calling for giving work authorization to illegal immigrants in the last two months is but the latest example of how immigration allows opinion leaders to focus on giving more jobs to immigrants to deal with a tight labor market rather than deal with all of the U.S.- born Americans on the economic sidelines.34 Conclusion Administrative data on border encounters, got-aways, apprehensions, and visa overstays all indicate that illegal immigration has accelerated dramatically since President Biden took office. So often the discussion about the current surge, or illegal immigration in general, is framed in terms of hardships illegal immigrants face or the implications illegal immigration has for crime. But the need to enforce immigration laws exists for many reasons, including to protect American workers, especially those with modest levels of education. These workers already earn the lowest wages and are the most likely to be unemployed or out of the labor force entirely. The overwhelming majority of illegal immigrants have no education beyond high school and primarily compete with the U.S.-born, and legal immigrants, in lower paid occupations that require modest levels of education. Perhaps as important as the direct competition for jobs, is that tolerating so much illegal immigration allows the business community, policy-makers, and the public to ignore the decades-long huge decline in labor force participation — the share of the working-age holding a job or at least looking for one. This decline is especially pronounced among the less-educated U.S.-born men and long predates Covid. There is a near consensus that this dramatic decline is contributing to profound social problems, including crime, social isolation, and so-called deaths of disappear such as drug overdoses and suicides. Dealing with this problem is extremely hard. It will require undertaking the politically difficult task of reforming our welfare and disability programs so that returning to work is emphasized whenever possible. Combating substance abuse and the mental health crisis defy easy solutions, but expanding treatment options is clearly necessary. Re-examining our approach to globalization, including the wisdom of off-shoring so many good-paying factory jobs, should also be considered. Real wages for the less-educated have declined or stagnated for decades. Allowing wages to rise must be a big part of the solution.35 Reducing illegal immigration by enforcing our immigration would help in this regard. Dealing with the decline in labor force participation is so difficult because it is not only an economic problem or even one caused solely by misguided public policy. Fixing it will involve changing norms and reestablishing the importance and value of work. Simply turning to eager immigrants to fill jobs is easy, and it's why that is what we have generally done in recent years. But we face a clear choice as a country: Either undertake the difficult policy and social reforms needed to address the decline in labor force participation or continue to allow in ever more immigrants to take jobs and then somehow deal with all the social problems that come from having so many working-age people not working.

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High rates of migration are overwhelming social services and aggravating homelessness. Candice Owens explained in 2023 that

Caitlin Owens, September 23, 2023, https://www.axios.com/2023/09/23/housing-crisis-migrant-immigrants-homeless, Migrant surge makes U.S. housing crisis worse

A surge in new migrants is colliding with the U.S.' housing crisis, and even putting a minor dent in the shelter problem is costing state and local governments millions. Why it matters: Cities simply don't have enough affordable homes, enough shelters or enough money to help everyone who needs it, straining scarce resources and leaving thousands of people out on the street. The big picture: Soaring housing costs and the end of some pandemic-era safety nets have fueled an affordable housing shortage, causing homelessness to rise in many cities. Homelessness in the U.S. had a record spike from 2022 to 2023, according to a Wall Street Journal analysis. Now, state and local officials are also scrambling to house thousands of migrants arriving from the border. What they're saying: "We need more units. We need to confront the broader housing crisis," New York City Comptroller Brad Lander tells Axios in an interview. "If we can help folks that have been in shelter a long time get housing subsidies, and if we can help asylum seekers get work authorizations ... they won't be competing for the same units," he adds. Zoom in: New York City is legally required to provide shelter to anyone who requests it. The city was caring for nearly 60,000 migrants and asylum seekers at the beginning of September, according to the comptroller's office. Migrants accounted for more than half of the city's shelter population, according to a report released this month. It just announced a lease of a World War II-era airfield as an emergency shelter site. Chicago homeless advocates estimate the city has more than 68,000 unhoused people, in addition to nearly 9,500 migrants. City officials tell Axios they expect migrant support efforts to cost more than a quarter of a billion dollars this year. Local advocates say that's more than they've ever seen deployed toward the local homeless population, though a city official told a community meeting this summer that homelessness resources aren't being diverted to aid migrants. "Chicago's severely underfunded homelessness system has led to fighting for scarce resources," the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless says in a statement released to Axios. "We should not be pitting Black and Brown communities against each other. We must and can do better." Denver is grappling with more than 1,300 migrants in dedicated shelters, while others have turned to homeless encampments. Caring for migrants has cost the city more than \$24 million. It has also used federal dollars to bus newcomers elsewhere. Massachusetts Gov. Maura Healey estimated the state is spending \$45 million monthly to shelter unhoused people and migrants. The number of families in state shelters reached a new all-time high of 6,528 last week — nearly half of them in hotels or motels. Washington, D.C., established an office dedicated to migrants in 2022 in an effort to avoid overwhelming its homeless social services.

Poverty kills

Oshan Jarrow explained in 2013 that

Oshan Jarow Jul 14, 2023, Poverty is a major public health crisis. Let's treat it like one, https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/23792854/poverty-mortality-study-public-health-antipoverty-america-deaths-poor-life-expectancy, Vox

"We need a whole new scientific agenda on poverty and mortality," said David Brady, a professor of public policy at the University of California Riverside, whose recent co-authored study aims to jump-start that agenda by asking just how many Americans die from poverty each year. It's well established that poverty is bad for your health. But as a public health issue, the US knows less about the direct link between poverty and death than we know about, say, the link between smoking and death. Current estimates suggest smoking kills 480,000 Americans per year. Obesity kills 280,000, and drug overdoses claimed 106,000 American lives in 2021.

Together, risk factors and their mortality estimates help motivate public health campaigns and government-funded efforts to save lives. But how many

Americans does poverty actually kill? The question has received little attention compared to other mortality risks, and meanwhile, poverty remains prevalent across the country. Brady — alongside sociologist Hui Zheng at Ohio State University and Ulrich Kohler, a professor of empirical social research at the University of Potsdam — published their study in April in the Journal of the American Medical Association. Their results find poverty is America's fourth-leading risk factor for death, behind only heart disease, cancer, and smoking. A single year of poverty, defined relatively in the study as having less than 50 percent of the US median household income, is associated with 183,000 American deaths per year. Being in "cumulative poverty," or 10 years or more of uninterrupted poverty, is associated

with 295,000 annual deaths Amelia Karraker, a health scientist administrator at the National Institute on Aging, explains that research has shown a variety of pathways that connect poverty and mortality. These range from neighborhood amenities and nutrition down to the impacts of stress on the body: "Being poor is really stressful, which we know from NIH-supported research has implications for what's actually happening in the body at the cellular level, which ultimately impacts health and mortality," she said. Crucially, that doesn't mean you'll find "poverty" written as the cause on anyone's death certificate. Risk factors are only correlations that imply an association but not necessarily causation (although new research found that cash transfers to women in low- and middle-income countries cut mortality rates by 20 percent). But proving an association is a necessary step toward deciphering whether poverty might be more than an association. For example, there is an association between the number of Nicolas Cage movies released and the

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number of people who drown in swimming pools that year. No one is arguing that we should dissuade Cage from releasing films in order to combat drowning. But there is also an association between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Here, we do believe one causes the other, so we do try and dissuade people from smoking to combat lung cancer deaths. Arguing that poverty is more like the latter elevates the debate from a statistics squabble to one of literal life and death. "We just let all these people die from poverty each year," Brady said. "What motivated me to think about it in comparison to homicide or other causes of death in America is that people would have to agree that poverty is important if it's actually associated with anywhere near this quantity of death." Without a number attached to the relationship, presenting poverty as a serious public health risk falls a little flat. "Poverty and mortality are tightly correlated" isn't exactly as galvanizing a message as "poverty kills nearly 200,000 Americans a year." But the key question is what it means to "die from poverty." As a social determinant of health, the government already recognizes a direct line between economic conditions and health outcomes. Physicians are now going a step further, establishing a

on the grounds that it could save lives. Poverty is more than just another mortality risk Measured in relative terms, **poverty in the US is significantly** worse than in similarly wealthy countries. Meanwhile, US citizens face a higher mortality rate at almost every age

movement known as anti-poverty medicine that aims not only to identify poverty as a health risk but develop treatments. Attaching a death toll contributes a new data point — perhaps even a rallying point — to illuminate the ties between poverty and death, and just maybe, it will motivate a more urgent anti-poverty agenda

than residents of peer countries, and that disparity is growing. Even according to the US Census Bureau's supplemental poverty measure (an approach that tries to blend relative methods with absolute ones, while accounting for government programs like SNAP benefits and tax credits), nearly 26 million Americans remained in poverty in 2021. Brady, Zheng, and Kohler analyzed data from 1997–2019, drawing from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics and the Cross-National Equivalent File. Since the data ends before the Covid-19 pandemic began, and poverty likely compounded the pandemic's death toll, they believe their findings are conservative. In 2019, being in poverty was 10 times more of a mortality risk than murder, 4.7 times more than firearms, and 2.6 times as deadly as drug overdoses. And poor people die younger than others. Their mortality rates begin diverging from the rest around age 40, reaching a peak disparity near 70, and converging back with the rest around 90. The study used a Cox model, a type of statistical analysis commonly used in medical research to isolate the effects of a given variable (often particular drugs, but in this case, poverty) on how long patients survive. But no matter how you analyze it, singling out annual deaths across an entire country from a fuzzy cause like poverty is a statistical nightmare. It's difficult to imagine how one could untangle all the confounding factors — like the reverse effect of how poor health also affects income — to deliver a plausible number. One of the few previous efforts came from a group of epidemiologists in 2011, who estimated poverty's death toll at 133,000 per year. And while few prior studies aimed to directly estimate deaths attributable to social factors, there is a decades-long history of wrangling statistical complexities to frame poverty as an actual cause of death. Brady cited a famous 1995 paper by sociologists Bruce Link and Jo Phelan, making the case that over and above mere risk factors, social conditions like poverty should be seen as "fund

its more tractable causes of death, like breaking the mortality risks of poverty down into a cocktail of heart disease, lung cancer, and drug overdoses, fundamental causes like poverty get ousted from the picture. Treating individual risk factors alone leaves the underlying social condition intact, and it will continue putting people at risk of other risk

factors. Rather than tracing all the different pathways that lead from poverty to mortality and focusing public health-inspired anti-poverty efforts on each one separately, Link and Phelan urged an approach that stays with poverty. "If we wish to alter the effects of these potent determinants of disease, we must do so by directly intervening in ways that change the social conditions themselves," they write. Nearly three decades later, clinicians are putting these ideas into practice.

Physicians are now prescribing anti-poverty as medicine while the use of social determinants of health as a framework is gaining significant traction among physicians, companies, and even the WHO, Lucy Marcil, a pediatrician and associate director for economic mobility in the Center for the Urban Child and Healthy Family at Boston Medical Center, feels they don't go far enough. She helped coin the idea of anti-poverty medicine in 2021. She explained that "anti-poverty medicine is one step further upstream to the root cause. Social determinants of health are important, but getting someone access to a food pantry doesn't really address why they're hungry in the first place." "I started this work about a decade ago," Marcil told Vox. "At the time, there was a lot of confusion when I would say that I try to get more people tax credits because it helps their health. Now it's pretty well established at most major academic medical centers that trying to

alleviate economic inequities is an important part of trying to promote health." Putting a number on poverty's death count could help build

that already have the community's trust, an initiative Marcil pioneered). "If I'm able to say to a funder or to a health system, 'Look, it's been published in a reputable journal that there are X number of deaths in our country every year due to poverty,' I have a much stronger case for why they should pay for [anti-poverty] programs," she said. But physicians can only go so far upstream of poverty. Even before the study positioned long-term poverty as a greater mortality risk than obesity or dementia, public health scholars had been arguing that anti-poverty efforts should play a central role in a national agenda for public health. A national anti-poverty agenda for public health Public health campaigns against poverty face a strange and difficult landscape. One thing Americans seem to dislike more than poverty is welfare. Although 82 percent of Americans reported dissatisfaction with efforts to reduce poverty and homelessness in a 2021 Gallup poll, only 40 percent in a 2019 Pew Research Center survey felt the government should provide more aid to those in need. Even after President Joe Biden's temporary expansion to the child tax credit (CTC) nearly cut child poverty in half and showed no signs of fostering welfare dependence among recipients, critics were unmoved. The policy expired at the end of 2021, 3.7 million American children fell back into poverty, and we've yet to see the program return. Meanwhile, as the Atlantic's Derek Thompson writes, "a typical American baby is about 1.8 times more likely to die in her first year than the average infant from a group of similarly rich countries," and child poverty is a major risk factor in all manners of infant mortality. At the federal level, another reason to quantify poverty's death toll could be to add mortality estimates to the cost-benefit analyses that groups like the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) use to score policies and their impacts. Telling Americans that the expanded CTC almost single-handedly reduced child poverty by half hasn't yet proved compe

number of American deaths, maybe the policy discourse would move more urgently. Finding strategies to help support policy implementation is crucial because, ultimately, treating poverty as a public health issue will require a stronger welfare state that

benefits low-income Americans. "No country in the history of capitalist democracies has ever accomplished sustainably low poverty without an above-average welfare state," Brady said. "And so until you get serious about expanding the welfare state in all its forms, you're not serious about reducing poverty." Relative to similarly rich countries, the US has high poverty rates, high mortality rates, and a confusing welfare state. It has the second largest welfare state in the world if you include things like subsidies for employer-based health insurance, tax-favored retirement accounts, and homeowner subsidies. These mostly benefit those who are already well-off.

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11

Con Constructive

My partner and I oppose the resolution that. The United States federal government should substantially expand its surveillance infrastructure along its southern border.

Our framework is the well-being of humanity

Arizona Central Explains,

Arizona Central, September 24, 20**15**, Pope Francis Urges Congress to Show Compassion for Immigrants, http://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/immigration/2015/09/24/pope-francis-urges-congress-show-compassion-immigrants/72734356/

Pope Francis delivered lawmakers a message of compassion and understanding for immigrants Thursday as part of his historic, nearly hour-long speech to joint session of Congress, a bitterly divided body that has grappled with bordersecurity and immigration-reform issues for a decade. In doing so, the pope appealed to the United States' time-honored reputation as a nation of immigrants. "We, the people of this continent, are not fearful of foreigners, because most of us were at once foreigners," said Pope Francis, the first-ever leader of the Roman Catholic Church to address U.S. senators and representatives. "I say this to you as the son of immigrants, knowing that so many of you are also descendants of immigrants." Citing the global refugee crisis as well as immigration to the United States from Mexico and Central America, the pope, who was often interrupted by applause, reminded lawmakers of the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." He also told the joint session on Capitol Hill that immigrants are looking for a better life for themselves and their loved ones, which is the same that anyone would want for their children. "We must not be taken aback by their numbers, but rather view them as persons, seeing their faces and listening to their stories, trying to respond as best we can to their situation," the pope said. "To respond in a way which is always humane, just and fraternal. We need to avoid a common temptation nowadays, to discard whatever proves troublesome." The Golden Rule guides in "a clear direction," he said. "Let us treat others with the same passion and compassion with which we want to be treated," Pope Francis said. "Let us seek for others the same possibilities which we seek for ourselves. Let us help others to grow, as we would like to be helped ourselves.

"In a word, if we want security, let us give security," he continued. "If we want life, let us give life. If we want opportunities, let us provide opportunities."

Contention I. Rights Deprivation

Surveillance at the border lays the foundation for surveillance globally and collapses asylum under international law. Paul Molar explains that

Petra Molnar is an anthropologist and attorney focused on human rights and migration, 7-11, 24, Texas Observor, 'TECH DOESN'T JUST STAY AT THE BORDER': PETRA MOLNAR ON SURVEILLANCE'S LONG REACH, https://www.texasobserver.org/border-surveillance-artificial-intelligence-tech/

A lot of this technology is first developed and deployed for border purposes, normalized and then repurposed in other spaces. There's also surveillance that happens inland, of course. There's all sorts of license plate reader technology, different types of facial recognition tools, carceral technologies, that are used both in the criminal justice system and in the immigration detention system. It is this kind of surveillance dragnet that extends further and further inland and ensures entire communities.

Could you talk a little bit about how surveillance tech plays a role in the so-called externalization of borders from the Global North to the Global South? How does that apply at the U.S.-Mexico border?

Externalization is a really important piece to this puzzle, too. This is the phenomenon where the border stops being a physical location, and then it is extended further, kind of disaggregated from its actual physical location—not only vertically into the skies through drones and surveillance but also horizontally. The U.S. has for years been pushing its border farther and farther south. The whole logic behind this right is that if a country can prevent people from even reaching its territory, then the job is done, right? If the whole point is to strengthen borders or close the borders, then externalization does that job for you because people can't even arrive in your territory.

The tension here is a lot of Western states like to present themselves as being very like human rights forward. They are the ones who ratified and signed all the agreements like the Refugee Convention. But in order for that to work, the international refugee protection regime has to allow for people to be able to leave their country and arrive in a country of refuge where they can then claim asylum. If you close the border and then you push the border away to make it even more difficult for people to come, that actually infringes on this fundamentally protected right to asylum. That is illegal under international refugee law. The U.S. is a signatory to the Refugee Convention, and closing a border and preventing people from seeking asylum is in direct contravention of these principles and laws that supposedly the U.S. holds.

We need to uploid the international legal agreements we've made, including those involving migrants, if we are going to survive. Will Draper explains that

John William **Draper 22**, Reference Librarian (Retired), Biddle Law Library, University of Pennsylvania, Carey Law School, "Why Aim Law Toward Human Survival," SSRN Scholarly Paper, ID 4034781, Social Science Research Network, 02/14/2022, papers.ssrn.com, doi:10.2139/ssrn.4034781 I. RISKS TO HUMAN SURVIVAL Is it reasonable to believe that humanity is headed toward collapse? As observed by social and political philosopher, Jean-Pierre Dupuy, "We are living today in the shadow cast by the prospect of catastrophes that, separately or in combination, threaten to bring about the disappearance of the human race from earth." Briefly, the risks humanity faces are a combination of too much consumption, too much pollution, and too large a human population. S Any one of these problems can be sufficient to be lethal to a large group of humans, even, ultimately, the largest group. This Part is not background material but a statement of the scope and depth of humanity's legal problem. We face many risks in many categories. Although we may not know all the significant risks or even all the categories, science provides easy windows into several, including insufficient food supply, fresh-water scarcity in a rising number of locales, pandemics, massive die-offs of other species upon which we depend, and the exacerbating factor of climate change. We begin with

Surveillance PF Novice Practice Set. consumption. A. Consumption Madison Avenue's marketers have long worked to create demand. 6 As a consequence, we now consume too much.7 Our impact is measured by an ecological footprint, a calculation of our consumption. 8 The Global Footprint Network's website shows that the U.S. ecological footprint ranks seventh in the world (behind six tiny countries) at 8.1 hectares per person. 9 Per person, we use over 4.7 times the resources generated by the planet.10 We are good consumers. Madison Avenue has done its job well. The 2020 Living Planet Report from WWF (formerly the World Wildlife Federation) and the Zoological Society of London tells the resulting story of a human footprint that has long outstripped the Earth's capacity for regeneration.11 With a rapidly rising global population, humanity is in an increasing bind to produce enough food. We have two connected problems. First, "[b]iodiversity loss threatens food security and urgent action is needed to address the loss of the biodiversity that feeds the world."12 Secondly, "[W]here and how we produce food is one of the biggest human-caused threats to nature and our ecosystems, making the transformation of our global food system more important than ever."13 Our increasing demand for food is merely one of the many problems of humanity's overconsumption.14 We abuse the land to create more food.15 We are wasteful.16 And we have modified our diets to use our supply of available vegetable oils and meat.17 Unfortunately, these actions cause additional greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Meanwhile, "[c]hanges in consumption patterns have contributed to about two billion adults now being overweight or obese."18 Nevertheless, hunger remains widespread.19 At the same time, we must use less water to create food. To adapt, we need to change our food supply. For the unwilling, only failing to adapt could be worse. In a drought, crops can fail. When crops fail repeatedly, a civilization can collapse. 20 Like it or not, in this globalized world we are all part of one enormous human civilization. If we destabilize ourselves with extreme droughts, resultant migrations increase humanity's risk of failure. Excessive consumption can destroy resources rather than allow regeneration (of e.g., soils or fisheries) needed for the longer term. Our use of lands and waters destroys natural habitats,21 destroys wild food sources,22 harms biodiversity,23 and causes soil damage and erosion.24 Unfortunately, through neo-classical economic theory, consumption growth is viewed positively. Satisfaction is all about the money. Maximum profit or income is the goal, even a duty, without regard to externalities.25 Some externalities then harm people with rights. 26 Materialism and immorality are merely symptoms of self-interest 27 built into the system's structures, behavior, and training (i.e., advertising) to support it all by imploring us to use more and by measuring our behavior. The result is our "throwaway society." 28 Why do we overconsume? John McCollough's empirical study points to convenience and conspicuous consumption, 29 interests that cannot possibly justify the taking of life.30 Convenience means that it is often cheaper to replace something than to fix it. Time is money; environmental damage is a mere externality that either has not been factored into our economic decision-making (the problem of social cost) or is merely compensated with money.31 Conspicuous consumption includes fashion obsolescence. 32 Selling more is more profitable, and together with planned obsolescence, profit maximization plays a role in our drive to consume. This choice has been encouraged by the short-term profit motive of the next quarterly report.33 We consume all kinds of things, even land. Consider agriculture. We have long transformed wild habitats to other uses. As our global population approaches 8 billion34 and rises rapidly,35 we have gone too far. The resulting extinction crisis36 affects the entirety of nature. All manner of bees, birds, trees, and other fauna and flora need a safe and healthy place to live and to support human life. But the biosphere of the Earth, within which humanity developed, 37 is dying. For example, species of amphibians, especially frogs — "nature's canary in the mine" 38 — have long been dying off.39 Not just a few. Species of mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, invertebrates, and plants are disappearing.40 A recent UN report compiled by 145 expert authors from 50 countries stresses that natural resources are declining at rates unmatched in human history and that the rate of extinction is increasing.41 As extinctions multiply, humanity can foreseeably be caught in an extinction avalanche. 42 We head toward failure. The human activities at the root of this crisis are both direct and indirect. Direct activities include the clearing of forest and other wild lands for housing, roads, and food production. Indirect habitat destruction occurs through climate change. Although we will revisit climate change, here we see its impact on habitats: "Global warming has led to shifts of climate zones in many world regions, including expansion of arid climate zones and contraction of polar climate zones. As a consequence, many plant and animal species have experienced changes in their ranges, abundances, and shifts in their seasonal activities." 43 Changes in ranges and behavior may suffice for some species; others (e.g., trees) are unlikely to be able to migrate successfully. As climate change increases deserts and non-arable lands,44 humanity in turn clears forest to replace lost food production. Destruction of forests, especially rainforests, exacerbates climate change by reducing carbon sinks and oxygen production. Land degradation from climate change is part of a vicious circle. 45 Failure to modulate the impacts of climate change with careful land management will cause the impacts to spiral upward through a feedback loop of increasing erosion of our life support system.46 Forests wither from extreme weather events,47 from infestation of introduced species,48 from acid rain,49 and from land conversion to agricultural and other uses.50 In connection with this loss, biodiversity is plunging.51 As part of a larger statement on climate change, a group of over 11,000 scientists says, "We need to quickly curtail habitat and biodiversity loss ..., protecting the remaining primary and intact forests, especially those with high carbon stores and other forests with the capacity to rapidly sequester carbon (proforestation), while increasing reforestation and afforestation where appropriate at enormous scales."52 As we develop or open human access to more lands, including forest lands, humanity is doing the opposite. Wild habitats and the species that live in them are on course to fall. We are destroying our commons.53 According to Harvard's Edward O. Wilson, "Unless humanity learns a great deal more about global biodiversity and moves quickly to protect it, we will soon lose most of the species composing life on Earth."54 Remember the clean water each of us needs to live. We memorialized that need with the Clean Water Act of 1972. 55 Use and efficiency vary by how much we pay.56 We need clean water for more than drink. Food production uses most of our water.57 But water shortages over vast areas of land make food production increasingly difficult. 58 Excessive consumption, encouraged by a variety of systems and incentives, can be proven rational,59 but consumption itself is not the only problem. The inefficiencies of production, processing, and distribution, some of them inherent, add to our waste.60 What is thrown away is not "consumed" per se. Excessive consumption generates a lot of waste, all forms of gaseous, solid, and liquid waste.61 Our problem with too much consumption is tied to our problem with too much pollution, which we will discuss next. Fortunately, if we consume less, we will also pollute less. B. Pollution Pollution comes in many forms. We pollute our water and air. We will consider each briefly. Pollution sounds bad, but it is merely part of life as each of us generates pollution daily for Earth to absorb and process. 62 Of course, the more of us there are, the more waste our planet must process. Water pollution, long treated as a local matter;63 is also a national problem.64 It has become a global matter.65 Our oceans are full of plastic which harms sea life and collects in massive garbage patches or gyres.66 River deltas are dead zones from agricultural runoff.67 Some dead zones are as large as a US state.68 They have existed for decades as the EPA has not regulated agricultural pollution.69 If humanity, through feeding itself or by any other endeavor, ruins its waters and the life that those waters support, how will we live? The discharge of toxins can come from industrial activity. For example, the burning of coal releases significant amounts of mercury into the air.70 Much of that mercury condenses into water, either directly into an ocean or by collecting there from freshwater runoff. Sea life absorbs it, and the toxin concentrates as it works its way up the food chain. Thus, Inuit, who live far from industrial pollution sources, suffer serious health effects.71 Ocean pollution ranges from barrels of toxic sludge72 to denim particles from washing machine discharges73 to tiny plastic beads (nurdles).74 More insidiously, plastics, blowing into our lungs at the beach, 75 may threaten one of humanity's prime sources of oxygen.76 All forms of freshwater pollution, from mine tailings77 to agricultural runoff78 to condensed mercury (from forest fires and air pollution)79 to plastic bottles and other debris80 find that

oceans are inevitably downstream. Entire books are written on aspects of water pollution. The same goes for air pollution. My point here is that it is all deadly, especially as it accumulates over increasing time frames, and the risks combine but also have synergies. Risk is not just a matter of potential. People are dying.81 We

Surveillance PF Novice Practice Set. see this in rates of cancer,82 lung disease,83 and neurological disorders.84 Air pollution is composed of particulates and gasses. Historically, government regulated particulates first,85 probably because we could see them. Downwind was long the answer to emission problems. Building a taller smokestack moved smoke from the immediate area of the plant.86 However, current technology allows us to trace plumes of smoke around the globe.87 Pollution is now global. There is no escaping it. Even for particulates now, everyone is downwind. There is a clear linkage between pollution and child mortality.88 Neither adulthood nor distance provide immunity.89 Thus, we all bear some risk. Gas pollution can come from toxic chemicals and even from inert gasses in quantities sufficient to overwhelm Earth's absorptive capacities. GHGs represent a global, not just local, challenge. We must stop them globally as well as locally. As we cannot see GHGs, it has been easier to ignore them. Carbon dioxide and methane are the most pernicious GHGs; they cause climate change. 90 We will return to climate change shortly. Climate change is a damage multiplier, adding periods of increasingly extreme heat, leading to long-term sea-level rise, to enhanced dangerous storm activity, and to hundreds of millions of migrants seeking escape from the effects of those changes. This brings us to the matter of human population. C. Population Both consumption and pollution depend, to some degree, on population. Our global population is approaching 8 billion, but the long-term capacity of the planet has been estimated to be about five billion.91 As the seas rise and the climate scorches productive lands, one should expect the Earth's carrying capacity to drop by hundreds of millions. Feeding eight billion is already damaging our remaining ecosystems. 92 The biodiversity into which our species was born is disappearing. 93 Problematically, our food systems rely on that biodiversity.94 With a rising population (fast in some places), we find ourselves in the uncomfortable position of needing to explore fair and equitable longer-term approaches to global population control and even reduction. At the same time, we need to protect the rights to life and health95 for all. Humanity is in a bind, and the size of our population is a major part of the problem. Our procreational liberties and incentives, world-over, add to the risk of early collapse and death for all of us. As biologist Wilson puts it, "we must really slow down. Reproduction is obviously necessary, but it is a bad idea, as Pope Francis I has pointed out, to continue multiplying like rabbits."96 Wilson adds that demographic projections show the human population rising "to about eleven billion or slightly more before the end of the century, thereafter peak, and begin to subside."97 The impact of 11 billion humans on planet Earth is a frightening prospect. We lack natural resources to support the current population, let alone another three and a half billion. Our population is already a major exacerbating factor in meeting our need to live on a healthy and relatively safe planet.98 We should quantify our impact. In 2016, Edward O. Wilson reported, "The rate of extinction of species and races is conservatively estimated to be 877 times above that prevailing before the origin of humanity (the latter rate is one extinction every three million years)."99 Extinctions from the dodo to the Tasmanian tiger to the Pyrean ibex relate to human activity.100 Our impact on other species matters: If we kill all the main oxygen makers, what will we breathe? Other species include both plants and animals. Native plants and animals are often displaced by introduced101 species or as habitat gets put to "productive" use, whether that use be housing, agriculture, or industry. The pressures of an expanding human global population and its footprint—are eliminating and overusing 102 wild spaces. This increases the risk that we may remove one species too many. There are many "little" species that have been compared to the rivets holding together an airplane. No single rivet is crucial. One can remove a rivet. And another. But soon the airplane will not hold together.103 The same goes for the huge collection of species on which we depend, from pollinators to fungi, or the species upon which they depend. We need crops to be pollinated, and we need compost to rot. The trouble here is that we have no idea of the damage we are doing to our very own life support system.104 Growing extinctions represent an existential threat.105 Human-caused habitat destruction is leading to mass extinctions that increase significant risk to humanity. According to Professor Wilson, there are almost countless ways we are unwittingly destroying the millions of species that benefit humanity directly or indirectly, regardless of "whatever might be their present or future beneficent roles. The human impact is largely due to the excess of the many quotidian activities we perform just to get on with our personal lives. Those activities have made us the most destructive species in the history of life."106 As a result, he says, "[A]II available evidence points to the same two conclusions. First, the Sixth Extinction is underway; and second, human activity is its driving force."107 We are systematically exterminating the other species on this planet. This concern for other species leads back to our own. In the process of completing our dominion over the planet, we are putting our own species at significant risk. As Ronald Dworkin put it, Our concern for the preservation of animal species reaches its most dramatic and intense form, of course, in the case of one particular species: our own. It is an inarticulate, unchallenged, almost unnoticed, but nevertheless absolute premise of our political and economic planning that the human race must survive and prosper.108 Our notions of prosperity threaten our survival. This comes into stark view when we consider our own globalization. A vast and foundational part of global health security is global food security. Without food and the water upon which it depends, we have no way to provide for the hungry billions. Unfortunately, our actions are already placing humanity's food supply at risk. 109 Our ability to feed five billion, let alone the nearly eight billion already on Earth, is slipping away. There is more to health security than food. COVID-19 makes that clear. Our global population is high, but it is also interconnected. We currently lack an effective system to control or limit global interconnections and the significant risks that go with them. This has special application with introduced species, whether plants, insects, mollusks, or viruses. There are likely entire categories of risks which we have not yet identified, let alone studied and solved, both on paper and in the real world. The build-out of a system can enable success. The success of South Korea's response to COVID-19 in spring 2020 demonstrates the importance of a system of study, preparation, and cooperation. We have discussed consumption, pollution, and population. Each or a combination bears risks to humanity, both foreseeable and significant. We move to another category of significant global risk, systemic risk. D. Systemic Risks Humanity builds systems ranging from systems of government to electrical systems to economic systems. As humanity has grown, so have our systems. As they become bigger, faster, more powerful and complex, systems are subject to bigger, faster, more powerful and complex failures. 110 These risks are both foreseeable and significant.111 As law professor J.B. Ruhl points out, "[A]Ithough we often compartmentalize social, ecological, and technological systems as distinct, it is becoming difficult to disaggregate them in operation, as automated online systems increasingly run infrastructure systems, expanding infrastructure systems increasingly degrade ecological systems, and degraded ecological systems diminish the resilience of human social and economic systems."112 Thus, humanity is now subject to global systemic risk.113 Our civilizations and systems all rely on natural systems, including Earth's biodiversity and its climate. Failure of such enormous and complex ecological systems can trigger cascade failure in human systems.114 This section examines natural systems at risk of cascade failure from excessive consumption, pollution, and population. They are quickly eroding. Governing the risks of such failures is both a scientific and a policy challenge.115 Professor Ruhl explains: "The science of cascade failures in social, ecological, and technological systems seeks to understand their causes and behavior and is developing metrics and principles for describing systemic risk, failure propagation, and network resilience."116 Governments can then "benefit from the techniques and strategies cascade failure science is exploring for modeling, monitoring, event prediction, and event prevention, response, and recovery."117 Before one can solve a problem, one needs to identify it. The problem of systemic risk lies not in identifying initial triggers so much as locating the overall systemic or structural cause. While the trigger of an initial failure event may seem small and random in isolation, 118 the exact elements vary with operating conditions, meaning that the same event in the same system will not always start a cascade failure.119 Earth has an interdependent infrastructure,120 and we need to beware foreseeable failures. Next, we visit two categories of significant systemic

risks, failure of the biodiversity of Earth's life support system and failure of our climate system. 1. Failure of Earth's Life Support System The world that we grew up in **is dying**. Once it is gone, we are entirely on our own, without a life support system or a parachute.121 According to philosopher Jean-Pierre Dupuy, the

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systemic risks we face represent a kind of evil. 122 We seem to be thoughtlessly wed to our own systemic destruction. But we cannot use self-interest as a tool to attack this systemic evil due to the political impotence of goodness.123 Many of us want to believe that science and technology will bail us out of this "moral disaster,"124 but this is a fatal error. 125 We are on a suicidal path that will kill the biodiversity that supports life on this planet. We need to change the aim of our systems to achieve a different result. If we can make the economic transition to a different worldview according to Professor Wilson, "[t]he biosphere and the ten million species that compose it will no longer be treated as a commodity, but as something vastly more important—a mysterious entity still beyond the boundaries of our imagination yet vital to long-term human existence."126 Wilson says Earth's life support system remains at risk: "We and the rest of life with us are in the middle of a bottleneck of rising population, shrinking resources, and disappearing species. As its stewards, we need to think of our species as being in a race to save the living environment."127 The system can fail. Wilson suggests a way to avoid that risk: "The logical primary goal is to make it through the bottleneck to a better, less perilous existence while carrying through as much of the rest of life as possible."128 The collapse of Earth's biodiversity is not the only global systemic risk humanity faces. We were already eradicating biodiversity, but now changes in climate systems are enhancing the eradication, risks, and probabilities. 2. Systemic Climate Risk The Earth's climate is an enormous natural system, a system of systems. The climate system directly affects our weather and our well-being. Our vision of the future seems obscured by the systemic changes we have already wrought. However, as we cannot know the future, we cannot know how much worse it will get. But we can extrapolate from the past, and we can see the trends. Day after day, year after year, Earth is warming. Many snow-capped mountains are now bare. Glaciers are receding or gone. Climate change discussions are often about the number of degrees Celsius global mean surface (land and ocean) temperature (GMST) relative to pre-industrial levels. 129 David Wallace-Wells notes how easy it is to trivialize the differences between such numbers as two, three, four, or five. We lack a frame of reference for risks with these kinds of thresholds, "but as with world wars or recurrences of cancer, you don't want to see even one." 130 We are already rising past 1.2 degrees GMST of warming.131 Climate change is another multiplier, beyond population, affecting both risk and damage. GHGs trap the planet's heat which then affects weather patterns. No single storm can be attributed to global warming; according to Wallace-Wells, they all are.132 We have unleashed a growing global risk: "Climate change isn't something happening here or there but everywhere, and all at once. And unless we choose to halt it, it will never stop."133 Such changes in weather patterns bring "climate cascades," some of which are local, and some of which are global.134 Climate cascades are especially likely to occur through the operation of "feedback loops," which reinforce the operation, erosion, and destruction of climate change. 135 Those cascades have a multiplier effect. When polar icecaps melt, sea level rise will flood Miami, Dhaka, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and a hundred other cities around the world.136 Many huge risks are well known. What is the holdup? Why is humanity not reducing the risk? Many are caught by our innate self-interest enhanced by a neo-classical economic philosophy that is baked into the global market system. That philosophy espouses profit or wealth maximization as an ideal—on one side. a. The Behavioral Challenge An alternative view, on the other side, calls for system-level actions and changes to entrenched systems. Until systems change, some may have little reason to change behavior. When it comes to acting on climate change, we are controlled by such near-term and normal concerns as jobs and health. Operating outside the system bears significant risks. Thus, while the climate situation deteriorates, many of us wait in hope of a systemic change. The human system requires modification. 137 We know what to do, but lack the means. We face global problems requiring global changes in behavior. But governmental systems are not set up to deal with these kinds of problems. Nevertheless, we must change global behavior now. We have one last chance to avoid climate disaster.138 That chance will require "unprecedented global cooperation."139 Like a pandemic, if climate change gets out of control, we are in big trouble. How we treat climate change in the law depends on how we view its probabilistic causation.140 If we see a probability that warming is a natural and random occurrence, we tend to favor inaction. While those who see the probability that climate change is anthropogenically-caused tend to want to treat that probabilistic causation as an urgent legal problem. By necessity we are using notions of probabilistic causation to call for law. Further, we will likely need to use calculations of probabilistic causation to build the law and the rules of a protective response. Science has an answer about which view to take. It says that the odds are overwhelming that humanity has caused the warming of the Earth and the ensuing climate changes. We can only operate in this realm based on prediction of future classes of effects that fall more into the areas of social science and medical research.141 Failing to take the probabilities of causation into account in law- and rule-making is "deeply problematic." 142 Carbon is one of the primary causes of climate change. But climate change is caused by humans, and human activity on the ground has long released excessive amounts of carbon.143 How we live makes a difference. We cook food. We heat and cool our homes. Most of us live in cities.144 We travel by car and by airplane. Many of us consume meat and dairy. We see the result on land: "Since the pre-industrial period, the land surface air temperature has risen nearly twice as much as the global average temperature." 145 Now let us return to food, this time to see how climate change affects what we eat. b. Food "Climate change exacerbates land degradation." 146 Land degradation adversely affects production. As more land degrades, we get less food. The carbon and its heat not only reduce food production, higher levels of CO2 also harm food quality. Plants are bigger now but less nutritious.147 As Wallace-Wells says, "Everything is becoming more like junk food." Between 1950 and 2004, protein, calcium, iron, and vitamin C have declined in plants by as much as a third. "Even the protein content of bee pollen has dropped by a third." 148 Researchers looking at the effect on one crop, rice, found that "carbon emissions could imperil the health of 600 million people." 149 The bottom line for food: there will be more of us, there will be less food, the food will be less nutritious, and we will be hungrier. Climate change impacts the land itself. Some areas will be more scorched. 150 Some are already affected; consider the Middle East. 151 This impact on land harms the inhabitants. Those living in degraded or desertified areas are increasingly impacted by climate change.152 When impacts worsen, billions will be forced to move in search of a new place to reside. 153 As the acreage of temperate land shrinks and the number of displaced people rises, another emergency looms. c. Migration The migration problem is far greater than several million Americans. In 2018, the World Bank offered a 2050 estimate of 143 million just in subSaharan Africa, South Asia, and Latin America.154 "For every fraction of a degree that temperatures increase, these problems will worsen. This is not fearmongering; this is science."155 The UN's International Organization for Migration has projected as many as a billion climate migrants by 2050. 156 What will it be like 50 years from now? What will our children face? By 2070, up to three billion humans will migrate due to extreme temperatures.157 That does not count migration forced by sea level rise. Are we going to relocate New York City, most of Florida and much of New Jersey? To where? With rising sea levels, there will be fewer and fewer "wheres" to go to and increasing demand for food supplies when there is less land to produce the food. Projections say these concerns will need to be addressed even if we make immediate significant climate progress. Optimists look for better outcomes with fewer people affected. In the analysis of David Wallace-Wells, "the optimists have never, in the halfcentury of climate anxiety we've already endured, been right." 158 d. Our Global Health Emergency However, humanity itself is not the only system at risk. Our bodies are systems. For example, episodes of great rainfall, increasingly common with climate change, harm our health: "Historically, in the United States, more than two-thirds of outbreaks of waterborne disease—illnesses smuggled into humans through algae and bacteria that can produce gastro-intestinal problems—were preceded by unusually intense rainfall, disrupting local water supplies."159 Those impacts on our health go beyond the temporary to include lifetime lost earnings. 160 Lost earnings only begin to tell the story. Even if, as neo-classical economists, we focus on the money, we still have a problem: "Global gross domestic product could plunge by nearly a quarter by the end of the century because of the effects of climate change." 161 That is mild compared to the physical emergency. There is a physical emergency: "[O]ver 11,000 climate scientists recently warned, clearly and unequivocally that planet Earth is facing a climate emergency."162 We have known about warming for decades.163 Yet suddenly we realize that not only is our only home on fire,164 it is burning faster than we imagined. To save anything, now is the time. Humanity must act on this type and degree of risk now. We must address foreseeable and significant risks of systemic failure, whether concrete, diffuse, 165 or cascading. We find ourselves frozen, able only to hope. We see the fires. And we know more warming is coming due to protracted global processes. But change is hard: "if the next 30 years of industrial activity trace the same arc upward as the last 30 years have, whole regions will become unlivable by any standard we have today as soon as the end of the century."166 According to Harvard's Edward O. Wilson, our planet is in a fight for its life.167 We have made the unthinkable the foreseeable,168 then the probable. When warming reaches its full reality, we will likely be gone. We would like to think

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that the problem will go away if we can only control our carbon emissions. If only climate change were so simple. Unfortunately, there are multiple climate emission gasses. e. Methane Consider another GHG: methane. In 2016, Harvard researchers discovered that methane represents a much greater percentage of warming gas than was previously calculated.169 Hundred-year emissions were used rather than measuring the accumulation of total warming gases over time in the atmosphere. According to law professor Steven Ferrey, "The impact of short-lived chemicals, particularly methane, the second element altering climate, has been miscalculated as if time and intensity do not matter."170 Methane traps three to four times as much heat as previously estimated.171 Recalculations172 provide one breathtaking conclusion: We are out of time. We must act. Natural gas, the recent solution to our energy problems, is largely methane and natural gas leakage is a significant source of climate methane. A 50% global increase in natural gas demand by 2040 is predicted.173 And even if (unrealistically) none of that methane leaks, a big problem remains: "The [International Energy Agency] forecasts that abundant use of gas could raise atmospheric concentrations of CO2 to 650 parts per million causing temperature to rise 3.5 degrees Celsius, which is more than many experts believe is tolerable for the health of the Planet."174 Thus, even by solving our coal problem through conversion to natural gas, we will not have solved the carbon and methane problems. Methane is far more dangerous to humanity than carbon.175 We miscalculated and under-estimated the role of the second-most prevalent GHG in warming. 176 We leak more methane than ever, 177 and we continue to build out methane (and leakage) infrastructure.178 Continued fracking will make it nearly impossible for the United States to reach its promised 26-28% reduction goal from 2005 levels.179 We now share our extraction technology (fracking) with other countries.180 Yet there is no U.S. or global legal structure or regulation to even encourage methane recovery.181 f. Global Problems and Law Professor Ferrey observes the real global problem of carbon, methane and other GHGs: "Warming molecules released anywhere on the Planet, warm the entire world, not just the immediate space where they are released."182 As methane warms the entire planet, we are all at risk from any methane emissions. With global warming, humanity has encountered local causes with lethal global effects. We need global law to protect us. There have been efforts at international cooperation, but the results are thin: "The Kyoto Protocol achieved, practically, nothing; in the twenty years since, despite all of our climate advocacy and legislation and progress on green energy, we have produced more emissions than in twenty years before."183 The Paris Agreement was a wonderful step forward,184 but there remains no legal or regulatory system to ensure that goals become reality. A single-use piece of international law, like a climate treaty, works only for one problem and does not adapt well to changing conditions—as would be more likely for regulation. The fact that we were able to leave the Paris Accord185 demonstrates the ineffectiveness of the limited approach. We in the United States cannot stand alone, 186 particularly for an issue with this kind of risk to all our rights. The rest of our world has waited for us. We, humanity, must pull together to avoid a collapse of trust 187

Explains that surveillance technologies lead to dehumanization and a loss of dignity and privacy

Ufuk Gür, explains in 2024, **Ufuk Gur, Postdoctoral Researcher at TU Delft, February 7, 2024,** Dehumanization and AI: The Real Risks Beyond Terminator, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/dehumanization-ai-real-risks-beyond-terminators-ufuk-g%C3%BCr-ph-d--olbnf/

February 7, 2024 The association of AI risks with the dehumanization of human beings rather than the scenario of robots taking over the world is due to a combination of factors rooted in practical, ethical, and sociological considerations. The development and integration of AI into society are currently more focused on applications that involve decision-making processes, social media algorithms, surveillance, and automation of jobs. These applications can lead to concerns about dehumanization, as they affect how people are perceived, interact with each other, and find their place in the workforce. The idea of robots taking over the world, often depicted in science fiction, seems less immediate or realistic in comparison to the tangible impacts of AI technologies that we are witnessing today. Al's impact on dehumanization touches on several ethical and social concerns, including privacy, autonomy, and bias. For example, AI systems can infringe on privacy through mass surveillance, undermine autonomy through manipulation or predictive policing, and perpetuate or even exacerbate biases against certain groups of people. These issues directly affect the fabric of society and individual human dignity, raising alarms about the dehumanization of individuals and groups. Automation and AI have the potential to significantly disrupt job markets, leading to unemployment or underemployment for certain sectors. This economic impact can devalue human labor and skills, leading to a sense of uselessness or irrelevance among affected individuals. The fear is not just about losing jobs to robots but about the broader implications for human worth and identity in a world where machines can perform many tasks better and more efficiently than humans. Al technologies can concentrate power in the hands of those who control them, leading to potential abuses of power and further dehumanization of those subjected to these technologies. Concerns about surveillance capitalism and the role of big tech companies in shaping public discourse and privacy are examples of how AI can impact human dignity and autonomy. The integration of AI into daily life raises questions about what it means to be human. As machines become more capable of performing tasks that were once thought to require human intelligence, creativity, or empathy, there is a concern that the unique value of human experiences and contributions may be undermined or overlooked. While the notion of robots or AI taking over the world captures the imagination and highlights extreme risks associated with uncontrolled AI development, the more immediate and pressing concerns relate to how AI is reshaping human

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interactions, societal norms, and individual identities today. These concerns are grounded in current realities and have far-reaching implications for human dignity, rights, and the structure of societies, making them central to discussions about AI risks.

Haggerty explains that

Haggerty, 2015

Kevin D. Professor of Criminology and Sociology at the University of Alberta, "What's Wrong with Privacy Protections?" in A World Without Privacy: What Law Can and Should Do? Edited by Austin Sarat p. 230

Still others will say I am being alarmist. My emphasis on the threat of authoritarian forms of rule inherent in populations open to detailed institutional scrutiny will be portrayed as overblown and over dramatic, suggesting I veer towards the lunatic fringe of unhinged conspiracy theorists.66 But one does not have to believe secret forces are operating behind the scenes to recognize that our declining private realm presents alarming dangers. Someone as conservative and deeply embedded in the security establishment as William Binney – a former NSA senior executive - says the security surveillance infrastructure he helped build now puts us on the verge of "turnkey totalitarianism."67 The contemporary expansion of surveillance, where monitoring becomes an ever-more routine part of our lives, represents a tremendous shift in the balance of power between citizens and organizations. Perhaps the greatest danger of this situation is how our existing surveillance practices can be turned to oppressive uses. From this point forward our expanding surveillance infrastructure stands as a resource to be inherited by future generations of politicians, corporate actors, or even messianic leaders. Given sufficient political will this surveillance infrastructure can be re-purposed to monitor — in unparalleled detail – people who some might see as undesirable due to their political opinions, religion, skin color, gender, birthplace, physical abilities, medical history, or any number of an almost limitless list of factors used to pit people against one another. The twentieth century provides notorious examples of such repressive uses of surveillance. Crucially, those tyrannical states exercised fine-grained political control by relying on surveillance infrastructures that today seem laughably rudimentary, comprised as they were of paper files, index cards, and elementary telephone tapping.68 It is no more alarmist to acknowledge such risks are germane to our own societies than it is to recognize the future will see wars, terrorist attacks, or environmental disasters - events that could themselves prompt surveillance structures to be re-calibrated towards more coercive ends. Those who think this massive surveillance infrastructure will not, in the fullness of time, be turned to repressive purposes are either innocent as to the realities of power, or whistling past a graveyard. But one does not have to dwell on the most extreme possibilities to be unnerved by how enhanced surveillance capabilities invest tremendous powers in organizations. Surveillance capacity gives organizations unprecedented abilities to manipulate human behaviors, desires, and subjectivities towards organizational ends - ends that are too often focused on profit, personal aggrandizement, and institutional self-interest rather than human betterment.

Contention II. Humanitarianism

The UN Human Refugee Agency noted in 2023 that,

UNHCCR, October 10, 2023, Central America Displacement Crisis Explained, https://www.unrefugees.org/news/central-america-displacement-crisis-explained/

Gang violence, extortion, persecution, poverty and food insecurity continue to force hundreds of thousands of people from Central America to flee their homes in search of safety. By the end of 2022, the number of asylum-seekers and refugees worldwide from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras reached 665,200 and more than 318,600 have been internally displaced. Here's What You Need to Know: 1. Why are people fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? 2. Which countries are welcoming refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? 3. How are children, women and LGBTI people impacted by this crisis? 4. How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected the crisis? 5. What is UNHCR doing to help people fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? Why are people fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? Why are people fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? Widespread violence and organized crime, compounded with the region's socio-economic instability and poverty, are the main drivers for people to flee. The

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increasing presence of drug cartels and gangs -called maras- threatens the lives of thousands of people in the region who are forced to flee their homes to ensure their own safety and protect their families from violence, extortion, forced gang recruitment and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Those who flee - many of whom are women and children - undertake perilous journeys, just to find a safe place to live. Since 2018, political turmoil and persecution has also forced more than 200,000 people to flee persecution and human rights abuses, the vast majority - 150,000 — into neighboring Costa Rica. People fleeing Central America Which countries are welcoming refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? Most of the people fleeing violence in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras seek refuge in neighboring countries, such as Panama, Costa Rica, Belize and Mexico. In 2017, these countries - along with Guatemala and Honduras - implemented an integrated Action Plan (MIRPS) to strengthen protection and promote durable solutions for those forcibly displaced across the region. Yet the growing numbers of people seeking safety in recent years has overstretched the capacities of host countries and strained services that also serve local communities. Refugee from Central America, women and children How are children, women and LGBTI people impacted by this crisis? Armed gangs operate with near impunity in certain parts of the region, often targeting youth and children who refuse to join their gangs or participate in criminal activity. Their families are not safe either as, in many cases, they are attacked or forced to pay exorbitant "war taxes" as a result of revenge or retaliation. Women and girls are victims of SGBV at incredibly high rates. Tens of thousands have fled El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras in order to escape domestic violence, rape and sexual assault. Members of the LGBTI community are also subject of severe discrimination, violence and persecution because of their sexual orientation and gender identity. They often face barriers to basic services - such as health, education and employment - and often lack legal protection. As of November 2019, only half of the displaced LGBTI people in El Salvador had studied beyond primary school. SGBV in women How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected the crisis? The coronavirus pandemic has exacerbated the risks of thousands of people in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Lockdowns and restrictions of movement allow criminal gangs to strengthen control over communities as it is harder for people that need to flee to find safe haven, increasing the risk of extortion, drug trafficking and violence across the region. These risks are in addition to the socioeconomic impact of the pandemic, which has caused many displaced and vulnerable people to lose their livelihoods. In El Salvador for example, poverty levels increased to 41 percent. Central American girl with mask-COVId-19 What is UNHCR doing to help people fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras? The UN Refugee Agency is working closely with the seven governments leading MIRPS to strengthen protection alternatives and find solutions for refugees and other victims of forced displacement. Some of UNHCR's activities in the region include: supporting shelters and safe spaces across Central America and Mexico to assist people on the move; helping host countries establish efficient refugee status determination procedures; providing livelihood and educational training to empower women, children, LGBTI people and other vulnerable groups; providing aid, cash grants, psychological support and legal assistance to victims of SGBV and launching campaigns to promote peaceful coexistence with host communities. During the pandemic, UNHCR has also been working across Central America to provide humanitarian assistance and to support government responses to COVID-19. UNHCR has scaled up its cash assistance programs to mitigate the economic impact in displaced communities and is distributing food and cleaning items to help curb the spread of the disease. UNHCR staff member with Nicaraguan girls in Costa Rica People fleeing El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras need your help... Monthly giving is the most convenient, effective and efficient way you can help people fleeing violence and persecution. Start making a lifesaving difference today. Please become USA for UNHCR's newest monthly donor.

Millions are at-risk of death

Matt Rivers explained on January 25, 2024, https://abcnews.go.com/International/inside-deteriorating-conditions-forcing-south-american-migrants-flee/story?id=106633665

As the migrant crisis continues to weigh on cities across the United States, immigration advocates and international groups contend that most Americans are not aware of the depths of despair that have forced the migrants to relocate from country to country. Extreme poverty, racism, and even violence have followed many of these South American families to whatever location they have fled due to the region's troubled geo-political state, according to experts. Hugo Hurtado and Mileidy Navarro, a Venezuelan couple with a son and daughter, told ABC News Live that they know about those struggles too well. Six years ago, they became part of the millions of Venezuelans who left the country for a better life following the nation's economic decline and settled in Bogota, Colombia. Today, the family is facing more economic struggles that are forcing them to make another long arduous journey to ensure a better future for their kids. Mileidy Navarro speaks with ABC News' Matt Rivers. ABC News "Who would want to leave their country, their home? No one. Circumstances force people to make those decisions," Navarro told ABC News Live in Spanish. MORE: Migrant encounters along southwest border reach all-time high of 302,000 Venezuela's economy has been on a steep decline for years and after President Nicolas Maduro came into power, the crisis worsened as more people were in poverty and political unrest led to an increase in violence, experts said. Navarro said she was pregnant with her oldest daughter when the crisis happened and she and her husband couldn't afford to put food on their table. "You look at yourself in the mirror and see how much weight you've lost. That's when it hits you," she said in Spanish. The United Nations estimates that 7.7 million Venezuelans have fled the country since 2015, marking the largest forced displacement in history not caused by war. Thousands of South American migrants cross a border. ABC News Hurtado arrived in Bogota first followed by Navarro and their two children in 2017. She said she and the kids had to walk under the Simon Bolivar Bridge to get to Colombia. "It's a rough path. I was knee-deep in the river," she said in Spanish. At first, Navarro said that things were going OK as the couple's jobs paid enough to make ends meet. But soon she said she began to face xenophobia at work with customers refusing to even talk with her because she was Venezuelan. Experts have noted that racism and violence against Venezuelan migrants who settled in other South American countries has increased over the years with many being attacked. "I came here to work. I have an honest job. Why is this happening to me?" Navarro said in Spanish. Mileidy Navarro walks with her daughter. ABC News Inflation has also hurt many migrants as the cost of living has increased in many South American countries, forcing many of those Venezuelans and others to relocate again. Recent Stories from ABC News symbol 00:01 02:24 Read More The U.N. Refugee Agency estimated that half of Venezuelans living in South America can't afford three meals a day and lack access to safe housing. Navarro and Hurtado both

work six days but they have been struggling financially. The situation forced Hurtado to head north to the United States, try and find a job and send for the rest of the

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family once he settled. But the plan hit a roadblock when they shut the border down when he got to Mexico, according to Navarro. "We had spent all of our savings. I had no money to send him there. So he had to walk back here," she said in Spanish. MORE: NYC Mayor Eric Adams defends housing migrants at high school amid backlash Hurtado told ABC News that the journey up north and then back to Bogota, which included trekking through the hot Darien Gap, was difficult both mentally and physically. Recent Stories from ABC News symbol 00:02 02:24 Read More "I slept in the street. The last thing I remember is that I spent three days without eating. I wasn't hungry, I just wanted to come back to my kids," he said in Spanish. Despite the struggle, the family has been saving their money to try to head to the United States again. PHOTO: Hugo Hurtado plays with his son. Hugo Hurtado plays with his son. ABC News Navarro and Hurtado said they know that if they get to America, they are likely to face even more challenges as cities struggle to find housing, jobs and a fast path to asylum status for the migrants. Still, they said their situation has left them with no choice. "I don't think I'll become a millionaire there, but I could put a roof over my kids' heads, [and] give them a better quality of life," Hurtado said in Spanish.

Pro Rebuttals

<u>Pro Rebuttal to Surveillance Undermines Rights/Causes</u> <u>Tyranny</u>

Surveillance is already widespread beyond the border now.

ACLU, 2023, NCA Surveilance, December 2023, https://www.aclu.org/issues/national-security/privacy-and-surveillance/nsa-

surveillance #: ``: text = The %20 National %20 Security %20 Agency %27 s %20 mass, hundreds %20 of %20 millions %20 of %20 Americans.

<u>The National Security</u> Agency's mass surveillance has greatly expanded in the years since September 11, 2001. Disclosures have shown that, until recently, the government regularly tracked the calls of hundreds of millions of Americans. Today, it continues to spy on a vast but unknown number of Americans' international calls, text messages, web-browsing activities, and emails. <u>The government's surveillance programs have infiltrated most of the</u>

communications technologies we have come to rely on. They are largely enabled by a problematic law passed by Congress — the FISA Amendments Act (FAA), which is set to expire this year — along with Executive Order 12,333, the primary authority invoked by the NSA to conduct surveillance outside of the United States. The Patriot Act has also made it easier for the government to spy on Americans right here at home over the past 15 years. Although the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court oversees some of the government's surveillance activities, it operates in near-total secrecy through one-sided procedures that heavily favor the government. Our Constitution and democratic system demand that government be transparent and accountable to the people, not the other way around. History has shown that powerful, secret surveillance tools will almost certainly be abused for political ends. The ACLU has been at the forefront of the struggle to rein in the surveillance superstructure, which strikes at the core of our rights to privacy, free speech, and association. Surveillance Under the FISA

Amendments Act The FISA Amendments Act of 2008 (FAA) gives the NSA almost unchecked power to monitor Americans'

international phone calls, text messages, and emails — under the guise of targeting foreigners abroad. The ACLU has long warned that one provision of the statute, Section 702, would be used to eavesdrop on Americans' private communications. In June 2013, The Guardian published documents provided by whistleblower Edward Snowden confirming the massive scale of this international dragnet. Recent disclosures also show that an unknown number of purely domestic communications are monitored, that the rules that supposedly protect Americans' privacy are weak and riddled with exceptions, and that virtually every email that goes into or out of the United States is scanned for suspicious keywords. Learn more about Section 702 In 2008, less than an hour after President Bush signed the FAA into law, the ACLU filed a lawsuit challenging its constitutionality. The case, Amnesty v. Clapper, was filed on behalf of a broad coalition of attorneys and organizations whose work requires them to engage in sensitive and sometimes privileged telephone and email communications with individuals located abroad. But in a 5-4 ruling handed down in February 2013, the Supreme Court held that the ACLU plaintiffs did not have "standing" to sue because they could not prove their communications had actually been surveilled under the law. In March 2015, the ACLU filed Wikimedia Foundation v. NSA, a lawsuit challenging "Upstream" surveillance under the FAA. Through Upstream surveillance, the U.S. government copies and searches the contents of almost all international — and many domestic — text-based internet communications. The suit was brought on behalf of nine educational, legal, human rights, and media organizations, including the Wikimedia Foundation, operator of one of the most-visited websites on the internet. Collectively, the plaintiffs engage in more than a trillion sensitive internet communications every year, and each has been profoundly harmed by NSA surveillance. Surveillance Under Executive Order 12,333 Executive Order 12,333, signed by President Reagan in 1981 and modified many times since, is the authority primarily relied upon by the intelligence agencies to gather foreign intelligence outside of the United States. Recent disclosures indicate that the U.S. government operates a host of large-scale programs under EO 12333, many of which appear to involve the collection of vast quantities of Americans' information. These programs have included, for example, the NSA's collection of billions of cellphone location records each day; its recording of every single cellphone call into, out of, and within at least two countries; and its surreptitious interception of data from Google and Yahoo user accounts as that information travels between those companies' data centers located abroad. In December 2013, the ACLU, along with the Media Freedom Information Access Clinic at Yale Law School, filed a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit demanding that the government release information about its use of EO

There is no reason the US will become tyrannical – we have checks and balances such as state governments, the courts, legislatures, etc.

Governments were tyrannical way before the introduction of surveillance

12.333 to conduct surveillance of Americans' communications

Pro Rebuttal to Surveillance Undermines Asylum

Asylum is not relevant. Asylum is a process refuges go through to prove they actually qualify as refugees. We believe people should be entitle to asylum but they should have to go through the appropriate procedures to prove it, not just enter the US whenever they want.

Turn – If there are records on people the asylum claims can be processed faster

Sergio Martínez-Beltrán, May 9, 2024, A new rule might speed up asylum claims at the Southern border, https://www.npr.org/2024/05/09/1250321311/a-new-rule-might-speed-up-asylum-claims-at-the-southern-border#:~:text=The%20Biden%20administration%20has%20proposed,has%20been%20under%20fire%20for.

The Biden administration has proposed a new rule intended to speed up the asylum claims process at the southern

border. It says this rule is about making the country safer rather than curbing illegal migration. That's something the Biden administration has been under fire for. NPR's immigration reporter, Sergio Martinez-Beltran joins me with more. Hey, there. SERGIO MARTINEZ-BELTRAN, BYLINE: Hey. KELLY: Tell me more about this new rule. What is it? How would it work? MARTINEZ-BELTRAN: Sure. So this new immigration rule would be used to quickly deny migrants with criminal records their asylum claim. Right now, a migrant trying to enter the U.S. with no legal visa can ask for a credible fear interview in which a person states that it could be subject to persecution or torture in their home country. If that person gets cleared, they can enter the country and start applying for asylum, and their criminal background is considered at a later time. **Under this new rule,** though, asylum **officials would be able to quickly reject an asylum claim if that person's criminal history is deemed to pose a threat to national security. In that case, this person would be subject to deportati**on. And, you know, all of this could happen pretty quick. Now, this ruling is expected to have a fairly narrow impact because DHS was already denying asylum to people with links to terrorist organizations, so they're now trying to do it faster.

Surveillance solves backlog.

Jim Nash 24, "Modernized biometrics services help USCIS cut immigration backlog", Jim Nash, Modernized Biometrics Services Help Uscis Cut Immigration Backlog, 2-15-2024, accessed 7-1-2024, https://www.biometricupdate.com/202402/modernized-biometrics-services-help-uscis-cut-immigration-backlog //Stel

The agency that administers the U.S. immigration service says it cut its caseload backlog 15 percent year over year in fiscal 2023. Biometrics are collected as part of the immigration application process, and automation of that process played a supporting role in the reported improvement in the caseload and customer experience. It's the first time in 10 years that the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, or USCIS, had reduced its backlog. Staff completed 10 million immigration cases, according to the agency. A \$407 million contract to automate USCIS biometrics and demographic information collection was awarded to Amentum in September. Pluribus Digital won a \$135 million contract with USCIS to modernize in-person interactions in July. A self-service online application went live in fiscal 2023 that enables people to reschedule biometrics appointments, including more than 33,000 last year. And agency leaders removed a fee for biometrics scans in instances when applicants need to change their nonimmigrant status.

Pro Rebuttal to Undermines Humanitarian Obligations

There is not relevant. There is no humanitarian obligation to accept every poor person or anyone fleeing violence. There are more than 1 billion such people in the world, and based on their logic, the US would have to accept 1 billion+ people

Turn—Surveillance is used to help determine who legitimately is a refugee. With surveillance and proper screening, we can exclude non- legitimaterefugees, enableing us to take more refugees.

Pro Rebuttals to Humanitarianism

Again, we aren't responsible for the poverty of the migrants. The US government is responsible for preventing poverty of its citizens.

Even new systems do not reduce border crossings, just drive people to more dangerous routes

Del Valle, 3-12, 24, aby Del Valle, a policy reporter. Her past work has focused on immigration politics, border surveillance technologies, and the rise of the New Right, The Verge, DHS wants \$101 million to upgrade its border surveillance towers, https://www.theverge.com/2024/3/12/24098881/dhs-border-ai-surveillance-towers-ist

DHS has been working on the surveillance towers in fits and starts since 2005. Its initial attempt, billion-dollar Secure Border Initiative Network — SBInet for short — was such a failure it was scrapped in 2011. Customs and Border Protection awarded Elbit a \$145 million contract in 2014 to build a new tower system, which is far more effective from a technological standpoint but has nonetheless failed to reduce border crossings. As we reported in 2022, however, the system has had one concrete result: increased surveillance along the US-Mexico border has pushed migrants onto more remote, dangerous routes.

Pro Frontlines to Con Rebuttals

Framework

Answers to: Governments Should Help People

The evidence is talking about in the borders and is referring to citizens, not anyone who shows up.

Governments have sovereign authority to manage their borders

Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, August 2014, Professor Guy S. Goodwin Gill was formerly Professor of Asylum Law at the University of Amsterdam, served as a Legal Adviser in the Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) from 1976-1988, and was President of the Media Appeals Board of Kosovo from 2000-2003. He is the Founding Editor of the International Journal of Refugee Law and has written extensively on refugees, migration, international organizations, elections, democratization, and child soldiers. Recent publications include The Limits of Transnational Law, (CUP 2010), with Hélène Lambert, eds., The Refugee in International Law, (OUP, 2007), 3rd edn. with Jane McAdam; Free and Fair Elections, (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2nd edn., 2006); Brownlie's Documents on Human Rights, (OUP, 2010), 6th edn., with the late Sir Ian Brownlie, QC, eds; and introductory notes to various treaties and instruments on refugees, statelessness and asylum for the 'Historic Archives' section of the UN Audio-Visual Library of International Law. He practises as a Barrister from Blackstone Chambers, London, The International Handbook of Refugee Protection

http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199652433.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199652433-e-021 DOA: 9-25-15

The movement of people between states, whether refugees or 'migrants', takes place in a context in which sovereignty remains important, and specifically that aspect of sovereign competence which entitles the state to exercise prima facie exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, and to decide who among non-citizens shall be allowed to enter and remain, and who shall be refused admission and required or compelled to leave. Like every sovereign power, this competence must be exercised within and according to law, and the state's right to control the admission of non-citizens is subject to certain well-defined exceptions in favour of those in search of refuge, among others.

Moreover, the state which seeks to exercise migration controls outside its territory, for example, through the physical interception, 'interdiction', and return of asylum seekers and forced migrants, may also be liable for actions which breach those of its international obligations which apply extra-territorially (Goodwin-Gill 2011; Moreno Lax 2011, 2012).

Answers to: Protecting the National Interest Causes Violence

Their argument about violence and the national interest is not about refugees. It's about war. We are simply arguing we should manage our border so we can take a reasonable number of refugees.

Crime

31

Answers to: Immigrants Less Likely to Commit Crimes

Their evidence about how immigrants are less likely to commit crimes is about *legal immigrants*. Our argument is that illegal immigrants commit crimes and they don't deny they do.

Answers to: Criminals Are Just Released Anyhow

When criminals are released, they are tracked with surveillance. In the status quo, they are just released.

Terrorism

Answers to: No Immigrant Terrorists

Many immigrant terrorists

Viktor Marsai on March 4, 2024, https://cis.org/Oped/Illegal-Immigrant-Terrorism-RightWing-Boogeyman-Or-Credible-Threat,

In mainstream academic discussion, the link between illegal immigration and security is said to be merely a social construct. As stated by the authors of the wellknown book "The Age of Migration," there has been a post-Cold War trend of associating migration with security issues, a process referred to as "securitization." It is claimed that this often occurs in the absence of a genuine threat, leading politicians to create an imagined threat. The contention is that labeling migrants as potential "terrorists" incites fear and a sense of danger. However, when examining available data and information, it's clear that the security risk posed by illegal immigration is more than just a political tactic or a social construct. Terrorist groups are exploiting the movement of people into the U.S. and Europe to infiltrate these societies and carry out very real terrorist attacks. This remains a concern even though the vast majority of these immigrants have no ties to extremist organizations. Underestimating the security challenges posed by illegal mass immigration is just as damaging as overstating the issue. As Mark Krikorian points out in his book "A New Case Against Immigration," all the terrorists involved in the 9/11 attacks had committed some kind of immigration fraud. There are many examples of the link between terrorism and immigration since 9/11 too. For instance, in the fiscal year 2023, the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) caught 736 people listed on the Terrorist Screening Data Set (TSDS). Other extremists have been caught on their way to the U.S. as well. In February 2023, Lutrnan Warsame Farah, the oldest son of a top leader of Al-Shabaab, a recognized Somali terrorist group, was arrested in Costa Rica. Farah, who was using fake identities and someone else's Swedish passport, was caught with the help of the FBI. A few months later, in November, another Somali man linked to Al-Shabaab, Ali Abdinuur Ahmed, was detained in a migrant center in Costa Rica, just 10 kilometers from the Panama border. This center is a common stop for illegal immigrants traveling through the notorious Darien Gap on their way to the U.S. The link between illegal immigration and terrorism isn't just an American issue; it's also present in Europe. For example, at the end of 2022, Serbian police arrested an Afghan army general and a sniper who were wanted by France on terrorism charges. The Serbian police made these arrests at a makeshift camp near Subotica, close to the Hungarian border. They found 109 illegal migrants there, 29 of whom were of particular security interest. In October 2023, a report from the Hungarian National Information Centre revealed that the Taliban's intelligence service was trying to take control of Afghan human-smuggling groups in the Vojvodina region of Serbia, near the Hungarian border. The report identified two Afghan groups, named 40-059 and 313 (the latter referencing the Taliban's Badri 313 "elite" brigade), as controlling most of the people-smuggling in Northern Serbia. The 40-059 group was even actively posting propaganda videos on TikTok, showing off their combat skills in a style similar to extremist groups like ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and Hamas. Additionally, an investigation by Balkan Insight brought attention to the fact that organized criminal networks in Northern Serbia were arming themselves, often with weapons provided by Albanian criminal groups from Kosovo and Albania. Recent terrorist attacks in Europe, carried out by illegal immigrants, show that there is indeed a link between immigration and terrorism. From the stabbings in Nice in 2020 to the Brussels shooting in 2023, there have been many successful and thwarted terrorist plots involving illegal immigrants in recent years. It's true that only a tiny fraction of all new arrivals are linked to extremist groups or ideologies. In the U.S., for example, only 0.0083 percent of all encounters were processed through the Terrorist Screening Data Set (TSDS). In Europe, given its closer proximity to terrorist hotspots in the Middle East and Africa, this percentage might be a bit higher. Compared to the total number of illegal arrivals, it's still a small proportion, but we must remember that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by only 19 terrorists. In Europe, most recent attacks have been carried out by lone wolves, but these individuals have still caused significant harm and damage. Additionally, the statistics only include extremists who have been caught and identified by authorities. There are many individuals with terrorist ties who haven't yet been recorded on any list. We also can't overlook the large number of 'got-aways' - those who have entered the U.S. and Europe without any screening. Since fiscal year 2021, at least 1.7 million illegal immigrants have evaded capture and disappeared somewhere in the U.S. without undergoing any security

Answers to: Department of Defense Trade-Off

There is no evidence that even if there is a trade-off that resources will come from the Middle East

The US iis currently placing billionsof dollars in resources in the Middle East because of Iran and Israel. They wouldn't move those.

The lijnk isn't talking about surveillance resources trading off

Answers to: Won't Use a Nuke

We didn't say they'd detonate a nuclear weapon. We said they'd detonate a dirty bomb.

Economy

Answers to: Poverty of the Migrants

Again, we aren't responsible for the poverty of the migrants. The US government is responsible for preventing poverty of its citizens.

Answers to: Immigrants Boost the Economy

We aren't saying there shouldn't be immigrants. We are saying there shouldn't be. More illegal immigrants. We can let in plenty of legal immigrants to boost the economy.

Two, this isn't a general debate about the economy. We are arguing illegal immigration hurts low wage workers that causes poverty

Three, it doesn't matter if it helps the economy if social services for the poor are overwhelmed

Con Rebuttals

Con Rebuttal to Framework

First, their own evidence says governments should help people on their own soil. These immigrants are on American soil.

Second, we have a moral obligation to refugees

Michael Walzer, philosopher, 2008, Spheres Of Justice: A Defense Of Pluralism And Equality, Kindle Edition, page number at end of card

I won't try to recount here the history of Western ideas about strangers. In a number of ancient languages, Latin among them, strangers and enemies were named by a single word. We have come only slowly, through a long process of trial and error, to distinguish the two and to acknowledge that, in certain circumstances, strangers (but not enemies) might be entitled to our hospitality, assistance, and good will. This acknowledgment can be formalized as the principle of mutual aid, which suggests the duties that we owe, as John Rawls has written, "not only to definite individuals, say to those cooperating together in some social arrangement, but to persons generally." 1 Mutual aid extends across political (and also cultural, religious, and linguistic) frontiers. Walzer, Michael (2008-08-05). Spheres Of Justice: A Defense Of Pluralism And Equality (p. 33). Basic Books. Kindle Edition.

Third, prioritizing the national interest means violence

Allen Buchanan, political philosopher at Duke, 2004 Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law, Kindle Edition, page/location number at end of card

Moreover, in the current context in which the most serious violent conflicts occur within states, Morgenthau's assertion that we reduce the risk of violence by setting aside concern for human rights and pursuing only the national interest rings hollow. Today the subordination ordination of human rights and other moral concerns to national interest often takes the form of the oppression of national minorities. The pursuit of national interest, rather than being an effective strategy for peace as Morgenthau envisioned it, has proved to be a recipe for violent internal conflict that often spills across borders. (One might overlook this fundamental point if one wrongly believed that each state contains one nation and that therefore the pursuit of the national interest serves the interests of everyone in the state.) Allen Buchanan. Justice, Legitimacy, and Self-Determination: Moral Foundations for International Law (Oxford Political Theory) (Kindle Location 1426). Kindle Edition.

Con Rebuttal to Terrorism

No risk. They can't give a single example of a terror attack caused by an illegal immigrant

Turn -- Expanding surveillance will require DOD resource diversion

US Northern Command, 2019, https://www.northcom.mil/BorderSecurity/, Border Security Video, 6-27-24 (DOA)

Brig. Gen. Walter Duzzny, the Deputy Commanding General of United States Army North, speaks about the troops stationed along the southern border during a press conference in Sunland Park, New Mexico on June 6, 2019. The Department of Defense has deployed units across the Southwest Border at the request of U.S. Customs and Border Protection and is providing surveillance and detection, logistical, engineering, and force protection functions.

DOD resources trade-off; they are finite

Department of Defense, 2011,

https://dodcio.defense.gov/Portals/0/Documents/Announcement/Signed_ITESR_6SEP11.pdf, Department of Defense (DoD) Information Technology (IT) Enterprise Strategy and Roadma

d Although DoD's IT infrastructure enables warfighters to operate effectively in the twenty-first century, the unnecessary complexity of our networks and IT reduces our ability to secure our information systems, hampers our ability to share information, and needlessly consumes the *finite resources* available to DoD

DOD fights terrorism in the Middle East

Department of Defense, 2024,

https://dod.defense.gov/OIR/#:~:text=Combined%20Joint%20Task%20Force%20Operation%20Inherent%20Resolve%20 continues%20to%20work,actions%20to%20increase%20regional%20stability.

Combined Joint Task Force Operation Inherent Resolve continues to work by, with and through regional partners to militarily defeat the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, or ISIS, in order to enable whole-of-coalition governmental actions to increase regional stability.

Zero risk of nuke terror---acquisition is <u>impossible</u>, terrorists can't <u>make</u> bombs AND no group <u>wants to</u>.

John **Mueller 23**. Woody Hayes Senior Research Scientist at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, adjunct professor of political science at The Ohio State University, senior fellow at the Cato Institute. "The Risk of Nuclear Terrorism." Oxford Academic. 6/20/23. https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/46401/chapter/408850472

There are three potential routes a terrorist group might take to obtain a nuclear weapon.

One would be for it to be **given or sold** a bomb by a **generous** like-minded nuclear state for delivery abroad—the impelling fear about Iraq in 2003. This is **highly improbable**, however, because there would be too much risk, even for a country led by extremists, that the

DebateUS! 43

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ultimate source of the weapon would be discovered. As prominent analyst Matthew Bunn puts it, 'A dictator or oligarch bent on maintaining power is highly unlikely to take the immense risk of transferring such a devastating capability to terrorists they cannot control, given the ever-present possibility that the material would be traced back to its origin'. Important in this last consideration are deterrent safeguards afforded by 'nuclear forensics', the rapidly developing science (and art) of connecting nuclear materials to their sources even after a bomb has been exploded.15

Moreover, there is a very considerable danger to the donor that the bomb (and its source) would be discovered even before delivery or that it would be exploded in a manner and on a target the donor would not approve—including on the donor itself. Another concern would be that the terrorist group might be infiltrated by foreign intelligence.16

A <u>second route</u> would be for the terrorist group to <u>steal or</u> illicitly <u>purchase</u> a <u>bomb</u>. In the wake of the Cold War, there was great worry about such 'loose nukes' in unstable post-Communist Russia. However, both Russian nuclear officials and experts on the Russian nuclear programme point out that those <u>bombs</u> are <u>difficult to maintain</u> and have a <u>lifespan of one to three years</u>, after which they become 'radioactive scrap metal'.17 <u>Even some of those most alarmed</u> by the prospect of atomic terrorism have <u>concluded</u> that, <u>'It is probably true that there are no "loose nukes"</u>, transportable nuclear weapons missing from their proper storage locations and available for purchase in some way'.18

It might be added that Russia and other nuclear powers have an intense interest in controlling any weapons on their territory. Stephen Younger, former head of nuclear weapons research and development at Los Alamos National Laboratory, notes, 'Regardless of what is reported in the news, all nuclear nations take the security of their weapons very seriously'.19

Moreover, as technology has developed, <u>finished bombs have been outfitted with devices that will trigger a non-nuclear explosion</u> that will destroy the bomb if it is tampered with 20 And there are other security techniques: bombs can be **kept** <u>disassembled</u> with the component parts stored in separate high-security vaults, <u>and procedures can be organized so that **two people** and <u>multiple codes are required</u> not only to use the bomb, but also to store, to <u>maintain</u>, and to <u>deploy</u> it.21</u>

since terrorists are unlikely to be able to buy or steal a useable bomb, and since they are further unlikely to have one handed to them by an established nuclear state, the most plausible route for terrorists would be to manufacture the device themselves from purloined materials. This is the route identified by a majority of leading experts as the most likely to lead to nuclear terrorism.22 Because of the dangers and difficulties of transporting and working with plutonium, a dedicated terrorist group, it is generally further agreed, would choose to try to use highly enriched uranium.23 The idea would be to obtain as much of this stuff as necessary and then to fashion it into an explosive.

The likely product of this effort would not be a bomb that can be dropped or hurled, since this would massively complicate the delivery problem. Rather, the terrorists would seek to come up with an 'improvised nuclear device' (IND) of the simplest design—one that could be set off at the target by a suicidal detonation crew. This would be a 'gun' type of device in which masses of highly enriched uranium are hurled at each other within a tube. At best, such a device would be, as even the deeply concerned Allison acknowledges, 'large, cumbersome, unsafe, unreliable, unpredictable, and inefficient'. 24 The process is a daunting one, even in this minimal case. In particular, the task requires a considerable series of difficult hurdles to be conquered and in sequence.

At the present time and likely for the foreseeable future, stateless groups are simply incapable of manufacturing the required fissile material for a bomb because the process requires an effort on an industrial scale. 25 Moreover, they are unlikely to be supplied with the material by a state for the same reasons a state is unlikely to give them a workable bomb. Thus, they would need to steal or illicitly purchase this crucial material.

The terrorist thieves would also need to know exactly what they want and where it is, and this presumably means trusting bribed, but not necessarily dependable, insiders. And to even begin to pull off such a heist, the terrorists would need to develop a highly nuanced street sense in foreign areas often filled with people who are suspicious of strangers.26 This approach requires the terrorists to pay off a host of greedy confederates, including brokers and money transmitters, any one of whom could turn on them or, either out of guile or incompetence, furnish them with stuff that is useless. Insiders might also come to ruminate over the fact that, once the heist had been accomplished, the terrorists would (as Jenkins puts it none too delicately) 'have every incentive to cover their trail, beginning with eliminating their confederates'.27

In addition, because of improving nuclear safeguards and accounting practices, it is decreasingly likely that the theft would remain undetected. 28 This is an important development because, once it is noticed that some uranium is missing, the authorities would investigate the few people who might have been able to assist the thieves, and one who seems suddenly to have become prosperous is likely to arrest their attention right from the start.

Con Rebuttal to Crime

Turn – immigrants less likely to commit crimes than US citizens

Stephane Kule, March 12, 2024, Immigrants are significantly less likely to commit crimes than the U.S.-born, https://news.northwestern.edu/stories/2024/03/immigrants-are-significantly-less-likely-to-commit-crimes-than-the-us-born/

Study finds over a 150-year period, immigrants have never been incarcerated at a greater rate than those born in the United States March 12, 2024 | By Stephanie Kulke immigrants Undocumented immigrants attempt to cross into the U.S. near Del Rio, Texas. Prompted by frequent questions about the impact of immigration on local crime rates, researchers used data from the U.S. Census to find out whether immigrants were more likel...Show More Caption → Economics Expert Viewpoint Global Inequality Institute for Policy Research Weinberg College Some Americans believe that undocumented immigrants are a criminal threat to society. Former President Donald J. Trump has leveraged this assumption to inflame the rhetoric around immigration from the U.S.-Mexico border. **A study co-led by**

Northwestern University economist Elisa Jácome provides the first historical comparison of incarceration rates of immigrants to U.S.-born citizens. Using incarceration rates as a proxy for crime, a team of economists analyzed 150 years of U.S. Census data and found immigrants were consistently less likely to be incarcerated than people born in the U.S. They also

found beginning in 1960, the incarceration gap widened such that immigrants today are 60% less likely to be incarcerated than the U.S.-born. "Our study shows that since 1870, it has never been the case that immigrants as a group have been more incarcerated than the U.S.-born," Jácome said. Jácome is an assistant professor of economics and a faculty fellow with the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern. A multi-university team of economists had previously studied the upward mobility of immigrants and found that **children of low-income immigrants tended to be more upwardly mobile than U.S.-born**

children of low-income families. Prompted by frequent questions about the impact of immigration on local crime rates, the researchers used data from the U.S. Census to find out whether immigrants were more likely to commit crimes than the U.S.-born. Starting with the 1870 U.S. Census — the first to include the full population including those formerly enslaved — through the most recent in 2020, which collects data nationwide including from correctional facilities, the researchers measured the gaps between immigrant and U.S.-born levels of incarceration. Over that 150-year period they found that immigrants' incarceration rate was only slightly lower than that of U.S.-born men. However, in the more recent time period, immigrants are 60% less likely to be incarcerated than U.S. born citizens, and 30% less likely relative to U.S. born whites. To explain what happened beginning in 1960, Jácome and co-authors point to globalization and skill-based technological changes as coinciding with the gap. "A surprising finding was the extent to which immigrants with lower levels of education today are significantly less likely to commit crimes than their U.S.-born counterparts," Jácome said. "This may indicate immigrants are more resistant to economic shocks that have affected less-educated men in recent decades." The researchers say policymakers should consider a variety of factors in addressing immigration issues. "The impact of immigration on the economy is a multifaceted topic and crime is just one of the factors," Jácome said. "To get a holistic picture, policymakers should also account for research, invention and services that are being provided because of immigrants. "To the extent you want to make a cost-benefit statement about immigration, you must also look at benefits lost if immigration was reduced." The study co-authors are Ran Abramitzky, professor of economics at Stanford University; Leah Boustan, professor of economics at Princeton University; Santiago Pérez, associate professor of economics at the University

Surveillance doesn't solve murder by immigrants, as caught immigrants are released

House Committee on Homeland Security, 6-27, 24, https://homeland.house.gov/2024/06/27/startling-stats-bidens-mass-parole-catch-and-release-agenda-continues-to-fuel-historic-border-crisis-endanger-americans/, STARTLING STATS: BIDEN'S MASS-PAROLE, CATCH-AND-RELEASE AGENDA CONTINUES TO FUEL HISTORIC BORDER CRISIS, ENDANGER AMERICANS

President Biden and the now-impeached Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas have released millions of inadmissible aliens into the country without adequate vetting or screening, while roughly two million more have entered the country as known gotaways. Notably, this month, two Venezuelan nationals were the charged with the horrific murder of a young girl in Houston, Jocelyn Nungaray, telegally crossing the Southwest border.

Con Rebuttal to Low Wage Work

Their impact to low wage work is poverty. Poverty will be greater if we don't take people in because there are no social support services in the countries they are fleeing. This means they are more likely to die from poverty there.

US economy depends on immigrant labor

Orrenius, July. 2, 2024, Pia M. Orrenius, Ana Pranger, Madeline Zavodny and Isabel Dhillon, Unprecedented U.S. immigration surge boosts job growth, output, https://www.dallasfed.org/research/economics/2024/0702

The jump in ready-to-work immigrants has boosted population, labor force and job growth in the postpandemic U.S. economy. Estimates from the Hamilton Project suggest higher immigration boosted payroll job growth by 70,000 jobs per month in 2022 and by 100,000 jobs per month in 2023 and so far in 2024. The upper end of the range of job growth has doubled to 200,000 from 100,000 jobs per month absent the surge of immigration.

It's not unusual for immigration to account for high shares of job growth. Before the pandemic, from 2010 to 2019, the share of job growth attributable to immigration averaged 45 percent. The jump in jobs, along with immigrants' consumption of goods and services in the United States, also bolsters GDP growth. According to the Hamilton Project study, higher immigration has contributed about 0.1 percentage points to GDP growth annually in 2022 and 2023 and is projected to do so again in 2024. The effect on

inflation, meanwhile, could be neutral on average. Higher immigration represents a labor supply shock, which should be disinflationary. But **immigrants are**

also consumers and add to aggregate demand. While certain sectors that extensively depend on immigrants should see costs and prices fall—for example, landscaping and child care—the population influx could put upward pressure on rents and house prices, particularly in the short run before new supply can be built. Long-run outlook uncertain, but immigration needed for growth The immigration surge has surprised many, and not everyone agrees with the CBO numbers. But household survey data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) are consistent with CBO estimates of immigration in 2023. According to the CPS, the foreign-born population rose by 2.5 million from December 2021, oeen as we estimate a bout 500,000 immigrants died. These data points are consistent with a net immigrant inflow of al least 3 million or well-and the control of a 1.5 million in 2004. The control of a 2.5 million in 2004. 2.6 million in 2005, 1.6 million in 2005 and a return to the historical average 1.1 million in 2027-33. It's unclear what factors drive these transitions. Potential changes in U.S. immigration policy, such as the Biden administration's recent executive action limiting the entry of some migrants, or an economic downturn could result in gradual

normalization of immigration at the border. Even so, many of the migrants who arrived in recent years will want to stay in the United StateS. Asylum approval rates have risen since 2020 but reflect cases filed

in years prior. It's impossible to know what approval rates will be for those who filed their claims more recently. Humanitarian parolees, in contrast, are supposed to return to their home countries after two years. If immigration normalizes, it will return to rates that are insufficient to sustain the type of economic growth the U.S. is accustomed to. The nation is in a sort of demographic autumn, and winter is coming. The retirement of the baby boomers and overall aging of the workforce, as well as low and falling birth rates mean population growth will become entirely dependent on immigration by 2040, as deaths of U.S.-born will outpace births (Chart 6). Chart 6 Downloadable chart Chart data Because economic growth depends on labor, capital and productivity, growth in these factors will set the speed limit of the economy. While technological advances and incentives for investment will contribute to productivity growth, immigration will be vital to propping up labor force growth.

Con Rebuttal to Social Service Cuts

This evidence is old. It's talking about really rapid rates of illegal immigration, which are no longer occurring.

Con Frontline to Pro Rebuttals

Surveillance/Tyranny/Dehumanization

Answers to: Surveillance Already Widespread

One, Surveillance obviously grows under the Pro

First, they have to substantially expand it.

Second, there isn't significant border surveillance. If there isn, there is no reason to vote Pro to expand it.

Two, the Pro enables the development of more advanced surveilance technologies, which. Make it worse.

Answers to: Governments Were Tyrannical Before

Governments were tyrannical before, but they are not now but surveillance will enable them to be so

This technology gets exported abroad to places such as China which will use iit to be tyrannical

Answers to: Checks and Balances Prevent Tyranny

This technology gets exported abroad to places such as China which will use iit to be tyrannical

There are no longer any checks

- (a) The Congress is funding and supporting this technology
- (B) Trump could win and it could be the last election
- © Courts no longer check the power of the presidency

Humanitarianism

Answers to: Too Many Gaps/More Dangerous Routes

This is the status quo – our Office of the Inspector General evidence says they are currently using obsolete tech with limited capabilities. We need better technologies to close these routes

Even if they end up on more dangerous routes that's still safer than staying where they are

Answers to: We Aren't Responsible

We are responsible – these are our fellow humans. That's our framework evidence

The US is responsible for the violent conditions people are fleeing

Rep Jim McGovern, 2019, US Intervention helped Destabilize Central America — Now, We Have a Moral Obligation to Help., https://repmcgovern.medium.com/decades-of-us-intervention-have-destabilized-central-america-now-we-have-a-moral-obligation-to-67713f23a406

Too often, our debate on immigration in this country takes place in a vacuum, removed from the violence and poverty which too often have been exacerbated by America's own history of intervention and destabilization in Central America. This weekend I am once again traveling to Central America to see and hear firsthand the daily realities that drive families north. I want to shine a bright light on the on-going need for us to help rebuild and reinvest in these nations. I believe that given our history in the region, America has a moral obligation to help those who flee the conditions created by many of our own foreign policy decisions. This isn't an idea I've just developed recently. My first visit to El Salvador was in the early 1980s. While there, I saw firsthand how the United States government supported the brutality of the Salvadoran government and military toward its own people. I discovered we were an apologist for a military that massacred a thousand people, including scores of children, at and around a village called El Mozote. I learned that during the 12year civil war, over 75,000 civilians were killed and an unknown number, likely in the thousands, were forcibly disappeared, mainly at the hands of state actors. And towards the end of the war, I watched as some of the highest officials of my country conferred medals on Salvadoran military officers even after we knew they had given the orders to murder six Jesuit priests and two women, including the rector and faculty members of the University of Central America. Over the past 35 years, I have returned to El Salvador many times, and traveled throughout the region, including in Honduras and Guatemala. I have learned that to make the best policy decisions and investments in U.S. aid, we need to confront and learn from our own history and mistakes. Under Republican and Democratic Administrations alike, the U.S. has made bad judgments and miscalculations that have had real and adverse consequences in the lives of real people. As former Senator Frank Church correctly wrote in 1984, in Central America too often we supported a "selfish property-owning minority" and an "indifferent middle class intransigently protecting their privileges" and ignored the "limitless misery" of a majority that often "lives on the margin of subsistence." I have learned that we are more generous with our purse strings in times of war than in times of peace. We have contributed to wars, even been a major actor. In backing governments that we saw as ideologically friendly, we have helped crush legitimate dissent and the need for radical change, supporting economic interests and institutions hostile to the rule of law and indifferent to the suffering of their own people. We have ousted democratically-elected governments and accepted the results of politically convenient but illegitimate elections. As long ago as 1954, the CIA helped organize a coup in Guatemala, overthrowing the democratically elected government, an action that scarred democracy and development for decades and led to civil war. In the 1980s, a Guatemalan military that received U.S. support carried out scorched earth campaigns that massacred upwards of 200,000 mostly indigenous people. As recently as 2017, when the Organization of American States (OAS) argued that polling place irregularities required Honduras to carry out a new election, the U.S. accepted the result and recognized as the winner incumbent President Juan Orlando Hernandez, sparking a spiral of state violence against protestors and dissent that is still on-going. We decry corruption and human rights abuses, yet partner closely with the political, military and economic actors who commit such crimes with impunity — and directly undermine efforts to combat impunity, as the Trump Administration has done with its attacks on and withdrawal of support for the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG). I have seen how past and current U.S. immigration and deportation policies directly contributed to the establishment of violent gangs in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. Beginning in the 1990s, we deported tens of thousands of gang members, many for minor infractions, back to the region, seeding the ground for today's gang violence. We supported and encouraged the most hardline military and police crackdowns on gang members inside these countries — the result was an explosion in prison populations where local gang cliques met and formed powerful and coordinated national networks. We failed to make sustained, timely investments in each of these countries when internal conflicts ended in the early 1990s. In El Salvador alone, where a peace accord ending a 12-year civil war was signed in 1992, U.S. aid was cut from nearly \$200 million annually to \$30 million in 1994. Those two decades of neglect are now coming home to roost, literally. For many years, the Northern Triangle countries have been cited among the most violent and dangerous in the world, and U.S. guns help fuel that lethal violence. While many factors contribute to the violence in each country, guns have played an outsized role in escalating the levels of lethality. According to the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), many of these guns originate in the United States. From 2014 to 2016 — the only years for which ATF has made data publicly available — 49 percent of crime guns recovered in El Salvador were originally purchased in the United States. Similarly, 45 percent of crime guns recovered in Honduras and 29 percent of those recovered in Guatemala have U.S. origins. Yet if you turned on the TV on any

given night in America, you would never hear a single word about how many of our own economic and foreign policies helped contribute to the violence and poverty

DebateUS! 55

Surveillance PF Novice Practice Set.

driving today's migrants out of their homes. The bottom line is that no one decides to leave their home overnight or on a whim. People escaping threats or seeking opportunities move from one marginal neighborhood to another, or from one part of the country to another, or sometimes to neighboring countries before violence,

hunger and the lack of any sense of safety or future exact their final toll. Climate change has contributed to droughts, coffee rust, and other agricultural problems that have plagued the region, hurt small producers, and increased hunger, child malnutrition and food insecurity. Economic policies, many supported by the U.S., have led to small farmers, especially

indigenous people, being forced off their land. Multinational companies have taken over land for industrial farming, mining and tourism; wealthy landholders expand their holdings to produce sugar, palm oil, soybeans, corn and other biofuels; none are reluctant to use violence when families and communities resist. In Guatemala and Honduras, environmentalists and land rights activists have been threatened and targeted for violence and assassination, often with the support of state police and security forces. If America truly wants to get serious about dealing with the crisis on our border, then we must study the past so that history does not repeat itself. We must acknowledge our share of the blame for the conditions these families face. To be sure, the problems confronting Central America and the flow of migrants to our southern border are not all due to U.S. foreign policy. Poverty, injustice, violence, murder, corruption, inequality and impunity in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala are homegrown. But history shows, with too few exceptions, that when local officials and activists have stood up for basic human rights and dignity, the U.S. too often failed to help them, sometimes standing by when they were threatened and harassed, and at worst, intervening on behalf of those who would bury dissent. We don't have to imagine what might happen if we looked to solve these problems instead of demonizing immigrants and asylum seekers once they arrive at our border. I have seen what U.S. aid and our diplomatic missions can accomplish, even with modest resources. I have seen the many positive results when the U.S. collaborates with local communities, addresses the causes of youth violence, invests in community-designed development, helps professionalize security forces, facilitates safe and orderly migration for those most at risk, and supports institutions that strengthen judicial independence and an end to corruption and impunity. Policies that prioritize a better quality of life and respect the dignity of ordinary people and the poor give people a sense of control over their own lives, hope for a better future for their children, and a reason to remain in their own countries. Last year, on Sunday, October 14th, Oscar Romero was canonized in Rome. As archbishop of San Salvador, he was an advocate for the poor and worked for peace amid an escalating civil war. I have visited his humble home, attended Mass at the chapel where he last spoke, and prayed at his tomb.