# Opensource---Round 6---Fullertown

# 1NC

# 2NC

## Cap K

#### 1. Education. Question of what we should do carries presuppositions about political subjectivity---if those are wrong, our policies will be too, so they can’t perm away our links. It means they can’t access the case until they’ve defended their ideology.

Mathieu Hilgers 13. [Laboratory for Contemporary Anthropology, Université Libre de Bruxelles, and Centre for Urban and Community Research, Goldsmiths, University of London, 13 [“Embodying neoliberalism: thoughts and responses to critics,” *Social Anthropology*, Vol. 21, No. 1, February 2013, p. 75-89, Accessed Online through Emory Libraries]

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.

Eugene McCarraher 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, 11/12/19, 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.

#### Any combo poisons the well.

Curran 16 [William J. Curran Ill. Editor for the Antitrust Bulletin. Commitment and betrayal: Contradictions in american democracy, capitalism, and antitrust laws. Antitrust Bulletin. 2016. 61(2): 246]

Scholars now link antitrust with distributional values. 11 Professor Anthony B. Atkinson wants antitrust to value the individual,1 12 recognizing as Hand did in Alcoa1 13 that "among the purposes of Congress in 1890 was a desire to put an end to great aggregations of capital because of the helplessness of the individual before them." 1 14 And it is the individual-rich and poor, but especially the poor-whom Atkinson wants to protect from the inequities of the marketplace.115 Atkinson sees as Senator John Sherman did in 1890 that the "problems that may disturb [the] social order ... none is more threatening than the inequality of condition of wealth, and opportunity that has grown within a single generation out of the concentration of capital into vast combinations to control production and trade to break down competition." 11 6 Sherman's and Hand's worries were certainly not Bork's. Hand said it best in Alcoa, "[W]e have been speaking only of the economic reasons which forbid monopoly ... [but] there are others, based upon the belief that great industrial consolidations are inherently undesirable, regardless of their economic results.",1 1 7 Bork-regardless of destructive results to democracy-would never find efficient economic results inherently undesirable. Bork would likely find democracy a "cornucopia of social values, all rather vague and undefined but infinitely attractive."iiS A definition that was surely meant to disparage, fails. What makes democracy attractive is its socially related values. 11 9 What makes it infinitely attractive are its regenerative capacities and potential for self-definition. 120 Bork blocked democracy's values so as not to tempt liberal judges. He worried needlessly. An antitrust solution to wealth's severe inequality is simply not plausible. 121 Antitrust has always been the heart of capitalism's ideology. 122 In truth, antitrust's distribution of wealth for the wealthy is more than ideology-it is heartless reality. So was Bork right? Are the fates of capitalism and antitrust intertwined? 123 And if antitrust were repealed? Professor Atkinson wants antitrust saved and used for citizens.124 But like Professors Stiglitz, Krugman, and Reich, he has fallen headfirst into antitrust's heartless ideological trap. And like the other three he would resurrect TR's trust-busting for the twenty-first century. Piketty avoids ideological traps. He learns the facts of history-unencumbered by ideologies like Bork's-and has an unobstructed vision 125 of the unequal and democratically destructive wealth of capitalism. Bork's antitrust is the wrong policy tool for a nation presumed to be dedicated to serving citizens equitably. 126

#### Blockchain isn’t the perm, it’s the link

Varoufakis 20 [Yanis Varoufakis. Ioannis "Yanis" Varoufakis is a Greek economist and politician. A former academic, he served as the Greek Minister of Finance from January to July 2015 under Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras. He has been Secretary-General of MeRA25, a left-wing political party, since he founded it in 2018. Why Bitcoin is not a socialist’s ally: Reply to Ben Arc. <https://diem25.org/why-bitcoin-not-socialists-ally-reply-ben-arc/> ]

Two propositions support this view. In the hypothetical case where Bitcoin were, under presently-existing capitalism, to replace fiat money: (1) It would lack the mechanism necessary to stop capitalist crises from yielding depressions that benefit only the ultra-right; and, (2) Its community-based, democratic protocols would do little to democratise economic life.

I shall explain my two propositions briefly below. But, before you despair (at my continued negative take on Bitcoin), let me foreshadow the concluding sentence in the Epilogue below: Once (and, of course, if) socialism dawns, money will have to be founded on a distributed-ledger, monetary commons enabling technology.

In other words, I shall argue that Bitcoin is not fit for purpose under capitalism, or as a vehicle toward transcending capitalism, but something like Bitcoin will characterise monetary systems in a future world free of private banks and share markets.

OK, let me now support my two propositions:

Proposition 1: Bitcoin lacks the shock absorbers necessary to prevent capitalist crises from doing untold damage to the working class.

Consider the Crash of 2008 or the more recent 2020 Covid-19-induced crisis. Suppose that Central Banks did not have the capacity instantly to create trillions of dollars, euros, pounds and yen — and instead had to rely on a spontaneous majority of Bitcoin’s users to agree to a massive increase in the supply of money. The result would be a 1929-like collapse of banks and corporations.

While socialists would shed no tears for the tragedy of the oligarchy, socialists should beware that a 1929-like systemic collapse is bound to strengthen the forces of the ultra-right — not of the socialist left (that has been, since at least 1991, languishing in the doldrums of political paralysis).

Technically, there is of course nothing that would prevent the Bitcoin community from agreeing instantly to even a doubling of the money base. However, the Tragedy of the Commons guarantees that Bitcoin owners will be subject to the usual prisoner’s dilemma dynamic that prevents the boost in the money supply necessary to avert the liquidation of potentially viable businesses and jobs. Moreover, this free-rider problem is made far, far worse by the fact that Bitcoin ownership is very unequally distributed, thus giving the Bitcoin-rich powerful incentives to restrain the growth of the money supply (since such restrictions would boost their private rents at the expense of the public interest).

In short, the free-rider problem that guarantees the maximal reinforcement of any capitalist crisis (in any economy relying on Bitcoin as its main currency) will be turbocharged by the unequal ownership of Bitcoin – which is unavoidable in any monetary system overlaid upon contemporary capitalism.

Proposition 2: Under capitalism, Bitcoin’s dominance will not democratise economic life — or give socialism a chance.

Suppose, again, that some magic wand is waved and Bitcoin replaces fiat money under contemporary capitalist conditions. In other words, as Bitcoin replaced dollars, pounds, euros and yen, property rights over land, resources and machines remain as they are while private equity firms and pension funds continue to own the bulk of shares trading in Wall Street, the City etc. All that will have changed is that Central Banks will vanish and the community of Bitcoin users will determine the global money supply (subject to the free-rider problems mentioned above).

At the firm level, nothing will have changed. Jeff Bezos will still control a massive monopsony-cum-monopoly, Facebook will still own the whole marketplace within its platform, Exxon-Mobil will continue to lean on weaker developing country governments to drill for oil and gas that should be left in the Earth’s guts etc.

And what of private banks? They would, make no mistake here, find ways of creating complex derivatives based on Bitcoin – derivatives that will soon (just like Lehman Brothers’ CDOs prior to 2008) function as stores of value and means of exchange; i.e. as private money. Massive bubbles denominated in Bitcoin will build up and they will burst just as they did in the 19th century under the Gold Standard. And then?

In the absence of Central Banks and with the Bitcoin community in the clasps of the aforementioned free-rider problem, depression will follow – as it did before the Fed was instituted in the US. Thus, the tragedy mentioned in Proposition 1 above kicks in.

In short, not only will the democratisation of money via Bitcoin fail to democratise capitalism but it will also give an almighty boost to the forces of regression.

Epilogue.

Bitcoin’s great appeal is that it breaks the cronyist chain linking central banks and private bankers. However, it does not undermine the cronyism of the network of bosses, politicians and private bankers.

Lest we forget, 19th Century bimetallic America also lacked a central bank. Under the gold and silver standards, the public money supply was fixed — and could not be easily manipulated by the state (either the government or the, then non-existent, Fed). But that did not stop private bankers from leveraging public money out of thin air to create huge quantities of private money with which to fund the Robber Barons, i.e. the Jeff Bezoses, of the era.

In this sense, replacing fiat money with Bitcoin would take us back to a postmodern version of 19th Century America — not exactly a prospect socialists should go to the barricades for.

#### Efficiency Link – legal debates over antitrust are trapped in maximizing wealth through competition – ensures precarity and extinction

Britton-Purdy et al 20 [Jedediah. William S. Beinecke Professor of Law at Columbia Law School. David Singh Grewal, Professor of Law at Berkeley Law School. Amy Kapczynski, Professor of Law at Yale Law School. K. Sabeel Rahman, Associate Professor of Law at Brooldyn Law School and President, Demos. Building a Law-and-Political-Economy Framework: Beyond the Twentieth-Century Synthesis. The Yale Law Journal. April 2020. 129(6): 1786-1790]

We live in a time of rolling political, economic, social, and ecological crises. In the United States and across the world, income inequality has returned to the levels of the Gilded Age.1 Conventional monetary policy seems unable to generate the stable and shared growth that previous generations of economists and policymakers took for granted.2 Factors such as the weakness of labor unions, the increasing concentration of industry,4 and the degradation of social insurance scheme5 have contributed to inequality and intensified precarity.i Markers of despair, including early death, are on the rise for young and middle-aged adults in the United States.7 This economic crisis is creating a crisis of care and social reproduction. Low wages mean longer work hours, high rents mean longer commutes, and unaffordable childcare and weakening social-insurance schemes mean heavier bur- dens on caregivers.' These trends are intensified, particularly among the poor and people of color, by mass incarceration,10 misdemeanor-control policies," penal welfare,12 and penal debt.13 Racialized violence and structural inequity pervade the American social order, even the physical structure of our cities, and foster unequal vulnerability to environmental problems, economic exploitation, and physical insecurity.14 Climate change threatens to exacerbate all of these crises. It challenges our way of life so fundamentally that it is hard to adequately conceptualize the potential harms in relation to current institutions and intellectual frameworks.15 The model of economic growth and resource extraction at the heart of today's capitalism is on a collision course with human existence as we have known it. 16 Even short of widespread catastrophe, the costs of climate disruption will fall on those least able to bear them." The political response to these problems has proven insufficient. Our democratic structures of decision-making are hollowed out. 18 Government enacts the policy preferences of the rich over those of the majority19: political scientists studying the problem have deemed money itself "the root of representational inequality."2 0 Citizen frustration with this intertwined and increasing concentration of economic and political power is visible on the right in the rise of the Tea Party and the election of Donald Trump and on the left in social movements such as Occupy and Black Lives Matter and in growing calls by prominent parts of the Democratic Party for socialism or renewed social democracy. All of these movements express deep dissatisfaction with political elites. They manifest ordinary people's anger at their limited influence over both their individual lives and our collective political future. Together, these developments pose a deep challenge to prevailing models of legal thought and scholarship, which have been profoundly shaped by a misconception of the relationship between politics and the economy. That misconception inhibits our ability to address urgent problems of distribution, democracy, and ecology. Indeed, legal discourse has helped consolidate these problems by serving as a powerful authorizing terrain for a set of "neoliberal"2 1 political projects that have fueled these same crises. Although a full defense of these claims will take many pages, any first-year law student can appreciate the problem's basic contours. She may begin her education imagining it as an invitation to ask fundamental questions concerning justice and power. But she is likely to "learn" quickly that serious legal thought in areas such as contracts and property prizes a certain version of efficiency over all else. Meanwhile, constitutional law advances visions of equality and liberty that leave many forms of unequal power and vulnerability unchallenged or even enshrined as constitutionally fundamental. Upper-level courses such as antitrust and antidiscrimination law extend and consolidate the same lessons. To enter law school today -particularly the elite law schools that send the most students into powerful legal and political positions -is to join a conversation shaped by the depoliticization and naturalization of market-mediated inequalities.2 2 The sum of these parts is a division of labor among legal fields that we dub the "Twentieth-Century Synthesis."" It rests upon two interrelated developments. First, some legal subfields have been reoriented around versions of economic "efficiency." These are the fields in which law and economics has become dominant and which are generally considered to be "about the market": contracts, property, antitrust, intellectual property, corporate law, and so on. Here, efficiency analysis anchors both the descriptive framing and the normative assessment of law. Efficiency itself is typically defined- in practice if not always in theory - as a kind of "wealth maximization" that works to structurally prioritize the interests of those with more resources.2 4 This methodological approach offers no framework for thinking systematically about the interrelationships be- tween political and economic power. Its commitment to summative conceptions provides it no means to analyze, let alone counter, contemporary concentrations of wealth and power, except insofar as they interfere with overall efficiency.2

#### Now key

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.

#### Warming outweighs nuke war.

McDonald 19 (Samuel Miller - writer and geography PhD student at University of Oxford studying the intersection of grassroots movements and energy transition, 1-4-2019, “Deathly Salvation”, *The Trouble*, https://www.the-trouble.com/content/2019/1/4/deathly-salvation)

A devastating fact of climate collapse is that there may be a silver lining to the mushroom cloud. First, it should be noted that a nuclear exchange does not inevitably result in apocalyptic loss of life. Nuclear winter—the idea that firestorms would make the earth uninhabitable—is based on shaky science. There’s no reliable model that can determine how many megatons would decimate agriculture or make humans extinct. Nations have already detonated 2,476 nuclear devices. An exchange that shuts down the global economy but stops short of human extinction may be the only blade realistically likely to cut the carbon knot we’re trapped within. It would decimate existing infrastructures, providing an opportunity to build new energy infrastructure and intervene in the current investments and subsidies keeping fossil fuels alive. In the near term, emissions would almost certainly rise as militaries are some of the world’s largest emitters. Given what we know of human history, though, conflict may be the only way to build the mass social cohesion necessary for undertaking the kind of huge, collective action needed for global sequestration and energy transition. Like the 20th century’s world wars, a nuclear exchange could serve as an economic leveler. It could provide justification for nationalizing energy industries with the interest of shuttering fossil fuel plants and transitioning to renewables and, uh, nuclear energy. It could shock us into reimagining a less ~~suicidal~~ civilization, one that dethrones the death-cult zealots who are currently in power. And it may toss particulates into the atmosphere sufficient to block out some of the solar heat helping to drive global warming. Or it may have the opposite effects. Who knows? What we do know is that humans can survive and recover from war, probably even a nuclear one. Humans cannot recover from runaway climate change. Nuclear war is not an inevitable extinction event; six degrees of warming is.

#### Busts are structurally inevitable---externalities and financialization concentrate capital and remove buyers.

Conor Payne and Chris Stewart 8/11/21. “The End of Growth? The Capitalist Economy & Ecological Crisis.” https://www.socialistalternative.org/2021/08/11/the-end-of-growth-the-capitalist-economy-ecological-crisis/

Capitalism’s “boom and bust” cycle

Under capitalism, the driving force of the economy is the pursuit of profit. The competition between companies and even different capitalist powers for markets and resources means that this drive for profit is relentless and expansive. Therefore, capitalism also involves a continuous quest for economic growth.

At the same time, these companies will seek to “externalize” the cost of their activities, to leave them to be paid by someone else. The capitalist firm doesn’t care on what basis it grows; whether its products are useful or cause harm, or if its activities are environmentally sustainable.

Capitalism is a system of contradictions. The capitalists get their profits by exploiting workers, as well as the resources extracted from nature in the labor process. The constant need to accumulate more profits means capitalism extracts more and more resources in increasingly destructive ways, ultimately leading to the depletion of soils, minerals, forests, the life in our oceans etc — which undermines the system’s own sources of wealth.

Capitalism is increasingly coming up against the ecological barrier to its unrestrained development, as seen in mounting natural disasters, the recent shutdown of the power system in Texas, and a global pandemic, all at least partly attributable to humanity’s increasing incursions into nature.

As well as this, capitalism is a system that primarily organizes investment through the chaos of the stock market, where investment is motivated only by the pursuit of profit. Today, capitalists increasingly choose to speculate with their wealth through complex financial products that have little relation to actual value in society – what Marx termed “fictitious capital”. This is because they can make more short-term profits here than they can through actual productive investment.

At the same time, the desire of the capitalists to drive down the share of wealth that goes to the working class means that workers collectively are not able to buy all the goods the capitalists put to market. This is one way that capitalist growth eventually comes up against its limits and throws the system into crisis and recession. We are now experiencing this process of crisis in Ireland and internationally for the second time in just over a decade.

When growth has been rooted in productive investment, it has often led also to increases in working class living standards, although workers’ gains are usually dwarfed by those of corporations and the rich. Periods of economic growth, for example in the decades following World War 2, were also sometimes used by capitalist governments to grant social reforms in the interests of working people, such as pensions, public health and education services, welfare protections etc. This was done not out of any innate kindness but as a mechanism to stave off potential revolutionary challenges to the system from the working class.

However, in the preceding decades of neo-liberal capitalism, the basis for growth has been precisely the reduction of the share of wealth going to the working class. Capitalism has suppressed wages, gutted public services, eroded economic security. Inequality has exploded as the gains of economic growth congealed at the top. At the same time, the capitalists have promoted more and more consumption fueled in significant measure by debt. This means that today capitalist economic growth often means little real gain for working class people.

The recovery from the great recession of ’08 was largely a joyless one. This was illustrated graphically here in Ireland in the 2020 election when the establishment did not benefit from any “feel good” factor whatsoever — in fact suffering a historic defeat. This was despite nominally impressive growth rates in the preceding years. The recovery did not alter the reality of low pay, precarity and housing distress. In Britain, the Office of National Statistics found that, despite a decade of “growth”, real wages only recovered to the level of 2008 at the end of 2019 — just in time for the next crisis! At the same time, the numbers on zero hours contracts were the highest on record, at just under a million workers.1

Meanwhile, the mounting burden of ecological breakdown will not be shared equally; as those with wealth move to insulate themselves from the consequences of the economic system they have profited from. As unprecedentedly low temperatures drove catastrophic power outages in Texas, working-class, poor and minority neighborhoods bore the brunt of the power cuts while empty skyscrapers lit up the city skyline.

Karl Marx said that under capitalism: “Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole.”2 This sums up the capitalist economy today. At the same time, of course, workers are still liable to pay the price when the system goes into recession. The reality is that at no stage in its cycle of boom and bust, does the capitalist economy operate in the interests of the working class.

#### Speculation – inflation and crypto bubbles make reform ineffective in oncoming crisis – makes boom and bust inevitable.

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.

#### Ag collapse---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, 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) Mineral cycles---that’s Allinson---copper, lithium, and manganese hit bottlenecks.

Ahmed 20 [Nafeez. M.A. in contemporary war & peace studies and a DPhil (April 2009) in international relations from the School of Global Studies at Sussex University. Capitalism Will Ruin the Earth By 2050, Scientists Say. Vice. 10-21-2020. https://www.vice.com/en/article/v7m48d/capitalism-will-ruin-the-earth-by-2050-scientists-say]

Endless growth will generate minerals scarcity within decades The EV transition is, in short, a massive industrial project. Electrification of roads and rail will require upgraded smart grids, complex routes connected to high power lines, and regular battery-swap stations. The paper explores several scenarios to explore how such a transition would take place. In a continuing GDP growth scenario, the authors note that the economy begins to stagnate “due to peak oil limits at around 2025-2040,” but GDP is able to continue growing thanks to the EV transition. This shows that the reduction in liquid fuels in transportation can play a powerful role in avoiding “energy shortages in the economy as a whole.” But then the economy hits the limits of mineral and material production to sustain this electric transition—in just three decades. And this is even with high levels of minerals recycling. By 2050, in this scenario, the EV transition will “require higher amounts of copper, lithium and manganese than current reserves. For the cases of copper and manganese the depletion is mainly due to the demand from the rest of the economy,” but most lithium demand “is for EV batteries,” and this alone “depletes its estimated global reserves.” Mineral depletion takes place even with “a very high increase in recycling rates” in a continuing GDP growth scenario. In one such scenario, the authors apply what they consider to be realistic upper level recycling rates of 57 percent, 30 percent and 74 percent to copper, lithium and manganese respectively. These are based on extremely optimistic projections of recycling capabilities relative to their costs. But still they find that even these high recycling rates wouldn’t prevent depletion of all current estimated reserves by 2050. The conclusion corroborates findings of other studies, estimating an expected bottleneck for lithium by 2042-2045 and for manganese by 2038-2050. Actual bottlenecks could come even earlier because existing studies—including the MEDEAS model—don’t account for material requirements needed for internal wiring, the EV motor, EV chargers, building and maintaining the grid to connect and charge EV batteries, the catenaries to electrify the railways, as well as inherent difficulties in recycling metals.

#### COVID---“recovery” is sugar rush that drives crisis.

Roberts & Smith ‘21 [Michael Roberts worked as an economist for over 40 years, Activist in British Labor Movement in Britain. Interviewed by Ashley Smith, Author at Specter Journal. “Out of Lockdown and Back into the Long Depression.” 7-6-21. <https://spectrejournal.com/out-of-lockdown-and-back-into-the-long-depression/> //shree]

The Covid slump of 2020-21 was basically a supply-side shock due to the global spread of the Covid-19 virus and the failure of governments in the major economies (with a few exceptions) to prevent its spread. There were delayed and bungled measures along with weakened health systems, so economies had to close down as lockdowns and isolation measures were the only answer to avoiding catastrophe. Economically, that meant supply stopped, and then that led to a collapse in demand as people were laid off and businesses crashed. But recovery is now under way (more or less) in most major economies. Demand was propped up in the major advanced economies through massive government fiscal spending and central bank injections of credit for businesses (particularly large ones). And now through a combination of lockdowns and the incredibly fast development and rollout of effective vaccinations (thanks to publicly funded science), the major economies are now able to recover. But in the G7 economies this initial recovery has the aspect of a “sugar rush.” The “sugar” of fiscal stimulus and historic levels of easy credit is infusing capitalist businesses and household spending with an energy boost. Indeed, during the pandemic slump sections of capitalism did not suffer at all; on the contrary, they gained hugely, e.g., the social media and tech sector, the mega-distribution companies, and Big Pharma. Better-off households also suffered less (at least materially) as they continued to be paid, could work at home, and saved income significantly. This led to a house purchase boom as these sectors of labour looked to change their lifestyles post-Covid. At the same time, zero interest rates and cheap credit allowed financial institutions to make hay in financial markets and billionaire wealth rocketed as stock and bond markets hit historic highs. But, for most manual workers in the cities and in low-paid service industries, the pandemic slump was a disaster and with little prospect of returning to “normal” for them in the recovery. And it’s the advanced capitalist economies and the East Asian states that are recovering best in 2021-22. The so-called global South suffered hugely in the pandemic, with record levels of excess deaths and a massive rise in unemployment and poverty levels. Fiscal support from governments was limited and the rollout of vaccines to get economies going again is way short. Estimates are that the target vaccination levels in these countries will not be achieved until 2023-4! So, what we are going to see is the major capitalist economies of the West and China returning to pre-pandemic levels of national output by the end of this year or in early 2022, but Latin America, Africa, South Asia failing to do so. What are the weaknesses and contradictions of the recovery in those economies? Before the pandemic, the world economy was slowing down. Real GDP growth rates in the G7 were dropping to just 1 percent or lower; the so-called emerging economies had growth rates down to 3 percent (hardly enough to cover increases in population). World trade was declining. Even the giant economies of China and India had slowed. The main reason was that growth in investment in productive assets that can boost the productivity of labor and expand technology and employment had also slowed. In my view, investment and productivity growth are key to developing the productive forces of modern capitalist economies, and they were failing because under capitalism, profitability is the driving force behind investment. And according to the best estimates, US and global profitability levels are at historic lows. This is the long-term result of the basic contradiction of capitalism: between raising the productivity of labour and sustaining profitability. Over the long term, this cannot be done, and this is the economic Achilles heel of capita

l. At first sight, this result seems strange when we read of the huge profits being made by the likes of the so-called FAANGS (the tech and social media monopolies) and Amazon. But these are the exceptions that prove the rule. On average, the profitability of firms in the productive sectors of capitalist economies are low. That’s partly why profits have been reinvested into financial and other unproductive sectors like property where profitability is higher. Indeed, it is estimated that before the pandemic, about 15-20 percent of companies in the major economies were what are called “zombies,” i.e., not making enough profit to invest or expand, but just enough to pay wages and service their debts. They are the “living dead” in capitalist terms. At the same time, however, corporate debt is at record highs in most countries, raising the risk of bankruptcies if interest rates were to rise. All this makes it unlikely that we shall see any significant change post-pandemic from what we saw in the post-great recession decade, i.e., slow growth in investment, low wage growth, poor productivity growth, rising inequality, and unchanged or worsened global poverty. In the US, a lot has been made about Biden’s turn away from the neoliberal consensus toward Keynesianism. What has he done, why has he done it, and what has been its impact so far? The pandemic fiscal packages introduced by various G7 governments and, of course, by the Biden administration were emergency measures by states to avoid complete meltdown and catastrophe from the pandemic. In my view, they do not signify a change of ideology or policy by pro-capitalist governments. The usual talk is “let’s get out of this slump and preserve capitalist businesses using state funds and credit and then worry about paying it all down later.” The “later” is still to come. Biden’s fiscal packages have been heralded as a sea change in government policy and a return to Keynesian macro-management and stimulation of capitalist economies. But first, let’s leave aside the fact that Keynesian stimulus and macro-management was mainly a myth anyway and really the product of a war economy after 1945 which was ditched in the mid-1970s. Instead let us consider the actual impact of the Biden packages. The latest estimates by Goldman Sachs, hardly a voice of the left, is that after all the machinations of Congress by the end of this year, the Biden package will be equivalent to about 1 percent of US GDP each year for the rest of Biden term. But Biden is going to pay for these partly by increasing taxation by 0.75 percent of GDP a year. Given that the best estimates of so-called multiplier effects on GDP from fiscal stimulus are about one, that means the net effect of the Biden packages, if fully implemented, might boost US real GDP growth by 0.25 percent a year. The current forecast for long-term us real GDP growth is just 1.8 percent a year. So, the “great” return to Keynes by Biden will be minimal. If Biden manages to get his larger proposals for increased spending on infrastructure and social welfare spending through Congress, what impact will that have on the US and world economies? If the Biden package will have a limited effect on the US economy, any spillover effect into other economies will be even less substantial. The EU is also planning an economic recovery package that will boost government funds in EU countries with already large debt burdens like Italy and Spain. But again, the impact on the capitalist sectors of these economies will be minimal. Japan is about to announce a fiscal package that aims to “balance the books” over the next decade – hardly stimulus then! Indeed, the latest growth forecast for japan is a further slowing from its pre-pandemic pace of less than 1 percent a year. And apart from China, Vietnam, and the small East Asian states, the rest of the global South has little prospect of any fiscal stimulus or economic recovery. Most estimates from international agencies are that these economies will not recover to pre-pandemic GDP levels before 2023 and will never recover to pre-pandemic trajectories of economic growth. There is a permanent “scarring” of these weak peripheral capitalist economies. There has been a whole range of bourgeois commentators like Lawrence Summers warning about the threat of inflation. What’s your assessment about the arguments about inflation? What are the dangers of a return to what in the 1970s was called stagflation, a combination of slow growth and increased inflation? In the short term, inflation has returned to many economies. This is because of the sugar rush of consumer demand as economies open up again and people start spending down savings built up during the pandemic slump, while companies search for raw materials and components to restart businesses. Coupled with a significant disruption of global value chains, supply cannot meet demand and bottlenecks have created an inflation of prices in raw materials and consumer goods and services. But is this as transitory as the federal reserve and other central banks claim (though to be fair, there are divergent views within these banks)? Some, like Summers, argue that credit and fiscal stimulation boost demand without engendering enough supply because there is a secular stagnation in investment and productivity in modern economies. Others argue that credit injections and monetary easing after the great recession did not lead to inflation. On the contrary, easing only boosted financial and property prices. The Keynesian view is that inflation only happens when wage costs rise, i.e., inflation is caused by labor rather than capital. And that is not happening so far. My view is that price inflation in goods and services in capitalist economies comes about through a combination of demand generated by new value (as expressed in wages and profits) and the pace of money supply growth. But it is the change in value production that matters most. Capitalist economies have experienced a slowdown in new value growth for decades, so inflation rates have slowed to a trickle. Central banks have tried very hard with monetary easing to get some inflation (2 percent targets, etc.) and failed. Tinkering with interest rates and money quantities cannot deliver even moderate inflation in these conditions. So, after this initial burst, inflation will rise above pre-pandemic rates (i.e., 2 percent or so) only if the world capitalist economies generate faster growth in new value (unlikely) and/or there are sustained levels of double-digit growth money supply (possible). The latter is what central banks control, and they are divided on how long to maintain that. This raises larger theoretical questions on the left. Many believe that Keynesianism or Modern Monetary Theory can stimulate growth and bring about a more egalitarian capitalist order. You have challenged these ideas in your blog, The Next Recession. Why do Marxists argue that Keynesianism can’t overcome capitalist crisis in general and in this slump? The key to answering this is to recognize that capitalists decide whether economies grow or go into slump. By that I mean capitalists will only invest in means of production and employment if there is a profit to be made. Profit calls the tune under capitalism. And as mentioned above, average profitability in the major capitalist economies is low; corporate debt is high, and many firms are just surviving through cheap credit and not investing productively. But Keynesian theory does not consider capitalist economies from the perspective of profitability. It’s effective demand that decides. If government spending can increase demand, then it can get capitalist economies going. If Marxist theory is a better explanation of capitalist accumulation, then if profitability of capital stays low and does not recover to new higher levels post-pandemic, then government spending will be ineffective.

## Blockchain adv

#### Crypto mining wrecks the environment

Jon Huang et al. 21. Claire O’Neill and Hiroko Tabuchi. "Bitcoin Uses More Electricity Than Many Countries. How Is That Possible?." NYT. 9-3-2021. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/09/03/climate/bitcoin-carbon-footprint-electricity.html

Today you need highly specialized machines, a lot of money, a big space and enough cooling power to keep the constantly running hardware from overheating. That’s why mining now happens in giant data centers owned by companies or groups of people.

In fact, operations have consolidated so much that now, only seven mining groups own nearly 80 percent of all computing power on the network. (The aim behind “pooling” computing power like this is to distribute income more evenly so participants get $10 per day rather than $50,000 every 10 years, for example.)

Mining happens all over the world, often wherever there’s an abundance of cheap energy. For years, much of the Bitcoin mining has been in China, although recently, the country has started cracking down. Researchers at the University of Cambridge who have been tracking Bitcoin mining said recently that China’s share of global Bitcoin mining had fallen to 46 percent in April from 75 percent in late 2019. Meanwhile, the United States’ share of mining grew to 16 percent from 4 percent during the same period.

Bitcoin mining means more than just emissions. Hardware piles up, too. Everyone wants the newest, fastest machinery, which causes high turnover and a new e-waste problem. Alex de Vries, a Paris-based economist, estimates that every year and a half or so, the computational power of mining hardware doubles, making older machines obsolete. According to his calculations, at the start of 2021, Bitcoin alone was generating more e-waste than many midsize countries.

“Bitcoin miners are completely ignoring this issue, because they don’t have a solution,” said Mr. de Vries, who runs Digiconomist, a site that tracks the sustainability of cryptocurrencies. “These machines are just dumped.”

#### No IoT rollout

Dennis Knake 17. Professional editor and has been responsible for communications in the IT industry for many years; for more than two decades, he has been writing regularly on IT/IoT topics, telecommunications and the IT market in general. "IoT overhyped? Impact of IoT slower than expected." We speak IoT, November 22, 2017. https://www.wespeakiot.com/iot-overhyped-impact-iot-slower-expected/

The Internet of Things is considered to be the main factor for a successful digital transformation of many businesses. Helping companies to reinvent products, services and even their traditional business models. However, the recent “Internet of Things Business Index 2017”, an “Economist” study and sponsored by IBM and ARM finds, that the impact of IoT is not as high as expected by many company executives. Is the IoT overhyped?

For their study, the Economist surveyed 825 senior business leaders from around the world, representing a total of ten different industries. Those industries include financial services, manufacturing, healthcare, pharmaceuticals, IT and technology, construction and real estate, automotive and more.

While respondents reported, that the IoT already had a marked impact on their business model, less than 10 percent of the companies surveyed have achieved “extensive” implementation of the IoT for both external and internal operations. Many executives feel that the IoT has not progressed quite as fast as they had expected a few years ago.

Main obstacles to IoT implementation are of practical nature

While five years ago the major obstacle for IoT implementation was related with basic understanding and reception, executives are nowadays concerned with practical implementation matters. 29 percent of respondents suggesting that the high cost of required investment in IoT infrastructure is a challenge. Concerns about security and privacy appear in second place, cited by 26 percent of executives.

#### It will be intense regulation---zeroes the scenario

Matt Sandgren 21, Former Staff Director of the Senate Republican High-Tech Task Force, Former Senior Counsel on the Senate Judiciary Committee, Final Chief of Staff to Senator Orrin G. Hatch, Executive Director of the Orrin G. Hatch Foundation, “How New Regulations from Washington Could Lead to a Blockchain Brain Drain”, The Hill, 10/27/2021, https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/technology/578834-how-new-regulations-from-washington-could-lead-to-a-blockchain

The internet is what it is today—with its ability to connect people across countries, time zones, and cultures—thanks to the friendly regulatory climate it was born into. Sadly, the regulatory climate of 2021 is far less welcoming to disruptive technologies. This is bad news for the future of U.S. innovation and the emerging blockchain industry.

Whether Washington takes a heavy-handed or a light-touch approach to crypto regulation over the next few months could make a multitrillion-dollar difference over the next few years. To understand how much we stand to lose as a result of bad blockchain policy, it’s first important to understand just how much we have gained as a result of good internet policy in the ’90s.

It’s easy to forget that the success of today’s internet behemoths was anything but certain in the early years of the tech boom. During the Dotcom Bubble of the late '90s, for example, many companies were dismissed as scams (and some of them were). But even the most promising companies were still seen as speculative bets, and their stock prices were subject to extreme volatility.

It’s also easy to forget that the very concept of the internet was foreign to most people in its early years. By today’s standards, it was slow, overly complex, and difficult to use by anyone without a strong technical background. Many dismissed the internet as a fad, including Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Krugman, who made this prediction in 1998: “By 2005 or so, it will become clear that the internet’s impact on the economy has been no greater than the fax machine’s.”

Noted.

“A scam,” “a fad,” “a bubble,” “overly complex,” “too volatile.” Does any of this sound familiar? History doesn’t rhyme so much as it plagiarizes. And it’s impossible to ignore that the crypto skeptics of today use the same vocabulary as the internet naysayers of yesteryear.

Now imagine if U.S. policymakers had heeded the words of the internet’s critics in the mid-to-late ’90s. Imagine if they had cracked down on e-commerce, digital publishing, and fledgling social media platforms to preserve the old way of doing things. Imagine if they had shaped regulations to stem the free flow of physical goods, ideas, and information made possible by the internet.

The American people would have missed out on trillions of dollars in economic opportunity—and the bounties of the digital age would have gone to countries with more tech-friendly policies.

This is the risk we face today.

We find ourselves at the dawn of a new age of American innovation. Like the internet before it, crypto has the potential to redefine everything we know about how business, politics, media, finance, and even relationships work. But if legislators give in to crypto’s critics by taking a draconian approach to regulation, the U.S. will fail to reap the economic rewards of this world-changing technology—and entrepreneurs will flee to friendlier shores.

Even now, the stage is being set for a blockchain brain drain. Take the Senate-passed infrastructure bill, which includes a provision that would define crypto miners, validators, and even software developers as “brokers,” requiring them to report information to the IRS about anonymous blockchain participants that they would have no way of obtaining. In effect, this provision would kill the nascent DeFi (decentralized finance) industry and make it almost impossible for everyday Americans to invest in new cryptocurrencies. In other words, this latest move sends a hostile message to blockchain advocates: “We don’t want you here.”

At best, the Senate proposal belies a gross misunderstanding of how cryptocurrencies work; at worst, it exposes regulatory capture and the willingness of legislators to give in to special interests.

Sadly, the threat of bad regulation doesn’t end there. SEC Chair Gary Gensler has expressed his belief that many digital assets are not commodities but securities and should be regulated as such. Following this same logic, he’s signaled his intent to crack down on the use of stable coins—cryptocurrencies pegged to the value of the U.S. dollar. Americans are using stable coins to earn 4 to 8 percent APY on their savings through various lending programs. But the SEC wants to put a stop to these lending programs, ostensibly “to protect investors.” (What’s unclear is which government agency will protect investors from the unlimited money printing that is devaluing their dollar savings at a rate of 5.3 percent per year.)

Washington has gotten off on the wrong foot when it comes to crypto. But it’s not too late to correct course.

Regulation of crypto is not necessarily a bad thing. In fact, it’s a key step on the path to mainstream adoption. It’s critical, however, that policymakers shape regulation in a way that minimizes the risks of this new technology without eliminating its benefits. Congress found a way to do this with the internet in the ’90s. Section 230—while far from perfect and in need of reform today—paved the way for a flexible regulatory environment that allowed for many online companies to thrive. In the famous words of Jeff Kosseff, Section 230 contains “the 26 words that created the internet” (and, it’s worth adding, “trillions of dollars in economic wealth”).

Indeed, regulatory clarity is key to extracting maximum value from the emerging crypto economy, whether that value comes from DeFi protocols, decentralized forms of social media, tokenized assets, NFTs, or some other application of blockchain technology that we can’t even imagine today.

As policymakers seek to find the right balance on regulation, they should remember that the U.S. didn’t become the tech capital of the world by choking innovators with red tape. The U.S. became what it is today by taking a prudential approach to regulation—one that enabled the entrepreneurial spirit.

This is the same entrepreneurial spirit that inspired the private sector technological advances that made the Apollo moon landing possible. It’s the same spirit that brought about smartphones millions of times more powerful than the Apollo 11 guidance computers. And it’s the same spirit that has motivated a group of visionaries to push the boundaries of the digital frontier through blockchain technology.

Will Washington’s leaders stifle that spirit to the detriment of our economy and our reputation as a global leader in innovation? Or will they nourish that spirit to usher in the next chapter of the digital revolution?

Let’s hope they choose the latter.

#### Smart cities consume too much

John Gibbons 21. Environmental journalist and co-author of the Routledge International Handbook of Environmental Journalism. Resolving the paradox of satisfying the needs of all while using far less energy. Irish Times. 5-6-2021. https://www.irishtimes.com/news/science/resolving-the-paradox-of-satisfying-the-needs-of-all-while-using-far-less-energy-1.4542693

‘Drastic changes’ “Our intention is to imagine a world that is fundamentally transformed, where state-of-the-art technologies merge with drastic changes in demand to bring energy (and material) consumption as low as possible, while providing decent material conditions and basic services for all”, the authors state. Only through such a radical transformation, they add, can human needs be met within critical planetary boundaries. At present, those daring to suggest alternatives to our current model of constant economic growth or promoting steady state economics are likely to be dismissed as new age cultists or “degrowth fetishists” trying to make everyone poor. The new study, according to lead author, Joel Millward-Hopkins of the University of Leeds, “offers a response to the cliched populist objection that environmentalists are proposing that we return to living in caves”. The paper points out that “inequality and especially affluence, are now widely recognised as core drivers of environmental damage”. Consider that in the year since the Covid-19 pandemic began, the collective wealth of the world’s billionaires has ballooned by some $3.9 trillion (€3.2 trillion) while hundreds of millions of the world’s poorest people were plunged deeper into poverty and financial insecurity as a result of the pandemic. Trickle-down economics This further debunks the concept known as trickle-down economics, the notion that tax breaks for the wealthy would somehow flow towards wider society. Resources are instead being rapidly siphoned upwards towards the already wealthy and economically powerful. The paper points out that current levels of energy usage “underpin numerous existential crises, resource scarcity and the geopolitical instabilities these issues can catalyse, especially in a growth-dependent global economy”. While there have been significant improvements in energy efficiency, these have “largely served to boost productivity and enable further growth”. Crucially, beyond a certain point, increases in energy use in a given society deliver little or no additional benefits to that society. The study envisages, with the aid of technologies, radical demand-side transformations that largely eliminate excessive consumption and focuses available resources instead on providing the conditions required for flourishing. These include basic physical health and safety, access to clean air and safe water, good quality (largely plant-based) nutrition, and the opportunity for social and political participation. Resolving the paradox of how to satisfy the needs of all while using far less energy and fewer resources depends on sharp global reductions in meat-eating, down by some 85 per cent in rich countries. A massive expansion of public transport globally would greatly reduce energy and emissions while allowing people to meet their transport needs without the expense of owning and running resource-intensive private cars. Globally, much of the existing housing stock needs to be replaced over time with modern buildings with very low heating and cooling energy requirements. This would be another vital step in achieving decent living conditions with far less energy than at present.

## FTC Adv

#### Market-driven AI is bad

Xiang 18 [Feng. Professor of law at Tsinghua University and one of China’s most prominent legal scholars. Opinion: AI will spell the end of capitalism. Washington Post. 5-3-2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/theworldpost/wp/2018/05/03/end-of-capitalism/> ]

BEIJING — The most momentous challenge facing socio-economic systems today is the arrival of artificial intelligence. If AI remains under the control of market forces, it will inexorably result in a super-rich oligopoly of data billionaires who reap the wealth created by robots that displace human labor, leaving massive unemployment in their wake. But China’s socialist market economy could provide a solution to this. If AI rationally allocates resources through big data analysis, and if robust feedback loops can supplant the imperfections of “the invisible hand” while fairly sharing the vast wealth it creates, a planned economy that actually works could at last be achievable. The more AI advances into a general-purpose technology that permeates every corner of life, the less sense it makes to allow it to remain in private hands that serve the interests of the few instead of the many. More than anything else, the inevitability of mass unemployment and the demand for universal welfare will drive the idea of socializing or nationalizing AI. Marx’s dictum, “From each according to their abilities, to each according to their needs,” needs an update for the 21st century: “From the inability of an AI economy to provide jobs and a living wage for all, to each according to their needs.” Even at this early stage, the idea that digital capitalism will somehow make social welfare a priority has already proven to be a fairytale. The billionaires of Google and Apple, who have been depositing company profits in offshore havens to avoid taxation, are hardly paragons of social responsibility. The ongoing scandal around Facebook’s business model, which puts profitability above responsible citizenship, is yet another example of how in digital capitalism, private companies only look after their own interests at the expense of the rest of society. One can readily see where this is all headed once technological unemployment accelerates. “Our responsibility is to our shareholders,” the robot owners will say. “We are not an employment agency or a charity.” These companies have been able to get away with their social irresponsibility because the legal system and its loopholes in the West are geared to protect private property above all else. Of course, in China, we have big privately owned Internet companies like Alibaba and Tencent. But unlike in the West, they are monitored by the state and do not regard themselves as above or beyond social control. It is the very pervasiveness of AI that will spell the end of market dominance. The market may reasonably if unequally function if industry creates employment opportunities for most people. But when industry only produces joblessness, as robots take over more and more, there is no good alternative but for the state to step in. As AI invades economic and social life, all private law-related issues will soon become public ones. More and more, regulation of private companies will become a necessity to maintain some semblance of stability in societies roiled by constant innovation. I consider this historical process a step closer to a planned market economy. Laissez-faire capitalism as we have known it can lead nowhere but to a dictatorship of AI oligarchs who gather rents because the intellectual property they own rules over the means of production. On a global scale, it is easy to envision this unleashed digital capitalism leading to a battle between robots for market share that will surely end as disastrously as the imperialist wars did in an earlier era. For the sake of social well-being and security, individuals and private companies should not be allowed to possess any exclusive cutting-edge technology or core AI platforms. Like nuclear and biochemical weapons, as long as they exist, nothing other than a strong and stable state can ensure society’s safety. If we don’t nationalize AI, we could sink into a dystopia reminiscent of the early misery of industrialization, with its satanic mills and street urchins scrounging for a crust of bread. The dream of communism is the elimination of wage labor. If AI is bound to serve society instead of private capitalists, it promises to do so by freeing an overwhelming majority from such drudgery while creating wealth to sustain all. If the state controls the market, instead of digital capitalism controlling the state, true communist aspirations will be achievable. And because AI increasingly enables the management of complex systems by processing massive amounts of information through intensive feedback loops, it presents, for the first time, a real alternative to the market signals that have long justified laissez-faire ideology — and all the ills that go with it.

# 1NR

## Forecasting CP

#### The impact is linear which means any DA to the perm outweighs---even small forecasting differences prevent war.

J. Peter Scoblic and Philip E. Tetlock 16. Scoblic, Fellow in the international security program at New America. "We didn’t see Donald Trump coming. But we could have.". Washington Post. 2-12-2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/we-didnt-see-donald-trump-coming-but-we-could-have/2016/02/12/46ece26a-d0db-11e5-abc9-ea152f0b9561\_story.html

The answer lies in measuring a forecaster’s performance over many predictions. Do the things you say will happen 5 percent of the time actually happen about that often? Do you assign high probabilities to events that happen and low probabilities to those that don’t, as opposed to playing it safe with middle-of-the-road predictions? By answering these questions, we can find out whose forecasts are generally the most accurate — even if we can’t say they were “right” — and use the results to refine our beliefs and plan for the future.

Individuals, businesses and policymakers often face choices involving competing priorities and limited resources. Probabilistic predictions, especially from forecasters who have proved their accuracy over time, can enable better decisions, and even small improvements in predictive ability can mark the difference between danger and security, recession and growth, war and peace. Imagine that the intelligence community had been more circumspect in 2002, saying there was a 75 percent chance that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (and a 25 percent chance it did not) instead of bluntly stating, “Baghdad has chemical and biological weapons.” Would Congress still have authorized the use of force? No one knows for sure, but lawmakers might have been more cautious. Decreasing the odds of multi-trillion-dollar mistakes is not something to sniff at.

What about supposed black swans, though? It’s true that judging the accuracy of forecasts involving extremely unlikely events is harder, because they could take decades or even millennia to play out. But there are still standards we can use to benchmark those odds, especially compared with other unlikely events. So even if we can’t assign an objective probability to an alien invasion, we can presumably say it’s less likely than, say, war with Russia and prepare accordingly.

A purely black swan is, by definition, a completely unforeseeable event, and there are relatively few of those. The 9/11 attacks are often cited as an example, but there were many data points suggesting that al-Qaeda wanted to attack the United States and that terrorists might use airplanes as weapons. (Tom Clancy had even published a book in which a pilot intentionally crashes a jetliner into the Capitol.) As the 9/11 Commission Report put it, the attacks “were a shock, but they should not have come as a surprise.”

Likewise, the intelligence community considered the possibility of the Soviets placing missiles in Cuba, of Islamists overthrowing the shah of Iran and of the Soviet Union collapsing under the weight of communism. That does not mean that its forecasts were accurate! But if these scenarios were imaginable, then they were predictable in a ballpark probabilistic sense. And the accuracy of those predictions could have been used to refine the intelligence community’s models of the world.

Prediction is not positivism: We need to be humble about what we know and what we don’t know — and always remember that a probability is just that. There are limits to our foresight, but better prediction can reduce the uncertainty that erodes confidence in the future. Trump is wrong: America doesn’t need to be made great again. But prediction just might make it better.

#### Outweighs and turns every impact---forecasting models are key to action on all existential risks.

Jeffrey A. Friedman et al. 18. Assistant Professor of Government at Dartmouth College. Joshua D. Baker is a Ph.D Candidate in Psychology & Marketing at the University of Pennsylvania. Barbara A. Millers is the I. George Heyman University Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Philip E. Tetlock is the Leonore Annenberg University Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Richard Zeckhauser is the Frank P. Ramsey Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University. “The Value of Precision in Probability Assessment: Evidence from a Large-Scale Geopolitical Forecasting Tournament”. International Studies Quarterly, Volume 62, Issue 2, June 2018, Pages 410–422, https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx078

Conclusion

Uncertainty surrounds every major foreign policy debate. As of this writing, for example, the US public is sharply divided in assessing the extent to which restricting immigration from Muslim-majority countries could reduce (or potentially exacerbate) the risk of terrorism. One of the foremost controversies facing the United Nations Security Council concerns the extent to which economic sanctions can reduce the probability that North Korea will continue expanding its nuclear arsenal. Debates over policy responses to climate change revolve around different perceptions of the risks that climate change poses and of the extent to which regulations could feasibly reduce those risks. At the broadest level, it is logically impossible to support a high-stakes decision without believing that its probability of success is large enough to make expected benefits outweigh expected costs. For that reason, it makes little sense to ask whether foreign policy analysts should assess probability. The question is rather how they can assess probability in the most meaningful way possible.

We have seen throughout this article how many scholars and practitioners are deeply skeptical of probability assessment. It is easy to understand why this is the case. Many of the events that have shaped world politics over the past two decades—such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, mistaken judgments of Iraq's presumed weapons of mass destruction programs, the 2008 financial crisis, the Arab Spring, the rise of ISIS, Brexit, and the election of Donald Trump—were outcomes that most political analysts failed to see coming or cases in which experts confidently stated that the opposite would be true. Our ability to predict world politics is clearly less accurate than we would like it to be.

This article nevertheless shows that it is a mistake to believe that probabilistic reasoning is meaningless in world politics or to think there is no cost to leaving these judgments vague. By examining nearly one million geopolitical forecasts, we find that foreign policy analysts could consistently assess probability with numeric precision. We find that rounding off these forecasts into qualitative expressions—including qualitative expressions currently recommended for use by US intelligence analysts—systematically sacrifices predictive accuracy. We see no evidence that these returns to precision hinged on extreme forecasts, short time horizons, particular scoring rules, or question content. We also see little indication that the ability to parse probabilities belonged primarily to respondents who possess special educational backgrounds or strong quantitative skills.

These findings speak to both academic and practical concerns. Great scholars such as Popper, Keynes, and Mill have all expressed doubts about the value of assessing subjective probability. Aristotle himself argued that justifiable precision declines as questions become more complex. Yet, even if that is true, it does not tell us where the frontier of justifiable precision lies in foreign policy analysis or in any other discipline. That is ultimately an empirical question, and to our knowledge, this article represents the first attempt to address that question directly. The results of our analysis are relevant not only for intelligence analysts and military planners, but also for scholars, pundits, and any other participants in the broader marketplace of ideas. In short, our data indicate that it is possible to improve the quality of foreign policy discourse on a widespread and immediate basis, simply by raising standards of clarity and rigor for assessing uncertainty.

#### Adding durability is bad---revision is key to policy accuracy.

Jeffrey A. Friedman et al. 18. Assistant Professor of Government at Dartmouth College. Joshua D. Baker is a Ph.D Candidate in Psychology & Marketing at the University of Pennsylvania. Barbara A. Millers is the I. George Heyman University Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Philip E. Tetlock is the Leonore Annenberg University Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Richard Zeckhauser is the Frank P. Ramsey Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University. “The Value of Precision in Probability Assessment: Evidence from a Large-Scale Geopolitical Forecasting Tournament”. International Studies Quarterly, Volume 62, Issue 2, June 2018, Pages 410–422, https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx078

We also find that respondents’ experience making forecasts and their willingness to revise those forecasts consistently predict higher returns to precision (though the latter finding fell short of the p < 0.05 threshold in some models). These findings provide additional grounds for optimism that professional forecasters could replicate and potentially exceed the returns to precision shown in GJP's data. Many national security professionals assess uncertainty on a daily basis over many years. Professional foreign policy analysts also have much more opportunity and incentive to refine and revise their forecasts in light of new information than did GJP respondents, who revised their forecasts less than twice per question, on average.

#### Reversion key to superforecasting.

Brad Keywell 17. Uptake Technologies, Founder & CEO. "What Makes a Good Forecaster? ". 7-12-2017. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/what-makes-good-forecaster-brad-keywell

They admit when they’re wrong: When accused of being inconsistent, the legendary British economist John Maynard Keynes is said to have once quipped back: “When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do, Sir?” Many people (who are not superforecasters) do not change their mind when the facts change. Instead, they fall into a downward spiral of defensiveness and stubbornness. This is dangerous! Opinions in any organization or business must be open to discussion, distillment, disagreement, and, dissent and discard. Opinions may be ours, but they are not us, and they do not define us. Facts are meant to be discovered. They are not screaming out at us. Rather, we must be diligent explorers and searchers to find those relevant facts that matter most. And if we find a fact that makes our opinion wrong, embrace it! Be wrong – being disproven by a new fact is excellent. It’s normal, and it’s valued in a fact-driven drama-free environment. Doing this serves us well as forecasters.

I believe that intellectual curiosity is at the core of a purpose-driven life. The authors of Superforecasting illustrate intellectual curiosity with a simple example: Do you take the question “Who will win the presidential election in Ghana?” as pointless, or as an opportunity to learn something about Ghana?

This may sound corny, but I constantly try to remind the people who work at Uptake, the company I run—as well as, myself—to “be super”: super in our efforts to tenaciously learn and discover the unarguable facts; super in our refusal to rush to judgement about the quality of our opinions or the quality of the opinions of others; super in seeing both the outside and the inside; super in our refusal to allow the easy big ideas to define our actions in how we pursue the complicated small steps; and super in seeing when we’re right, or super in admitting when we’re wrong, and then gracefully transitioning to the more probable path of success.

#### It’s most predictable---we have the common and precise definition.

Dictionary.com “Inhibit vs. Prohibit”. https://www.dictionary.com/e/inhibit-vs-prohibit/

Prohibit is a transitive verb that means to forbid or prevent. Unlike inhibit, the word prohibit means that an action is being completely prevented. For example: “Angie’s coat was so tight, it prohibited any arm movement.” In this case, Angie isn’t able to move her arms at all. Prohibit is often used to describe the actions of authority figures. It can explain a rule or law. For example, “School rules prohibit cellphone use during class.” A street sign may say “Parking prohibited,” while a sign in a building lobby might say “Smoking prohibited by law.” All of these cases mean that cell phone use, parking in a certain area, or smoking are completely forbidden by their given authority figures, and can’t be done at all.

#### Prohibitions are absolute bans without exemption.

PEDIAA 15. “Difference Between Prohibited and Restricted”. https://pediaa.com/difference-between-prohibited-and-restricted/

Main Difference – Prohibited vs. Restricted

Prohibited and Restricted are used in reference to limitations and prevention. However, they cannot be used interchangeably as there is a distinct difference between them. Prohibited is used when we are talking about an impossibility. Restricted is used when we are talking about something that has specific conditions. The main difference between prohibited and restricted is that prohibited means something is formally forbidden by law or authority whereas restricted means something is put under control or limits.

What Does Prohibited Mean

Prohibited is a variant of the verb prohibit. Prohibited can be taken as the past tense and past participle of prohibiting as well as an adjective. Prohibited means that something is formally forbidden by law or authority. When we say ‘smoking is prohibited’, it means that smoking is not allowed at all, there are no exceptions. Prohibit indicates an impossibility. This gives out the idea that it is not at all possible under any condition or circumstance. The term Prohibited goods is used to refer to items that are not allowed to enter or exit certain countries. For example, the government of South America lists Narcotic and habit-forming drugs in any form, Poison and other toxic substances, Fully automatic, military and unnumbered weapons, explosives and fireworks as prohibited goods. The following sentences will further explain the use of prohibited.

Inter-racial marriages were not prohibited by the government.

He was proved guilty of using prohibited substances.

No one was allowed to enter the grounds; entry was prohibited.

Prohibited imports are the items that are not allowed to enter a country.Difference Between Prohibited and Restricted

What Does Restricted Mean

Restrict means to put under limits or control. Restricted can be either used as the past tense of restrict or as an adjective meaning limited. When we say something is restricted, it means that limits or conditions have been added to it. It does not mean that it is completely impossible. For example, Restricted goods are allowed to enter or exit a country under certain circumstances. A written permission can help you to import or export that item. Likewise, a restricted area does not mean that people are not allowed to enter; it means that a special permission is required to enter the place. Restricted information refers to information that are not disclosed to the general public for security purposes.

The new regulations restricted the free movement of people.

The club was restricted to its members and their family members.

Only the highest military personnel had access to the restricted area.

American scientists had only restricted access to the area.Main difference - Prohibited vs Restricted

Difference Between Prohibited and Restricted

Meaning

Prohibited means banned or forbidden.

Restricted means limited in extent, number, scope, or action

Possibility

Prohibited means that there is no possibility of doing something.

Restricted means that something can be done under certain conditions.

Adjective

Prohibited functions as an adjective derived from prohibit.

Restricted functions as an adjective derived from restrict.

Past tense

Prohibited is the past tense and past participle of prohibit.

Restricted is the past tense and past participle of restrict.

#### That means the counterplan is plan minus---it could find the activity procompetitive.

AMC 07. Antitrust Modernization Commission. Deborah A. Garza, Chair. Bobby R. Burchfield ,Commissioner. W. Stephen Cannon, Commissioner. Dennis W. Carlton, Commissioner. Makan Delrahim, Commissioner. Jonathan M. Jacobson, Commissioner. Jonathan R. Yarowsky, Vice-Chair. Donald G. Kempf, Jr., Commissioner. Sanford M. Litvack, Commissioner. John H. Shenefield, Commissioner. Debra A. Valentine, Commissioner. John L. Warden, Commissioner. “Report and Recommendations.” https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/amc/report\_recommendation/amc\_final\_report.pdf

Economic learning has provided the foundation for updated antitrust analysis in part by revealing the potential procompetitive benefits of some business conduct previously assumed to be anticompetitive. The accommodation of such advances in economic learning has increased the flexibility of antitrust law, with courts and the antitrust agencies now considering a wide variety of economic factors in their analyses. Improved economic understanding and greater analytical flexibility have increased the potential for a sound competitive assessment of business conduct in all industries, including those characterized by innovation, intellectual property, and technological change.

#### Should’ is advisory, not mandatory

Michael Thomas Liburdi 21 Jr., Judge on the United States District Court for the District of Arizona, JD from Arizona State University, BS from Arizona State University, “Garcia v. United States”, 2021 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 51519, \*10-11, 2021 WL 1056294, 3/18/2021, Lexis

1. Discretionary or Mandated Act

The United States first argues that "there was no specific and mandatory federal statute, regulation or policy that mandated the placement of additional or more specific flash flood warning signs or posters at the Water Wheel Parking Lot and/or adjacent trailhead." (Doc. 20 at 4.) The United States points to Forest Service manuals and [\*10] Sign and Poster Guidelines (the "Guidelines") to show that the language therein "are not regulations or mandates." (Id. at 5.) The Garcias respond by arguing that the Guidelines' applicable language gives the United States "no choice but to coordinate the development of appropriate warning signs to mitigate the hazard." (Doc. 23 at 6-7.) The Court finds the United States' argument more persuasive.

Discretion was conferred upon the Forest Service both explicitly and implicitly. Discretion was conferred explicitly through use of the permissive term "should." See *Sabow v. United States*, 93 F.3d 1445, 1452 (9th Cir. 1996) (describing "should" as "suggestive, not mandatory") (citation omitted); *Marshall v. Anaconda Co.*, 596 F.2d 370, 375 (9th Cir. 1979) (noting that the "'[s]hould . . . unless' language is clearly [m]ore advisory"). Section 7.7 of the Guidelines concerns flash flood hazard site signage at developed recreational sites. (Doc. 20-4 at 70.) This section provides:

The Flash Flood Hazard site sign or poster . . . *should* be posted at all developed recreation sites that the Forest Service has determined are vulnerable to flash flooding. Hydrologists and recreation managers *should* advise on the need for Flash Flood Hazard site signs or posters. Flash flood hazard site signs or posters should be posted on information [\*11] boards and/or at other prominent locations so that the signs are likely to be seen by all visitors.

(Id. (emphasis added).) "Should" is defined as: "guidance for a recommended but not mandatory practice with deviations allowed where engineering judgment or engineering study indicate a deviation is appropriate."3 (*Id.* at 30.)

#### ‘Resolved’ doesn’t require certainty

Merriam Webster’s 22 Online Dictionary, ‘resolved’, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/resolved>

intransitive verb

1: to become separated into component parts

also : to become reduced by dissolving or analysis

2: to form a resolution : determine

3: consult, deliberate

4: to progress from dissonance to consonance

#### GJP Super-forecasters will get it right---40% better than other teams.

Philip E. Tetlock et al. 14. Barbara A. Mellers, Nick Rohrbaugh and Eva Chen “Forecasting Tournaments: Tools for Increasing Transparency and Improving the Quality of Debate”. Current Directions in Psychological Science. August 2014, Vol. 23, No. 4 (August 2014), pp. 290-295. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/44318787.pdf?casa\_token=wfbfNUGCPzIAAAAA:q6nZlMF41JAuqZ8MAmDMeGSDCcyVWSW0oY3Qlxa6ETEzu6sFTPU3WiMF9Kw-wU6KeTxhUbUuQvm8Sq6pV1TJPZ4nH6227\_OLmBvkQRfAqEKICJL3H4xP

The Good Judgment Project (GJP)1 won the IARPA tournament: Its best wisdom-of-the-crowd algorithms were on the right side of 50/50 on 86.2% of all daily forecasts, outperforming the simple average of the control group (forecasters randomly assigned to a working-alone, no- training condition) by 60% and other teams by 40%. The tournament was not, however, just a horse race. GJP randomly assigned its forecasters to cells in factorial designs that tested hypotheses about the psychological drivers of accuracy. We discovered four such drivers: (a) recruitment and retention of better forecasters (accounting for roughly 10% of the advantage of GJP forecasters over those in other research programs); (b) cognitive-debiasing training (accounting for about a 10% advantage of the training con- dition over the no-training condition); (c) more engaging work environments, in the form of collaborative teamwork and prediction markets (accounting for a roughly 10% boost relative to forecasters working alone); and (d) better statistical methods of distilling the wisdom of the crowd - and winnowing out the madness (the log-odds-extremiz- ing algorithm of Satopää, Baron, et al., 2014, Satopää, Jensen, Meilers, Tetlock, & Ungar, in press, and Baron, Ungar, Meilers, and Tetlock, 2014, which contributed an additional 35% boost above unweighted averaging of forecasts).

GJP also added a controversial twist to its winning strategy. It created "super-forecaster" teams by skimming off the top 2% of forecasters each year of the tournament and assigning them to elite teams. We say "controversial" because GJP informally surveyed experts and found flatly contradictory opinions on the wisdom of this strategy, from the bearish "Expect nothing. Your lucky 'supers' will soon regress toward the mean" (e.g., in the spirit of Hartzmark, 1991) and "The 'super' label will swell their heads" (e.g., Levitt & March, 1988) to the bullish "Expect good things. The best predictors of future performance are past performance and IQ - and your supers have both factors going for them" (e.g., in the spirit of Hunter & Hunter, 1984) and "Supers will also get a self-fulfilling- prophecy boost - and derive the benefits that tracking confers on high-ability students" (i.e., stimulation from peers; e.g., Betts & Shkolnik, 2000).

The experts were divided, but the data were unequivocal: Super forecasters performed superbly. Averaged forecasts of GJP's super forecasters (five teams of 12 fore- casters each) in Year 2 handily beat the Brier-score goals that the IARPA set for Year 4, and all other research pro- grams. They showed no regression toward the mean from one year to the next, and they improved on all the standard psychometric indices of judgmental accuracy, including calibration, discrimination, and area under the curve (Meilers, Ungar, et al., 2014).

#### Super-forecasters with updated evidence are comparatively more accurate and less partisan.

Philip E. Tetlock, Barbara A. Mellers, and J. Peter Scoblic 17. Tetlock & Mellers, Department of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania. Scoblic, Harvard Business School, Harvard University. "Bringing probability judgments into policy debates via forecasting tournaments". Science. 2-3-2017. https://science.sciencemag.org/content/355/6324/481.full

Leveraging these findings allowed GJP to generate forecasts that outperformed—by roughly 30%—a prediction market run by the U.S. intelligence community in which the players were professional analysts with access to classified information (3–5, 9–11). By producing a superior forecasting methodology, the ACE tournament yielded an important public policy tool: If policy-makers have access to more accurate forecasts, they can better anticipate the consequences of their actions and therefore make better decisions.

“Forecasting tournaments—contests among individuals or teams—[incentivize] competitors to make accurate predictions about specific events.”

More generally, the IARPA contest demonstrated the utility of tournaments as a tool for knowledge production. GJP’s tournaments within the ACE competition allowed randomized-control trials of how best to boost accuracy. These experiments demonstrated the surprising effectiveness of short training or debiasing exercises that taught forecasters how to ground probability estimates in base rates and to update their beliefs in a roughly Bayesian fashion in response to new evidence. Other experiments demonstrated the power of well-choreographed forms of teamwork. Training team members how to precisely but diplomatically question each other’s assumptions—how to disagree without being disagreeable—helped groups outperform the same number of individuals working alone. Tournaments thus proved themselves a useful method for conducting experiments outside the laboratory.

We suspect that tournaments can do even more by providing a framework for resolving public policy debates. A key feature of tournaments is accountability—participants in the GJP tournaments were publicly ranked according to the accuracy of their forecasts—and research has shown that predecisional accountability prompts individuals to engage in preemptive self-criticism (12, 13). Faced with the prospect of having to justify a position or decision, they consider the ways in which their audience might react. This effort increases cognitive complexity, by which individuals contemplate a greater number of germane factors—or, in the case of a political problem, arguments for or against a particular position. Having considered a wider range of views and anticipating a critical audience, individuals may moderate their beliefs. Were political opponents to participate in a forecasting tournament, they might well temper their predictions and, by implication, the extremeness of their policy positions.

#### It’s more likely that all aff experts and pundits are wrong---vote neg on presumption---random chance is better.

Louis Menand 05. Staﬀ writer at The New Yorker. Teacher at Harvard University. “Everybody’s an Expert: Putting predictions to the test.” https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2005/12/05/everybodys-an-expert

It is the somewhat gratifying lesson of Philip Tetlock’s new book, “Expert Political Judgment: How Good Is It? How Can We Know?” (Princeton; $35), that people who make prediction their business—people who appear as experts on television, get quoted in newspaper articles, advise governments and businesses, and participate in punditry roundtables—are no better than the rest of us. When they’re wrong, they’re rarely held accountable, and they rarely admit it, either. They insist that they were just off on timing, or blindsided by an improbable event, or almost right, or wrong for the right reasons. They have the same repertoire of self-justifications that everyone has, and are no more inclined than anyone else to revise their beliefs about the way the world works, or ought to work, just because they made a mistake. No one is paying you for your gratuitous opinions about other people, but the experts are being paid, and Tetlock claims that the better known and more frequently quoted they are, the less reliable their guesses about the future are likely to be. The accuracy of an expert’s predictions actually has an inverse relationship to his or her self-confidence, renown, and, beyond a certain point, depth of knowledge. People who follow current events by reading the papers and newsmagazines regularly can guess what is likely to happen about as accurately as the specialists whom the papers quote. Our system of expertise is completely inside out: it rewards bad judgments over good ones.

“Expert Political Judgment” is not a work of media criticism. Tetlock is a psychologist—he teaches at Berkeley—and his conclusions are based on a long-term study that he began twenty years ago. He picked two hundred and eighty-four people who made their living “commenting or offering advice on political and economic trends,” and he started asking them to assess the probability that various things would or would not come to pass, both in the areas of the world in which they specialized and in areas about which they were not expert. Would there be a nonviolent end to apartheid in South Africa? Would Gorbachev be ousted in a coup? Would the United States go to war in the Persian Gulf? Would Canada disintegrate? (Many experts believed that it would, on the ground that Quebec would succeed in seceding.) And so on. By the end of the study, in 2003, the experts had made 82,361 forecasts. Tetlock also asked questions designed to determine how they reached their judgments, how they reacted when their predictions proved to be wrong, how they evaluated new information that did not support their views, and how they assessed the probability that rival theories and predictions were accurate.

Tetlock got a statistical handle on his task by putting most of the forecasting questions into a “three possible futures” form. The respondents were asked to rate the probability of three alternative outcomes: the persistence of the status quo, more of something (political freedom, economic growth), or less of something (repression, recession). And he measured his experts on two dimensions: how good they were at guessing probabilities (did all the things they said had an x per cent chance of happening happen x per cent of the time?), and how accurate they were at predicting specific outcomes. The results were unimpressive. On the first scale, the experts performed worse than they would have if they had simply assigned an equal probability to all three outcomes—if they had given each possible future a thirty-three-per-cent chance of occurring. Human beings who spend their lives studying the state of the world, in other words, are poorer forecasters than dart-throwing monkeys, who would have distributed their picks evenly over the three choices.

Tetlock also found that specialists are not significantly more reliable than non-specialists in guessing what is going to happen in the region they study. Knowing a little might make someone a more reliable forecaster, but Tetlock found that knowing a lot can actually make a person less reliable. “We reach the point of diminishing marginal predictive returns for knowledge disconcertingly quickly,” he reports. “In this age of academic hyperspecialization, there is no reason for supposing that contributors to top journals—distinguished political scientists, area study specialists, economists, and so on—are any better than journalists or attentive readers of the New York Times in ‘reading’ emerging situations.” And the more famous the forecaster the more overblown the forecasts. “Experts in demand,” Tetlock says, “were more overconfident than their colleagues who eked out existences far from the limelight.”

#### That takes out aff solvency but not ours.

Walter Frick 15. Harvard Business Review. “What Research Tells Us About Making Accurate Predictions”. https://hbr.org/2015/02/what-research-tells-us-about-making-accurate-predictions

The most famous research on prediction was done by Philip Tetlock of the University of Pennsylvania, and his seminal 2006 book Expert Political Judgment provides crucial background. Tetlock asked a group of pundits and foreign affairs experts to predict geopolitical events, like whether the Soviet Union would disintegrate by 1993. Overall, the “experts” struggled to perform better than “dart-throwing chimps”, and were consistently less accurate than even relatively simple statistical algorithms. This was true of liberals and conservatives, and regardless of professional credentials.

But Tetlock did uncover one style of thinking that seemed to aid prediction. Those who preferred to consider multiple explanations and balance them together before making a prediction performed better than those who relied on a single big idea. Tetlock called the first group foxes and the second group hedgehogs, after an essay by Isaiah Berlin. As Tetlock writes:

The intellectually aggressive hedgehogs knew one big thing and sought, under the banner of parsimony, to expand the explanatory power of that big thing to “cover” new cases; the more eclectic foxes knew many little things and were content to improvise ad hoc solutions to keep pace with a rapidly changing world.

Since the book, Tetlock and several colleagues have been running a series of geopolitical forecasting tournaments (which I’ve dabbled in) to discover what helps people make better predictions. Over the last six months, Tetlock, Barbara Mellers, and several of their Penn colleagues have released three new papers analyzing 150,000 forecasts by 743 participants (all with at least a bachelor’s degree) competing to predict 199 world events. One paper focuses solely on high-performing “super forecasters”; another looks at the entire group; and a third makes the case for forecasting tournaments as a research tool.

The main finding? Prediction isn’t a hopeless enterprise— the tournament participants did far better than blind chance. Think about a prediction with two possible outcomes, like who will win the Super Bowl. If you pick at random, you’ll be wrong half the time. But the best forecasters were consistently able to cut that error rate by more than half. As Tetlock put it to me, “The best forecasters are hovering between the chimp and God.”

#### Absolute certainty is bad---always revise.

Walter Frick 15. Harvard Business Review. “What Research Tells Us About Making Accurate Predictions”. https://hbr.org/2015/02/what-research-tells-us-about-making-accurate-predictions

Revision leads to better results. This isn’t quite the same thing as open-mindedness, though it’s probably related. Forecasters had the option to go back later on and revise their predictions, in response to new information. Participants who revised their predictions frequently outperformed those who did so less often.

Together these findings represent a major step forward in understanding forecasting. Certainty is the enemy of accurate prediction, and so the unstated prerequisite to forecasting may be admitting that we’re usually bad at it. From there, it’s possible to use a mix of practice and process to improve.

#### Economic changes outpace the aff---only the counterplan solves.

AMC 07. Antitrust Modernization Commission. Deborah A. Garza, Chair. Bobby R. Burchfield ,Commissioner. W. Stephen Cannon, Commissioner. Dennis W. Carlton, Commissioner. Makan Delrahim, Commissioner. Jonathan M. Jacobson, Commissioner. Jonathan R. Yarowsky, Vice-Chair. Donald G. Kempf, Jr., Commissioner. Sanford M. Litvack, Commissioner. John H. Shenefield, Commissioner. Debra A. Valentine, Commissioner. John L. Warden, Commissioner. “Report and Recommendations.” https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/amc/report\_recommendation/amc\_final\_report.pdf

Indeed, the evolution of antitrust law—both through case law and agency guidelines—has shown that new or improved economic learning can be incorporated into antitrust analysis as appropriate. Allowing the ongoing incorporation of economic learning into antitrust case law and agency guidelines is preferable to attempts at legislative change to specify different antitrust analyses for industries characterized by innovation, intellectual property, and technological change. Industries that fall into those categories will keep changing over time; attempts to define them would likely be difficult and impermanent at best. Furthermore, economic learning continues to evolve, and antitrust law needs to be able to incorporate this new learning as appropriate. It is important that antitrust develops through mechanisms, such as case law development in the courts and agency guidelines, that allow ongoing reassessments of existing law and economic principles relevant to antitrust analysis.

#### GJP Superforecasters have learned foreign policy.

Barbara Mellers and Michael C. Horowitz 15. Barbara Mellers is the I. George Heyman University Professor of Psychology at the University of Pennsylvania. Michael C. Horowitz is an associate professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania. "Does anyone make accurate geopolitical predictions?". Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/01/29/does-anyone-make-accurate-geopolitical-predictions/

We discovered three key factors that predicted geopolitical forecasting accuracy.

First, psychological factors, including inductive reasoning, pattern detection, open-mindedness and the tendency to look for information that goes against one’s favored views, especially when combined with political knowledge, helped forecasters make accurate predictions.

Second, forecasters benefited from conditions tested in controlled experiments to determine the best environments for making accurate forecasts, including training in probabilistic reasoning and participation in collaborative teams that shared information and discussed rationales.

Third, effort mattered. Forecasters who made predictions on more questions, updated their predictions more often and spent more time deliberating about their predictions had a decisive edge.

The best forecasters also believed they could learn to make better predictions – they viewed forecasting not as an innate ability, but rather as a skill that required deliberate practice, sustained effort and constant monitoring of current affairs.

Although we were initially unsure whether it was even possible to develop skill in geopolitical forecasting, our research shows that some people are exceptionally accurate over long periods of time. These people tended to share all of the qualities described above, and took advantage of their training in probabilistic reasoning and the advantages of working together in teams.

Can this be learned? For any type of skill to develop, two conditions must be present: an environment with sufficient stability to permit learning and opportunities for practice. Skill development also occurs when people care enough to engage in deliberative rehearsal. Our forecasters received constant feedback with accuracy scores and leaderboard rankings as each question closed and scores were provided. They also had many chances to learn; forecasters were given almost 200 questions over two years. Participants each made an average of 121 forecasts. These conditions enabled a process of learning-by-doing and help to explain why some forecasters achieved far-better-than-chance accuracy.

Our findings could yield important lessons for both the U.S. national security community and others in government and the private sector interested in improving forecasting accuracy.

In the real world, many analysts inside and outside the government make non-numerical forecasts that are vague and hard to assess for accuracy, so feedback is often absent. Feedback is essential for learning, though. We must keep score, and there is no way to do that without precise forecasting and some sort of accountability. That’s harder than it sounds. Accountability can be like a Ping-Pong game in which analysts are incentivized to shift their predictions depending on the direction of the most recent error. They are likelier to say “signal” when recently accused of under-connecting the dots (i.e., 9/11) and to say “noise” when recently accused of over-connecting the dots (i.e., weapons of mass destruction in Iraq). With this process, improvement is impossible. By harnessing the wisdom of crowds with the tools Good Judgment Project developed, we can build on what we know, keep improving our skills and become more accurate in our forecasting of geopolitical events.

#### Superforecasting applies to foreign policy predictions.

Philip Tetlock 15. "Why an Open Mind Is Key to Making Better Predictions". Knowledge@Wharton. 10-2-2015. https://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/why-an-open-mind-is-key-to-making-better-predictions/

Tetlock: Eventually you’re going to reach a point where you’re not going to get any better because, as I mentioned, the environment itself has some degree of irreducible uncertainty. So no matter how good you are, you’re probably not going to do a very good job predicting what the value of Google is going to be next week on the New York Stock Exchange. So there are some things that are very difficult to do. It’s not clear that even using superforecasters is going to let you make appreciable headway on that. But there are many things that are quite doable that we previously didn’t think were doable, and there’s a lot of room for improving the accuracy and probability judgments on those things.

Those are things like predicting whether international conflicts are going to escalate or deescalate, whether certain treaties are going to be signed or approved by legislatures, or whether Greece is going to leave the eurozone. So there are a lot of problems that have relevance to financial markets, have relevance to business decisions, where there is potential to improve probability judgment, where we have shown that experimentally now in the IARPA tournament, where people typically don’t do that. People typically rely on vague verbiage forecasts. You’ve heard people say, “Well, I think it’s possible. This could happen. This might happen. It’s likely.” Those are terms [are] not all that informative.