# Doc---D6---Round 4

# 1NC

## OFF

### T---1NC

#### The scope of competition law defines it goals---attempts to meet current goals by banning practice are implementation questions.

ESE No Date. Erasmus School of Economics (as per their website, “The Erasmus Center for Economic and Financial Governance is an international multidisciplinary network of leading researchers and societal stakeholders initiated by researchers from Erasmus School of Economics and Erasmus School of Law. ECEFG conducts interdisciplinary research (law, economics and political science) and contributes to current debates in public and in academia on issues relating to European and global economic and financial governance.”). "Competition Policy". <https://www.eur.nl/en/ese/affiliated/ecefg/research/competition-policy>

Competition Policy

Research in this field consists of two broad areas. The first area – Theory and Implementation of Competition Law and Policy – refers to fundamental and applied research into topics that are traditionally seen as the core of competition policy. The second area – Scope of Competition Law and Policy – refers to all research on the effect and desirability of including new considerations in competition law and policy in order to address the challenges of our time, such as the increasing power of big tech firms, or global warming.

Theory and Implementation of Competition Policy

This covers for instance collusion, abuse of dominance, mergers, market regulation and state aid. Some examples of research topics are:

* the practices firms can use to engage in collusion and its welfare consequences;
* the practices firms can use to abuse a dominant position and its welfare consequences;
* which practices can be considered proof of such activities;
* how to regulate access to a market;
* how to properly assess the effects of a particular practice or merger;
* the practices, by which the state and public authorities distort competition such as subisidies and tax measures
* the interpretation and application of EU and national competition law by Competition Authorities and Courts and the extent to which they achieve the goals of competition policy

Scope of Competition Policy

The effectiveness of European competition law and policy in combination with rapid technological changes have raised questions about its proper scope. Which policy objectives can and should be pursued by means of competition law and policy, and which should be delegated to other legal fields and policies? Some examples of specific research questions include:

* Can and should competition law be used to protect the privacy of consumers on the internet?
* Information gathered by firms can be used to increase their own profits. How does this affect consumers, and what does this depend on? Can and should competition law deal with market power derived from information gathering? For instance, should the big five tech giants be forced to divest activities?
* Should competition policy also include considerations of economic inequality or environmental effects?
* Can competition law remain effective if it is used for more than safeguarding fair competition?

#### That means the aff must replace the consumer welfare standard.

Trevor Wagener 21. "The Curse of Tradeoffs: Neo-Brandeisians vs. Consumers". Disruptive Competition Project. 5-21-2021. https://www.project-disco.org/competition/052121-the-curse-of-tradeoffs-neo-brandeisian-antitrust-versus-consumers/

Neo-Brandeisians seek to replace the longstanding objective and principles-based framework of the consumer welfare standard in antitrust enforcement with an amorphous, process-based framework guided by an ethos one Neo-Brandeisian described as: “Big is bad. Just don’t let big firms merge. The end.” A movement dedicated to replacing a consumer welfare-maximizing approach with an assortment of competing goals has proven unable to offer a quantified, systematic cost-benefit analysis justifying such a radical change, instead relying upon anecdotal evidence and moving prose. The many goals of the Neo-Brandeisian approach are often rhetorically appealing, but the rhetoric hides a simple truth: When you target every variable, you effectively target none. Addressing a wide range of goals through antitrust policy requires de-emphasizing consumer welfare, creating fundamental tradeoffs expected to harm consumers relative to the status quo.

The willingness to sacrifice consumer welfare in order to achieve other ends is a defining characteristic of Neo-Brandeisian antitrust. This is illustrated by concrete Neo-Brandeisian critiques, which typically emphasize perceived harms to businesses rather than harms to consumers. For example, the Neo-Brandeisian activist group American Economic Liberties Project (AELP) published a pair of policy briefs on May 3 that criticize online service operators for a litany of purported inconveniences to businesses over a combined 22 pages, but struggle to quantify any harms to ordinary consumers and users. Those few purported harms to consumers that AELP raised are distinctly qualitative rather than quantitative, consistent with the broader reluctance of prominent Neo-Brandeisian thinkers to conduct a rigorous quantitative cost-benefit analysis of their antitrust policy prescriptions relative to the consumer welfare standard.

#### Vote negative for limits and ground---only “change goals” creates key economy and legal disads over what antitrust should consider---the affs topic races to tiny exemptions and technical changes with no core ground.

### T---1NC

#### Prohibitions are distinct from remedies that only block the anticompetitive elements of a practice, rather than the practice itself.

Jo Seldeslachts et al. ‘7. Professor of Industrial Organization at KU Leuven and a Senior Research Fellow at DIW Berlin, with Joseph A. Clougherty and Pedro Pita Barros. “Remedy for now but prohibit for tomorrow: the deterrence effects of merger policy tools.” https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/25862/ssoar-2007-seldeslachts\_et\_al-remedy\_for\_now\_but\_prohibit.pdf;jsessionid=A244005110FDB5816E0347D9F1B75436?sequence=1

Let us now think about the differences between the two antitrust actions of prohibitions and remedies.7 In the case of a prohibition, the penalty for proposing a merger with significant anti-competitive problems involves the full prohibition of the merger: both the pro-competitive and the anti-competitive profits for merging firms are negated by the prohibition. The throwing out of the pro-competitive profits along with the anti-competitive profits is important, as this brings about the punitive measure that Posner (1970) acknowledges as being crucial for deterrence. The big difference between remedies and prohibitions is that remedies attempt to identify and eliminate the anti-competitive elements of a merger. In essence, the merging firms are able to hold on to the pro-competitive elements of the merger—so they keep (ΠPC), but the anti-competitive elements of the merger (ΠAC) are negated by the remedial action. If an antitrust authority imposes remedies, then the disincentive for firms to propose anti-competitive mergers is clearly lower. In short, prohibitions seemingly involve more deterrence than do remedies, as prohibitions represent larger punishments.

#### Business practices are ongoing conduct defined by the behaviors of many market participants

Kerry Lynn Macintosh 97. Associate Professor of Law, Santa Clara University School of Law. B.A. 1978, Pomona College; J.D. 1982, Stanford University, “Liberty, Trade, and the Uniform Commercial Code: When Should Default Rules Be Based On Business Practices?,” 38 Wm. & Mary L. Rev. 1465, Lexis.

These new and revised articles reflect a strong trend toward choosing default rules 4 that codify existing business practices. 5 [FOOTNOTE 5 BEGINS] In this Article, the term "business practices" is used to refer to practices that emerge over time as countless market participants exercise their freedom to engage in profitable transactions. For an account of the evolution of business practices, see infra Part II. As used here, "business practices" is broader and less technical than "trade usage," which the Code narrowly defines as "any practice or method of dealing having such regularity of observance in a place, vocation, or trade as to justify an expectation that it will be observed with respect to the transaction in question." U.C.C. 1-205(2). [FOOTNOTE 5 ENDS] This is particularly true of the recent revisions to Articles 3 (Negotiable Instruments), 4 (Bank Deposits and Collections) and 5 (Letters of Credit).

#### Violation: The plan only increases behavioral remedies that target anticompetitive aspects of the practice---topical affs must increase prohibitions on the practices themselves.

#### Vote neg for limits and ground---infinite behavioral remedies and no link uniqueness for offense.

### T---1NC

#### A. Interpretation---“private sector” excludes state-owned enterprises

Investopedia 20. Fact checked by MARCUS REEVES Reviewed by THOMAS BROCK on December 25, 2020 “Private Sector”. https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/private-sector.asp

What is the Private Sector?

The private sector is the part of the economy that is run by individuals and companies for profit and is not state controlled. Therefore, it encompasses all for-profit businesses that are not owned or operated by the government. Companies and corporations that are government run are part of what is known as the public sector, while charities and other nonprofit organizations are part of the voluntary sector.

#### B. Violation---the plan increases prohibitions on practices “by nations that participate in oil cartels”---that’s explicitly public sector

#### And, OPEC countries have nationalized their oil production

Andrew Chatzky 20. Foreign Service Officer at U.S. Department of State, and Anshu Siripurapu, 4/9/20. “OPEC in a Changing World.” https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/opec-changing-world

OPEC was established in 1960 by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela; its membership has expanded and contracted over the years. The original five sought to build a united front to respond to oil price cuts imposed by the multinational oil companies that controlled most petroleum imports into Western countries, as well as U.S. government import caps that depressed prices of foreign oil in the 1950s. OPEC’s founding members not only set out to negotiate higher global posted prices for oil but also pursued greater control over their own resources through the nationalization of international oil company concessions. Most OPEC nations now own all of their oil reserves.

#### C. Vote neg for limits and ground

#### 1. Limits---the aff interp opens the floodgates to myriad affs about the business practices of any country or group of countries in the world

#### 2. Ground---all our links are predicated off private sector prohibitions, public sector antitrust is a whole different topic about international relations and nonprofits

### K---1NC

#### Antitrust is a psyop used to pacify the working class and map competition onto subjectivity

Lebow 19 [David Lebow – Lecturer on Social Studies at Harvard University and lawyer, “Trumpism and the Dialectic of Neoliberal Reason,” Perspectives on Politics 18(2):380-398, doi:10.1017/S1537592719000434]

I. Neoliberal Reason

As Michel Foucault and others have argued, neoliberalism entails far more than an economic doctrine favoring deregulated markets.4 It is a novel form of governmentality—a rationality linked to technologies of power that govern conduct, not just through direct state action but through liberty itself.5 Not isolated to the traditionally demarcated sphere of economics, neoliberal society entails a whole economic-juridical order.

The central program of neoliberal governmentality is the absolute generalization of competition as a universal behavioral norm. Whereas in liberal thought, the root principle of capitalism was exchange of equivalents, for neoliberal reason it is competition entailing inequality. The key result of market processes goes from specialization to selection. The competitive market is the exclusive site of rationality. It processes information, indicated by price, and is the only mechanism of producing knowledge, defined as what is profitably utilizable. Because consumers are free to refuse inferior goods or services, the price mechanism of the market system ensures optimal solutions and maximal satisfaction of preferences.

Liberal capitalism, as Karl Polanyi argued, required the construction of “fictitious” commodities like land and labor.6 These abstract, exchangeable factors of production had to be disembedded from concrete non-market social relations, norms, and values. Instead of merely disembedding commodities, neoliberalism intervenes to make competitive mechanisms regulate every moment and point in society. It strives to build an empire of market choice that invades every domain of life, and deposes all other social, political and solidaristic institutions and values.

Neoliberalism does not allege that markets are natural; competition must be constructed. Rather than endorsing laissez-faire overseen by a night watchman, it stipulates a strong state engaged in permanent vigilance, activity, and intervention to maintain artificial competition. It must not plan outcomes, which would upset the market’s innate rationality, and must be insulated from political disturbances. Economic interventionism leads down the road to serfdom; fascism and unlimited state power are its necessary results. A “minimum of economic interventionism” on the “mechanisms of the market” must be accompanied by “maximum legal interventionism” on the “conditions of the market.”7 Fixed, formal rules make up an economic constitution that inhibits planning, repulses political disruptions, and impartially safeguards competition. The state is the executor of the market and growth is the basis of public legitimacy. Governance depoliticizes public power, promotes ostensibly post-ideological technical problem-solving by experts, and relies on “best-practices” that dissolve the distinction between public and private organization.8

Unlimited generalization of competition yields an enterprise society in which calculations of supply/demand and cost/benefit become the model of all social relations. Neoliberal reason renders homo economicus, based on this model of the enterprise, the exhaustive figuration of human subjectivity. The center of economic thought shifts from labor and processes of production, exchange, and consumption to human capital and rational decision-making under conditions of scarcity. Capital is everything that can generate future income; wages are reconceived as income from capital. Labor is no longer comprehended as a commodity exchanged for a wage, but as a combination of human capital (the worker’s education and abilities) and the income stream it generates. This neoliberal subject is an aggregate of human capital who invests in his own income-generating abilities.

Neoliberalism replaces the invariant identity of the moral person as a rights-bearing citizen with a formally empty receptacle filled up through enterprising choices. It brushes aside models of freedom as self-rule achieved through moral autonomy or popular sovereignty.9 In the neoliberal “democracy of consumers,” individual consumers together constitute the sovereign that monopolizes the issuance of legitimate commands.10 Sovereign will is expressed not through political channels, but by choices in the “plebiscite of prices.”11 Whereas producers have particular interests like protectionism, consumers have a consensual and common interest; all favor the impartial functioning of market processes. In the neoliberal free society, consumers exercise their right to choose in complete independence.

II. From Keynesian State Capitalism to Neoliberal Deregulation

Situating the 2008 crisis in a historical account of American political and economic development clarifies its broader significance. The early twentieth-century Progressives were disdainful of what they took to be the chaos and waste of fin de siècle laissez-faire society. They strove to build a new American state that would replace the structural and rights-based formalisms of the nineteenth century with direct democracy and expert administration. It took the Great Depression and New Deal to bring into full bloom the Progressive commitment to pragmatic rationality. Thereafter, the “policy state” was authorized to pursue designated social goals and develop the means to accomplish them.12 The slew of New Deal innovations included state oversight of labor negotiations, invigorated antitrust, Keynesian countercyclical deficits to stimulate demand and increase purchasing power, an expansive public sector sheltered from the business cycle, aggressive banking regulation, and social insurance. Regulation and redistribution ensured the conditions necessary for an economic system based on capital accumulation, private property, and corporate profit to endure.

To many, the differences between the New Deal and Nazi political economies appeared less significant than their common response to monopoly capitalism. Both erased boundaries between state and society by politicizing the private sphere and authorizing public bureaucracies to rationalize crisis-prone economies. Frankfurt School member Friedrich Pollock suggested that this common “state capitalism” had solved the contradiction between the forces and relations of production, and thus overcome the economy’s crisis tendencies. It seemed to him that management had become merely technical and “nothing essential” had been “left to the laws of the market.”13 Worries abounded that the private law sphere of property and contract was necessary for individual freedom. Despite salient differences between Nazi and New Deal state capitalism, many feared that intervention into society was a waystation to domination. Unease about the specter of American despotism motivated development of mechanisms to ensure that interventionism did not devolve into arbitrary rule.14 Expertise was one justification and limitation of the policy state. Authority could be safely delegated to a new corps of public-spirited administrators because their scientific knowledge would not only make them effective, but also counsel restraint. Enduring misgivings led later to new laws of administrative process. The procedural state was legitimated by its defenders as being a substantively value-neutral and instrumentally rational machine serving goals set by society. Regulatory decision-making was shunted into the abstruse procedures of courtrooms and bureaucracies. Defenders of the state emphasized that its processes of allocating authority were neutral, impartial, and open to all. The balanced accommodation of all interest groups seeking to exercise influence would yield an equilibrium corresponding to the public interest.15

The intermeshing of state and society through interest groups, agencies, and professionalized parties marginalized the public. The sovereign public opinion that Progressives had hoped would rationalize government gave way to the rationality supposedly inherent in processes of public law, public-private negotiation, and regulated markets. The state was endowed with a diffuse legitimacy in exchange for a growing economy, broad distribution, and ongoing household capacity to consume.16 The Keynesian welfare settlement pacified the working class, protecting the market economy from more radical political pressures. Newly available, mass-produced commodities encouraged leveled-down notions of citizenship as welfare clientelism and privatistic consumption. As the state expanded and routinized, the initial politicization of private property relations through public intervention developed into depoliticized economic management by lawyers and social scientists organized by administrative and judicial processes.

#### Capitalism drives extinction and structural violence

Allinson et al 21 [Jamie Allinson is Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Edinburgh University and author of The Age of Counter-revolution. China Miéville is the author of a number of highly acclaimed and prize-winning novels including October: The History of the Russian Revolution. Richard Seymour is the author of numerous works of non-fiction, His writing appears in the New York Times, London Review of Books, Guardian, Prospect, Jacobin. Rosie Warren is an Editor at Verso and the Editor-in-Chief of Salvage. All are writing for the Salvage Collective. “The Tragedy of the Worker: Toward the Proletarocene.” Introduction. July 2021. Verso EBook. ISBN: 9781839762963 //shree]

This is the question that vexed us as we set out to write The Tragedy of the Worker. From the vantage point of the present, the history of capitalist development is, as Marx expected, the history of the development of a global working class, the proletarianisation of the majority of the world’s population. But the very same process of that development has brought us to the precipice of climate disaster. Our position, to recall Trotsky’s rationalisation of War Communism in 1920, is in the highest degree tragic.

It is now clear that we will pass what scientists have long warned will be a tipping point of global warming, accelerating the already catastrophic consequences of capitalist emissions. How do we imagine emancipation on an at best partially habitable planet? Where once communists imagined seizing the means of production, taking the unprecedented capacities of capitalist infrastructures and using them to build a world of plenty, what must we imagine after the apocalypse has befallen us? What does it mean that as capitalism has become truly global, the gravediggers it has created dig not only capitalism’s grave, but also that of much organic life on earth?

Our answers to these questions remain rooted in the politics of revolutionary communism. Our stance is not based on the fantasy of a homeostatic nature that must be defended but on the critique of the capitalist metabolism – the Stoffwechsel- that must be overthrown. Earth scientists are accustomed to speak in terms of ‘cycles’ by which substances circulate in different forms: the water cycle, the rock cycle, the nitrogen cycle, the glacial-interglacial cycle, the carbon cycle, and others. One way of registering the catastrophe of climate change is to see these cycles – most of all, but not solely, the carbon cycle – as disordered, under- or over-accumulating. But this is to ignore the more fundamental circuit of which these now form epicycles, like Ptolemy’s sub-orbits of the heavenly bodies: the circuit of capital accumulation, M-C-M′.

This circuit accumulates profit and produces death. Neither is accidental. It is for this reason that the debates that capitalist ruling classes permit among themselves on ‘adaptation’ versus ‘mitigation’ take place on false premises. What is to be mitigated is the impact of climate change on accumulation, rendered through the ideology of ‘growth’ as something that benefits everyone. What we are to adapt to are the parameters of accumulation, sacrificing just enough islands, eco-systems, indigenous – and non-indigenous – cultures to maintain its imperatives for a period of time until new thresholds must be crossed, and new life sacrificed to the pagan idol of capital. Already, capitalist petro-modernity builds a certain quantum of acceptable death into its predicates: at the very least, the 8.7 million killed by fossil fuels each year according to Harvard University are considered a price worth paying for the stupendous advantages of fossil capital. And the sky can only keep going up, as deforestation, polar melt, ocean acidification, soil de-fertilisation and more intense wildfires and storms tear the web of life into patches. If the necropolitical calculus of the Covid-19 pandemic appears crass, just wait until its premises are applied to climate catastrophe.

#### Vote neg for anti-capitalist commons---collectives should refuse commitments to the competitive principle

Rose 21 [Nick. PhD in Political Ecology from RMIT University. Executive Director of Sustain: The Australian Food Network. From the Cancer Stage of Capitalism to the Political Principle of the Common: The Social Immune Response of “Food as Commons.” Int J Health Policy Manag 2021. 3-31-21. DOI: 10.34172/ijhpm.2021.20 //shree]

Silvia Federici provides a longer historical perspective, noting that ‘commoning is the principle by which human beings have organised their existence for thousands of years;’ and that to ‘speak of the principle of the common’ is to speak ‘not only of small-scale experiments [but] of large-scale social formations that in the past were continent-wide.’87 Hence a commons-based society is neither a utopia or reducible to fringe projects, and the commons have persisted despite the many and continuing enclosures, ‘feeding the radical imagination as well as the bodies of many commoners.’87 Federici acknowledges that commons and practices of commoning are diverse, that many are susceptible to cooptation and many are consistent with the persistence of capitalism; indeed some, such as charities providing social services (including foodbanks) during the years of austerity budgets in the United Kingdom (2010-2015), reinforce and stabilise capitalism.87 What matters to Federici is the character and intentionality of the commons as anti-capitalist, as ‘a means to the creation of an egalitarian and cooperative society…no longer built on a competitive principle, but on the principle of collective solidarity [and commitments] to the creation of collective subjects [and] fostering common interests in every aspect of our lives.’87

Federici’s analysis resonates with the political thought and proposals developed by Dardot and Laval in their 2018 work, ‘On Common: Revolution in the 21st century.’11 For Dardot and Laval, the common is likewise understood as a principle of political struggle, a demand for ‘real democracy’ and a major driving force behind the emerging articulation of a political vision and programme that transcends and overcomes the straitjacket logic of neoliberal ideological hegemony and its ‘policy grammar’ which appears to foreclose all alternatives and lock us forever into a capitalist realism in which ‘it is easier to imagine the end of the world than it is to imagine the end of capitalism.’89 Eschewing Bollier’s ‘triarchy’ of a market/state/ commons coexistence, Dardot and Laval argue for a politics of the common based on an engaged citizenry that directly participates and deliberates in all decisions which impact it, and in the process not merely transforms the institutions responsible for the management of services and allocation of resources, but creates new institutions and new ways of being in the world.11

Dardot and Laval describe this form of politics as ‘instituent praxis’: the common, they argue, is ‘not produced but instituted.’11 This acknowledges the conventional understanding of Ostrom, Bollier and others of ‘the commons’ as residing in the rules – the laws – that a community establishes for the collective management and use of shared resources, but extends it much further and in a more radical direction. The essence of the commons, they argue, is not in the goods per se such as land or a forest or a seed bank ‘held in common,’ but rather in the process of their establishment as well as the ongoing negotiation that will surround their use and governance. Hence, Dardot and Laval distinguish the commons from the ‘rights’ tradition of property, arguing that ‘the commons are above all else matters of institution and government…the use of the commons is inseparable from the right of deciding and governing. The practice that institutes the commons is the practice that maintains them and keeps them alive and takes full responsibility for their conflictuality through the coproduction of rules.’90 To ‘institute’ in this context should not be misunderstood as ‘to institutionalise [or] render official;’ rather it is ‘to recreate with, or on the basis of, what already exists.’ 90 This messy, conflictual and evolving process is what Dardot and Laval insist will ultimately bring about a revolution, not in the form of a violent uprising or insurrection, but rather through the ‘reinstitution of society’ via the transformation of politics and economy from its current state of ‘representative oligarchy’ to full participatory and deliberative democracy.11 Such a vision is premised on a mass politicisation of society; in effect a return of mass popular political contestation and a turn away from the postpolitical era of the neoliberal consumer.91-92

### DA---1NC

#### DOJ’s focused on Big Tech now.

Luke Winkie 2/12/22. “Antitrust Laws Are Changing, Here's What That Means for Gaming Mergers.” https://za.ign.com/call-of-duty-infinity-ward-project/161849/feature/antitrust-laws-are-changing-heres-what-that-means-for-gaming-mergers

In particular, the FTC and DOJ have made it clear that they're eager to take a more adversarial stance against Big Tech — Fortune reported that the U.S. government is currently fielding an antitrust suit against Facebook's parent company, Meta. Obviously, a games publisher acquisition differs in texture and scope from Facebook's all-out social media dominance between Instagram and WhatsApp, but there is certainly a degree of anxiety about what Microsoft can expect if the regulators intend to back up their talk.

#### **DOJ resources are finite---the plan forces tradeoffs.**

Brian Blais 21. Partner in the litigation and enforcement practice group @ Ropes & Gray LLP and a former federal prosecutor, 3/26/21. “Podcast: 2021 DOJ Enforcement Priorities Under U.S. Attorney General Merrick Garland.” Interview with Lisa Bebchick. https://www.ropesgray.com/en/newsroom/podcasts/2021/March/Podcast-2021-DOJ-Enforcement-Priorities-Under-US-Attorney-General-Merrick-Garland

Brian Blais: Well, as I referenced earlier, I think one real challenge for the Garland DOJ will be the many competing demands on the resources available to DOJ leadership. In addition to the many corporate-related priorities I just discussed, there are a large number of Biden administration priorities that implicate the DOJ, many of which represent a sharp break from the priorities of the Trump Department of Justice—so those include things like environmental justice and the prosecution of environmental cases; civil rights and voting act cases; the ongoing fight against domestic terrorism, including as we talked about earlier, the January 6th Capitol attack; immigration reform and potential shifts in immigration prosecution priorities; potentially heightened antitrust enforcement; and criminal justice reform writ large, just to name a few. And putting aside even all these priorities, there’s a huge backlog of cases in the Department more broadly due to pandemic-related shutdowns, including a substantial trial backlog. So there will be a significant amount of prosecutorial time and effort in the near-term devoted to resolving these already charged matters, as well as moving along already opened investigations, so that leaves reduced prosecutorial bandwidth to advance any new enforcement priorities. So all of that’s to say, one big question for the Garland DOJ is: Can it do it all, or will these various competing demands lead to a natural prioritization of certain enforcement priorities over others? We’ll certainly have a better sense in the coming weeks and months as the remaining DOJ leadership is confirmed, as priorities get communicated, and as the first round of investigations under the new leadership start to launch.

#### **The case against Google will be the first to go.**

CHRISTOPHER KOOPMAN 21. Executive director at the Center for Growth and Opportunity at Utah State University, with Caden Rosenbaum, 3/11/21. “Why Merrick Garland needs to rethink the Google antitrust case.” https://fortune.com/2021/03/11/merrick-garland-google-antitrust-lawsuit-big-tech-breakup/

During the first day of Merrick Garland’s Senate hearing last month, President Biden’s nominee for attorney general outlined what his priorities would be at the Department of Justice. From investigating the insurrection to immigration enforcement, Garland has promised to bring a change in direction from the last Justice Department. To accomplish this will require reassessing where the DOJ focuses its time, resources, and leadership. The first step is withdrawing from several initiatives that are dubious at best, politically motivated at worst.

In particular, now that he has been confirmed as attorney general, Garland should begin by closely scrutinizing the DOJ’s current lawsuit against Google. That case is an example of what happens when political pressures and intergenerational misunderstandings shape cases, rather than the law. In short, Attorney General William Barr’s decision to bring this case in the way he did was a literal embodiment of the “Old Man Yells at Cloud” meme.

#### Google breakup key to democracy---the monopoly fosters extremism and information silos---breaks down democracy.

Jeff Bell 21. CEO of LegalShield, protecting and empowering people through legal and privacy management services, 2/2/21. “The Heartache of Big Tech Breakups: Should We, or Shouldn’t We?” https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/heartache-big-tech-breakups-should-we-shouldnt-jeff-bell/

Breaking up monopolies protects diversity of opinion: Big Tech algorithms in the U.S. thrive on controversy, while at the same time they can lead to silos of information. For example, Facebook prioritizes content that gets more engagement, which tends to be the more controversial posts. And Google presents search results based on previous online behavior, which can lead to people only reading perspectives that they are already predisposed to accept, regardless of the facts. One can easily argue that we would live in a very different nation right now if Big Tech hadn’t fueled pockets of ideological extremism on both sides of the aisle.

### CP---1NC

#### The United States federal government should define collusive behavior by nations that participate in oil cartels as a threat to national security.

#### Solves the aff---avoids DOJ

Richard M. Steuer 17. Member of the New York Bar. "The Horizons of Antitrust." St. John's Law Review, vol. 91, no. 1, Spring 2017, p. 177-210. HeinOnline.

As described earlier, some countries assign their competition agencies responsibility for assessing and weighing not only consumer welfare, but other goals as well. This can be daunting, but every town council and zoning board routinely faces the challenge of weighing competing goals, usually with far less analytical support.8 ' Nevertheless, the arguments against assigning competition agencies authority for applying other goals are that these agencies are ill equipped to perform non-economic analysis, and that such an approach would concentrate too much discretion within the competition authorities. If, for instance, the Federal Trade Commission were tasked with conducting a "net benefit" analysis, considering all the goals discussed earlier, it would require greater resources. It also would need the political strength to withstand the criticism it would inevitably attract year in and year out from disappointed parties and their supporters. Some countries, such as Canada and Australia, have established authorities separate from competition authorities to oversee foreign investment, applying a wide variety of goals either apart from consumer welfare or, as in Australia, including consumer welfare. 82 A model like that adopted in Australia would contemplate the creation of a foreign investment review board to advise a cabinet member or the president, who in turn would have authority to disapprove foreign investments, applying a "national interest" or "net benefit" test. If such an arm of government were assigned responsibility in the United States for balancing all these goals in the context of foreign investment, who has the breadth of experience, depth of wisdom, and political respect to make such judgments? The National Economic Council, as has been suggested by the Center for American Progress?" Would its determination be subject to judicial review, and under what standard? What about expanding the responsibilities of CFIUS, as proposed under the Foreign Investment and Economic Security bill,' to apply a "net benefit" test to foreign acquisitions of control regardless of whether those acquisitions pose a threat to national security? Under that proposal, the Committee's determination would be subject to review by the President, but otherwise would be nonreviewable. What about creating a new body, modeled on Australia's Foreign Investment Review Board? How would it be composed and who would appoint its members? Would it be modeled on the Federal Trade Commission, with members from more than one political party serving fixed terms or would it be reconstituted by each administration, like the Council of Economic Advisors? Who would have the ultimate responsibility-the Treasury Secretary? The Commerce Secretary? The President? What would be the threshold for review? Would judicial review be possible and, if so, under what standard? The simplest approach might be to expand the mission of CFIUS by defining "national security" to include economic security, or "national interest," and to create a new advisory board, with adequate staffing, to provide the support that CFIUS would need to fulfill a broader mission with respect to acquisitions of foreign control that do not raise issues of national defense or homeland security. Depending upon the scope of this new authority, there might be calls to add provisions to allow judicial review in those instances where neither national defense nor homeland security is involved." It would be easiest to leave well enough alone, of course, but if the American economy truly is being threatened by the current approach, a new assignment of responsibility should be considered. There are several viable alternatives, as just described, each of which has pros and cons. What is clear is that if the present structure in the United States no longer is working satisfactorily, a new structure needs to be considered.

### CP---1NC

#### The United States federal government should expand the scope of Federal Trade Commission initiated Sherman Act prohibitions to include collusive behavior by nations that participate in oil cartels.

## Oil Adv

### No I/L---1NC

#### NOPEC undermines US leverage over oil producers—un-enforceable sanctions prove US threats are empty

Collins & Krane 19 (Gabriel – JD from the University of Michigan Law School & Jim - Wallace S. Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy in Houston, NOPEC’s Extraterritorial Overreach Would Harm Core U.S. Economic and Energy Interests,” https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/ced084e7/bi-brief-030619-ces-nopec.pdf)

NOPEC would not involve gardenvariety trust busting, but rather, legal action against instrumentalities of powerful sovereign countries for which control over oil production is an existential economic priority and in some cases, underpins the survival of ruling families. If such a bill were passed and signed, it could weaken Washington’s ability to effectively project extraterritorial legal power, much of which rests on the implicit threat of coercive action rather than the actual implementation of sanctions.4 Judgments obtained under NOPEC’s broad antitrust mandate could prove unenforceable in practice, perhaps undermining unrelated extraterritorial sanctions imposed by the United States— for instance, against Russia or Syria.

### AT: Food wars---1NC

#### Food prices don’t cause conflict–reject their bad studies.

Demarest 15—PhD Researcher at the Centre for Research on Peace and Development [Leila, “Food price rises and political instability: Problematizing a complex relationship,” *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 27, No. 5, p. 650-671, Emory Libraries]

6. Conclusions and Way Forward

While some progress has been made in improving our understanding of the linkages between rising food prices and conflict, several important gaps remain. Firstly, notions of conflict and political instability are often used interchangeably, while these concepts and the relationships between them remain to some extent vague. The ‘food riot’ concept in particular leads to confusion. Although it is popularly seen as a violent rise of the masses, in reality, many peaceful events are gathered under this term, while violence is often committed by the state rather than by hungry consumers. The term also presupposes that food is the central issue at hand, which does not necessarily have to be the case. Many misunderstanding arise from the second gap identified in this paper: the uncritical data gathering based on international news reports. Not only are these remarkably inconsistent, they also make use of classifications which are not scientifically investigated. Finally, causal mechanisms in the relationship between rising food prices and conflict often remain assumptions in the literature and lack empirical foundation. Three crosscutting avenues for improvement therefore exist: better concept definitions, better data gathering, and more focus on contexts.

Clearly defined concepts and categorizations of conflict and instability are a necessary foundation for research on the linkages between rising food prices and conflict. For (food) protests in particular, purposeful categorizations require an enhanced insight in the events that took place on the ground. Local news sources for data gathering can prove to be more reliable than Western (English) media to accomplish this. Event descriptions are also likely to be more detailed in local sources, which allows for a first-hand qualitative analysis of causes and context.

As international food prices are likely to remain high, improving our understanding of the causal mechanisms which can lead to conflict remains crucial. We can draw important lessons from the literature on poverty and conflict, resource scarcity and conflict, and regime transition in Africa. The causal role of economic factors alone has continuously been questioned, and ‘context’ or prevailing political, economic, and social factors play a crucial role in the conflict outcome. The argument that adverse economic shocks seem more of a trigger to conflict rather than an important cause is not particularly remarkable in itself. Yet while many authors acknowledge this, the focus often remains on the trigger. Resource scarcity, climate change, population growth, or food insecurity often remain the starting point of analyses, with researchers consequently tracing the divergent (theoretical) possibilities for conflict. In the end, most admit that these factors do not automatically lead to conflict everywhere, and stress the importance of context. Because the theoretical possibilities for conflict are so large, however, the context factor remains rather understudied with as most agreed upon notions that elements of ‘grievance’ and ‘collective action’ are required.

It is hence important to focus more on the ‘contexts’ that can lead to conflict and, in doing so, to make the distinction between different forms of conflict. This also implies a data collection exercise. Contextual data are currently collected at the aggregate, national level, and only on a yearly basis, which can lead to spurious relations. While the use of these variables is increasingly questioned in civil war studies, we can also doubt their strength in the study of highly localized, one-time events such as riots. I particularly make the case for ‘bringing politics back in’. The policies taken by the government are crucial in the violent escalation of social conflict (e.g. accommodation versus repression), but the only variable currently in use to explain state behaviour seems to be the country-level regime type variable (Polity IV or Freedom House), which is also used with regards to highly localized conflicts. Other ways in which politics matter, can be the strength of the political opposition. The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, for example, was probably better organized than other opposition groups to make use of economic unrest.

### AT: Populism---1NC

#### No impact to populism---institutional checks

Nicola Mai & Peder Beck-Friis 19, 2-13-2019, Nicola Mai is an executive vice president in the London office and a sovereign credit analyst in the portfolio management group; Dr. Peder Beck-Friis is a vice president and portfolio manager in the London office, "EU Elections: Populism’s Threat May Be Overstated," Pacific Investment Management Company LLC, https://www.pimco.com/en-us/insights/viewpoints/eu-elections-populisms-threat-may-be-overstated/

It is unlikely that the eurosceptic parties will form a united anti-establishment front. The eurosceptic parties are heterogeneous, ranging from extreme left to extreme right, and they have diverging views on how Europe should be reformed. We think the probability that these parties coalesce into one political group is low.

Support for eurosceptic parties should remain well below 50%. This is important because even if these parties manage to form a united front, they will face the opposition of moderate parties, which will likely coalesce against them in parliamentary votes and obstruct radical proposals that could involve the dismantling or weakening of the European infrastructure.

The key decision-making process in the EU remains inter-governmental. All key European decisions need the approval of the European Parliament as well as the Council, with the most important decisions requiring unanimity of the Council. It is true that the parliament could block key initiatives set out by the Commission. But that would require the support of moderate parties, given the minority representation of the eurosceptic parties. Finally, in emergency situations, the Council has the ability to make decisions on a purely inter-governmental basis, bypassing the need to change EU law.

Nominations of key EU positions remain ultimately in the hands of the Council. Even in the unlikely event that a populist coalition emerges as the largest group in the parliament, it does not necessarily follow that the European Council will propose a populist candidate for president of the Commission. The Spitzenkandidat process is only a convention; the European Council could in principle nominate any candidate, and importantly, the nominee will still need to be approved by the parliament as a whole.

#### COVID collapses populism.

Azad **Zangana 20**. Senior European Economist & Strategist at Schroders. “Has Covid-19 killed off populism in Europe?” 9-28-2020. Schroders. <https://www.schroders.com/en/us/professional-investor/insights/economic-views/has-covid-19-killed-off-populism-in-europe/>

The Covid-19 crisis has changed many aspects of day to day life for billions around the world. As many struggle with restrictions, healthcare issues and the economic fallout, people’s preferences and priorities are changing. In recent times in parts of Europe, especially those that have experienced low growth and high unemployment since the Global Financial Crisis, centrist parties have been voted out in favour of radical populists. Even in better performing economies, liberal centrists have been challenged and put under pressure. Many voters were ready to take a gamble and give populist parties a chance to do things differently. However, it now appears that Europe may be close to peak populism. Priorities are re-aligning as **voters favour competence and safe hands over untested idealists.** In this note, we examine how the political landscape in Europe has changed since the start of the year for the four largest EU member states plus the UK, and the likely fallout for investors in the order of upcoming elections. Germany Next election date: by October 2021 Most elections in Europe are still some time away, but Germany will be first of the major countries, with its next federal election due between August and October 2021. At the last election in September 2017, the old guard of the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) coalition and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) held on to power, but not without suffering a bloody nose. Chancellor Merkel’s CDU/CSU lost more than 8 percentage points of the popular vote, while the SPD saw its worst result since the Second World War. Despite never being represented before, voters helped make the far-right Alternative for Deutschland (AfD) the third largest party in the Bundestag. The Green party also performed well, campaigning on environmental issues which the governing coalition was criticised over. Since the election, the Green party has seen its support surge. This is partly in reaction to the climate change emergency, but also as it gained credibility as an alternative to the mainstream parties that does not suffer the stigma of the AfD. The Greens overtook the AfD and SPD to move into second place around October 2018. Just as the Green party was on the rise, Merkel announced that she would step down as leader of her party but remain Chancellor until 2021. Following the party election, Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer was made party leader, only to shortly after announcing that she would not run for the Chancellorship, following a blunder over freedom of speech ahead of parliamentary elections. Even now, the CDU does not yet have a candidate to stand in the next election. Meanwhile, the Greens continued to make gains, and by July 2019, they were polling slightly ahead of the CDU/CSU. At the end of February and before Covid-19 took its hold on Europe, opinion polls showed that the CDU/CSU coalition was about four percentage points ahead of the Green party, and another 10 points ahead of the AfD. Since then, and based on the last five opinion polls, the CDU/CSU coalition has gained over 9 points. Meanwhile, the Green party has lost about four points, the AfD has lost couple of points, all while the SPD picked up a point (see chart 1). The change in voter preferences appears to be **related to the pandemic**, with **most preferring to stick to the parties they know** well, rather than opt for an alternative. The nearly 18 point lead that Merkel has opened up against the Greens puts the party in a very comfortable position, and has reinvigorated Germany on the international scene – as it played a commanding and vital role in the creation of Next Generation EU (EU recovery fund) to help bail out struggling EU member states in the south. The key challenge for the government will be to elect a likeable and dependable candidate to stand for Chancellor at the next election, which will certainly be the beginning of a new era after Merkel’s 16-year tenure comes to an end. France Next election date: April 2022 The next French presidential election is not until the second quarter of 2022 and as a result, polling data is very poor. The two round process does not lend itself to regular polling, but there is some information available for us to take the political pulse. Emmanuel Macron stepped in to fill a void in 2018 as the old centre left and right parties lost the public’s confidence, while far right candidate Marine Le Pen was threatening to take power. Macron, the former cabinet minister under Prime Minister Valls and President Hollande quit his role and formed his own party, En Marche, later renamed La République En Marche. He then ran as the pro-European alternative to the old guard, but also the antithesis of Le Pen and the Front National, now known as Rassemblement National (National Rally). The last poll before Covid-19 was conducted by Ifop and published in November 2019. It showed Macron and Le Pen as the top two candidates in a first round contest, but Macron is slightly behind with 27%, compared to 28% for Le Pen. However, the second-round poll shows Macron being ahead by 55% to 45%. The latest two polls which were both conducted in early July still show the two candidates as the main contenders, but Macron now has an average four point lead in the first round, and a 16 point lead in the second – a significant improvement (see chart 2). Looking at the difference between only a handful of polls is very dangerous due to the small sample sizes. Another source to examine is Macron’s approval rating as president. These polls have been conducted regularly for many years. Interestingly, Macron’s approval rating picked up sharply at the start of the March, again as the virus spread through Europe (chart 3). It dipped back through April and May, but picked up again through the summer. This was as case numbers have increased, but also in reaction to the creation of the EU recovery fund, which Macron was a key figure building the consensus for its creation. Spain Next election date: by December 2023 In Spain, the centre left Spanish Socialist Workers party (PSOE) and the centre right People’s Party (PP) continue to dominate politics. However, the rise of populist parties in recent years such as far-right VOX and far left Podemos have weakened the establishment, forcing governments to work more with fringe parties in order to secure supply and confidence. As the PSOE minority government effectively lost the ability to govern in the spring of 2019, the government called a snap election in April. Supply and confidence arrangements were not working, and so a fresh mandate was required, especially as the PSOE had wrestled power away from the PP after its minority government collapsed in the wake of a corruption scandal. The snap election in April produced a very split outcome and despite intense talks, the country was forced to hold a second election in November. Eventually, an agreement was reached between the PSOE and Unidas Podemos – the left wing coalition including Podemos, the United Left and other smaller left wing and far left parties – to form the first coalition government since the Second Spanish Republic (1930’s). Since the start of this year, opinion polls suggest that support for PSOE has largely remained stable, but support for the PP is up about three points, compared to a two point drop for VOX and a three point drop for Podemos (chart 5). Spain, like Italy, has not seen large shifts in preferences, but the two centrist mainstream parties continue to attract most support, and it appears that the Covid-19 crisis has only helped solidify this position. Conclusions: populism is not dead yet It may be too soon to declare the death of populism in Europe, but the Covid-19 pandemic appears to have focused minds and re-aligned the priorities of households, leading to a fall in support for populist parties and a return to more familiar centrists.

### AT: Growth !---1NC

#### Decline doesn’t cause war

Clary 15 – Christopher Clary, PhD in Political Science from MIT, M.A. in National Security Affairs, Postdoctoral Fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, 2015 (“Economic Stress and International Cooperation: Evidence from International Rivalries,” April 25th, Available Online via SSRN Subscription, AIvackovic)

Do economic downturns generate pressure for diversionary conflict?

Or might downturns encourage austerity and economizing behavior in foreign policy? This paper provides new evidence that economic stress is associated with conciliatory policies between strategic rivals. For states that view each other as military threats, the biggest step possible toward bilateral cooperation is to terminate the rivalry by taking political steps to manage the competition. Drawing on data from 109 distinct rival dyads since 19i9 50, 67 of which terminated, the evidence suggests rivalries were approximately twice as likely to terminate during economic downturns than they were during periods of economic normalcy. This is true controlling for all of the main alternative explanations for peaceful relations between foes (democratic status, nuclear weapons possession, capability imbalance, common enemies, and international systemic changes), as well as many other possible confounding variables. This research questions existing theories claiming that economic downturns are associated with diversionary war, and instead argues that in certain circumstances peace may result from economic troubles. I define a rivalry as the perception by national elites of two states that the other state possesses conflicting interests and presents a military threat of sufficient severity that future military conflict is likely. Rivalry termination is the transition from a state of rivalry to one where conflicts of interest are not viewed as being so severe as to provoke interstate conflict and/or where a mutual recognition of the imbalance in military capabilities makes conflict-causing bargaining failures unlikely. In other words, rivalries terminate when the elites assess that the risks of military conflict between rivals has been reduced dramatically. This definition draws on a growing quantitative literature most closely associated with the research programs of William Thompson, J. Joseph Hewitt, and James P. Klein, Gary Goertz, and Paul F. Diehl.1 My definition conforms to that of William Thompson. In work with Karen Rasler, they define rivalries as situations in which “[b]oth actors view each other as a significant political-military threat and, therefore, an enemy.”2 In other work, Thompson writing with Michael Colaresi, explains further: The presumption is that decisionmakers explicitly identify who they think are their foreign enemies. They orient their military preparations and foreign policies toward meeting their threats. They assure their constituents that they will not let their adversaries take advantage. Usually, these activities are done in public. Hence, we should be able to follow the explicit cues in decisionmaker utterances and writings, as well as in the descriptive political histories written about the foreign policies of specific countries.3 Drawing from available records and histories, Thompson and David Dreyer have generated a universe of strategic rivalries from 1494 to 2010 that serves as the basis for this project’s empirical analysis.4 This project measures rivalry termination as occurring on the last year that Thompson and Dreyer record the existence of a rivalry.

Economic crises lead to conciliatory behavior through five primary channels. (1) Economic crises lead to austerity pressures, which in turn incent leaders to search for ways to cut defense expenditures. (2) Economic crises also encourage strategic reassessment, so that leaders can argue to their peers and their publics that defense spending can be arrested without endangering the state. This can lead to threat deflation, where elites attempt to downplay the seriousness of the threat posed by a former rival. (3) If a state faces multiple threats, economic crises provoke elites to consider threat prioritization, a process that is postponed during periods of economic normalcy. (4) Economic crises increase the political and economic benefit from international economic cooperation. Leaders seek foreign aid, enhanced trade, and increased investment from abroad during periods of economic trouble. This search is made easier if tensions are reduced with historic rivals. (5) Finally, during crises, elites are more prone to select leaders who are perceived as capable of resolving economic difficulties, permitting the emergence of leaders who hold heterodox foreign policy views. Collectively, these mechanisms make it much more likely that a leader will prefer conciliatory policies compared to during periods of economic normalcy. This section reviews this causal logic in greater detail, while also providing historical examples that these mechanisms recur in practice.

### AT: Growth I/L---1NC

#### NOPEC turns growth—harms US companies and deters foreign investment

Collins & Krane 19 (Gabriel – JD from the University of Michigan Law School & Jim - Wallace S. Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy in Houston, NOPEC’s Extraterritorial Overreach Would Harm Core U.S. Economic and Energy Interests,” https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/ced084e7/bi-brief-030619-ces-nopec.pdf)

Enforcement of NOPEC could cause a host of further problems. It could increase oil price volatility while potentially depressing oil prices and bringing negative effects for U.S. oil producers, now the No. 1 source of global supply and an important driver of U.S. economic growth. It may, in addition, deter foreign investors and government entities from purchasing or even maintaining assets in the United States. In more extreme cases, this could include avoiding dollar transactions and the American financial system. OPEC countries that faced adverse judgments in NOPEC antitrust cases might also retaliate against U.S. firms, which hold substantial assets in Saudi Arabia, Angola, and other OPEC member states.

## Saudi Adv

### AT: Recalibration—1NC

#### OPEC circumvents—incentive asymmetry means the US has no choice but to back-down

Collins & Krane 19 (Gabriel – JD from the University of Michigan Law School & Jim - Wallace S. Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy in Houston, NOPEC’s Extraterritorial Overreach Would Harm Core U.S. Economic and Energy Interests,” https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/ced084e7/bi-brief-030619-ces-nopec.pdf)

OPEC oil producers would have even greater incentives than consumers to resist U.S. NOPEC enforcement and develop workarounds. Enforcement would unilaterally extend a domestic U.S. law into the heart of major oil exporters’ sovereign economic and foreign policy decision-making. A NOPEC enforcement action would likely be “priority number one” for a target government but only one of many competing priorities for the U.S. government. The resulting asymmetry between the interests of the U.S. in enforcing NOPEC and major OPEC countries’ potentially existential degree of interest in resisting those enforcement efforts would set the stage for confrontation. This could take the U.S. relationship with those countries, as well as broader regional and global economic and diplomatic alignments, down unpredictable and potentially unpleasant paths. At some point, the U.S. could be forced to either escalate its enforcement attempts—potentially to the point of turning longstanding relationships hostile—or accept the failure of enforcement and the diminishment of U.S. extraterritorial legal power.

### AT: Middle east war---1NC

#### Mutual checkmating prevents the impact.

Hinnebusch 15—Professor of IR and Director of Centre for Syrian Studies at the University of St. Andrews [Raymond, “Chapter 8: Structure over Agency: The Arab Uprising and the Regional Struggle for Power,” in S. N. Litsas & A. Tziampiris eds. *The Eastern Mediterranean in Transition: Multipolarity, Politics and Power*, p. 129-131]

Global Competitive Interference: Mutual Checkmating The Uprising provoked a “New Cold War” among global great powers. After its failed attempt under George W. Bush to impose a Pax Americana on the region, US power appeared by mid-2000s, to be receding as the invasion of Iraq inadvertently empowered Iran and fatigue at highly costly interventions led the Obama’s administration to retreat to off-shore balancing. In parallel, Russia and China developed regional stakes in arms sales, energy and trade. The loss of Mubarak, a key Western client and later the empowerment of Al Qaeda in failed states were further challenges to the West. Yet no further rollback of the West in the region was in the cards. Even where pro-Western presidents were toppled (Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen), the countries were too economically dependent to go over to the resistance axis and the West benefited from the relative empowerment of the GCC within inter-Arab politics as a result of the Uprising. The Uprising, insofar as it was a revolt against global neo-liberalism, was a threat to the West but because the economic collapses accompanying it made regional states more economically vulnerable, Western dominated IFIs and cash rich Gulf states combined to further pry open regional economies to global finance capital, which severely limited the policy options of dependent states (Hanieh 12). The Uprising in Libya presented an opportunity to demonstrate the utility of US military force after the costly failure in Iraq and that in Syria to debilitate the Resistance axis. However, the result of the Libya intervention, a failed state, empowered Al Qaeda in North Africa. For the US (and Israel), a failed state in Syria where Hezbollah and Al Qaeda wore each other down, was more cost effective than another Iraq type effort at “nation-building,” but the spread of jihadism and the spillover of Syria’s conflict to its neighbors (Iraq and Lebanon) showed the costs of such neglect. The West saw the Uprising as an opportunity to roll back the regional influence of Russia and China as their clients in Libya and Syria came under pressure. Russia and China saw the norm of sovereignty and the authority of the UN Security Council as key to constraining such Western expansion into MENA (Blank 11); thus, after the West used a UN humanitarian intervention to effect regime change in Libya, Russia blocked a similar intervention in Syria. Their opposition to international intervention in Syria cost Russia and China standing in the region, but the West was unable to capitalize on this as long as its economic troubles constrained its interventionist impulse. Conclusion: The Resilience of Structure Three years into the Arab Uprising the regional order, although under unprecedented strain, remained resilient and the power bids of movements and regimes had largely checkmated each other. The Uprisings had unleashed street politics and sectarian conflicts that weakened states, which in several cases lost control of their territory and borders (Syria, Libya) to armed trans-state movements, which attained unprecedented agency (Hezbollah, ISIS). Yet, deep states and external dependencies were left standing as the high tide of mass peaceful protest receded, notably in Egypt, Bahrain and Yemen. The power balance between the two opposing pre-uprising alliances was not decisively upset: the Iran-led Resistance axis had lost key allies (Qatar, Turkey, Hamas) and soft power but still survived. The weak spots of the opposing axes, Bahrain and Syria, had not changed sides; Egypt and Iraq, although loosened from their American moorings, avoided full alignment with either side. The traditional Arab powers, Egypt and Syria (and earlier Iraq) were debilitated, yet aspirant non-Arab regional hegemon, Sunni Turkey, initially expected to fill the gap, was checked by Iranian/ Hezbollah balancing in Syria and also, despite a potent synthesis of Islam and democracy congruent with rising Islamist movements, foundered on the rocks of deep state establishments, exemplified in Egypt. The GCC was empowered by the debilitation of the republics and its money and media power penetrated every Uprising state; but this provoked reactions and possible blowback and its cohesion unraveled. Thus, power balancing, entrenched state apparatuses and increasing fragmentation made it very hard for any regional power to sweep the board. Rival outside powers also found management of the region’s conflicts intractable, and settled for preventing victory by the other side. Deep structure appeared to have defeated agency.

#### Studying the Middle East is the new war of biopolitical war of preemption. The information war is about turning the Other into a statistically legible object

**Morrissey 11** John MORRISSEY, Department of Geography, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland, 11 [“Liberal Lawfare and Biopolitics: US Juridical Warfare in the War on Terror,” Geopolitics, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2011, p. 280-305, Accessed Online through Emory Libraries]

Foucault’s envisioning of a more governmentalised and securitized modernity, framed by a ubiquitous architecture of security, speaks on various levels to the contemporary US military’s efforts in the war on terror, but I want to mention three specifically, which I draw upon through the course of the paper. First, in the long war in the Middle East and Central Asia, the US military actively seeks to legally facilitate both the ‘circulation’ and ‘conduct’ of a target population: its own troops. This may not be commonly recognized in biopolitical critiques of the war on terror but, as will be seen later, the Judge Advocate General Corps has long been proactive in a ‘juridical’ form of warfare, or lawfare, that sees US troops as ‘technical-biopolitical’ objects of management whose ‘operational capabilities’ on the ground must be legally enabled. Second, as I have explored elsewhere, the US military’s ‘grand strategy of security’ in the war on terror – which includes a broad spectrum of tactics and technologies of security, including juridical techniques – has been relentlessly justified by a power/knowledge assemblage in Washington that has successfully scripted a neoliberal political economy argument for its global forward presence.19 Securitizing economic volatility and threat and regulating a neoliberal world order for the good of the global economy are powerful discursive touchstones registered perennially on multiple forums in Washington – from the Pentagon to the war colleges, from IR and Strategic Studies policy institutes to the House and Senate Armed Services Committees – and the endgame is the legitimisation of the military’s geopolitical and biopolitical technologies of power overseas.20 Finally, Foucault’s conceptualisation of a ‘society of security’ is marked by an urge to ‘govern by contingency’, to ‘anticipate the aleatory’, to ‘allow for the evental’.21 It is a ‘security society’ in which the very language of security is promissory, therapeutic and appealing to liberal improvement. The lawfare of the contemporary US military is precisely orientated to plan for the ‘evental’, to anticipate a series of future events in its various ‘security zones’ – what the Pentagon terms ‘Areas of Responsibility’ or ‘AORs’ (see Figure 1).22 These AORs equate, in effect, to what Foucault calls “spaces of security”, comprising “a series of possible events” that must be securitized by inserting both “the temporal” and “the uncertain”.23 And it is through preemptive juridical securitization ‘beyond the battlefield’ that the US military anticipates and enables the necessary biopolitical modalities of power and management on the ground for any future interventionary action.

AORs AND THE ‘MILIEU’ OF SECURITY

For CENTCOM Commander General David Petraeus, and the other five US regional commanders across the globe, the ‘population’ of primary concern in their respective AORs is the US military personnel deployed therein. For Petraeus and his fellow commanders, US ground troops present perhaps less a collection of “juridical-political” subjects and more what Foucault calls “technical-political” objects of “management and government”.25 In effect, they are tasked with governing “spaces of security” in which “a series of uncertain elements” can unfold in what Foucault terms the “milieu”.26 What is at stake in the ‘milieu’ is “the problem of circulation and causality”, which must be anticipated and planned for in terms of “a series of possible events” that need to “be regulated within a multivalent and transformable framework”.27 And the “technical problem” posed by the eighteenth-century town planners Foucault has in mind is precisely the same technical problem of space, population and regulation that US military strategists and Judge Advocate General Corps (JAG) personnel have in the twenty-first century.

For US military JAGs, their endeavours to legally securitize the AORs of their regional commanders are ultimately orientated to “fabricate, organize, and plan a milieu” even before ground troops are deployed (as in the case of the first action in the war on terror, which I return to later: the negotiation by CENTCOM JAGs of a Status of Forces Agreement with Uzbekistan in early October 2001).28 JAGs play a key role in legally conditioning the battlefield, in regulating the circulation of troops, in optimising their operational capacities, and in sanctioning the privilege to kill. The JAG’s milieu is a “field of intervention”, in other words, in which they are seeking to “affect, precisely, a population”.29 To this end, securing the aleatory or the uncertain is key. As Michael Dillon argues, central to the securing of populations are the “sciences of the aleatory or the contingent” in which the “government of population” is achieved by the sciences of “statistics and probability”.30 As he points out elsewhere, you “cannot secure anything unless you know what it is”, and therefore securitization demands that “people, territory, and things are transformed into epistemic objects”.31 And in planning the milieu of US ground forces overseas, JAGs translate regional AORs into legally enabled grids upon which US military operations take place. This is part of the production of what Matt Hannah terms “mappable landscapes of expectation”;32 and to this end, the aleatory is anticipated by planning for the ‘evental’ in the promissory language of securitization.

The ontology of the ‘event’ has recently garnered wide academic engagement. Randy Martin, for example, has underlined the eventual discursive underpinnings of US military strategy in the war on terror; highlighting how the risk of future events results in ‘preemption’ being the tactic of their securitization.33 Naomi Klein has laid bare the powerful event-based logic of ‘disaster capitalism’;34 while others have pointed out how an ascendant ‘logic of premediation’, in which the future is already anticipated and “mediated”, is a marked feature of the “post-9/11 cultural landscape”.35 But it was Foucault who first cited the import of the ‘evental’ in the realm of biopolitics. He points to the “anti-scarcity system” of seventeenth-century Europe as an early exemplar of a new ‘evental’ biopolitics in which “an event that could take place” is prevented before it “becomes a reality”.36 To this end, the figure of ‘population’ becomes both an ‘object’, “on which and towards which mechanisms are directed in order to have a particular effect on it”, but also a ‘subject’, “called upon to conduct itself in such and such a fashion”.37 Echoing Foucault, David Nally usefully argues that the emergence of the “era of bio-power” was facilitated by “the ability of ‘government’ to seize, manage and control individual bodies and whole populations”.38 And this is part of Michael Dillon’s argument about the “very operational heart of the security dispositif of the biopolitics of security”, which seeks to ‘strategize’, ‘secure’, ‘regulate’ and ‘manipulate’ the “circulation of species life”.39 For the US military, it is exactly the circulation and regulation of life that is central to its tactics of lawfare to juridically secure the necessary legal geographies and biopolitics of its overseas ground presence.

US FORWARD PRESENCE IN THE WAR ON TERROR: THE ENDURING IMPORT OF ‘LAND POWER’

In considering the US military's legal tactics to empower its specifically ‘biopolitical project of security’ overseas, it is important to first sketch out the recent historical geographical evolution of the contemporary ‘milieu’ of US ground forces abroad – or what some refer to as the American ‘leasehold empire’. 40 In doing so, I want to especially underline the evolving import of ‘land power’ – defined by ‘land access’, not territorial control – increasingly identified by military strategists in Washington from the early 1980s, which in turn behoved US military JAGs to foreground the legal terrain of any planned for ground presence. They were tasked with forecasting the evental, forestalling the uncertain; preconfiguring, in other words, the biopolitical modalities of US operations on the ground. And this expressly biopolitical project of securitization works in tandem, of course, with a broader geopolitical and geoeconomic project of securitization. It is the biopolitical enabling of land power.

## Ukraine Adv

### AT: Democracy---1NC

#### Global democracy’s dead---backlash and technology destroy the foundations of order

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This task was complicated by the Cold War, but “the free world” (as Americans then called the noncommunist countries) continued to develop along Wilsonian lines. Inevitable compromises, such as U.S. support for ruthless dictators and military rulers in many parts of the world, were seen as regrettable necessities imposed by the need to fight the much greater evil of Soviet communism. When the Berlin Wall fell, in 1989, it seemed that the opportunity for a Wilsonian world order had finally come. The former Soviet empire could be reconstructed along Wilsonian lines, and the West could embrace Wilsonian principles more consistently now that the Soviet threat had disappeared. Self-determination, the rule of law between and within countries, liberal economics, and the protection of human rights: the “new world order” that both the George H. W. Bush and the Clinton administrations worked to create was very much in the Wilsonian mold. Today, however, the most important fact in world politics is that this noble effort has failed. The next stage in world history will not unfold along Wilsonian lines. The nations of the earth will continue to seek some kind of political order, because they must. And human rights activists and others will continue to work toward their goals. But the dream of a universal order, grounded in law, that secures peace between countries and democracy inside them will figure less and less in the work of world leaders. To state this truth is not to welcome it. There are many advantages to a Wilsonian world order, even when that order is partial and incomplete. Many analysts, some associated with the presidential campaign of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, think they can put Humpty Dumpty together again. One wishes them every success. But the centrifugal forces tearing at the Wilsonian order are so deeply rooted in the nature of the contemporary world that not even the end of the Trump era can revive the Wilsonian project in its most ambitious form. Although Wilsonian ideals will not disappear and there will be a continuing influence of Wilsonian thought on U.S. foreign policies, the halcyon days of the post–Cold War era, when American presidents organized their foreign policies around the principles of liberal internationalism, are unlikely to return anytime soon. THE ORDER OF THINGS Wilsonianism is only one version of a rules-based world order among many. The Westphalian system, which emerged in Europe after the Thirty Years’ War ended in 1648, and the Congress system, which arose in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars of the early nineteenth century, were both rules-based and even law-based; some of the foundational ideas of international law date from those eras. And the Holy Roman Empire—a transnational collection of territories that stretched from France into modern-day Poland and from Hamburg to Milan—was an international system that foreshadowed the European Union, with highly complex rules governing everything from trade to sovereign inheritance among princely houses. As for human rights, by the early twentieth century, the pre-Wilsonian European system had been moving for a century in the direction of putting egregious violations of human rights onto the international agenda. Then, as now, it was chiefly weak countries whose oppressive behavior attracted the most attention. The genocidal murder of Ottoman Christian minorities at the hands of Ottoman troops and irregular forces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries received substantially more attention than atrocities carried out around the same time by Russian forces against rebellious Muslim peoples in the Caucasus. No delegation of European powers came to Washington to discuss the treatment of Native Americans or to make representations concerning the status of African Americans. Nevertheless, the pre-Wilsonian European order had moved significantly in the direction of elevating human rights to the level of diplomacy. Wilson, therefore, was not introducing the ideas of world order and human rights to a collection of previously anarchic states and unenlightened polities. Rather, his quest was to reform an existing international order whose defects had been conclusively demonstrated by the horrors of World War I. In the pre-Wilsonian order, established dynastic rulers were generally regarded as legitimate, and interventions such as the 1849 Russian invasion of Hungary, which restored Habsburg rule, were considered lawful. Except in the most glaring instances, states were more or less free to treat their citizens or subjects as they wished, and although governments were expected to observe the accepted principles of public international law, no supranational body was charged with the enforcement of these standards. The preservation of the balance of power was invoked as a goal to guide states; war, although regrettable, was seen as a legitimate element of the system. From Wilson’s standpoint, these were fatal flaws that made future conflagrations inevitable. To redress them, he sought to build an order in which states would accept enforceable legal restrictions on their behavior at home and their international conduct. That never quite materialized, but until recent years, the U.S.-led postwar order resembled Wilson’s vision in important respects. And, it should be noted, that vision is not equally dead everywhere. Although Wilson was an American, his view of world order was first and foremost developed as a method for managing international politics in Europe, and it is in Europe where Wilson’s ideas have had their greatest success and where their prospects continue to look strongest. His ideas were treated with bitter and cynical contempt by most European statesmen when he first proposed them, but they later became the fundamental basis of the European order, enshrined in the laws and practices of the EU. Arguably, no ruler since Charlemagne has made as deep an impression on the European political order as the much-mocked Presbyterian from the Shenandoah Valley. THE ARC OF HISTORY Beyond Europe, the prospects for the Wilsonian order are bleak. The reasons behind its demise, however, are different from what many assume. Critics of the Wilsonian approach to foreign affairs often decry what they see as its idealism. In fact, as Wilson demonstrated during the negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles, he was perfectly capable of the most cynical realpolitik when it suited him. The real problem of Wilsonianism is not a naive faith in good intentions but a simplistic view of the historical process, especially when it comes to the impact of technological progress on human social order. Wilson’s problem was not that he was a prig but that he was a Whig. Like early-twentieth-century progressives generally and many American intellectuals to this day, Wilson was a liberal determinist of the Anglo-Saxon school; he shared the optimism of what the scholar Herbert Butterfield called “the Whig historians,” the Victorian-era British thinkers who saw human history as a narrative of inexorable progress and betterment. Wilson believed that the so-called ordered liberty that characterized the Anglo-American countries had opened a path to permanent prosperity and peace. This belief represents a sort of Anglo-Saxon Hegelianism and holds that the mix of free markets, free government, and the rule of law that developed in the United Kingdom and the United States is inevitably transforming the rest of the world—and that as this process continues, the world will slowly and for the most part voluntarily converge on the values that made the Anglo-Saxon world as wealthy, attractive, and free as it has become. Wilson was the devout son of a minister, deeply steeped in Calvinist teachings about predestination and the utter sovereignty of God, and he believed that the arc of progress was fated. The future would fulfill biblical prophecies of a coming millennium: a thousand-year reign of peace and prosperity before the final consummation of human existence, when a returning Christ would unite heaven and earth. (Today’s Wilsonians have given this determinism a secular twist: in their eyes, liberalism will rule the future and bring humanity to “the end of history” as a result of human nature rather than divine purpose.) Wilson believed that the defeat of imperial Germany in World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Ottoman empires meant that the hour of a universal League of Nations had finally arrived. In 1945, American leaders ranging from Eleanor Roosevelt and Henry Wallace on the left to Wendell Willkie and Thomas Dewey on the right would interpret the fall of Germany and Japan in much the same way. In the early 1990s, leading U.S. foreign policymakers and commentators saw the fall of the Soviet Union through the same deterministic prism: as a signal that the time had come for a truly global and truly liberal world order. On all three occasions, Wilsonian order builders seemed to be in sight of their goal. But each time, like Ulysses, they were blown off course by contrary winds. TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES Today, those winds are gaining strength. Anyone hoping to reinvigorate the flagging Wilsonian project must contend with a number of obstacles. The most obvious is the return of ideology-fueled geopolitics. China, Russia, and a number of smaller powers aligned with them—Iran, for example—correctly see Wilsonian ideals as a deadly threat to their domestic arrangements. Earlier in the post–Cold War period, U.S. primacy was so thorough that those countries attempted to downplay or disguise their opposition to the prevailing pro-democracy consensus. Beginning in U.S. President Barack Obama’s second term, however, and continuing through the Trump era, they have become less inhibited. Seeing Wilsonianism as a cover for American and, to some degree, EU ambitions, Beijing and Moscow have grown increasingly bold about contesting Wilsonian ideas and initiatives inside international institutions such as the UN and on the ground in places from Syria to the South China Sea. These powers’ opposition to the Wilsonian order is corrosive in several ways. It raises the risks and costs for Wilsonian powers to intervene in conflicts beyond their own borders. Consider, for example, how Iranian and Russian support for the Assad regime in Syria has helped prevent the United States and European countries from getting more directly involved in that country’s civil war. The presence of great powers in the anti-Wilsonian coalition also provides shelter and assistance to smaller powers that otherwise might not choose to resist the status quo. Finally, the membership of countries such as China and Russia in international institutions makes it more difficult for those institutions to operate in support of Wilsonian norms: take, for example, Chinese and Russian vetoes in the UN Security Council, the election of anti-Wilsonian representatives to various UN bodies, and the opposition by countries such as Hungary and Poland to EU measures intended to promote the rule of law. Meanwhile, the torrent of technological innovation and change known as “the information revolution” creates obstacles for Wilsonian goals within countries and in the international system. The irony is that Wilsonians often believe that technological progress will make the world more governable and politics more rational—even if it also adds to the danger of war by making it so much more destructive. Wilson himself believed just that, as did the postwar order builders and the liberals who sought to extend the U.S.-led order after the Cold War. Each time, however, this faith in technological change was misplaced. As seen most recently with the rise of the Internet, although new technologies often contribute to the spread of liberal ideas and practices, they can also undermine democratic systems and aid authoritarian regimes. Today, as new technologies disrupt entire industries, and as social media upends the news media and election campaigning, politics is

becoming more turbulent and polarized in many countries. That makes the victory of populist and antiestablishment candidates from both the left and the right more likely in many places. It also makes it harder for national leaders to pursue the compromises that international cooperation inevitably requires and increases the chances that incoming governments will refuse to be bound by the acts of their predecessors. The information revolution is destabilizing international life in other ways that make it harder for rules-based international institutions to cope. Take, for example, the issue of arms control, a central concern of Wilsonian foreign policy since World War I and one that grew even more important following the development of nuclear weapons. Wilsonians prioritize arms control not just because nuclear warfare could destroy the human race but also because, even if unused, nuclear weapons or their equivalent put the Wilsonian dream of a completely rules-based, law-bound international order out of reach. Weapons of mass destruction guarantee exactly the kind of state sovereignty that Wilsonians think is incompatible with humanity’s long-term security. One cannot easily stage a humanitarian intervention against a nuclear power. The fight against proliferation has had its successes, and the spread of nuclear weapons has been delayed—but it has not stopped, and the fight is getting harder over time. In the 1940s, it took the world’s richest nation and a consortium of leading scientists to assemble the first nuclear weapon. Today, second- and third-rate scientific establishments in low-income countries can manage the feat. That does not mean that the fight against proliferation should be abandoned. It is merely a reminder that not all diseases have cures. What is more, the technological progress that underlies the information revolution significantly exacerbates the problem of arms control. The development of cyberweapons and the potential of biological agents to inflict strategic damage on adversaries—graphically demonstrated by the COVID-19 pandemic—serve as warnings that new tools of warfare will be significantly more difficult to monitor or control than nuclear technology. Effective arms control in these fields may well not be possible. The science is changing too quickly, the research behind them is too hard to detect, and too many of the key technologies cannot be banned outright because they also have beneficial civilian applications. In addition, economic incentives that did not exist in the Cold War are now pushing arms races in new fields. Nuclear weapons and long-range missile technology were extremely expensive and brought few benefits to the civilian economy. Biological and technological research, by contrast, are critical for any country or company that hopes to remain competitive in the twenty-first century. An uncontrollable, multipolar arms race across a range of cutting-edge technologies is on the horizon, and it will undercut hopes for a revived Wilsonian order. IT’S NOT FOR EVERYBODY One of the central assumptions behind the quest for a Wilsonian order is the belief that as countries develop, they become more similar to already developed countries and will eventually converge on the liberal capitalist model that shapes North America and western Europe. The Wilsonian project requires a high degree of convergence to succeed; the member states of a Wilsonian order must be democratic, and they must be willing and able to conduct their international relations within liberal multilateral institutions. At least for the medium term, the belief in convergence can no longer be sustained. Today, China, India, Russia, and Turkey all seem less likely to converge on liberal democracy than they did in 1990. These countries and many others have developed economically and technologically not in order to become more like the West but rather to achieve a deeper independence from the West and to pursue civilizational and political goals of their own. In truth, Wilsonianism is a particularly European solution to a particularly European set of problems. Since the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe has been divided into peer and near-peer competitors. War was the constant condition of Europe for much of its history, and Europe’s global dominance in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century can be attributed in no small part to the long contest for supremacy between France and the United Kingdom, which promoted developments in finance, state organization, industrial techniques, and the art of war that made European states fierce and ferocious competitors. With the specter of great-power war constantly hanging over them, European states developed a more intricate system of diplomacy and international politics than did countries in other parts of the world. Well-developed international institutions and doctrines of legitimacy existed in Europe well before Wilson sailed across the Atlantic to pitch the League of Nations, which was in essence an upgraded version of preexisting European forms of international governance. Although it would take another devastating world war to ensure that Germany, as well as its Western neighbors, would adhere to the rules of a new system, Europe was already prepared for the establishment of a Wilsonian order. But Europe’s experience has not been the global norm. Although China has been periodically invaded by nomads, and there were periods in its history when several independent Chinese states struggled for power, China has been a single entity for most of its history. The idea of a single legitimate state with no true international peers is as deeply embedded in the political culture of China as the idea of a multistate system grounded in mutual recognition is embedded in that of Europe. There have been clashes among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, but until the late nineteenth century, interstate conflict was rare. In human history as a whole, enduring civilizational states seem more typical than the European pattern of rivalry among peer states. Early modern India was dominated by the Mughal Empire. Between the sixteenth century and the nineteenth century, the Ottoman and Persian Empires dominated what is now known as the Middle East. And the Incas and the Aztecs knew no true rivals in their regions. War seems universal or nearly so among human cultures, but the European pattern, in which an escalating cycle of war forced a mobilization and the development of technological, political, and bureaucratic resources to ensure the survival of the state, does not seem to have characterized international life in the rest of the world. For states and peoples in much of the world, the problem of modern history that needed to be solved was not the recurrence of great-power conflict. The problem, instead, was figuring out how to drive European powers away, which involved a wrenching cultural and economic adjustment in order to harness natural and industrial resources. Europe’s internecine quarrels struck non-Europeans not as an existential civilizational challenge to be solved but as a welcome opportunity to achieve independence. Postcolonial and non-Western states often joined international institutions as a way to recover and enhance their sovereignty, not to surrender it, and their chief interest in international law was to protect weak states from strong ones, not to limit the power of national leaders to consolidate their authority. Unlike their European counterparts, these states did not have formative political experiences of tyrannical regimes suppressing dissent and drafting helpless populations into the service of colonial conquest. Their experiences, instead, involved a humiliating consciousness of the inability of local authorities and elites to protect their subjects and citizens from the arrogant actions and decrees of foreign powers. After colonialism formally ended and nascent countries began to assert control over their new territories, the classic problems of governance in the postcolonial world remained weak states and compromised sovereignty. Even within Europe, differences in historical experiences help explain varying levels of commitment to Wilsonian ideals. Countries such as France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands came to the EU understanding that they could meet their basic national goals only by pooling their sovereignty. For many former Warsaw Pact members, however, the motive for joining Western clubs such as the EU and NATO was to regain their lost sovereignty. They did not share the feelings of guilt and remorse over the colonial past—and, in Germany, over the Holocaust—that led many in western Europe to embrace the idea of a new approach to international affairs, and they felt no qualms about taking full advantage of the privileges of EU and NATO membership without feeling in any way bound by those organizations’ stated tenets, which many regarded as hypocritical boilerplate. EXPERT TEXPERT The recent rise of populist movements across the West has revealed another danger to the Wilsonian project. If the United States could elect Donald Trump as president in 2016, what might it do in the future? What might the electorates in other important countries do? And if the Wilsonian order has become so controversial in the West, what are its prospects in the rest of the world? Wilson lived in an era when democratic governance faced problems that many feared were insurmountable. The Industrial Revolution had divided American society, creating unprecedented levels of inequality. Titanic corporations and trusts had acquired immense political power and were quite selfishly exploiting that power to resist all challenges to their economic interests. At that time, the richest man in the United States, John D. Rockefeller, had a fortune greater than the annual budget of the federal government. By contrast, in 2020, the wealthiest American, Jeff Bezos, had a net worth equal to about three percent of budgeted federal expenditures. Yet from the standpoint of Wilson and his fellow progressives, the solution to these problems could not be simply to vest power in the voters. At the time, most Americans still had an eighth-grade education or less, and a wave of migration from Europe had filled the country’s burgeoning cities with millions of voters who could not speak English, were often illiterate, and routinely voted for corrupt urban machine politicians. The progressives’ answer to this problem was to support the creation of an apolitical expert class of managers and administrators. The progressives sought to build an administrative state that would curb the excessive power of the rich and redress the moral and political deficiencies of the poor. (Prohibition was an important part of Wilson’s electoral program, and during World War I and afterward, he moved aggressively to arrest and in some cases deport socialists and other radicals.) Through measures such as improved education, strict limits on immigration, and eugenic birth-control policies, the progressives hoped to create better-educated and more responsible voters who would reliably support the technocratic state. A century later, elements of this progressive thinking remain critical to Wilsonian governance in the United States and elsewhere, but public support is less readily forthcoming than in the past. The Internet and social media have undermined respect for all forms of expertise. Ordinary citizens today are significantly better educated and feel less need to rely on expert guidance. And events including the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, the 2008 financial crisis, and the inept government responses during the 2020 pandemic have seriously reduced confidence in experts and technocrats, whom many people have come to see as forming a nefarious “deep state.” International institutions face an even greater crisis of confidence. Voters skeptical of the value of technocratic rule by fellow citizens are even more skeptical of foreign technocrats with suspiciously cosmopolitan views. Just as the inhabitants of European colonial territories preferred home rule (even when badly administered) to rule by colonial civil servants (even when competent), many people in the West and in the postcolonial world are likely to reject even the best-intentioned plans of global institutions. Meanwhile, in developed countries, problems such as the loss of manufacturing jobs, the stagnation or decline of wages, persistent poverty among minority groups, and the opioid epidemic have resisted technocratic solutions. And when it comes to international challenges such as climate change and mass migration, there is little evidence that the cumbersome institutions of global governance and the quarrelsome countries that run them will produce the kind of cheap, elegant solutions that could inspire public trust. WHAT IT MEANS FOR BIDEN For all these reasons, the movement away from the Wilsonian order is likely to continue, and world politics will increasingly be carried out along non-Wilsonian and in some cases even anti-Wilsonian lines. Institutions such as NATO, the UN, and the World Trade Organization may well survive (bureaucratic tenacity should never be discounted), but they will be less able and perhaps less willing to fulfill even their original purposes, much less take on new challenges. Meanwhile, the international order will increasingly be shaped by states that are on diverging paths. This does not mean an inevitable future of civilizational clashes, but it does mean that global institutions will have to accommodate a much wider range of views and values than they have in the past. There is hope that many of the gains of the Wilsonian order can be preserved and perhaps in a few areas even extended. But fixating on past glories will not help develop the ideas and policies needed in an increasingly dangerous time. Non-Wilsonian orders have existed both in Europe and in other parts of the world in the past, and the nations of the world will likely need to draw on these examples as they seek to cobble together some kind of framework for stability and, if possible, peace under contemporary conditions. For U.S. policymakers, the developing crisis of the Wilsonian order worldwide presents vexing problems that are likely to preoccupy presidential administrations for decades to come. One problem is that many career officials and powerful voices in Congress, civil society organizations, and the press deeply believe not only that a Wilsonian foreign policy is a good and useful thing for the United States but also that it is the only path to peace and security and even to the survival of civilization and humanity. They will continue to fight for their cause, conducting trench warfare inside the bureaucracy and employing congressional oversight powers and steady leaks to sympathetic press outlets to keep the flame alive. Those factions will be hemmed in by the fact that any internationalist coalition in American foreign policy must rely to a significant degree on Wilsonian voters. But a generation of overreach and poor political judgment has significantly reduced the credibility of Wilsonian ideas among the American electorate. Neither President George W. Bush’s nation-building disaster in Iraq nor Obama’s humanitarian-intervention fiasco in Libya struck most Americans as successful, and there is little public enthusiasm for democracy building abroad.

### AT: Space war---1NC

#### No escalation from space war---resilience, deterrence and low level attacks

Cooper, 18

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Until recently, resilience in space was largely an afterthought. It was assumed that a conflict in space would likely lead to or precede a major nuclear exchange. Therefore, the focus was on cost-effective architectures that maximized satellite capabilities, often at the cost of resilience. Recently, however, some have hoped that new architectures could enhance resilience and prevent critical military operations from being significantly impeded in an attack. Although resilience can be expensive, American investments in smaller satellites and more distributed space architectures could minimize adversary incentives to carry out first strikes in space. In the late 20th century, minor escalations against space systems were treated as major events, since they typically threatened the superpowers’ nuclear architectures. Today, the proliferation of counter-space capabilities and the wide array of possible types of attacks means that most attacks against U.S. space systems are unlikely to warrant a nuclear response. It is critical that policymakers understand the likely break points in any conflict involving space systems. Strategists should explore whether the characteristics of different types of attacks against space systems create different thresholds, paying particular attention to attribution, reversibility, the defender’s awareness of an attack, the attacker’s ability to assess an attack’s effectiveness, and the risks of collateral damage (e.g., orbital debris). Competitors may attempt to use non-kinetic weapons and reversible actions to stay below the threshold that would trigger a strong U.S. response. The 2017 National Security Strategy warns: Any harmful interference with or an attack upon critical components of our space architecture that directly affects this vital U.S. interest will be met with a deliberate response at a time, place, manner, and domain of our choosing. In order to fulfill this promise, the United States will want to ensure that it has capabilities to respond both above and below various thresholds to ensure a full-spectrum of deterrence options for the full range of potential actors. In the first space age, the two superpowers had largely symmetric capabilities and interests in outer space (with a few notable exceptions). In the second space age, however, the space domain includes many disparate players with vastly different asymmetric capabilities and interests. The United States is more reliant on space than any other country in the world, but it also retains greater space capabilities than any of its competitors. Although the 2011 National Security Space Strategy states, “Space capabilities provide the United States and our allies unprecedented advantages in national decision-making, military operations, and homeland security,” this also means that that the United States has more to lose. From the dawn of the first space age, Americans understood the many benefits that could come from the peaceful uses of space and the great harm that could result from hostile uses of space. In 1962, President John F. Kennedy addressed the dilemma of how to reap the benefits of space without conflict, stating only if the United States occupies a position of pre-eminence can we help decide whether this new ocean will be a sea of peace or a new terrifying theater of war… space can be explored and mastered without feeding the fires of war, without repeating the mistakes that man has made in extending his writ around this globe of ours. For 60 years, space has been the exception: the one domain that has remained free from the scars of war. By better understanding the dynamics of the second space age, we may be able to keep it that way.

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## Cap K

#### 3. Challenging neoliberal mindsets precedes policies---key to alternate visions for global politics

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The implementation of neoliberalism goes far beyond the mere appearance of its policies. It cannot be reduced to the application of a programme or to institutional changes. This implementation is deployed within a triangle constituted by policies, institutions and dispositions. This last component has remained at the margins of our debate. If we wish to grasp the depth of the changes that neoliberalism causes, we cannot neglect its effects on systems of dispositions. To analyse this impact, it is necessary to describe the symbolic operations that give rise to government-enabling representations as well as to categories that support neoliberalism and are propagated by it. This task requires accounting for the historicity of the spaces in which policies are put into action, the intentional constructions but also involuntary historical formations in which they become entangled, and the transactions, negotiations, associations, working misunderstandings and chains of translation that give them their flexibility and support their deployment.

Neoliberalism is embodied in the agents and representations through which it is put into action. Through a historical process, the dispositions that it generates become, as Bourdieu would say, durable and transposable, as well as increasingly autonomous from their initial conditions of production. As such, when these conditions disappear or transform, or when policies are modified or abandoned, some of them spread into other social spaces and contexts and take on new meanings. Therein lies the importance of broadening the notion of ‘implementation’, so that we may appreciate the role of culture in the dynamics of neoliberal expansion. It is precisely (but not only) because of the embodiment of neoliberalism emphasized in this paper that at the moment we are nowhere near the end of the neoliberal era. Thus I arrive, by a different path, at the same observation that Kalb (2012) formulated in this debate: today it is capitalism that is in crisis, not neoliberalism.

In some parts of the world, information that helps people to stabilize their perceptions, practices and activities is mainly produced within a neoliberal context, forms and procedures. The figures, statistics, norms, audits and discourses that I evoke in this paper are fashioned by a constellation of institutions; they condition, train and shape a mental and practical space. They impact the way in which one conceives and carries out research. Indeed, academia is not outside of this neoliberal world; on the contrary, it is a centre of development and support for neoliberalism. While many academics are critical of neoliberalism, this does not mean that they have a permanent deconstructionist relation to the world and to themselves. In many parts of academia, a neoliberal way of functioning has become common sense. If neoliberalism is so present in our mind and in the way in which academia is designed and works today, it appears more than necessary for researchers to consider how this shapes their relation to production of knowledge.

If we wish to avoid the eviction of critical perspectives in this time of crisis, if we hope to have some chance to think within but beyond the neoliberal age, if we want to develop alternatives and different horizons, one of the first things to do is to decolonize our mind by objectifying our own neoliberal dispositions. The reflexive return to the tools of analysis is thus ‘not an epistemological scruple but an indispensable pre-condition of scientific knowledge of the object’ (Bourdieu 1984: 94), if we are to prevent the object and its definition from being dictated to the researcher by non-scientific logics, such as the necessity of being visible and marketable in the academy. To achieve a break with neoliberal common sense, anthropologists could follow Bourdieu (2003) in his will to engage in a ‘participant objectivation’.14 It is clearly this kind of objectivation even if not phrased in such terms that has led some researchers to call for a radical change in the academy, supported by new arguments and put into practice through the initiation of a ‘slow science’ movement.15 In some places, academia is still a space of critiques and alternatives.

#### 4. Invert your standard for solvency---“feasibility” concerns are propaganda

McCarraher 19 [Eugene; 11/12/19; Associate Professor of Humanities at Villanova University, PhD in US Cultural and Intellectual History from Rutgers University; The Enchantments of Mammon: How Capitalism Became the Religion of Modernity, p. 15-18]

Words such as “paradise” or “love” or “communion” are certainly absent from our political vernacular, excluded on account of their “utopian” connotations or their lack of steely-eyed “realism.” Although this is a book about the past, I have always kept before me its larger contemporary religious, philosophical, and political implications. The book should make these clear enough; I will only say here that one of my broader intentions is to challenge the canons of “realism,” especially as defined in the “science” of economics. As the master science of desire in advanced capitalist nations, economics and its acolytes define the parameters of our moral and political imaginations, patrolling the boundaries of possibility and censoring any more generous conception of human affairs. Under the regime of neoliberalism, it has been the chief weapon in the arsenal of what David Graeber has characterized as “a war on the imagination,” a relentless assault on our capacity to envision an end to the despotism of money.24 Insistent, in Margaret Thatcher’s ominous ukase, that “there is no alternative” to capitalism, our corporate plutocracy has been busy imposing its own beatific vision on the world: the empire of capital, with an imperial aristocracy enriched by the labor of a fearful, overburdened, and cheerfully servile population of human resources. Every avenue of escape from accumulation and wage servitude must be closed, or better yet, rendered inconceivable; any map of the world that includes utopia must be burned before it can be glanced at. Better to follow Miller’s wisdom: we already inhabit paradise, and we can never make ourselves fit to live in it if we obey the avaricious and punitive sophistry professed in the dismal pseudoscience.

The grotesque ontology of scarcity and money, the tawdry humanism of acquisitiveness and conflict, the reduction of rationality to the mercenary principles of pecuniary reason—this ensemble of falsehoods that comprise the foundation of economics must be resisted and supplanted. Economics must be challenged, not only as a sanction for injustice but also as a specious portrayal of human beings and a fictional account of their history. As a legion of anthropologists and historians have repeatedly demonstrated, economics, in Graeber’s forthright dismissal, has “little to do with anything we observe when we examine how economic life is actually conducted.” From its historically illiterate “myth of barter” to its shabby and degrading claims about human nature, economics is not just a dismal but a fundamentally fraudulent science as well, akin, as Ruskin wrote in Unto This Last, to “alchemy, astrology, witchcraft, and other such popular creeds.”25

Ruskin’s courageous and bracing indictment of economics arose from his Romantic imagination, and this book partakes unashamedly of his sacramental Romanticism. “Imagination” was, to the Romantics, primarily a form of vision, a mode of realism, an insight into the nature of reality that was irreducible to, but not contradictory of, the knowledge provided by scientific investigation. Romantic social criticism did not claim the imprimatur of science as did Marxism and other modern social theories, yet the Romantic lineage of opposition to “disenchantment” and capitalism has proved to be more resilient and humane than Marxism, “progressivism,” or social democracy. Indeed, it is more urgently relevant to a world hurtling ever faster to barbarism and ecological calamity. I wrote this book in part out of a belief that many on the “left” continue to share far too much with their antagonists: an ideology of “progress” defined as unlimited economic growth and technological development, as well as an acceptance of the myth of disenchantment that underwrites the pursuit of such expansion. The Romantic antipathy to capitalism, mechanization, and disenchantment stemmed not from a facile and nostalgic desire to return to the past, but from a view that much of what passed for “progress” was in fact inimical to human flourishing: a specious productivity that required the acceptance of venality, injustice, and despoliation; a technological and organizational efficiency that entailed the industrialization of human beings; and the primacy of the production of goods over the cultivation and nurturance of men and women. This train of iniquities followed inevitably from the chauvinism of what William Blake called “single vision,” a blindness to the enormity of reality that led to a “Babylon builded in the waste.”26

Romantics redefined rather than rejected “realism” and “progress,” drawing on the premodern customs and traditions of peasants, artisans, and artists: craftsmanship, mutual aid, and a conception of property that harkened back to the medieval practices of “the commons.” Whether they believed in some traditional form of religion or translated it into secular idioms of enchantment, such as “art” or “beauty” or “organism,” Romantic anticapitalists tended to favor direct workers’ control of production; the restoration of a human scale in technics and social relations; a sensitivity to the natural world that precluded its reduction to mere instrumental value; and an apotheosis of pleasure in making sometimes referred to as poesis, a union of reason, imagination, and creativity, an ideal of labor as a poetry of everyday life, and a form of human divinity. In work free of alienation and toil, we receive “the reward of creation,” as William Morris described it through a character in News from Nowhere (1890), “the wages that God gets, as people might have said time agone.”27

Rendered gaudy and impoverished by the tyranny of economics and the enchantment of neoliberal capitalism, our sensibilities need replenishment from the sacramental imagination. As Americans begin to experience the initial stages of imperial sclerosis and decline, and as the advanced capitalist world in general discovers the reality of ecological limits, we may find in what Marx called the “prehistory” of our species a perennial and redemptive wisdom. We will not be saved by our money, our weapons, or our technological virtuosity; we might be rescued by the joyful and unprofitable pursuits of love, beauty, and contemplation. No doubt this will all seem foolish to the shamans and magicians of pecuniary enchantment. But there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of on Wall Street or in Silicon Valley.

#### 5. The rhetoric of preserving competition cements neoliberalism

William Davies 14. Senior Lecturer at Goldsmiths, University of London [“How ‘competitiveness’ became one of the great unquestioned virtues of contemporary culture,” *The London School of Economics and Political Science*, May 19, 2014, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/the-cult-of-competitiveness/]

The years since the banking meltdown of 2008 have witnessed a dawning awareness, that our model of capitalism is not simply producing widening inequality, but is apparently governed by the interests of a tiny minority of the population. The post-crisis period has spawned its own sociological category – ‘the 1%’ – and recently delivered its first work of grand economic theory, in Thomas Piketty’s Capital in the Twenty-first Century, a book dedicated to understanding why inequality keeps on growing.

What seems to be provoking the most outrage right now is not inequality as such, which has, after all, been rising in the UK (give or take Tony Blair’s second term) since 1979, but the sense that the economic game is now being rigged. If we can put our outrage to one side for a second, this poses a couple of questions, for those interested in the sociology of legitimation. Firstly, how did mounting inequality succeed in proving culturally and politically attractive for as long as it did? And secondly, how and why has that model of justification now broken down?

In some ways, the concept of inequality is unhelpful here. There has rarely been a political or business leader who has stood up and publicly said, “society needs more inequality”. And yet, most of the policies and regulations which have driven inequality since the 1970s have been publicly known. Although it is tempting to look back and feel duped by the pre-2008 era, it was relatively clear what was going on, and how it was being justified. But rather than speak in terms of generating more inequality, policy-makers have always favoured another term, which effectively comes to the same thing: competitiveness.

My new book, The Limits of Neoliberalism: Sovereignty, Authority & The Logic of Competition, is an attempt to understand the ways in which political authority has been reconfigured in terms of the promotion of competitiveness. Competitiveness is an interesting concept, and an interesting principle on which to base social and economic institutions. When we view situations as ‘competitions’, we are assuming that participants have some vaguely equal opportunity at the outset. But we are also assuming that they are striving for maximum inequality at the conclusion. To demand ‘competitiveness’ is to demand that people prove themselves relative to one other.

It struck me, when I began my Sociology PhD on which the book is based, that competitiveness had become one of the great unquestioned virtues of contemporary culture, especially in the UK. We celebrate London because it is a competitive world city; we worship sportsmen for having won; we turn on our televisions and watch contestants competitively cooking against each other. In TV shows such as the Dragons Den or sporting contests such as the Premier League, the division between competitive entertainment and capitalism dissolves altogether. Why would it be remotely surprising, to discover that a society in which competitiveness was a supreme moral and cultural virtue, should also be one which generates increasing levels of inequality?

Unless one wants to descend into biological reductionism, the question then has to be posed: how did this state of affairs come about? To answer this, we need to turn firstly to the roots of neoliberal thinking in the 1930s. For Friedrich Hayek in London, the ordoliberals in Freiburg and Henry Simons in Chicago, competition wasn’t just one feature of a market amongst many. It was the fundamental reason why markets were politically desirable, because it conserved the uncertainty of the future. What united all forms of totalitarianism and planning, according to Hayek, was that they refused to tolerate competition. And hence a neoliberal state would be defined first and foremost as one which used its sovereign powers to defend competitive processes, using anti-trust law and other instruments.

One way of understanding neoliberalism, as Foucault has best highlighted, is as the extension of competitive principles into all walks of life, with the force of the state behind them. Sovereign power does not recede, and nor is it replaced by ‘governance’; it is reconfigured in such a way that society becomes a form of ‘game’, which produces winners and losers. My aim in The Limits of Neoliberalism is to understand some of the ways in which this comes about.

In particular, I examine how the Chicago School Law and Economics tradition achieved an overhaul (and drastic shrinkage) in the role of market regulation. And I look at how Michael Porter’s theory of ‘national competitiveness’ led to a new form of policy orientation, as the search for competitive advantage. Both of these processes have their intellectual roots in the post-War period, but achieved significant political influence from the late 1970s onwards. They are, if you like, major components of neoliberalism.

By studying these intellectual traditions, it becomes possible to see how an entire moral and philosophical worldview has developed, which assumes that inequalities are both a fair and an exciting outcome of a capitalist process which is overseen by political authorities. In that respect, the state is a constant accomplice of rising inequality, although corporations, their managers and shareholders, were the obvious beneficiaries. Drawing on the work of Luc Boltanski, I suggest that we need to understand how competition, competitiveness and, ultimately, inequality are rendered justifiable and acceptable – otherwise their sustained presence in public and private life appears simply inexplicable.

And yet, this approach also helps us to understand what exactly has broken down over recent years, which I would argue is the following: At a key moment in the history of neoliberal thought, its advocates shifted from defending markets as competitive arenas amongst many, to viewing society-as-a-whole as one big competitive arena. Under the latter model, there is no distinction between arenas of politics, economics and society. To convert money into political power, or into legal muscle, or into media influence, or into educational advantage, is justifiable, within this more brutal, capitalist model of neoliberalism. The problem that we now know as the ‘1%’ is, as has been argued of America recently, a problem of oligarchy.

Underlying it is the problem that there are no longer any external, separate or higher principles to appeal to, through which oligarchs might be challenged. Legitimate powers need other powers through which their legitimacy can be tested; this is the basic principle on which the separation of executive, legislature and judiciary is based. The same thing holds true with respect to economic power, but this is what has been lost.

Regulators, accountants, tax collectors, lawyers, public institutions, have been drawn into the economic contest, and become available to buy. To use the sort of sporting metaphor much-loved by business leaders; it’s as if the top football team has bought not only the best coaches, physios and facilities, but also bought the referee and the journalists as well. The bodies responsible for judging economic competition have lost all authority, which leaves the dream of ‘meritocracy’ or a ‘level playing field’ (crucial ideals within the neoliberal imaginary) in tatters. Politically speaking, this is as much a failure of legitimation as it is a problem of spiralling material inequality.

The result is a condition that I term ‘contingent neoliberalism’, contingent in the sense that it no longer operates with any spirit of fairness or inclusiveness. The priority is simply to prop it up at all costs. If people are irrational, then nudge them. If banks don’t lend money, then inflate their balance sheets through artificial means. If a currency is no longer taken seriously, political leaders must repeatedly guarantee it as a sovereign priority. If people protest, buy a water canon. This is a system whose own conditions are constantly falling apart, and which governments must do constant repair work on.

#### 6. IR’s centering of the “state” as the unit of analysis presupposes a horizontal division into the nation model – class conflict over-determines interstate action as IR facilitates the global expansion of the bourgeoisie.

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The implications of the circumstance of inter-societal coexistence for Marxist theorizing, especially in IR, are substantial, and have been most extensively, if idiosyncratically, set out in a too little noted article by R.N. Berki from 1971. Berki opens with the assertion that ‘the very existence of international relations poses a serious, and perhaps intractable, problem for Marxism’ (1971: 80; emphasis in original) because ‘international relations presuppose the horizontal division of mankind into nations or states, and since Marxian thought postulates the absolute unity of mankind as its ideal, problems relating to horizontal group diversity are much more centrally relevant to the Marxian doctrine than it is usually thought’.11 In a summary overview, Berki observes that, in ‘conventional Marxism’, ‘classes …, and not nations or states, are the basic units of history, and the struggle between classes, instead of interstate conflict, occupies the center of attention’ (1971: 81). In this view, the state, an apparatus of political domination, is a product of class conflict, organized to maintain the system of exploitation internally, and externally to facilitate the overseas expansion of the bourgeois class. Competition for markets among a globally self-divided bourgeoisie generates recurrent (though not constant) inter-state war. Correspondingly, the proletariat, having a unity of interest in overthrowing bourgeois society, is essentially a nationless class. However, Berki then turns to Waltz’s Man, the State and War to expose a problem with this line of thinking. In his explication of the second image, Waltz had surveyed the development of socialist and Marxist thinking on international issues up to the outbreak of World War I and drawn the conclusion that the argument that peace can be achieved through the internal perfection of states is faulty. Berki comments, ‘Waltz’s question is legitimate: “Is it capitalism or states that must be destroyed in order to get peace, or must both be abolished?” The distinction between these two phases, or tasks, is certainly warranted in point of theory’ (1971: 84). Elaborating, he observes that: The problem … is whether the disappearance of the ‘state’ after the overthrow of capitalism refers only to its internal character as an agency maintaining oppression and exploitation of one class by another … or also to its external function, which can be defined as organizing and promoting the interests of a group of people distinguished by their permanent occupation of a certain geographical area. It does not matter, of course, whether now one calls it ‘state’, ‘nation’, or ‘community’, or the ‘administration of things’ … as long as what is meant is a plurality of these units. (1971: 84)

#### 7. Now key – transition stops short term war

Rose ‘21 [Nick. PhD in Political Ecology from RMIT University. Executive Director of Sustain: The Australian Food Network. From the Cancer Stage of Capitalism to the Political Principle of the Common: The Social Immune Response of “Food as Commons.” Int J Health Policy Manag 2021. 3-31-21. DOI: 10.34172/ijhpm.2021.20 //shree]

Until recently, it has for most ‘been easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of capitalism.’89 The COVID-19 pandemic has been a disruptive event, for the food system, for the wider economy, for national and global political elites, and for populations everywhere. Glimpses of a different, quieter, more peaceful and less destructive world have emerged, albeit fleetingly and falteringly. At the same time, the suffering wrought by the pandemic, both directly in the form of disease and death, and indirectly via the cascading economic shocks brought about through societywide shutdowns, has fallen, and will continue to fall, on the most vulnerable and marginalised members of societies. In many ways it has accelerated and intensified a growing systemic crisis that has been building for decades, politically, economically, ecologically and culturally.

We have reached a fork in the road. The last time the global capitalist system confronted a systemic crisis was in the 1970s, and that crisis created the conditions for the emergence of neoliberalism, ushering us into the cancer stage of capitalism. The time before that, in the 1930s, the profound economic crisis heralded the rise of genocidal fascism and world war, with tens of millions dead in the worst slaughter humanity has ever unleashed. The embers and echoes of both these earlier decades of systemic crisis are with us now, at the beginning of the 2020s. Capitalism is once more in profound, systemic crisis. The political far right is, once more, in the ascendancy. The drums of war are being beaten, with China the clearly identified ‘enemy.’

At the same time, the yearning for profound change in the direction of greater equality and ecological integrity is both powerful and substantial, with major political protests in 2019 and 2020 in many parts of the world. Hence the significance, relevance and importance of proposals for transformative change in both food system governance and in the social relations that underpin the food system. Currently we have global and national food systems that are oligopolistic in nature, supported by political structures that resemble plutocracies and oligarchies more closely than they do democracies, insofar as that characterisation is based on their policy development and policy outcomes. Dardot and Laval’s theorisation of the political principle of the common, informed by Holt-Gimenez and van Lammeren’s historically and materially grounded modification of the food as commons proposal, with Federici’s insistence on an explicit anti-capitalist orientation, offers progressive scholars, activists and practitioners a principled and hopeful pathway beyond the contemporary crisis.

#### 1. Ag collapse---it’s short-term

Allinson et al ‘21 [Jamie Allinson is Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Edinburgh University and author of The Age of Counter-revolution. China Miéville is the author of a number of highly acclaimed and prize-winning novels including October: The History of the Russian Revolution. Richard Seymour is the author of numerous works of non-fiction, His writing appears in the New York Times, London Review of Books, Guardian, Prospect, Jacobin. Rosie Warren is an Editor at Verso and the Editor-in-Chief of Salvage. All are writing for the Salvage Collective. “The Tragedy of the Worker: Toward the Proletarocene.” Chapter 1: M-C-M’ and the Death Cult. July 2021. Verso EBook. ISBN: 9781839762963 //shree]

The Triassic-Permian ‘great dying’ was a megaphase change taking place through pulses lasting for tens of thousands of years, separated by interludes of hundreds of thousands of years, if not millions. The current mass extinction event is a megaphase change taking place in microphase time.

Mass extinction is punctuated by the production of what the environmentalist Jonathan Lymbery calls ‘dead zones’: the conversion of wild ecosystems into dead monocultures. In Sumatra, these dead zones are made by burning rainforest and, amid the stench of death, planting palm crop. The palm oil is used in foods and household items, while the nut is used in animal feed. It is secured with barbed wire, and treated with poison, to prevent the crop from being eaten. Surviving animal life, and surrounding human communities, are pushed to the edges, to the brink of extinction. Agricultural workers are abused, underpaid, even enslaved. This is an example of what Moore would call ‘cheap food’, where the ‘value composition’ of the goods, the amount of waged labour necessary to produce each item is ‘below the systemwide average for all commodities’. In this case, a ‘cheap nature’ is produced by a distinctly capitalist form of territorialisation, wherein forestry is converted through deforestation into palm monoculture, while ‘cheap labour’ is secured partly through the dispossession of neighbouring human communities. More calories with less socially-necessary labour-time is cheap food.

Cheap is not, of course, the same thing as efficient. Food production is, alongside fuel, a fulcrum of the capitalist organisation of work-energetics. It is one that, as with fossil fuels, wastes an incredible amount of the energy it extracts. According to the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations), 30 per cent of cereals grown for human and animal consumption are wasted, along with almost half of all root crops, fruits and vegetables. To conclude from this grotesque squander that a ‘more efficient’ capitalism would ‘solve the problem’ of ‘the environment’ would be to fail to understand waste, capitalism and ecology: that the first is intrinsic to the second; that the second, whatever the degree to which it is inflected by the first, is inimical to the third.

Capitalism also directly undermines its own productivity, precisely through its industrially-produced biospheric destruction. According to the UN, for example, there are at most sixty harvests remaining before the world’s soils are too exhausted to feed the planet. This edaphic impoverishment is a product, not a byproduct. It is the predictable, and long-predicted, consequence of intensive agriculture, over-grazing and the destruction of natural features (such as trees) that prevent erosion. Likewise, the death-drop of insect biomass, the decline of pollinating bees, are hastened by the extensive use of pesticides and fertilisers. Capitalist food production can only evade the problem – a problem, in its terms, of accumulation – either by establishing new ‘cheap natures’ through such means as deforestation, or by extracting rent from competitor producers through such means as intellectual property rights. For instance, since 1994’s notorious TRIPS agreement (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights), through the rules of UPOV (Union for the Protection of New Plant Varieties), particularly the notorious UPOV 1991, and in the face of local fightbacks from Guatemala to Ghana, the World Trade Organisation has enforced property agreements outlawing the saving of seeds from one season to the next, thus sharply raising costs for farmers producing 70 per cent of the global food supply.

#### 2. Carbon bubble and peak oil

Rifkin ‘19 [Jeremy, Honorary Doctorate in Economics at Hasselt University. Recipient of the 13th annual German Sustainability Award in December 2020. BS in Economics at UPenn – Wharton School. Founder of People’s Bicentennial Commission. The Green New Deal: Why the Fossil Fuel Civilization Will Collapse By 2028, and the Bold Economic Plan to Save Life on Earth. St Martin’s Press. P7-8. Google Book. //shree]

The Carbon Tracker Initiative, a London-based think tank serving the energy industry, reports that the steep decline in the price of generating solar and wind energy “will inevitably lead to trillions of dollars of stranded assets across the corporate sector and hit petro-states that fail to reinvent themselves,” while “putting trillions at risk for unsavvy investors oblivious to the speed of the unfolding energy transition.”19 “Stranded assets” are all the fossil fuels that will remain in the ground because of falling demand as well as the abandonment of pipelines, ocean platforms, storage facilities, energy generation plants, backup power plants, petrochemical processing facilities, and industries tightly coupled to the fossil fuel culture.

Behind the scenes, a seismic struggle is taking place as four of the principal sectors responsible for global warming—the Information and Communications Technology (ICT)/telecommunications sector, the power and electric utility sector, the mobility and logistics sector, and the buildings sector—are beginning to decouple from the fossil fuel industry in favor of adopting the cheaper new green energies. The result is that within the fossil fuel industry, “around $100 trillion of assets could be ‘carbon stranded.’”20

The carbon bubble is the largest economic bubble in history. And studies and reports over the past twenty-four months—from within the global financial community, the insurance sector, global trade organizations, national governments, and many of the leading consulting agencies in the energy industry, the transportation sector, and the real estate sector—suggest that the imminent collapse of the fossil fuel industrial civilization could occur sometime between 2023 and 2030, as key sectors decouple from fossil fuels and rely on ever-cheaper solar, wind, and other renewable energies and accompanying zero-carbon technologies.21 The United States, currently the leading oil-producing nation, will be caught in the crosshairs between the plummeting price of solar and wind and the fallout from peak oil demand and accumulating stranded assets in the oil industry.22

#### 3. Resources---they’re finite and no substitutes

Jackson and Webster, 16—Professor of Sustainable Development and director of the Centre for the Understanding of Sustainable Prosperity at the University of Surrey AND former policy analyst at Carbon Brief, masters from University College London in conservation and a degree in biology (Tim and Robin, “LIMITS REVISITED,” <http://limits2growth.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Jackson-and-Webster-2016-Limits-Revisited.pdf>)

What does this all mean for the future of our economy? In the standard run scenario, natural resources (for example oil, iron and chromium) become harder and harder to obtain. The diversion of more and more capital to extracting them leaves less for investment in industry, leading to industrial decline starting in about 2015. Around 2030, the world population peaks and begins to decrease as the death rate is driven upwards by lack of food and health services.21

The similarity between Limits to Growth’s standard run and the patterns observed over the last forty years doesn’t necessarily mean that the same trends will continue into the future. Some researchers argue that it’s possible, however. Author of the University of Melbourne studies, Dr Graham Turner, asked in 2014 whether global collapse could be “imminent”. Turner explicitly linked the global financial crisis, high commodity prices and the Limits to Growth projections.22

Another set of studies has modelled the availability of over 40 essential materials using an updated and expanded version of the Limits to Growth model. Based on US Geological Survey data, the authors analysed changing patterns of resource extraction. Using earlier work, which suggests there is a time delay of about 40 years between ‘peak discovery’ and ‘peak production’ across a wide range of different minerals, the authors aim to forecast when ‘peak production’ might arrive.

The work, led by Harald Sverdrup from the University of Lund in Sweden and Vala Ragnarsdottír from the University of Iceland, concluded that most of the resources they studied had either already reached peak production or will do so within the next 50 years.23 Phosphorous - which is critical to fertilising soil and sustaining agriculture - has already peaked, and will start declining around 2030- 2040, they said. Coal production will peak in around 2015-20 and ‘peak energy’ around the same period. From that point on, they concluded, “we will no longer be able to take natural-resource fuelled global GDP growth for granted’.24

A book published by the Club of Rome in 2014 also examined the future availability of a wide variety of mined resources, including chromium, copper, tin, lithium, coal oil and gas. The book included specialist contributions from experts across a wide range of fields. It concluded that the rate of production of many mineral commodities is already on the verge of decline.25

These analyses are understandably controversial. In a technologically optimistic world, it is often assumed that enough food, water energy and minerals will be available for the foreseeable future, with the only problems being those of distribution.26 Neo-classical economists also argue that when one resource runs out it can be substituted for another. But this is also controversial. In the case of some key elements (phosphorus is an example), there are no known substitutes.27

#### 4. Speculation---this time there are no fixes

Nick Beams 21. Member of the International Editorial Board of the World Socialist Web Site and former longtime national secretary of the Socialist Equality Party in Australia. "Rampant Wall Street speculation: The fever chart of a terminally diseased system." World Socialist Web Site. 5-6-2021. https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2021/05/07/pers-m07.html

Over the past year, the global financial system, above all Wall Street, has been in the grip of a speculative mania, the like of which has never been seen before in economic history. Two questions therefore immediately arise: how has this situation come about and what are its implications?

In March 2020, as the COVID-19 pandemic began to make its effects felt and workers undertook wildcat strikes and walkouts to demand health measures to protect their lives and those of their families, the financial markets plunged.

Wall Street was concerned that any effective health measures to contain the spread of the pandemic would result in a collapse in the bloated price of financial assets, above all stocks, that had been boosted by the trillions of dollars poured into the financial system by the US Federal Reserve and other central banks following the crash of 2008.

The US government and the Fed rode once again to the rescue of Wall Street. The Trump administration organised a multi-billion-dollar bailout of the corporations under the CARES Act while the Fed stepped in to provide trillions of dollars of support for all areas of the financial system, including for the first time the purchase of stocks.

Since then, on the back of this $4 trillion intervention and rising, as the Fed continues to purchase financial assets at the rate of more than $1.4 trillion a year, the world has seen an unprecedented orgy of financial speculation.

Wall Street’s main stock index, the S&P 500, has risen by some 88 percent since its March 2020 lows, reaching record highs on multiple occasions throughout the past year. Margin debt, used to finance the speculation in shares, has reached record levels, and the yield on the lowest-rated corporate junk bonds—barely one step away from default—has fallen to historic lows.

But the most egregious expression of the speculation has been the rise of the cryptocurrency market. Over the past year the most prominent cryptocurrency, Bitcoin, has risen by 600 percent, rising from about $7,000 per bitcoin to $54,000, reaching a high of $65,000 in the middle of last month.

Last month Coinbase, a trading exchange for cryptocurrencies, launched itself on Wall Street with a floatation that put its market value at $85 billion, compared to its valuation of $8 billion in 2018, exceeding that of some of the world’s major banks and the valuation of the NASDAQ exchange on which it was launched.

However, in recent days, even the level of bitcoin speculation has been put in the shade by another cryptocurrency, Dogecoin.

It was created in 2013 as a joke. Whereas the promoters of Bitcoin insist that it has some intrinsic value because it may be used to organise financial transactions without the intervention of a bank or some other third party via a blockchain ledger system, no such claims are made for Dogecoin.

Despite being worthless, Dogecoin has risen in price 11,000 percent this year alone. This week its market value reached $87 billion compared to $315 million a year ago. And as one cryptocurrency enjoys a rapid rise, speculators start a search for the next “big thing.”

The Dogecoin phenomenon is not an isolated event. It seems to be an expression of what could be described as a new operating principle in the world of speculation—the more worthless the so-called asset, the higher its price.

A little sandwich shop in Paulsboro, New Jersey, with sales of just $13,976, has made financial news after it was revealed that its parent company, Hometown International, achieved a market valuation of $100 million last month. Two of its biggest shareholders are Duke and Vanderbilt universities.

The rise of Dogecoin also reveals the high-level intervention of hedge funds and other financial institutions seeking to take advantage of its price momentum.

Then there is the case of non-fungible tokens (NFTs). These are images of pieces of art, a sports photo, or even a tweet—the first ever tweet issued by Twitter founder Jack Dorsey was sold as an NFT for $2.9 million—that are stored on a blockchain ledger. They are like a collector’s item but are not stored physically but digitally.

The class dynamics of this speculative orgy, fuelled by the endless supply of virtually free money by the Fed, are revealed in the escalation of the wealth of the world’s billionaires.

In the last year, as COVID-19 brought untold pain, suffering and economic distress for billions of the world’s people, the combined wealth of the global billionaires rose by 60 percent, from $8 trillion to $13.1 trillion. The number of billionaires rose by 660 to 2,775—the highest rate of increase and the largest number ever.

In the US, Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos and Tesla CEO Elon Musk have wealth of $177 billion and $151 billion respectively.

The speculative frenzy has extended into the broader economy. The prices of major industrial commodities, such as steel, lumber, copper, and soybeans, which feed into inflation for workers and consumers, are rapidly rising.

But the financial authorities, having created this frenzy by the endless outflow of cheap money since the crash of 2008 and the near collapse of March 2020, are caught in a trap of their own making. They fear that any move to try to bring it under control, with even a slight tightening of the financial spigots, will set off a financial crisis.

The extreme nervousness over such an outcome was revealed earlier this week when US Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen, a former Fed chief, raised the prospect that the central bank may have to tighten interest rates at some point. Almost immediately, fearing market reaction, she walked back the comment saying she was neither advocating nor predicting a rise in rates.

The incident has cast a revealing light on one of the most significant developments in the US—the open advocacy of unionisation of the workforce by the Biden administration.

Last month in an executive order, Biden created a “White House Task Force on Worker Organizing and Empowerment” which includes as members Yellen, Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin and Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas. The “empowerment” of government-sponsored unions takes place under the direction of cabinet officials responsible for military operations, economic policy and domestic repression.

The administration is fearful that the pent-up anger in the working class over the pandemic and the enrichment of the financial oligarchy at the expense of hundreds of thousands of lives, will be further fuelled by the escalation of inflation, leading to an uncontrolled eruption of the class struggle that will come into headlong conflict with the institutions of the capitalist state.

In times past, the Fed would have moved to contain such an upsurge by lifting interest rates and inducing a recession. But that road is now fraught with danger because even a relatively small increase threatens to bring down the speculative financial house of cards.

Hence the Biden administration has moved to set up a state-sponsored industrial police force, based on the trade unions, to carry out an organised suppression of the working class in the interests of finance capital.

The rampant speculation of the past year and the accelerated siphoning of wealth to the upper levels of society amid death and economic devastation must be the occasion for the drawing up by the working class of a balance sheet of the experiences through which it has passed.

There is no prospect for reform of the present capitalist socio-economic order towards meeting social need—the illusion peddled by the Democrats and their ardent supporters in the pseudo-left organisations. The past year has demonstrated that everything in society—including the very right to life itself—is subordinated to the insatiable demands of finance capital.

The present speculative bubble, like all others before it, is destined to burst. The financial oligarchs have already prepared their exit plans and golden parachutes as they have done in the past. The working class, however, has no escape. The collapse will bring an even greater economic disaster on top of what has already taken place.

The only viable, realistic solution to the terminal disease that has gripped the capitalist socio-economic order is the fight for a socialist program to wrest the commanding heights of the economy and its financial system out of the hands of the present-day ruling class and begin the economic reconstruction of society to meet social needs.

#### It’s fast and feasible

Monbiot 19 (George Monbiot, citing Erica Chenoweth - the Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School, Foreign Policy magazine ranked her among the Top 100 Global Thinkers in 2013 for her efforts to promote the empirical study of civil resistance, she received the Karl Deutsch Award, which the International Studies Association gives annually to the scholar under the age of 40 who has made the greatest impact on the field of international politics or peace research. And together with Maria J. Stephan, she won the 2013 Grawemeyer Award for Ideas Improving World Order, which is presented annually in recognition of outstanding proposals for creating a more just and peaceful world order. Their book, Why Civil Resistance Works, also won the 2012 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, given annually by the American Political Science Association in recognition of the best book on government, politics, or international affairs published in the U.S. in the previous calendar year. 4-1-2019, "Only rebellion will prevent an ecological apocalypse," Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/apr/15/rebellion-prevent-ecological-apocalypse-civil-disobedience> accessed: 8-29-2019)

As the environmental crisis accelerates, and as protest movements like YouthStrike4Climate and Extinction Rebellion make it harder not to see what we face, people discover more inventive means of shutting their eyes and shedding responsibility. Underlying these excuses is a deep-rooted belief that if we really are in trouble, someone somewhere will come to our rescue: “they” won’t let it happen. But there is no they, just us. The political class, as anyone who has followed its progress over the past three years can surely now see, is chaotic, unwilling and, in isolation, strategically incapable of addressing even short-term crises, let alone a vast existential predicament. Yet a widespread and wilful naivety prevails: the belief that voting is the only political action required to change a system. Unless it is accompanied by the concentrated power of protest – articulating precise demands and creating space in which new political factions can grow – voting, while essential, remains a blunt and feeble instrument. The media, with a few exceptions, is actively hostile. Even when broadcasters cover these issues, they carefully avoid any mention of power, talking about environmental collapse as if it is driven by mysterious, passive forces, and proposing microscopic fixes for vast structural problems. The BBC’s Blue Planet Live series exemplified this tendency. Those who govern the nation and shape public discourse cannot be trusted with the preservation of life on Earth. There is no benign authority preserving us from harm. No one is coming to save us. None of us can justifiably avoid the call to come together to save ourselves. I see despair as another variety of disavowal. By throwing up our hands about the calamities that could one day afflict us, we disguise and distance them, converting concrete choices into indecipherable dread. We might relieve ourselves of moral agency by claiming that it’s already too late to act, but in doing so we condemn others to destitution or death. Catastrophe afflicts people now and, unlike those in the rich world who can still afford to wallow in despair, they are forced to respond in practical ways. In Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi, devastated by Cyclone Idai, in Syria, Libya and Yemen, where climate chaos has contributed to civil war, in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, where crop failure, drought and the collapse of fisheries have driven people from their homes, despair is not an option. Our inaction has forced them into action, as they respond to terrifying circumstances caused primarily by the rich world’s consumption. The Christians are right: despair is a sin. As the author Jeremy Lent points out in a recent essay, it is almost certainly too late to save some of the world’s great living wonders, such as coral reefs and monarch butterflies. It might also be too late to prevent many of the world’s most vulnerable people from losing their homes. But, he argues, with every increment of global heating, with every rise in material resource consumption, we will have to accept still greater losses, many of which can still be prevented through radical transformation. Every nonlinear transformation in history has taken people by surprise. As Alexei Yurchak explains in his book about the collapse of the Soviet Union – Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More – systems look immutable until they suddenly disintegrate. As soon as they do, the disintegration retrospectively looks inevitable. Our system – characterised by perpetual economic growth on a planet that is not growing – will inevitably implode. The only question is whether the transformation is planned or unplanned. Our task is to ensure it is planned, and fast. We need to conceive and build a new system based on the principle that every generation, everywhere has an equal right to enjoy natural wealth. This is less daunting than we might imagine. As Erica Chenoweth’s historical research reveals, for a peaceful mass movement to succeed, a maximum of 3.5% of the population needs to mobilise. Humans are ultra-social mammals, constantly if subliminally aware of shifting social currents. Once we perceive that the status quo has changed, we flip suddenly from support for one state of being to support for another. When a committed and vocal 3.5% unites behind the demand for a new system, the social avalanche that follows becomes irresistible. Giving up before we have reached this threshold is worse than despair: it is defeatism. Today, Extinction Rebellion takes to streets around the world in defence of our life-support systems. Through daring, disruptive, nonviolent action, it forces our environmental predicament on to the political agenda. Who are these people? Another “they”, who might rescue us from our follies? The success of this mobilisation depends on us. It will reach the critical threshold only if enough of us cast aside denial and despair, and join this exuberant, proliferating movement. The time for excuses is over. The struggle to overthrow our life-denying system has begun.

## Oil Adv

#### 2020 was peak oil – irreversible decline.

Nafeez Ahmed 20. M.A. in contemporary war & peace studies and a DPhil (April 2009) in international relations from the School of Global Studies at Sussex University. The End of the Oil Age Is Upon Us. No Publication. 8-26-2020. https://www.vice.com/en/article/3aze8j/the-end-of-the-oil-age-is-upon-us

The oil industry is on the cusp of a process of almost total decimation that will begin over the next 30 years, and continue through to the next century. That’s the stark implication of a new forecast by a team of energy analysts led by a former US government energy advisor, seen exclusively by Motherboard.

2020, the forecast suggests, will go down in history as the final point-of-no-return for the global oil industry—a date to which we will look back and remember how the production of oil, as well as other fossil fuels like gas and coal, underwent a slow, but inexorable and largely irreversible decline.

Along the way, some 80 percent of the industry as we know it is going to be wiped out.

Of course, the COVID-19 pandemic is likely to be recognized as a principal trigger for this decline. The new era of oscillating social distancing rules and remote working has crushed once rocketing demand, at least temporarily.

But in reality, the broad contours of this decline were already set in motion even before the pandemic hit. And the implications are stark: we are in the midst of a fundamental energy transition which will see the bulk of the fossil fuel industry gradually eclipsed in coming decades.

The end of the line

These conclusions are laid out in a soon-to-be-published analysis written by a former top strategy advisor to the US Department of Energy, Rodrigo Villamizar Alvargonzález—previously Columbian Minister of Energy, World Bank senior economic consultant, an advisor to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and energy expert for the Texas State Senate Economic Development Committee and Texas Public Utility Commission.

I obtained the draft manuscript, titled Energy and Power Futures, from the authors earlier this year when it was first finalized in January—just before the COVID-19 pandemic came on the scene. Villamizar’s forecast placed “the start date of oil’s decline at around 2020”—described as a “tipping point” for world oil production which, from then on “will go down. Nowhere in sight is the possibility of going over the all-time production high of 35.7 billion barrels per year (or 100 million barrels per day) beyond 2020.”

Villamizar is currently Head of Strategy for the Americas at Kaiserwetter Energy Asset Management, an energy investment firm based in Hamburg, Madrid, and New York. His analysis is co-authored with Randy Willoughby, a professor of political science at San Diego University, and Vicente Lopez-Ibor Mayor, previously founding Chairman of Europe’s largest solar energy company Lightsource BP (owned by oil and gas giant BP) and a former Commissioner at Spain’s National Energy Commission. Their study is due to be published later this year by Durham University’s School of Government and International Affairs.

After the COVID-19 crisis, they revised their forecasts—finding that the pandemic has reinforced the trends they had previously identified. In their updated text, they argue that the remaining years of the 21st century and beyond will be marked by a “slow but permanent decline in demand for plenty of oil resources.”

The new forecast is in broad agreement with the predictions of several other agencies, including the Norwegian energy consultancy DNV GL, the US financial consultancy McKinsey, and even oil and gas giant BP, which similarly portend a relentless decline in oil demand out to 2050.

But unlike those predictions, the forecast shows this decline could be faster, with huge ramifications for global oil production.

#### Cap turns food insecurity---waste, supply chain disruptions, pandemics

Rose 21 [Nick. PhD in Political Ecology from RMIT University. Executive Director of Sustain: The Australian Food Network. From the Cancer Stage of Capitalism to the Political Principle of the Common: The Social Immune Response of “Food as Commons.” Int J Health Policy Manag 2021. 3-31-21. DOI: 10.34172/ijhpm.2021.20 //shree]

If the accelerating biophysical and social contradictions of the capitalist food system were substantively manifesting a decade ago, the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic has brought them into sharp relief.64 Where-ever one turns, the pandemic and the responses to it reveal a fragile food system enmeshed in crisis. From extraordinary levels of food waste caused by supply chain disruptions, to sharply rising levels of food insecurity, to widespread injury and death resulting from exposure to the pandemic amongst highly exploited food system workers, to the origins of the virus itself linked in part to the global grain-livestock and factory farming complex, COVID-19 is a ‘wake-up call for the food system.’65-75 More broadly, the negligence with which governments in Europe, Britain and the United States handled the pandemic, leading to high rates of infection and death that would have been preventable had public health, rather than economic activity, been prioritised, led the British Medical Journal to accuse those in charge of ‘social murder.’76 It is important to note that while the burden of suffering in 2020 fell disproportionately on low-income sectors and people of colour, with as many as 500 million more people falling into poverty, the world’s billionaires experienced a bonanza year, with their collective wealth increasing by nearly $4 trillion.77

Having laid bare the cause of our social and ecological malady – capitalism in its cancer stage - the question becomes: what is to be done?

#### Cap turns populism---inequality drives it, innovation displaces jobs, globalization undercuts accountability---turns adv 3 as well bc that shreds democracy

Milner 21 [Helen V. Milner is the B. C. Forbes Professor of Public Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, where she is also the Director of the Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance. International Studies Quarterly, 10 July 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqab056> //shree]

How do Globalization and Democracy Interact?

The delineation of these essential elements of democracy is important because it tells us where to look for problems in the relationship with capitalism. If capitalism makes achieving these elements more difficult or impossible, then the two institutions will clash. Instead of reinforcing one another, they will undermine each other. Hence, one view is that without serious restrictions on capitalism, democracy will be imperiled. On the other hand, some claim that without restrictions on democracy, capitalism could be imperiled. From Marx onward, numerous scholars have claimed that democracy has been limited in order to preserve capitalism. For Marx, the institutions of the state were built to protect capitalism; democracy was just the “dictatorship of the bourgeois” hiding behind a veil. The capitalist state was designed to protect the collective interests of the capitalist class against the working class and against the short-sighted behavior of individual capitalists; thus the state had some autonomy.12 But for Marx and many Marxists, democracy itself was a sham set up to protect capitalism. More recently, Slobodian argues that the entire neoliberal system of international institutions set up since the 1950s has served to protect capitalism against democracy: the entire “neoliberal project focused on designing institutions–not to liberate markets but to encase them, to inoculate capitalism against the threat of democracy” (Slobodian 2018, 2). For many on the left of the political spectrum, capitalism makes democracy impure at best and impossible at worst.

For others from the right, government intervention in the economy even decided democratically can ruin capitalism and thus destroy individual freedom. Laissez-faire doctrine advocated the most limited interference of politics in the matters of the economy. Hayek (1976) among many feared that any government intervention corrupted capitalism and that only the most minimal state was desirable. “The system of private property is the most important guaranty of freedom, not only for those who own property, but scarcely less for those who do not . . . If all the means of production were vested in a single hand, . . . whoever exercises this control has complete power over us” (Hayek 1976, 103). Freedom is the highest goal, but capitalism—not democracy—brings freedom. The protection of private property was necessary for democracy in the first place.13 Economic conservatives such as Hayek decried government intervention in the economy and the creation of large social welfare systems. The balance between unregulated markets and government intervention has long been a central issue in politics. This balance has been changing over time, especially as globalization has spread. Global capitalism seems to have given capitalists a stronger hand relative to either labor or the state (Bates and Lien 1985). Laissez-faire and austerity have gained in prominence as labor unions have shrunk, center left parties have declined, and social welfare spending and redistribution have fallen out of favor (Blyth 2013).

Political Equality and Economic Inequality

As noted above, an essential element of democracy is the idea of political equality. All adult citizens should be treated equally by the state and should have equal political rights. What political equality means may be debated, but citizens do expect some kind of equal treatment by their government. The problem this runs into is the economic inequality generated by capitalism (Piketty 2014).

Economic inequality has increased very substantially within countries across most of the world since the 1990s (Bourguignon 2015). This rise has been especially notable in the advanced industrial countries, particularly the United States and UK. While rates of absolute poverty across the world have plummeted, one particularly contentious issue is whether globalization has fueled the rise in within-country inequalities. For example, the Gini index for income distribution in the United States has worsened steadily from 0.36 in 1970 to 0.41 in 2015 (Lahoti, Jayadev, and Reddy 2016). By 2008, the level of inequality in the United States, as measured by the share of family income for the top 10 percent, had returned to the highest levels recorded in the early twentieth century (Bourguignon 2015, 48). The middle four deciles of the income distribution in the United States saw a similar decline in income share from 1980 (0.46) to 2014 (0.40). However, growth in inequality in Europe has been less pronounced with the income share of the middle four deciles sharply dropping in the UK and more moderately decreasing in Germany and France (Blanchet, Chancel, and Gethin 2019).

While unemployment in the United States has been low, wage growth especially in the middle and low skill occupations has been very limited in the past few decades. “Since 2000, [US] weekly wages have risen 3% (in real terms) among workers in the lowest tenth of the earnings distribution and 4.3% among the lowest quarter. But among people in the top tenth of the distribution, real wages have risen a cumulative 15.7%, . . . nearly five times the usual weekly earnings of the bottom tenth” (Desilver 2018).14 In the United States by 2010, the top 10 percent of the income distribution has received over half of all wage gains during the past 30 years, and the top 1 percent and 0.01 percent had received most of that (Bourguignon 2015, 49). In Europe, slow wage growth has been combined in many countries with high unemployment. In many of the OECD countries, the concentration of wealth, as opposed to income, is even more stark and has grown worse as well. International trade appears to have amplified inequality in developed countries by deepening the high-skill and low skill labor divide (Wood 1994; Ebenstein et al. 2013). Surprisingly, there is some evidence this is happening in the developing world as well (Harrison and Hanson 1999).

The problem is that this period of rising within country inequality corresponds to the period of globalization’s fastest growth. It looks as if, and perhaps is the case that, they are related.15 But the impression is that globalization has benefited a small elite and not the whole society or even the middle class. The majority is losing and this should not happen in a democracy. The sense that the system is rigged and only the rich benefit from openness is pervasive and growing. Anger and resentment are rising in publics as they see only a small segment of society gaining from globalization, and as everyone else becomes a relative loser (Galston 2018).16 The pervasive sense is that elites have captured the political system and opened up the economy to external forces that benefit only the rich and well connected. Inequality also seems to drive support for a main policy advocated by populist parties, that is, for protectionism, thus challenging the foundations of the liberal global order (Lü, Scheve, and Slaughter 2010).

Another issue is that any sense of political equality is hard to sustain when economic inequality is large. If the wealthy have, or are seen to have, special access to political leaders and more influence over elections because of their money, then political equality is undermined. As Przeworski says, “When groups compete for political influence, when money enters politics, economic power gets transformed into political power, and political power in turn becomes instrumental to economic power ....Access of money to politics is the scourge of democracy” (Przeworski 2016, 5). Research suggests that the rich do have more access and influence over politics (Bartels 2008; Gilens 2012). As the rich become richer, their influence magnifies, policy diverges more from the median voter’s preferences, and democracy seems less and less legitimate to the average citizen. If globalization is linked to rising inequality, then we may fear for democracy because research shows that democracy does not do well in conditions of high inequality (Boix 2003; Ziblatt 2008).17 Globalization may then indirectly undermine support for democracy as it enables greater economic inequality (Elkjær and Iversen 2020).

It is important to note that the Covid-19 pandemic seems to be increasing inequality as it rages in different countries. High-skill workers have maintained their jobs and avoided the virus by telecommuting. Lower skill workers who are usually paid less have been more likely to lose their jobs and get sick (Davis, Ghent, and Gregory 2021; Deaton 2021). And large firms with abundant capital have expanded as their small rivals are driven out of business by the pandemic closures (Bartik et al. 2020) Capital is being concentrated even more by this plague. It has also increased individual insecurity and reduced social capital as people cannot congregate and socialize.

Creative Destruction and Economic Insecurity

Capitalism is marked by rapid change and technological advances. As many have noted, it is a very dynamic system that incentivizes change, upgrading, and innovation. In the process, however, it destroys the old, the familiar, and the once lucrative. Schumpeter termed this essential dynamic, creative destruction (Schumpeter 1942). There is also evidence that innovations and adoption of new technologies spread in waves over time, sometimes leading to deep and rapid changes (Milner and Solstad 2021). These technological revolutions then produce side effects in social and political life. The first industrial revolution from about 1760 to 1830 saw a spurt of activity around iron and steel, coal, and steam engines (Mokyr 2009). The second industrial revolution from the 1870s to early 1900s again brought a surge in new technologies including railroads, mass assembly, automobiles, telegraph and radio, and electricity (Gordon 2017). Recently we have witnessed another technological revolution, the so-called digital revolution, and it is now having widespread effects. It is not just disruptions to labor markets that matter, but also shocks to information and communications systems, changes in social organization and disruptions of existing institutions. These rapid changes create insecurity for people who are, or believe they will be, negatively affected.18 This personal insecurity is likely to have political ramifications, especially when social protection is weak (Mughan 2007; Margalit 2011; Hacker, Rehm, and Schlesinger 2013; Rehm 2016).

Capitalism has brought forth many changes in markets, especially in labor markets over time. Old industries die and new ones emerge, but labor and capital are often slow to keep pace with these changes. Boix (2019) argues that first period of globalization in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was accompanied by technological change which generated more jobs than it displaced. This earlier wave of disruption was job inducing, and the new technology then was complementary to labor. The second period of globalization occurring recently is different; the new technologies are job displacing and substitute for labor. These two conditions produce very different politics. Boix (2019), however, still thinks that democracy can persist in this second period, as do others who see democracy as extremely resilient (Iversen and Soskice 2019). But many others are more pessimistic, worrying that the effects of technology now are enhancing inequality and destroying decent jobs (Baldwin 2019).

A primary example has been the rise and fall of manufacturing industries, especially in the advanced industrial countries. Industrial employment as a percentage of the civilian labor force has dropped from 38.8 percent in 1970, 25 percent in 2007, and falling to 18.8 percent in 2016 among the original 23 OECD countries (Armingeon et al. 2019). Offshoring has been a main ingredient in this process, and more recently the development of global value chains across borders has accelerated these changes. This deindustrialization has generated much economic insecurity as higher wage-paying, blue-collar jobs have disappeared with it (Hacker 2008; Milberg and Winkler 2013).

In addition, the new jobs produced have often been inferior to the old ones lost; this inferiority concerns not just wages but also the terms of employment, which have become less secure and more temporary in the so-called gig economy. “Employment precariousness,” or the lack of a “decent job,” is another aspect of this technological revolution (Lorey 2015). “Fixed-term employment contracts, temporary work and part-time work in developed countries, and informal jobs with irregular working hours, low earnings and uncertain futures in developing countries” (Bourguignon 2015, 63), which are the telltale indicators of this precariousness, have grown greatly. “In France, employment precariousness has increased significantly over the last twenty years, from 8% in 1990 to 12% of total employment in the 2000s” (Bourguignon 2015, 63–64). Skill-biased technological change and trade with the developing world have been largely responsible, as they have helped fuel offshoring and global value chains (Michaels, Natraj, and Van Reenen 2014; Doraszelski and Jaumandreu 2018). Hence, despite the fact that unemployment in many developed countries had fallen to low levels before the pandemic, personal insecurity has been pervasive because wages and working conditions have worsened, especially for lower skilled workers.

Global capitalism produces a double dose of technological change. Capitalism itself is very disruptive, but on a global scale it accelerates this change. Research shows that few countries innovate and that most adopt innovations from elsewhere (Keller 2004). The speed of this adoption varies from country to country and over time, but globally-integrated markets make these changes more rapid and widespread (Mokyr 1994; Taylor 2016; Milner and Solstad 2021). The third technological revolution then also is different because it is probably the fastest and most wide-ranging. It has brought even more economic anxiety and insecurity than past revolutions.

The insecurity generated by capitalism has long been noted. Furthermore, capitalism on a global scale seems to amplify this insecurity since international capital and labor flows may be ever more politically destabilizing (Scheve and Slaughter 2004). Economic crises like the global financial one of 2008–2009, which often are fostered by globalization, exacerbate this insecurity as well. Indeed, the creation of social welfare states was intended to help damp down this anxiety and reduce the frictions associated with economic change and crises. Polanyi (1957) long ago noted that left exposed to unregulated markets, people would turn away from democracy and toward extreme political solutions. The risks and insecurities generated by capitalism needed to be alleviated by social protection. The idea was to “embed” markets in social and political relations by having governments intervene to provide compensation to people affected by market volatility. After World War II, markets for capital and labor flows across borders were regulated as trade was slowly liberalized, and stability and growth with redistribution were paramount for the advanced industrial democracies until the 1980s.

After World War II, embedded liberalism in the Western world was the compromise that arose to make democracy and capitalism compatible (Ruggie 1982). As noted by Lim (2020, 67–68), “Studies of Western democratic countries have found that citizens who are exposed to the risks and uncertainties of global capitalism demand greater social protection from their government (Burgoon 2001; Cusack, Iversen, and Rehm 2006; Walter 2010; Margalit 2011). Empirical analyses also have revealed that more open economies tended to have larger public spending to compensate for and insure against the vagaries of an open economy (Garrett 1995; Rodrik 1997, 1998; Rickard 2012; Nooruddin and Rudra 2014).” Others show that technological adoption is faster and acceptance of new technologies is higher when welfare state generosity is greater (Lim 2020). Up to the 1990s, the embedded liberalism compromise seemed to be reconciling democracy and global capitalism.

Embedded liberalism, however, has come under sustained pressure as globalization has advanced. The combination of slowing or declining welfare efforts plus the growth of globalization have increased insecurity and reduced support for people facing it. Scholars have pointed to these changes as being a source of the rise of populism and the extreme right in various countries. Margalit (2011) shows that where job losses from foreign competition were high, incumbent politicians in the United States were more likely to lose and especially so if the job losses were not compensated. Autor et al. (2020) provide evidence that the trade shock from Chinese entry into the WTO led to increasing political polarization in the United States. Jensen, Quinn, and Weymouth (2017, 1) demonstrate that “increasing imports (exports) [in a region] are associated with decreasing (increasing) [US] presidential incumbent vote shares.” Colantone and Stanig (2018a,b) provide data showing that support for right-wing, nationalist and populist parties and for Brexit came from areas hardest hit by globalization, in particular trade shocks and immigration. Burgoon (2001) points out that the backlash against globalization is less in areas where social welfare provision is highest. Milner (2018, 2021), on the other hand, argues that in areas with more trade flows support for extreme right parties is stronger and that social welfare provision does not seem to temper this political backlash against globalization any longer. As globalization has proceeded and welfare states have not expanded to match this, personal insecurity has grown and its political consequences are increasingly manifest. As Rodrik (1997) noted, increasing global economic integration produces more public demands on governments for social protection while concurrently undermining their ability to supply these policies because they require considerable public expenditure, which globalization may prevent.

Insecurity can also be a product of the new information technologies today. The gig economy is in part made possible by such technologies. Surveillance technology may make people feel safer, but it may also enable governments to monitor their citizens and create new fears. While social media may enhance accountability pressures, it may also generate confusion and fake news. Many new sources of information have become easily available, often creating political and social problems. There is deep concern that new information technologies have helped disseminate populist political views. Social media in particular can undermine confidence in and the legitimacy of mainstream parties and leaders by transmitting false and damaging views of them (Tucker et al. 2017). International interference to exert political influence may also be easier to accomplish and disguise with these technologies. Creating confusion about what the facts are, disseminating fringe views as if they were credible, and sowing doubt about the validity and legitimacy of key democratic practices like elections are all means for generating greater insecurity and boosting populist support.

Global Interdependence

Deep integration of national economies through trade, capital markets, and immigration poses direct challenges for democracy. Above, I noted the indirect ways that globalization might undermine support for democracy, first by increasing inequality and second by fostering faster technological change. But globalization may also have more direct effects. I discuss three such effects here: increasing economic policy constraints on the government; pushing convergence on economic policy choices; and creating more need for international cooperation and governance. Each of these means that governments have less control over the economy, less room for partisan competition, and less autonomy.

Globalization seems to produce three inter-related processes that might undermine support for democracy. As trade, capital, and labor flows grow in importance, governments become increasingly constrained; governments can always opt out of this but the costs of doing so rise as globalization proceeds. First, globalization can undercut the government’s ability to direct the economy. The government’s policy instruments become more limited and less effective. With an open economy, macroeconomic policy and exchange rate policy become more interdependent and less effective, especially for smaller economies (Frieden and Rogowski 1996; Broz and Frieden 2001). As countries joined the WTO and signed preferential trade agreements, trade policy and investment policy have become more constrained as well. Fiscal policy in an open economy also loses some of its effect as it flows across borders. While some scholars have noted that larger and more developed countries have more room to maneuver (Mosley 2003), others have noted the shrinking field of policy choice and autonomy open to countries (Rodrik 1997, 2011). Policy autonomy and efficacy matter for democracies because the public often judges governments and parties on the basis of economic outcomes (Kosmidis 2018; Duch and Stevenson 2010, 2008). When governments lose the ability to direct the economy, democratic accountability is weakened and so is its legitimacy (Hellwig 2001; Hellwig and Samuels 2007; Hellwig 2015).

A second process that might undercut democracy is the policy convergence and consensus that has grown with globalization. As governments around the world increasingly liberalized trade and opened their capital markets, policy converged and consensus grew across parties about the value of openness and to some extent deregulation as well as austerity. Differences among left and right centrist parties on their platforms diminished, and publics began to view all mainstream parties as very similar (Sen and Barry 2020; Ward et al. 2015). Globalization may force parties to converge on their economic policies, restricting parties’ ability to differentiate themselves and thus to effectively compete against other parties on economic issues.19 The consensus over economic policies and globalization has left many European Social Democratic parties losing vote share and public support (Mair 2000).

This convergence has created an opening for extreme right and populist parties to generate support.20 As (Mughan, Bean, and McAllister 2003, 619) points out,“By virtue of their commitment to economic internationalization, the established parties of government are blamed by populists for turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to workers’ legitimate concerns for their job security in an increasingly global, competitive, and volatile labor market. Blaming it on established parties’ commitment to economic globalization, in other words, right-wing populist parties have commonly sought electoral advantage by turning job insecurity into a political issue.” If vigorous party competition along programmatic lines is central to democracy, then globalization may be undermining it. And lack of partisan competition among centrist parties may enable more extreme parties to gain support.

The third element is that globalization has also raised pressure on governments to coordinate their polices to eliminate externalities (Milner 1997). A more open economy implies a greater need to cooperate and coordinate with other countries. The past 30 years have seen many international regimes and institutions created to deal with global problems, all of which have constrained governments even more. The IMF, World Bank, OECD, EU, WTO, regional development banks, and many preferential trade agreements are the major examples of these multilateral economic institutions; each of which produces norms, rules, and procedures that members are expected to follow. They constrain government policy choices domestically; they appear to impose decisions from unelected international elites on the public; and they push all parties who might be in government to adopt similar policies. Many of these have generated popular dissatisfaction and resentment, being seen as undemocratic and as undermining democracy and its legitimacy at home. The EU is a prime example of this complaint about “democratic deficits”; EU decision-making is often seen as too elite- and interest group-driven, and too distant from public preferences (Follesdal and Hix 2006; Mair 2007). Brexit as a vote against international cooperation and extensive coordination is a reflection of this public perception of the EU.

The nationalist backlash that has animated populist parties recently builds off of this anxiety over and distaste toward global governance. The cosmopolitan elites that supposedly direct international institutions are seen as having made bad decisions (e.g., the financial crisis) and as holding preferences far removed from those of the average national voter. Populist leaders thus call for a return to national priorities and a rejection of global cooperation, as the quote from Marine Le Pen at the start of this article illustrates. As Mughan, Bean, and McAllister (2003, 619) points out, “the economic basis of their [populist parties’] appeal [lies] in their rejection of the postwar social democratic consensus. Taking as a starting date the end of the Second World War we can, with a nod to national variations, pick out four elements that have characterised the domestic politics of Western Europe in the ensuing four decades: social democracy, corporatism, the welfare state and Keynesianism. It is on the fertile ground of the foundering of these four pillars that the new (populist) parties have taken root.” Globalization by making international cooperation ever more necessary thus contributes to legitimacy problems for mainstream political parties and may generate public dissatisfaction with their governments and democracy.

#### 2. History

Walt 20. [Stephen, Robert and Renée Belfer professor of international relations at Harvard University and a columnist for Foreign Policy. Will a Global Depression Trigger Another World War?. Foreign Policy. 5-13-2020. https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/13/coronavirus-pandemic-depression-economy-world-war/]

On balance, however, I do not think that even the extraordinary economic conditions we are witnessing today are going to have much impact on the likelihood of war. Why? First of all, if depressions were a powerful cause of war, there would be a lot more of the latter. To take one example, the United States has suffered 40 or more recessions since the country was founded, yet it has fought perhaps 20 interstate wars, most of them unrelated to the state of the economy. To paraphrase the economist Paul Samuelson’s famous quip about the stock market, if recessions were a powerful cause of war, they would have predicted “nine out of the last five (or fewer).”

Second, states do not start wars unless they believe they will win a quick and relatively cheap victory. As John Mearsheimer showed in his classic book Conventional Deterrence, national leaders avoid war when they are convinced it will be long, bloody, costly, and uncertain. To choose war, political leaders have to convince themselves they can either win a quick, cheap, and decisive victory or achieve some limited objective at low cost. Europe went to war in 1914 with each side believing it would win a rapid and easy victory, and Nazi Germany developed the strategy of blitzkrieg in order to subdue its foes as quickly and cheaply as possible. Iraq attacked Iran in 1980 because Saddam believed the Islamic Republic was in disarray and would be easy to defeat, and George W. Bush invaded Iraq in 2003 convinced the war would be short, successful, and pay for itself.

The fact that each of these leaders miscalculated badly does not alter the main point: No matter what a country’s economic condition might be, its leaders will not go to war unless they think they can do so quickly, cheaply, and with a reasonable probability of success.

Third, and most important, the primary motivation for most wars is the desire for security, not economic gain. For this reason, the odds of war increase when states believe the long-term balance of power may be shifting against them, when they are convinced that adversaries are unalterably hostile and cannot be accommodated, and when they are confident they can reverse the unfavorable trends and establish a secure position if they act now. The historian A.J.P. Taylor once observed that “every war between Great Powers [between 1848 and 1918] … started as a preventive war, not as a war of conquest,” and that remains true of most wars fought since then.

The bottom line: Economic conditions (i.e., a depression) may affect the broader political environment in which decisions for war or peace are made, but they are only one factor among many and rarely the most significant. Even if the COVID-19 pandemic has large, lasting, and negative effects on the world economy—as seems quite likely—it is not likely to affect the probability of war very much, especially in the short term.

#### 3. Alt solves

Kallis et al 18 [Giorgos. ICTA, Autonomous University of Barcelona. Vasilis Kostakis. ICREA. Steffen Lange. Ragnar Nurkse School of Innovation and Governance and Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society, Harvard University. Barbara Muraca. Institute for Ecological Economy Research. Susan Paulson. College of Liberal Arts, Oregon State University. Matthias Schmelzer. Center for Latin American Studies. Research On Degrowth. Annual Review of Environment and Resources. 2018. 43. 298-299]

Although literature explicitly addressing degrowth economics is young (65), economists have long raised similar questions. Classical economists considered the concept of a stationary state, where economic growth eventually and unintentionally ends, be it due to limits to the division of labor (Smith) or a confined supply of land (Ricardo). Whereas Smith and Ricardo painted a dark picture of the stationary state in contexts with high levels of economic inequality, Mill argued that distributional policies could lead to a high degree of social welfare (66). Economists may share politicians’ obsession with growth, but there is nothing in neoclassical models to suggest that zero or negative growth is incompatible with full employment or economic stability. In recent years, several authors have investigated no-growth economies in the context of established macroeconomic theories. From a neoclassical supply-side perspective, Irmen (67) shows that market economies do not always generate growth, nor do they need growth to function. Lange (68) tests several models and shows that the major condition for stable degrowth is a decline in the supply of production factors—labor and/or natural resources—and a reduction of working hours (51). Heikkinen (69) and Bilancini & D’Alessandro (70) develop neoclassical models in which decreases in labor supply lead to stable degrowth with increasing social welfare, as consumption losses are overcompensated by more free time, allowing enjoyment of nonmaterial relational goods. In Keynesian models, the primary condition for an end of growth is constant aggregate demand. Fontana & Sawyer (71) emphasize the role of investments: If firms invest less, wage income stabilizes and growth is low. Exploring conditions for a stable steady-state, Lange (68) examines the economic circle the other way around: The central condition for zero growth is nonincreasing demand by households and government, which leads to low levels of investment by firms. In this model, nongrowing economies have zero net investments and savings and a constant sum of consumption and government spending. Lack of growth does not mean lack of change. Zero change in net investments may entail increased investments in one sector (e.g., renewable energies), compensated by disinvestment in another (e.g., coal). Fontana & Sawyer (71) show that with government deficit, private savings can still be positive. High levels of employment can be achieved in nongrowing economies by reducing average working hours, shifting employment toward labor intensive sectors, and/or redirecting technological change to increase resource rather than labor productivity (68).

#### 1. Resources

Wills et al 20 [Wills. Professor of History, Brooklyn College, CUNY. Joseph Entin, Professor of American Studies, Brooklyn College, CUNY. Richard Ohmann, Professor Emeritus of English, Wesleyan University. “’Resist, Rethink, and Restructure’: Teaching About Capitalism, War, and Empire in a Time of COVID-19.” *Radical Teacher* (117): 5-6. DOI: 10.5195/rt.2020.792]

Moreover, endless spending on war has had dire consequences for those living within the United States and its territories. With monopoly capitalists, systems integrators, and military-intelligence contractors exercising undue influence over both federal and state spending, the United States has created international chaos and a “Homeland Security Bubble” on the verge of collapse. With the Bush administration gutting the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and increasing its military-surveillance-prison budget year-after-year, the world has watched in horror as the United States fails to protect people within its own borders, beginning with Hurricane Katrina and thereafter showing its inability to meet the challenges of the next in a series of climate disasters. As the ongoing deregulation of the financial services sector continued during the first decade of the 21st century, George W. Bush also called upon Americans to mortgage their futures on consumption as a patriotic duty. When combined with risky financial instruments, and billion-dollar markets opened up for small- and medium-sized “Homeland Security” providers in North America, Internet and other forms of consumption also created the context for a real-estate bubble that collapsed in 2006 and ushered in the Great Recession of 2008. To make U.S. war-making less visible as the Obama administration focused on restoring an economy teetering on the brink of another depression, drone strikes became more common even if spending on the military declined from a then-high of $824 billion in 2008 to $621 in 2016.9

Over the past twenty years, the response to every crisis, at both the federal as well as state and local levels, has consistently centered on funding for war, policing, and surveillance, tax cuts for the ultra-wealthy, and austerity programs that have eviscerated budgets for public health, transportation, education, and other social-essential services. The Trump administration has merely made things much, much worse: “re-branding” the United States from a mythological nation of immigrants who welcome all-comers to a walled society intolerant of anyone other than those who are white, fomenting what Americans have described under right-wing dictatorships as “death squads” (white nationalists, the police, the military, second amendment revisionists, and others) to engage in an all-out war against black and brown people, and advancing a more rabid doctrine of private property rights at the expense of Americans, the undocumented, the global population, and other “barriers” to expansion as the country plunges more deeply into the authoritarian state Trump and his enablers fetish, no matter the cost. The 25 May 2020 public lynching of George Floyd by members of the Minneapolis Police Department is symptomatic of a much longer history, one we desperately need to unpack, not only for those who already understand that this nation needs structural change, but also for those who still refuse to come to terms with the United States’ catastrophic trajectory.

Drawing on his 20-year experience in studying, writing, and teaching about war, Vine provides a thoughtful and comprehensive list of suggestions about how we might more effectively engage people from a variety of backgrounds, respecting those we meet in the classroom where we find them, then gently guiding them through the mythology, misinformation, and mystification of the post-9/11 rationale for militarization, and on to alternative visions of the future. In addition to the many proposals and resources he offers, Vine suggests that we need to show how much wars have cost, and the trade-offs of war spending, including comparisons of military spending versus spending on universal free education and the eradication of student debt. He additionally cautions that we need to focus on the system rather than the soldier, making capitalism, settler-colonialism, Native Americans and indigenous communities, people of color, U.S. territories and overseas colonies and military bases, and the human toll of war and empire visible in ways that expose militarization as neither natural nor inevitable no matter the time period. Employing intersectionality more broadly also allows us to make displacement, racism, sexism, and hypermasculinity more visible, along with the militarization of policing in communities of color and poor neighborhoods, along the U.S.-Mexican border, and within white supremacist militia movements. At the same time, it offers the opportunity to connect these phenomena to dissent and anti-war, civil rights, and other social movements focused on “climate justice, universal health care, labor, racial justice, gender equality, and LGBTQI+ rights.” Doing so will have the added benefit of countering the historical amnesia and clouds of forgetfulness that have infused education in the United States.

Much of this work can be done, Vine suggests, by assigning research projects focused on investigating the long arm of institutions involved in the military-industrial-academic-prison-surveillance complex, and by turning classrooms into “war clinics,” ones that take people out of the classroom to work with various groups, including but not limited to Code Pink, the Costs of War Project, the Institute for Policy Studies, veterans groups, and anti-recruitment/war/military base movements. We would also suggest that readers of Radical Teacher delve into Vine’s latest book—The United States of War: A Global History of America’s Conflicts, from Columbus to the Islamic State (University of California Press, 2020)—along with Daniel Immerwahr’s How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the United States (Vintage, 2020), both excellent primers about how the United States—along with the global capital markets, multinational corporations, and international organizations it has long dominated—has deepened the integration of an increasingly globalized military-industrial-intelligence complex.

All of this might seem like a heavy lift, but as we know from our own experiences on campus and beyond it, those who embrace capitalism as an article of faith do not necessarily know what it means or implies. Once defined and unpacked, however, capitalism’s profit motive, insatiable appetite for expansion, and internal contradictions make clearer the ways in which inhabitants of the United States, particularly since World War II, have slowly but surely acquiesced to the “privatization and militarization of everything,” to the belief that the nation’s imperial ambitions are for the greater good of humanity, that the benefits and conveniences of surveillance technologies developed for the military (the computer, the Internet, GPS tracking, drones, and so on) outweigh the costs; that is, until they learn about the provenance of the U.S. command economy, examine the numbers, and realize that they can never again unsee the bedeviling trade-offs they have unwittingly sanctioned: warmaking for profit versus healthcare and education; resource extraction versus environmental protections; surveillance versus convenience; and the snare and delusion that technologies can solve our larger political, social, and economic problems versus actually tackling them through structural change. As sociologist Vincent Mosco observed after the dot.com bubble burst at the turn of the 21st century, “Myth is not a gloss on reality; it embodies its own reality. These views are especially difficult for people to swallow as the chorus grows for the view that we are entering a new age, a time so significant that it merits the conclusion that we have entered ‘the end of history.’” But he also asserted that such myths fail “to consider the potential for a profound contradiction between the idea of a liberal democracy and the growing control of the world’s political economy by the concentrated power of its largest businesses.”10 As the rest of the essays in this volume make clear, we may live in the present, but we carry our histories with us; and therefore need to confront those histories, make them more visible, if we hope to change course.

As a complement to Vine’s piece, William J. Astore shares his decades-long experiences as a retired lieutenant colonel, professor of history, academic administrator, author of books on Vietnam and the aerospace industry, and regular contributor to various publications, including TomDispatch.com, CounterPunch, and Truthout. His “Militarism and Education in America” makes another vital pedagogical intervention. Astore emphasizes the need for critical thinking about and resistance to what he describes as the “soft militarism” of American society, including but hardly limited to the commodification of an education “infused with militarism,” and a popular culture of films, literature, and performative acts that celebrate war and spectacular feats of violence. He also unveils many of the other ways in which the military influences education, including the hiring of retired generals and admirals to run universities “even though they have no experience in education,” military fly-overs at football games and other militaristic displays and celebrations, ROTC recruiting at high schools and on college campuses, funding to universities that push them to become “feeders to the military-industrial complex and the wider intelligence community,” pension plans heavily invested in military expansion, and every other act that sells education as a commodity “for private gain rather than a process of learning for the public good.” Among the antidotes he recommends, Astore suggests antiwar comic/graphic books that can reach wider audiences, “impact maps” that show the military suppliers who have entered states in which campus communities live, research into the “revolving door” between senior military officers and major defense contractors, and collaborative projects with organizations such as Veterans for Peace and About Face: Veterans Against the War.

As the rest of the essays in this volume make clear, we may live in the present, but we carry our histories with us; and therefore need to confront those histories, make them more visible, if we hope to change course.

#### 2. Asymmetry

Levy & Thompson 10 (Jack S & William R; Levy is Board of Governors' Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University, former president of the International Studies Association, Affiliate at the Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University; Thompson is Distinguished Professor and the Donald A. Rogers Professor of Political Science at Indiana University; 2010; “The Dyadic Interactions of States”; *Causes of War*; pp. 72-75, published by Wiley-Blackwell)

Realist and rationalist critiques Realists, who share the economic nationalism and statist orientation of the old mercantilists, criticize the liberal economic theory of peace on a number of grounds. First of all, they argue (as do some non-realists) that even if it were true that trade has a pacifying effect, the magnitude of the impact of trade on decisions for war and peace is small relative tothat of military and diplomatic considerations (Buzan, 1984 ; Levy, 1989b ). Realists, like mercantilists, argue that states are motivated primarily by power and that economic opportunity costs of war are minor in the context of the long-term struggle for power. Were the Western liberal democracies seriously concerned about the short-term loss of trade when they made decisions to go to war against the hegemonic threats posed by Germany in 1914 and again in 1939? Realists also argue that trade and other forms of economic interdependence can actually increase the level of militarized conflict rather than reduce it (Barbieri, 2002 ). As Rousseau (cited in Hoffmann, 1963 :319) argued, “…interdependence breeds not accommodation and harmony, but suspicion and incompatibility. ”Among other things, interdependence creates increased opportunities for conflict. The greater the interdependence between states, the greater the number of things to argue about. In addition, whereas liberals argue that economic interdependence creates mutual dependence and incentives to avoid war, realists argue that interdependence may also be asymmetrical. Each is dependent on the other, but the degree of dependence is uneven. The less dependent party may be tempted to use economic coercion to exploit the adversary’s vulnerabilities and influence its behavior relating to security as well as economic issues. 32 These can lead to retaliatory actions, conflict spirals, and war. 33

#### Either way, collapse inevitable---boom and bust

Alan Maass 21. Communications staff for Rutgers AAUP-AFT. Marxism Shows Us How Our Problems Are Connected. Jacobin. 1-5-2021. https://jacobinmag.com/2021/01/marxism-capital-socialism-capitalism-book-review

When Things Fall Apart

Marxist economics explains not only how capitalism works but why it regularly doesn’t — during the periodic economic busts that inevitably follow the booms. As Marx and Engels wrote:

Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce.

Of course, in a world where billions go without enough food, there’s no such thing as “too much means of subsistence.” There’s only too much from the point of view of the capitalists — too much to sell their products at an acceptable profit.

Thier introduces the chapters on capitalist crisis by unpacking a long quotation from Engels that ends: “The contradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation is reproduced as the antagonism between the organization of production in the single factory and the anarchy of production in society as a whole.”

Under capitalism, production within workplaces is generally highly regimented, but the economy as a whole is a free-for-all. Businesses make their investment decisions behind closed doors, each hoping to get a leg up on the competition — by introducing the most popular model, the new product, the next trend. Success means a greater share of the market and therefore more profits.

All the important questions for society as a whole — how much food should be produced, how many homes to build, what kind of drugs to research and manufacture, how to generate electricity — are decided by the free market.

In economic good times, success seems contagious. Companies make ambitious investments, produce more and more, and watch the money roll in. But when enough companies jump in, the market gets saturated, sales slump, debts grow, and the record profits start to sink. The effects spread from part of the economy to the next, as Thier explains, using the example of oil:

If refineries sit idle because there is an overproduction of oil, the workers are laid off, and the creditors, who financed the investment, are dragged down as well. But as future oil extraction and refining projects are pulled back, so too is demand for the raw materials (steel, concrete, plastics, electricity, etc.) and engineering necessary for the production of oil rigs, pipelines, and so on. The construction business and service and retail companies, which had benefited from the springing up of oil boomtowns, suffer as well.

Because of the complexity of the international capitalist economy, the boom-slump roller-coaster ride can look and feel different each time around. Thier devotes a chapter to analyzing the crash last time: the Great Recession of 2008–9. She explains why and how the parasitical realm of banking and finance was the detonator of this slump but looks beyond popular left explanations about “financialization” to reveal the underlying crisis of global overproduction.

Among Marxist economics writers, there are some disagreements about the details here, specifically about “which aspects of Marx’s writing — falling profitability, overproduction (or in some cases, underproduction), disproportionality among branches, the role of credit — are emphasized and how these pieces fit together,” Thier writes.

In her account, Thier tends to stress overproduction, to the disappointment of those who emphasize falling profit rates. This focus on overproduction crucially emphasizes how an organic mechanism of capitalism — inevitable in a system driven by exchange, exploitation, and competition — repeatedly causes crisis.

Regardless of their ideology or morality (or lack thereof), capitalists are inevitably driven to reduce costs, they inevitably see an advantage in producing more for less, and this inevitably leads to frantic overproduction that undermines profitability and ultimately slams the economy into reverse.

In other words, capitalism stops working not because of a mistake or failed policy, but because it’s been working the way it’s supposed to. As Thier writes:

Competition is the mainstay of capitalism. It can’t be made friendlier or softer because it requires an accumulation of capital at any cost, in order to get ahead or get left behind.… These same processes of accumulation necessarily lead to contradictions that threaten the very profits that capitalists seek. Every contradiction for capitalism is both a great hazard to our lives — since we are made to pay the price — and also an important crack in the system. Every periodic crisis is a potential point around which to organize.

## Saudi Adv

#### NOPEC undermines US leverage over oil producers---unenforceable sanctions prove US threats are empty

Collins & Krane 19 (Gabriel – JD from the University of Michigan Law School & Jim - Wallace S. Wilson Fellow for Energy Studies at Rice University’s Baker Institute for Public Policy in Houston, NOPEC’s Extraterritorial Overreach Would Harm Core U.S. Economic and Energy Interests,” https://www.bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/ced084e7/bi-brief-030619-ces-nopec.pdf)

NOPEC would not involve gardenvariety trust busting, but rather, legal action against instrumentalities of powerful sovereign countries for which control over oil production is an existential economic priority and in some cases, underpins the survival of ruling families. If such a bill were passed and signed, it could weaken Washington’s ability to effectively project extraterritorial legal power, much of which rests on the implicit threat of coercive action rather than the actual implementation of sanctions.4 Judgments obtained under NOPEC’s broad antitrust mandate could prove unenforceable in practice, perhaps undermining unrelated extraterritorial sanctions imposed by the United States— for instance, against Russia or Syria.

#### AND profit motive ensures endless war

Bates 20 [Sarah. Writer and political journalist for *Socialist Worker*. “Capitalism—a system rigged for oil.” *Socialist Worker*. February 11th, 2020. <https://socialistworker.co.uk/art/49591/Capitalism+a+system+rigged+for+oil>]

But capitalism is driven forward by competition among rival corporations. If bosses didn’t try to maximise profits, they would be driven out of business and replaced by another company.

This means the short-term drive for profits comes ahead of planet and people. So the problem is not just the fat cats who sit in the boardrooms or the politicians who protect their wealth and power.

It’s the entire system that to blame—and the oil and fossil production are central to it.

Fighting for a greener version of capitalism doesn’t confront the social, economic and political forces behind it.

It’s not eating hamburgers or flying abroad for a holiday that powers the utter devastation seen by the floods in Jakarta, cyclone Idai in southern Africa or the bushfires in Australia. These events are a result of a climate catastrophe powered by a system built in the interests of the billionaires.

Time is running out to take meaningful action for the future of the planet. Before capitalism ruins it, we should burn down the system and create a new socialist society from the ashes.

Oil demand grows even though the planet burns

If oil extraction continues at the same pace, the results will be disastrous. If it increases, the consequences are unfathomable.

Yet demand for oil is rising and the development of renewable energy doesn’t come anywhere close to matching capitalism’s need for petrol.

Global demand for oil will continue to grow until 2030, according to the International Energy Agency.

That’s the year the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) said was the last opportunity to prevent the worst-case scenario for the planet.

The IPCC said that oil and gas production needs to fall by about 20 percent by 2030 and by about 55 percent by 2050 to stop the critical above 1.5 degree level.

But the US was pumping 17.8 million barrels a day in November 2019—up from an average of 15.5 million the previous year. ExxonMobil is planning to pump 25 percent more oil and gas in 2025 than in 2017. Rising anger over climate change is pushing the fossil fuel firms to appear as though they are changing.

At a shareholders meeting in May 2019, over 99 percent of BP shareholders voted in a favour of a resolution by the Climate Action 100+ group. It called on the firm to make greater disclosures on its emissions and show how investments agree with the Paris climate agreements.

But bosses were quick to point out that any changes wouldn’t be hurting their bottom line.

BP chairman Helge Lund said, “My mission is to see BP advancing the transition while remaining an attractive investment proposition.”

Firms are also grabbing new opportunities to build fracking or tar sands operations.

Tar sands is extracted through “strip mining”, where everything on the surface is removed to get to the oil. It releases even more emissions than other types of mining.

Oil firms dependent on the states

The bosses that sit in oil and gas boardrooms are some of the most powerful people in the world.

Their power and influence guides prime ministers, presidents and kings.

With one of the largest reserves of oil in the world, the Middle East is a critical prize for Western imperialist powers. They bomb, invade and try to control states in order to maintain control of the oil fields.

Century-old dodgy deals cooked up a by Western governments, oil barons and local rulers still shape the region today.

In the wake of the First World War oil consortiums made agreements with British and French government to secure access to oil-rich territories. This was important because oil in the Middle East was cheaper to extract than in the US.

And it was also beneficial for imperialist powers looking for allies to back up domination of the region.

After the Second World War, the US doubled down on its attempts to control the Middle East.

It backed Arab rulers it could count on to clamp down on political ferment. From the 1970s free market policies were imposed by US-backed governments and wealth generated from oil was grabbed by Arab ruling class and multinational corporations.

Energy companies don’t directly fight wars to maintain control of their interests—but back up states that can guarantee the profits keep rolling in.

Western governments cloak these manoeuvres in the language of “liberation” and “freedom”.

Its vast oil reserves—and how central it is to capitalism—means the Middle East is a battleground for imperial rivalries. Securing control of the region is important for solidifying their military, political and economic dominance within the global economy.

Each company and each state is locked into an eternal competition with their rivals to gain a bigger slice of the pie. They’re all fighting not get swallowed up or driven out of business.

So it’s capitalism—and specifically the competition inherent in it—that drives these conflicts.

Oil isn’t just careering us towards climate catastrophe. At every stage of its extraction, production and combustion, the industry symbolises not only capitalism’s disregard for the planet, but for the people who live on it.

# 1NR

## Ukraine Adv

#### Cap turns Russia war – demands to succumb to the LIO pushes them to conflict.

Diana Rybachenko 20. Lecturer, Zaporizhzhya State University. “Russia-China Relations Within the Framework of BRICS and Their International Significance in Terms of Neo-Marxist Theory and Neoliberal Institutionalism.” Charles University. 85-88. https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/118543?show=full.

Thus, neoliberal institutionalism does not fully explain the cooperation due to the absence of the foundation for confrontation between Russia and China. By solving the territorial issues, they eliminated the main reason for future conflicts (Dmochowski, 2015, p. 70-71). Russia will not choose a betrayal (Kashin, 2019). China is one of the strongest states located in the Asia-Pacific region that is associated with prospects for the further development of not only Russia but the entire world community (Weitz, 2012). Regional cooperation is of great importance for strengthening Russia`s position in international affairs (Putin, 2012b). China is a powerful state that has many partners and, in terms of trade, is less dependent on Russia (The World Bank, 2019). However, in terms of Russian resources and territory, China is interested to develop partnership (Mankoff, 2011, p. 209). It can facilitate the extension of One Belt – One Road initiative (Ramasamy, 2019, pp. 1675-1676). It can be seen that even the complicated political situation around Russia since 2014 did not prevent China from cooperating (President of Russia, 2014). This fact is supported by Vladimir Putin`s visit to Shanghai in 2014 where a large number of agreements were signed, including the significant gas deal (The Guardian, 2014). Russian “pivot to East” was a result of tension with Western countries but not with China or other BRICS members.

The reasons were the unwillingness of developing countries to depend on the advanced industrial economies and aspiration to urge reforms of the Western financial system (Qobo, 2015). The problem of infrastructure deficit in the emerging economies does not attract the attention of the IMF to the extent that is required by the developing countries to cover this deficit (Rozman, 2014). The Western powers have a political interest in maintaining the status quo (Biswas, 2015). Thereby, BRICS countries are “disappointed and seriously concerned” about the non-implementation of the IMF reform that had to give them a larger voice (Brazil Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). It makes developing countries to demand the new order in international affairs.

Much of this accords with neo-Marxism. Own financial institutions can provide support bypassing the IMF. The NBR and Contingent Reserve cannot compete with the IMF and the World Bank in terms of resources. However, the fact that the developing countries have an alternative source of funding can force the Fund`s management and the major Western powers to give up demands relating to domestic political and economic reforms (Darelov, 2016). If BRICS becomes a more powerful block that includes more developing countries, the new proposal on the implementation of an equitable quota calculation system will be inevitable. The main goal is to achieve such a result in which none of the participants will have the right to block the most important decisions (OehlerSincai, 2018).

Russia and China involve more partners from the developing world hoping to build a more balanced world order. To this end, China put forward the initiative of a new format BRICS+ (Baijie and Desheng, 2018). It can be used as a platform for more active use of the national currencies of the five countries in trade and investment transactions (Yarygina and Borovikova, 2019). The volume of project financing by the New Development Bank in yuan is increasing. The total amount of financial resources allocated by the NDB in national currency is 25.91 billion yuan (3.67 billion USD) (New Development Bank, 2020).

Russia and China cooperate with Iran in several areas (Tanchum, 2020). Among the most important joint initiatives is Iran`s participation in the implementation of the One Belt – One Road projects and the completion of the country`s entry into the permanent membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Shariatinia and Azizi, 2019). China is an important importer of Iran`s energy resources (Scheid and Gupte, 2020). The payments for deliveries are calculated in yuan that contributes to the internationalization of the Chinese currency (White, 2019). Egypt and Turkey are already participating in the format BRICS+ since 2017 and 2018 respectively (Yarygina and Borovikova, 2019). Turkey advocates the trade with Russia and China in national currencies (Daily Sabah, 2018).

The trade war between the US and China since 2018 is another evidence of the growing disintegration of the existing world order (White, 2019). Building a new order is based on the creation of regional coalitions of the countries that share common views on specific issues (Van Noort, 2017). By entering flexible coalitions, it will be easier for countries to defend their interests. BRICS, as well as other initiatives such as One Belt – One Road, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Eurasian Economic Union, and ASEAN, are the foundation for the large Eurasian partnership and new future world order.

Summary

The analyzed data demonstrate the relative strength of neo-Marxist assumptions in the case of Russian-Chinese relations within BRICS. In the 1990s, Russia and China encountered with the unilateral actions and a forceful policy of the United States. The financial crisis that emerged in 2007-2008 revealed the weaknesses of the world economy led by the US. Activation of BRICS cooperation started in 2008 that can be explained by opposition to the unipolarity. In the thesis, the presented arguments regarding the decision-making in the International Monetary Fund, distribution of the votes in the IMF and the World Bank, and Amin`s monopolies suggest that the US holds a status of the hegemon. However, the developing countries, primarily China and Russia penetrated in some areas that demonstrates their aspiration to be regarded as partners equal to Western countries. Step by step, Russia and China have been developing the agenda and increasing the intensity and depth of interaction in response to the unipolarity. BRICS is not a force capable alone to cause great geopolitical changes, however, its foundation reveals the dissatisfaction of actors who increased their significance in the world economy with the established international order.

#### 3. Multilateral collapse inevitable

WEF 20. “Why multilateralism is in such a mess and how we can fix it” World Economic Forum. 01-25-20. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/01/why-multilateralism-is-in-such-a-mess-and-how-we-can-fix-it/>

Even as trade wars rage outside, the Dispute Settlement Body of the World Trade Organization (WTO) finds itself paralysed due to the blocked appointments/re-appointments of judges in its Appellate Body. Public awareness of climate change as a global emergency may have increased, but the United States has at the same time delivered a serious blow to the mitigation regime by moving to withdraw from the Paris Agreement. In his remarkable interview with The Economist in November this year, French President Macron declared the “brain-death” of the NATO and pointed to the fragility of Europe. Impending Brexit is one thorn in the side of the European project; the rise of the Alternative for Deutschland (AfD) party in Germany is another. **Multilateralism**, in both its universal and non-universal versions, and across economic and security issues, **is under severe strain.** Have you read? How multistakeholder platforms can strengthen our multilateral system Global power is shifting. Is it the end of multilateralism? What we need is more (and better) multilateralism, not less It is commonplace — especially by those with liberal and/or centrist inclinations in politics — to attribute the crisis of multilateralism to two factors. First, many observers point the finger at President Trump and his “America first” agenda. Is it surprising then, they ask, **that others follow suit** when the world’s largest economy behaves with such great irresponsibility and chooses to turn its back on the very system that it had once led the way in creating? Second, some see Trump’s politics as part of a broader phenomenon involving the rise of strongmen leaders with populist inclinations who fan nationalist sentiment, framing the rights and interests of local populations as pitted against those of a “global elite.” Both explanations, however, **are deeply misguided.** Nor is the wrong-headedness of such applications purely an academic matter. Rather, the **knee-jerk solutions** that they result in are likely to **worsen the malaise of multilateralism.** Reacting to Trump’s message of “Make America great again,” Macron countered with “Make our planet great again.” This was not a bad response per se, especially given the crudeness of Trump’s pledge. Yet, the Yellow Vests protests showed that Macron’s (probably well-meant) moral high-horsiness did not find many takers. WTO Dissatisfaction Take the case of trade multilateralism. True, Trump may have called the WTO “the single worst deal ever made” and severely dented the system by launching his supposedly “good, and easy to win” trade wars. But amidst this drama, it is too often forgotten that **dissatisfaction with WTO functioning has been brewing for years.** The recurrence of deadlocks in the Doha Round for over the last 15 years is a clear sign of discontent from multiple stakeholders (and not just the US). Similarly, it is worth recalling that although many blame the Trump administration for the wreckage that is the WTO’s Appellate Body today, the practice of actually blocking appointments and re-appointments of judges in fact goes back to **the Obama administration** (although admittedly not on the same scale as practiced by the current US administration). It was also under President Obama that the US dabbled in the rhetoric of protecting American workers, showed great reluctance to make concessions during Doha negotiations. And again, it was the Obama administration that precipitated a turn away from the multilateralism of WTO and towards the (mega-) regionalism of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership and Trans-Pacific Partnership. Trump’s angry and public pronouncements against various multilateral institutions, or the rhetoric of some populist movements against the global order, have certainly multiplied the problems facing multilateralism. But they are not the root cause. Why multilateralism is in such a mess today boils down to three reasons: **disillusionment with globalisation**, lacklustre narratives in support of multilateralism, and the **inadequacy of existing multilateral rules** to meet new challenges. First, backing Trump’s narrative of “America First” or the Brexiters’ slogan of “Take back control” is the fact that **significant proportions of the electorates** of these countries believe that the gains of globalisation have passed them by. They attribute increasing inequality within their society, and the job losses and declining wages that they personally endure, to the costs of international trade. The hardships that these groups suffer have several causes, which range from technological change to inadequate welfare mechanisms that could allow for better wealth distribution. But **trade is often the easy scapegoat**, especially as blame can be all too conveniently attributed to international deal-making. The current US administration is an example of a government that has effectively harnessed this discontent — perhaps even stirred it further by building a narrative that links domestic inequalities and poverty within the US to multilateral governance. But this disillusionment with the system is a real and potent force, which will survive irrespective of what happens in the upcoming US elections. Telling the malcontents and the disillusioned ... that they should think about the planet first will not reassure them. Second, a solid and convincing counter-narrative has been missing. Telling the malcontents and the disillusioned — especially if they face personal economic hardships amidst increasing inequality — that they should think about the planet first will not reassure them. If anything, such narratives will only exacerbate the backlash against those increasingly seen as part of a “global elite” and the values of internationalism that they represent. The takeaway for many parts of the electorate (in different countries) from such cavalier attitudes will likely be along the lines of ‘only Mr Trump understands my pain, only the AfD is willing to stand up for my rights.’ Third, the liberal fixation on Trump as the root cause for the decline of multilateralism diverts attention from another equally serious cause: the rise of an increasingly assertive China. One reason for this blind spot may be that China itself has been doing an impressive job — at least until recently — in presenting itself as a guardian of globalization and multilateralism. Declarations of support for the system, for example at the World Economic Forum by President Xi, stand out in stark contrast to the havoc wreaked on the system via President Trump’s angry tweets and trade wars. But recent scholarship by Henry Farrell and Abe Newman on “weaponized interdependence” has begun to highlight the **use of global economic networks for geostrategic purposes.**

## T-‘Private Sector’

#### B. it’s also about US production being private sector

Emory reads blue

Wisdom ’18, 3-16, “Collaboration Between OPEC and Non-OPEC Nations,” https://wisdom.events/collaboration-opec-non-opec-nations/

Originally formed in 1960, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) strives to ensure the stabilization of oil prices internationally. This is a challenging undertaking since currently there are fourteen members, while other big players in the oil market, like Russia and USA, have not joined OPEC. This means that non-OPEC nations are not obligated to follow the organization’s directives, making it difficult to effectively control market fluctuations. The most obvious solution would be a united industry under the OPEC umbrella, but for some countries joining is not considered a favorable option. Is there a way to come to an agreement for the greater good of the industry?

The situation is not quite as dire as it might appear because OPEC and non-OPEC nations are not opposed to collaborating, as long as their interests align. Non-members have agreed to continue the oil production cuts for the duration of 2018. By the end of the year, it is expected to finally arrive at the balanced market due to continuing support of OPEC allies. Though there is a risk that the reduction of excess supply could stall if non-OPEC nations, specifically Russia, would renege on the agreement. Is there a possibility of this happening?

Russia has always had an unsteady relationship with this organization. The country has been asked to join as a member several times but has always refused, stating that the privatized nature of its oil industry doesn’t allow for the government to interfere with production. In regard to the most recent suggested cutbacks, rumblings were heard from Russia, wondering when supply curbs would start to lessen since the country’s oil companies want to increase their production this year. Such a move is prompted by the growing influence of US shale producers that causes concern for Russia over their standing in the market. As mentioned, the government has little control over the actions of the oil companies, even though in the past they were known to meddle in this private sector. This leaves the agreement with OPEC on shaky ground.

#### C. here’s more evidence that OPEC countries have nationalized oil sectors

CFR 21. Council on Foreign Relations, “Oil Dependence and U.S. Foreign Policy.” https://www.cfr.org/timeline/oil-dependence-and-us-foreign-policy

In April 1971, OPEC moves to rebalance profit sharing and oil prices and refuses to allow foreign oil companies to deal with the organization as a whole. The bloc instead forces them into separate negotiations, one for Persian Gulf producers (Tehran Agreement) and one for producers on the Mediterranean (Tripoli Agreement), resulting in higher prices. The incident marks a turning point for OPEC’s clout. Within a decade, many of OPEC’s members begin to partially or fully nationalize their oil resources and have greater influence in setting oil prices. By the end of the 1970s, international oil companies have unfettered access to just 7 percent of the world’s oil reserves, down from 85 percent in the 1960s. U.S. oil production, meanwhile, peaks in 1970 and declines about 45 percent within three decades.

#### Private sector means not directly owned or controlled.

WHO 18. “The private sector, universal health coverage and primary health care.” https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/primary-health-care-conference/private-sector.pdf?sfvrsn=36e53c69\_2

Private sector

The private sector is highly heterogeneous. In this briefing note, the private sector is defined as those individuals and organizations providing health services or products that are not owned or directly controlled by government. The private sector can be classified into the subcategories: for-profit and not-for-profit, formal and informal, domestic and foreign. The subcategories represent a wide spectrum of entities with very different attributes and purposes.

#### 2. Topic is aff-leaning

Fiona M. Scott Morton 19. Theodore Nierenberg Professor of Economics at the Yale University School of Management. Previous deputy assistant attorney general for economics at the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice. B.A. in economics from Yale University and Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Modern U.S. antitrust theory and evidence amid rising concerns of market power and its effects," Equitable Growth, https://equitablegrowth.org/research-paper/modern-u-s-antitrust-theory-and-evidence-amid-rising-concerns-of-market-power-and-its-effects/?longform=true

The experiment of enforcing the antitrust laws a little bit less each year has run for 40 years, and scholars are now in a position to assess the evidence. The accompanying interactive database of research papers for the first time assembles in one place the most recent economic literature bearing on antitrust enforcement in the United States. The review is restricted to work published since the year 2000 in order to limit its size and emphasize work using the most recent data-driven empirical techniques. The papers in the interactive database are organized by enforcement topic, with each of these topics addressed in a short overview of what the literature demonstrates over the past 19 years. These topics are: Horizontal mergers—mergers and acquisitions involving direct competitors Coordinated effects—the study of conditions under which competitors in an industry tacitly collude Vertical mergers—mergers and acquisitions where a company acquires another company to which it sells goods or services or from which it buys goods or services Exclusionary conduct—actions in the marketplace that deny a competitor access to either suppliers or customers Loyalty rebates—a type of conduct that occurs when a company gives a discount to a buyer for limiting its purchases from the company’s competitors Most Favored Nation clause—this clause requires a seller to give a specific buyer the best terms offered to other (often competing) buyers Predation—the strategy of taking losses in the short run in order to drive out a competitor and retain or gain a monopoly position, permitting prices the later exercise of market power Common ownership—the impact on competition when mutual funds and other types of institutional investors are the largest owners of product market competitors Monopsony power—the anticompetitive exercise of market power by employers (firms) in the labor market for workers Macroeconomics and market power—the impact of competition issues on the larger economy

**---DATA BASE OMITTED---**

The bulk of the research featured in our interactive database on these key topics in competition enforcement in the United States finds evidence of significant problems of underenforcement of antitrust law. The research that addresses economic theory qualifies or rejects assumptions long made by U.S. courts that have limited the scope of antitrust law. And the empirical work finds evidence of the exercise of undue market power in many dimensions, among them price, quality, innovation, and marketplace exclusion. Overall, the picture is one of a divergence between judicial opinions on the one hand, and the rigorous use of modern economics to advance consumer welfare on the other.