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#### Anti-trust reform is based in free market logics of upholding competition which saves capitalism.

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Antitrust laws have historically been associated with countries that possess a free-market capitalist economy, which is understood as an economic system in which competition and the market forces of demand and supply determine economic outcomes. This historical association between capitalism and antitrust laws is evident from the fact that the countries that first adopted national antitrust laws, such as Canada, the United States, and the countries of Western Europe, are countries that have long embraced a market economy. On the contrary, the statist economies of the erstwhile Soviet bloc and many developing countries, for the most part, did not institute antitrust laws of the type associated with free market economies.

Notwithstanding these country examples, which indicate a positive association between a capitalist economic system and antitrust laws, there exist arguments that both support and oppose antitrust laws for a capitalist economy. Arguments in support of antitrust laws for a capitalist economy begin with the fundamental understanding that the most important ingredient of a capitalist system is market competition. The presence of a competitive market is vital to achieving the efficiency levels that a capitalist economy seeks. Therefore, competitive forces need to be protected to discipline the market players, especially the dominant ones. By preventing and punishing anticompetitive practices by market players, an antitrust law protects and promotes market competition. 1

In the United States, which is commonly understood to be the leading bastion of free-market capitalism and one of the first countries to enact an antitrust law, the role of antitrust legislation in preserving the capitalist character of its economic system is underscored by the near-constitutional status accorded to its antitrust statues by the U.S. Supreme Court. 2 The Court described these statutes as “the Magna Carta of free enterprise” and “as important to the preservation of economic freedom and our free enterprise system as the Bill of Rights is to the protection of our fundamental personal freedoms.”3 Such a sentiment is appropriate, given that the American antitrust law, the Sherman Act, was passed in 1890 to protect economic competition from rapidly-growing “trusts.”4

While the social and political zeitgeist has changed considerably since the passing of the Sherman Act, the fact remains that antitrust is perceived as key to “protecting consumers against anticompetitive conduct that raises prices, reduces output, and hinders innovation and economic growth.”5 Moreover, it is understood that “competition is a public good, and society cannot expect the victims of anticompetitive conduct to protect themselves.”6 The implication therefore is that government power, through the enforcement of antitrust statutes, is critical to reining in corporate power in order to protect economic competition and capitalism.

#### Capitalism causes existential climate change, nuclear war, and structural violence---try or die for transition.

Foster 19, Sociology Professor @ Oregon (John Bellamy, February 1st, “Capitalism Has Failed—What Next?” *The Monthly Review*, Volume 70, Issue 9, <https://monthlyreview.org/2019/02/01/capitalism-has-failed-what-next/>, Accessed 06-30-2021)

Less than two decades into the twenty-first century, it is evident that capitalism has failed as a social system. The world is mired in economic stagnation, financialization, and the most extreme inequality in human history, accompanied by mass unemployment and underemployment, precariousness, poverty, hunger, wasted output and lives, and what at this point can only be called a planetary ecological “death spiral.”1 The digital revolution, the greatest technological advance of our time, has rapidly mutated from a promise of free communication and liberated production into new means of surveillance, control, and displacement of the working population. The institutions of liberal democracy are at the point of collapse, while fascism, the rear guard of the capitalist system, is again on the march, along with patriarchy, racism, imperialism, and war.

To say that capitalism is a failed system is not, of course, to suggest that its breakdown and disintegration is imminent.2 It does, however, mean that it has passed from being a historically necessary and creative system at its inception to being a historically unnecessary and destructive one in the present century. Today, more than ever, the world is faced with the epochal choice between “the revolutionary reconstitution of society at large and the common ruin of the contending classes.”3

Indications of this failure of capitalism are everywhere. Stagnation of investment punctuated by bubbles of financial expansion, which then inevitably burst, now characterizes the so-called free market.4 Soaring inequality in income and wealth has its counterpart in the declining material circumstances of a majority of the population. Real wages for most workers in the United States have barely budged in forty years despite steadily rising productivity.5 Work intensity has increased, while work and safety protections on the job have been systematically jettisoned. Unemployment data has become more and more meaningless due to a new institutionalized underemployment in the form of contract labor in the gig economy.6 Unions have been reduced to mere shadows of their former glory as capitalism has asserted totalitarian control over workplaces. With the demise of Soviet-type societies, social democracy in Europe has perished in the new atmosphere of “liberated capitalism.”7

The capture of the surplus value produced by overexploited populations in the poorest regions of the world, via the global labor arbitrage instituted by multinational corporations, is leading to an unprecedented amassing of financial wealth at the center of the world economy and relative poverty in the periphery.8 Around $21 trillion of offshore funds are currently lodged in tax havens on islands mostly in the Caribbean, constituting “the fortified refuge of Big Finance.”9 Technologically driven monopolies resulting from the global-communications revolution, together with the rise to dominance of Wall Street-based financial capital geared to speculative asset creation, have further contributed to the riches of today’s “1 percent.” Forty-two billionaires now enjoy as much wealth as half the world’s population, while the three richest men in the United States—Jeff Bezos, Bill Gates, and Warren Buffett—have more wealth than half the U.S. population.10 In every region of the world, inequality has increased sharply in recent decades.11 The gap in per capita income and wealth between the richest and poorest nations, which has been the dominant trend for centuries, is rapidly widening once again.12 More than 60 percent of the world’s employed population, some two billion people, now work in the impoverished informal sector, forming a massive global proletariat. The global reserve army of labor is some 70 percent larger than the active labor army of formally employed workers.13

Adequate health care, housing, education, and clean water and air are increasingly out of reach for large sections of the population, even in wealthy countries in North America and Europe, while transportation is becoming more difficult in the United States and many other countries due to irrationally high levels of dependency on the automobile and disinvestment in public transportation. Urban structures are more and more characterized by gentrification and segregation, with cities becoming the playthings of the well-to-do while marginalized populations are shunted aside. About half a million people, most of them children, are homeless on any given night in the United States.14 New York City is experiencing a major rat infestation, attributed to warming temperatures, mirroring trends around the world.15

In the United States and other high-income countries, life expectancy is in decline, with a remarkable resurgence of Victorian illnesses related to poverty and exploitation. In Britain, gout, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and even scurvy are now resurgent, along with tuberculosis. With inadequate enforcement of work health and safety regulations, black lung disease has returned with a vengeance in U.S. coal country.16 Overuse of antibiotics, particularly by capitalist agribusiness, is leading to an antibiotic-resistance crisis, with the dangerous growth of superbugs generating increasing numbers of deaths, which by mid–century could surpass annual cancer deaths, prompting the World Health Organization to declare a “global health emergency.”17 These dire conditions, arising from the workings of the system, are consistent with what Frederick Engels, in the Condition of the Working Class in England, called “social murder.”18

At the instigation of giant corporations, philanthrocapitalist foundations, and neoliberal governments, public education has been restructured around corporate-designed testing based on the implementation of robotic common-core standards. This is generating massive databases on the student population, much of which are now being surreptitiously marketed and sold.19 The corporatization and privatization of education is feeding the progressive subordination of children’s needs to the cash nexus of the commodity market. We are thus seeing a dramatic return of Thomas Gradgrind’s and Mr. M’Choakumchild’s crass utilitarian philosophy dramatized in Charles Dickens’s Hard Times: “Facts are alone wanted in life” and “You are never to fancy.”20 Having been reduced to intellectual dungeons, many of the poorest, most racially segregated schools in the United States are mere pipelines for prisons or the military.21

More than two million people in the United States are behind bars, a higher rate of incarceration than any other country in the world, constituting a new Jim Crow. The total population in prison is nearly equal to the number of people in Houston, Texas, the fourth largest U.S. city. African Americans and Latinos make up 56 percent of those incarcerated, while constituting only about 32 percent of the U.S. population. Nearly 50 percent of American adults, and a much higher percentage among African Americans and Native Americans, have an immediate family member who has spent or is currently spending time behind bars. Both black men and Native American men in the United States are nearly three times, Hispanic men nearly two times, more likely to die of police shootings than white men.22 Racial divides are now widening across the entire planet.

Violence against women and the expropriation of their unpaid labor, as well as the higher level of exploitation of their paid labor, are integral to the way in which power is organized in capitalist society—and how it seeks to divide rather than unify the population. More than a third of women worldwide have experienced physical/sexual violence. Women’s bodies, in particular, are objectified, reified, and commodified as part of the normal workings of monopoly-capitalist marketing.23

The mass media-propaganda system, part of the larger corporate matrix, is now merging into a social media-based propaganda system that is more porous and seemingly anarchic, but more universal and more than ever favoring money and power. Utilizing modern marketing and surveillance techniques, which now dominate all digital interactions, vested interests are able to tailor their messages, largely unchecked, to individuals and their social networks, creating concerns about “fake news” on all sides.24 Numerous business entities promising technological manipulation of voters in countries across the world have now surfaced, auctioning off their services to the highest bidders.25 The elimination of net neutrality in the United States means further concentration, centralization, and control over the entire Internet by monopolistic service providers.

Elections are increasingly prey to unregulated “dark money” emanating from the coffers of corporations and the billionaire class. Although presenting itself as the world’s leading democracy, the United States, as Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy stated in Monopoly Capital in 1966, “is democratic in form and plutocratic in content.”26 In the Trump administration, following a long-established tradition, 72 percent of those appointed to the cabinet have come from the higher corporate echelons, while others have been drawn from the military.27

War, engineered by the United States and other major powers at the apex of the system, has become perpetual in strategic oil regions such as the Middle East, and threatens to escalate into a global thermonuclear exchange. During the Obama administration, the United States was engaged in wars/bombings in seven different countries—Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Somalia, and Pakistan.28 Torture and assassinations have been reinstituted by Washington as acceptable instruments of war against those now innumerable individuals, group networks, and whole societies that are branded as terrorist. A new Cold War and nuclear arms race is in the making between the United States and Russia, while Washington is seeking to place road blocks to the continued rise of China. The Trump administration has created a new space force as a separate branch of the military in an attempt to ensure U.S. dominance in the militarization of space. Sounding the alarm on the increasing dangers of a nuclear war and of climate destabilization, the distinguished Bulletin of Atomic Scientists moved its doomsday clock in 2018 to two minutes to midnight, the closest since 1953, when it marked the advent of thermonuclear weapons.29

Increasingly severe economic sanctions are being imposed by the United States on countries like Venezuela and Nicaragua, despite their democratic elections—or because of them. Trade and currency wars are being actively promoted by core states, while racist barriers against immigration continue to be erected in Europe and the United States as some 60 million refugees and internally displaced peoples flee devastated environments. Migrant populations worldwide have risen to 250 million, with those residing in high-income countries constituting more than 14 percent of the populations of those countries, up from less than 10 percent in 2000. Meanwhile, ruling circles and wealthy countries seek to wall off islands of power and privilege from the mass of humanity, who are to be left to their fate.30

More than three-quarters of a billion people, over 10 percent of the world population, are chronically malnourished.31 Food stress in the United States keeps climbing, leading to the rapid growth of cheap dollar stores selling poor quality and toxic food. Around forty million Americans, representing one out of eight households, including nearly thirteen million children, are food insecure.32 Subsistence farmers are being pushed off their lands by agribusiness, private capital, and sovereign wealth funds in a global depeasantization process that constitutes the greatest movement of people in history.33 Urban overcrowding and poverty across much of the globe is so severe that one can now reasonably refer to a “planet of slums.”34 Meanwhile, the world housing market is estimated to be worth up to $163 trillion (as compared to the value of gold mined over all recorded history, estimated at $7.5 trillion).35

The Anthropocene epoch, first ushered in by the Great Acceleration of the world economy immediately after the Second World War, has generated enormous rifts in planetary boundaries, extending from climate change to ocean acidification, to the sixth extinction, to disruption of the global nitrogen and phosphorus cycles, to the loss of freshwater, to the disappearance of forests, to widespread toxic-chemical and radioactive pollution.36 It is now estimated that 60 percent of the world’s wildlife vertebrate population (including mammals, reptiles, amphibians, birds, and fish) have been wiped out since 1970, while the worldwide abundance of invertebrates has declined by 45 percent in recent decades.37 What climatologist James Hansen calls the “species exterminations” resulting from accelerating climate change and rapidly shifting climate zones are only compounding this general process of biodiversity loss. Biologists expect that half of all species will be facing extinction by the end of the century.38

If present climate-change trends continue, the “global carbon budget” associated with a 2°C increase in average global temperature will be broken in sixteen years (while a 1.5°C increase in global average temperature—staying beneath which is the key to long-term stabilization of the climate—will be reached in a decade). Earth System scientists warn that the world is now perilously close to a Hothouse Earth, in which catastrophic climate change will be locked in and irreversible.39 The ecological, social, and economic costs to humanity of continuing to increase carbon emissions by 2.0 percent a year as in recent decades (rising in 2018 by 2.7 percent—3.4 percent in the United States), and failing to meet the minimal 3.0 percent annual reductions in emissions currently needed to avoid a catastrophic destabilization of the earth’s energy balance, are simply incalculable.40

Nevertheless, major energy corporations continue to lie about climate change, promoting and bankrolling climate denialism—while admitting the truth in their internal documents. These corporations are working to accelerate the extraction and production of fossil fuels, including the dirtiest, most greenhouse gas-generating varieties, reaping enormous profits in the process. The melting of the Arctic ice from global warming is seen by capital as a new El Dorado, opening up massive additional oil and gas reserves to be exploited without regard to the consequences for the earth’s climate. In response to scientific reports on climate change, Exxon Mobil declared that it intends to extract and sell all of the fossil-fuel reserves at its disposal.41 Energy corporations continue to intervene in climate negotiations to ensure that any agreements to limit carbon emissions are defanged. Capitalist countries across the board are putting the accumulation of wealth for a few above combatting climate destabilization, threatening the very future of humanity.

#### The alternative is to reject the aff and critically interrogate the neoliberal discourse of the 1AC.

Giroux 20, McMaster University Professor for Scholarship in the Public Interest and The Paulo Freire Distinguished Scholar in Critical Pedagogy (Henry, June 9th, “Racist Violence Can’t Be Separated from the Violence of Neoliberal Capitalism,” *Truthout*, <https://truthout.org/articles/racist-violence-cant-be-separated-from-the-violence-of-neoliberal-capitalism/>, Accessed 08-24-2021)

As educators, it is crucial for us to examine how we talk, teach, and write about inequality as an object of critique in an age of precarity, uncertainty and the current pandemic crisis. This is especially true at a time when a growing number of authoritarian regimes around the globe substitute replace thoughtful dialogue and critical engagement with the suppression of dissent and a culture of forgetting r. How do we situate our analysis of education as part of a broader discourse and mode of analysis that interrogates the promises, ideals, and claims of a substantive democracy? How do we fight against iniquitous relations of power and wealth that empty power of its emancipatory possibilities, and as Hannah Arendt has argued, “makes most people superfluous as human beings”? How might we understand how neoliberal ideology, with its appropriation of market-based values, regressive notions of freedom and agency, uses language to infiltrate daily life? How does a pandemic pedagogy in the service of neoliberalism produce identities defined by market values, and normalize a notion of responsibility and individuality that convinces people that whatever problem they face they have no one to blame but themselves? Repeated endlessly on right-wing media platforms, the underlying conditions that disproportionately produce chronic illness among poor people of color disappear among a public distracted, if not persuaded, by a pandemic pedagogy that celebrates unchecked self-interest, disdains social responsibility, and turns away from the reality of a society with deep-seated institutional rot and unravelling of social connections and the social contract.

Pandemic pedagogy thrives on inequality and becomes a militarized and heartless normalizing tool to convince the broader public that the lives of the elderly, sick, and vulnerable should be valued according to how much they contribute to the economy. And if they are willing to die in order not to be a drain on the economy, all well and good. Nothing escapes the cruel logic of neoliberalism with its arrogance and hubris on full display as it bathes in the glow of right-wing populism, ultra-nationalism, and neofascism. Its accoutrements of dictatorship are everywhere and can be seen in the swagger of militia that storm state capitals, in police who punch and pepper spray protesters and push elderly men to the ground, and in military forces on the streets without badges reinforcing a climate of fear, repression, and unaccountability. There is more at work here than a lack of humanity on the part of the Trump administration. As the Irish journalist Fintan O’Toole observes, there is also the deepening grip of a culture of cruelty and dehumanization. He writes:

“As a society the American people are being habituated into accepting cruelty on a wide scale. Americans are being taught by Trump and his administration not to see other people as human beings whose lives are as important as their own. Once that line has been crossed – and it is not just Trump and the people around him, but many of Trump’s supporters as well – then we know where that all leads, what the ultimate destination is. There is no mystery about it. We know what happens when a government and its leaders dehumanize large numbers of people.”

Depoliticization and the Authoritarian Turn

Neoliberalism is not only an economic system, it is also an ideological apparatus that relentlessly attempts to structure consciousness, values, desires, and modes of identification in ways that align individuals with its governing structures. Central to this pedagogical project is the attempt to prevent individuals from translating private issues and troubles into broader systemic considerations. By doing this, it becomes difficult for individuals to grasp the historical, social, economic, and political forces at work in shaping a social order as a human activity deeply immersed in specific relations of power. Neoliberalism’s attempt to erase or rewrite historical and social forces makes it difficult for individuals to imagine alternative notions of society, with themselves as collective actors, or view their problems as more than the limitations of faulty character, moral failure, or a problem of personal responsibility. Reducing individuals to isolated, discrete, hermetically-sealed human beings whose lives are shaped only by notions of self-reliance and self-sufficiency is a pedagogical strategy that utterly depoliticizes people, leading them to believe that however a society is shaped, it is part of a natural order. President Trump echoed this “no alternative” narrative when asked about celebrities and rich people having special access to being tested for the coronavirus while few others had access. He replied, “Perhaps that’s been the story of life.”

This individualization of the social with its mounting privatization, gated communities, and social atomization undermines collective action, any viable notion of solidarity, and weakens the notion of global connectivity. The philosopher Byung-Chul Han has rightly argued that contemporary neoliberal society is shaped by a dysfunctional notion of solitude and hermitically-sealed notions of agency, all of which undermine the values and social connections vital to a democracy. He writes:

“Those subject to the neoliberal economy do not constitute a we that is capable of collective action. The mounting egoization and atomization of society is making the space for collective action shrink… The general collapse of the collective and the communal has engulfed it. Solidarity is vanishing. Privatization now reaches into the depths of the soul itself. The erosion of the communal is making all collective efforts more and more unlikely.”

This panoptical nature of hyper-individualism is more aligned with shared fears than shared responsibilities. Under such circumstances, trust and the notion that all life is related become difficult to grasp as the myopic language of private self-interest inures individuals to wider social problems such as extreme inequality. There is no understanding in this discourse of the damage fanatical entrepreneurialism does to our embodied collectivity. Nor is there any value attributed to the important responsibilities, social values, and notion of the common good that exceeds who we are as individuals, or how we have been shaped by diverse social forces in particular ways.

It should be clear that questions of economic and social justice cannot be addressed by a neoliberal pedagogy that enshrines self-interest and privatization while converting every social problem into individualized market solutions or regressive matters of personal responsibility. Under neoliberalism’s disimagination machine, individual responsibility is coupled with an ethos of greed, avarice, and personal gain. One consequence is the tearing up of social solidarities, public values, and an almost pathological disdain for democracy. This radical form of privatization is also a powerful force for the rise of fascist politics because it depoliticizes individuals, immerses them in the logic of social Darwinism, and makes them susceptible to the dehumanization of those considered a threat or disposable.

Just as the spread of the pandemic virus in the United States was not an innocent act of nature, neither is the rise and pervasive grip of inequality. What is clear is that neoliberal support for unbridled individualism has weakened democratic pressures and eroded democracy and equality as governing principles. Moreover, as a mode of public pedagogy, it has undercut social provisions, the social contract, and support for public goods such as education, public health, essential infrastructure, public transportation, and the most basic elements of the welfare state. As a form of pedagogical practice, neoliberalism has morphed into a form of pandemic pedagogy that sacrifices social needs and human life in the name of an economic rationality that values reviving economic growth over human rights. As a lived system of meaning and values, self-reliance and rugged individualism are the only categories available for shaping how individuals view themselves, and their relationship to others and to the planet. The individualization of everyone and the reduction of social problems to private troubles is paralleled by sanctioning a world marked by borders, walls, racism, hate, and a rejection of government intervention in the interest of the common good. Most importantly, neoliberal individualization personalizes power, creating a depoliticized subject whose only obligation as a citizen is defined by consuming and living in a world free from ethical and social responsibilities. In many ways, it does not just empty politics of any substance, it destroys its emancipatory prospects.

The neoliberal strategists use education not only to mask their abuses and the effects of their criminogenic policies, they also – in a time of crisis, when dissatisfaction of the masses might lead to chaos, revolts, and dangerous levels of resistance – move dangerously close to creating the conditions for a fascist politics. The noted theologian Frei Betto is right in stating that under such conditions, “…they cover up the causes of social ills and cover up their effects with ideologies that, by obscuring causes, fuel mood in the face of the effects. That’s why neoliberalism is now showing its authoritarian face – building walls that divide countries and ethnic groups, executive power over legislature and judiciary, disinformation about digital networks, the cult of the homeland, the brazen offensive against human rights.”

Neoliberalism and its regressive notion of individualism and individual responsibility has undermined the belief that human beings both make the world and can change it. The pandemic has ushered in a crisis that undermines that belief and opens the door for rethinking what kind of society and notion of politics will be faithful to the creation of a socialist democracy that speaks to the core values of justice, equality and solidarity. Under such circumstances, private resistance must give way to collective resistance, and personal and political rights must include economic rights. If inequality is to be defeated, the social state must replace the corporate state and social rights must be guaranteed for all. There can be no adequate struggle for economic justice and social equality unless economic inequality on a global level is addressed along with a movement for climate justice, the elimination of systemic racism and a halt to the spiraling militarism that has resulted in endless wars. This can only take place if the anti-democratic ideology of neoliberalism, with its collapse of the public into the private and its institutional structures of domination, are fully addressed and discredited. Étienne Balibar is right in stating that the triumph of neoliberalism has resulted in the “death zones of humanity.” Following Balibar, what must be made clear is that neoliberal capitalism is itself a pandemic and a dangerous harbinger of an updated fascist politics.

Overcoming Pandemic Pedagogy

The kind of societies that will emerge after the pandemic is up for grabs. In some cases, the crisis will give way to authoritarian regimes such as Chile, Hungary and Turkey, all of which have used the urgency of COVID-19 as an excuse to impose more state control and surveillance, squelch dissent, eliminate civil liberties and concentrate power in the hands of an authoritarian political class. As is well documented, history in a time of crisis also has the potential to change dominant ideologies, rethink the meaning of governance, and enlarge the sphere of justice and equality through a vision that fights for a more generous and inclusive politics. It is crucial to rethink the project of politics in order to imagine forms of resistance that are collective, inclusive and global, capable of producing new democratic arrangements for social life, more radical values and a “global economy which will no longer be at the mercy of market mechanisms.” This is a politics that must move beyond siloed identities and fractured political factions in order to build transnational solidarities in the service of an alternative radically democratic society. Making the pedagogical more political means challenging those forms of pandemic pedagogy that turn politics into theater, a favorite tactic of Trump. In this case, the performance works to suspend disbelief, hold power accountable and unravel one’s sense of critical agency. Pandemic pedagogy does more than undermine critical thinking and informed judgments, it dissolves the line between the truth and lies, fantasy and reality, and in doing so, destroys the foundation for understanding, engaging and promoting that social and economic justice. The endgame under the rubric of a pandemic pedagogy is not simply the destruction of the truth, but the elimination of democracy itself.

Central to developing an alternative democratic vision is development of a language that refuses to look away and be commodified. Such a language should be able to break through the continuity and consensus of common sense and appeals to the natural order of things. At stake here is the need to reclaim both critical and redemptive elements of a radical democracy in order to address the full spectrum of violence that structures institutions and everyday life in the United States. This is a language connected to the acquisition of civic literacy, and it demands a different regime of desires and identifications to enable us to move from “shock and stunned silence toward a coherent visceral speech, one as strong as the force that is charging at us.”

Of course, there is more at stake here than a struggle over meaning; there is also the struggle over power, over the need to create a formative culture that will produce informed critical agents who will fight for and contribute to a broad social movement that will translate meaning into a fierce struggle for economic, political and social justice. Agency in this sense must be connected to a notion of possibility and education in the service of radical change. Reimagining the future only becomes meaningful when it is rooted in a fierce struggle against the horrors and totalitarian practices of a pandemic pedagogy that falsely claims that it exists outside of history.

Václav Havel, the late Czech political dissident-turned-politician, once argued that politics follows culture, by which he meant that changing consciousness is the first step toward building mass movements of resistance. What is crucial here in the age of multiple crises is a thorough grasp of the notion that critical and engaged forms of agency are a product of emancipatory education. Moreover, at the heart of any viable notion of politics is the recognition that politics begins with attempts to change the way people think, act and feel with respect to both how they view themselves and their relations to others. There is more to agency than the neoliberal emphasis on the “empire of the self,” with its unchecked belief in the virtues of a form of self-interest that despises the bonds of sociality, solidarity and community.

The U.S. is in the midst of a political and pedagogical crisis. This is a crisis defined not only by a brutalizing racism and massive inequality, but also a constitutional crisis produced by a growing authoritarianism that has been in the making for some time. The recent attacks by the police on journalists, peaceful protesters and even elderly people marching for racial justice echoes the violence of the Brownshirts in the 1930s. Let’s stop the futile debate about whether or not the U.S. is in the midst of a fascist state and shift the register to the more serious question of how to resist it and restore a semblance of real democracy.

Under such circumstances, education should be viewed as central to politics, and it plays a crucial role in producing informed judgments, actions, morality and social responsibility at the forefront not only of agency, but politics itself. In this scenario, truth and politics mutually inform each other to erupt in a pedagogical awakening at the moment when the rules are broken. Taking risks becomes a necessity, self-reflection narrates its capacity for critically engaged agency and thinking the impossible is not an option, but a necessity. Without an informed and educated citizenry, democracy can lead to tyranny, even fascism.

Trump represents the malignant presence of a fascism that never dies and is ready to remerge at different times in different context in sometimes not-so-recognizable forms. The COVID-19 crisis and the pandemic of inequality and racism have revealed elements of a fascist politics that are more than abstractions. The struggle against a fascist politics is now visible in the rebellions taking place across the United States. While there are no political guarantees for a victory, there is a new sense that the future can be changed in the image of a just and sustainable society. There is a new energy for reform taking place in the aftermath of the killing of George Floyd. Massive protests for racial, economic and social justice are emerging all over the globe. As I have argued in The Terror of the Unforeseen, at stake here is the need for these protests to transition from a pedagogical moment and collective outburst of moral anger to a progressive international movement that is well organized and unified. Such a movement must build solidarity among different groups, imagine new forms of social life, make the impossible possible, and produce a revolutionary project in defense of equality, social justice and popular sovereignty. The racial, class, ecological and public health crisis facing the globe can only be understood as part of a comprehensive crisis of the totality. Immediate solutions such as defunding the police and improving community services are important, but they do not deal with the larger issue of eliminating a neoliberal system structured in massive racial and economic inequalities. David Harvey is right in arguing that the “immediate task is nothing more nor less than the self-conscious construction of a new political framework for approaching the question of inequality, through a deep and profound critique of our economic and social system.” This is a crisis in which different threads of oppression must be understood as part of the general crisis of capitalism. The various protests now evolving internationally at the popular level offer the promise of new global anti-fascist and anti-capitalist movements. In the current moment, democracy may be under a severe threat and appear frighteningly vulnerable, but with young people and others rising up across the globe — inspired, energized and marching in the streets — the future of a radical democracy is waiting to breathe again.

### 1NC

#### Infrastructure succeeds---PC is key

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President Joe Biden and his top aides scrambled Thursday to break a [deadlock](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/house-braces-infrastructure-vote-progressive-democrats-vow-block-n1280379) between House and Senate Democrats in what could be a last-ditch effort to save a key piece of his domestic political agenda. Biden spent the day at the White House out of public view making calls to Democratic leaders and other members of Congress as staff members went in and out of the Oval Office to update him on talks, White House press secretary Jen Psaki said. The White House was taking the situation "hour by hour," and Biden had cleared his schedule to focus on the [negotiations](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/mutually-assured-destruction-house-liberals-dig-halting-infrastructure-bill-n1280275), she said. "We are working towards winning a vote tonight. We have several hours left in the day," Psaki said Thursday afternoon, referring to the day's deadline as "self-imposed." Biden is at risk of losing momentum on the $550 billion infrastructure bill, along with a wider $3.5 billion social spending package. Both were central campaign promises, and they are the focus of his domestic policy agenda. With time running out on the legislative calendar for Biden's first year, White House officials have acknowledged that they are at a pivotal moment, with their domestic agenda likely to face even more hurdles next year, when members of Congress shift attention to their re-election bids. The infrastructure bill, which [passed the Senate last month](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/senate-vote-massive-infrastructure-package-centerpiece-biden-agenda-n1276134), is opposed by dozens of progressive Democratic in the House, who say they want progress on the separate $3.5 trillion measure to fund a range of social safety net programs. But the larger spending bill lacked the 50 votes it needed in the Senate, with Democrats Joe Manchin of West Virginia and Kyrsten Sinema of Arizona coming out in opposition. White House officials said Biden has made significant efforts in recent days to win support from Manchin and Sinema, who met with him separately at the White House on Tuesday for the second time in a week. Top White House officials also met with Sinema on the Hill on Wednesday, while Biden met at the White House that afternoon with Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif. Fellow Democrats have criticized Biden for not doing more to put pressure on the senators, such as accusing them of threatening to topple his and the party's agendas. Psaki has said Biden, who spent 36 years in the Senate, does not believe that would be effective. "I don't know if you've met many senators. They're not going to be forced to do anything that's not in their interest," Psaki said Wednesday. "His view is we've made some progress. You've seen some members come down. You've seen some members come up. You've seen active negotiations," she said. White House officials in recent days have said that despite the apparent impasse, they believe progress is being made behind the scenes as the various sides continue to talk. Biden canceled a trip to Chicago on Wednesday in part because he felt negotiations were making progress and he needed to stay in Washington to them keep on track, a White House official said.

#### Antitrust reform trades off with other legislative priorities

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14. Similarly, despite bipartisan murmurs about competitive issues, the potential in a closely divided Congress that any major initiatives will survive is limited at best. In part the challenge here is how the Biden administration will rank its commitments. If it were to make reform of competition law a major and primary commitment, it would have to trade off other goals, which might include health care reform or increases in the minimum wage. It is likely in this circumstance the new administration, like the Obama administration’s abandonment of the pro-competitive rules proposed under the PSA, would elect to give up stricter competition rules in order to achieve other legislative priorities. 15. Another key to a robust commitment to workable competition is the choice of cabinet and other key administrative positions. Here as well, the early signs are not entirely encouraging. In selecting Tom Vilsack to return as secretary of agriculture, the president has embraced a friend of the large corporate interests dominating agriculture who has spent the last four years in a highly lucrative position advancing their interests. Given the desperate need for pro-competitive rules to implement the PSA and control exploitation of dairy farmers through milk-market orders, the return of Vilsack is not good news. Who will head the FTC and who will be the attorney general and assistant attorney general for antitrust is still unknown, but if those picks are also centrists with strong links to corporate America the hope for robust enforcement of competition law will further attenuate! 16. In sum, this is a pessimistic prognostication for the likely Biden antitrust enforcement agenda. There is much that ought to be done. But this requires a willingness to take major enforcement risks, to invest significant political capital in the legislative process, and to select leaders who are committed to advancing the public interest in fair, efficient and dynamically competitive markets. The early signs are that the new administration will be no more committed to robust competition policy than the Obama administration. Events may force a more vigorous policy—I will cling to that hope as the Biden administration takes shape.

#### Reconciliation solves climate change [it passes now, new priorities tradeoff, it’s humanity’s last shot]

Roberts 8-7-2021, energy reporter, formerly of Vox (David, “Crunch time: this is America's last chance at serious climate policy for a decade,” *Vox*, <https://www.canarymedia.com/articles/climate-policy-crunch-time-we-need-congress-to-pass-a-clean-energy-standard-and-tax-credits/>)

Congress is working on what is likely to be its last big shot at climate change policy for a decade or more. If things go well, the legislation will include a clean energy standard (CES) and clean energy tax credits, which together would revolutionize the US electricity system. If things don’t go well, there will be no substantial climate legislation for many years to come. That’s the only question being decided: Will we get a CES and tax credits, or will we get nothing that will tackle fossil fuels this decade? That’s the binary. It’s time to focus. Looking around, it doesn’t seem like clean energy supporters, climate hawks, or the left more broadly really get that. So let’s talk about why this is such an important moment and what’s at stake. The reconciliation bill is likely the last chance for big federal climate legislation The Democratic approach for a while now has been to proceed along dual tracks. On one track, there’s the bipartisan infrastructure bill, hammered out by a group of just over 20 senators from both parties. On the other track, there’s the budget reconciliation bill, which is meant to contain … everything else in Biden’s agenda. The former needs 60 votes; the latter can pass with 50 Democratic votes. This has always been a fraught and delicate strategy. It could crash and burn in any number of ways. But so far, at least, it is hanging together. The bipartisan group unveiled its bill this week; it is slowly inching toward a vote, though Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) is doing everything he can to slow it down and gum it up. Twitter avatar for @jsfreed Josh Freed @jsfreed Okay, everyone, we’ve been crunching the BID numbers to see what’s in this deal and how it’ll impact clean energy and climate. Warning, this is a long 🧵 … 1/ seinfeld newman GIF July 29th 2021 176 Retweets497 Likes It contains decent chunks of money for things that will indirectly help clean energy — transmission, demonstration projects, R&D — but it lacks anything that will directly confront fossil fuels in the coming decade, the sine qua non of adequate climate policy. As Robinson Meyer argues in The Atlantic, it is not a climate bill, not really. There’s no guarantee the bipartisan bill will pass, and there’s no way to know how the Senate’s bipartisanship fetishists, Sens. Joe Manchin (D-W.V.) and Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz.), will react if it doesn’t. But whether it passes or not, when it comes to decent climate policy, it’s all about the reconciliation bill. There won’t be another bill this big while Democrats control Congress, and they won’t control Congress for long. What Democrats are able to get through in the reconciliation bill is likely to be the last big federal climate legislation for a decade at least. This is the key thing to understand, so I’m going to repeat it: What Democrats are able to get through in the reconciliation bill is likely to be the last big federal climate legislation for a decade at least. (You may be thinking: can’t Democrats do another reconciliation bill next year? Yes, they can, but the midterms will be in full swing, moderates will be feeling even more cowardly than usual, political appetite for big spending will have dried up in the face of a recovering economy, and focus will have turned, hopefully, to voting reform. This one is it.) Absent substantial federal voting reform — which is looking less and less likely, certainly nothing anyone should bet on — all signs point toward Republicans taking back the House in 2022. It’s unclear what will happen in the Senate, but regardless, if the GOP controls either house, no climate legislation will pass (and no voting reform). Republican presidential candidates can win despite larger and larger losses in the popular vote. And the chances of Democrats controlling both houses of Congress again are only getting dimmer. The structural advantages that favor the GOP in the US system are only tilting further in its favor, while the party is actively extending those advantages with a wave of voter-suppression laws at the state level and an accompanying wave of gerrymandering, which alone could win the GOP the House in 2022, even absent any Dem seats being lost. The GOP is protected in this endeavor by a hyper-conservative Supreme Court (which, by the way, could get even more conservative if the disastrously vain Stephen Breyer hangs on until there’s a Republican president again). The conservative movement in the US is attempting to engineer one-party control of US government (along the lines of their new hero, Hungarian autocrat Viktor Orban). There’s no way to know how successful the endeavor will ultimately be, but it’s a pretty good bet, given current trends, that Democrats won’t control the presidency and both houses of Congress at the same time again for a long while. Last time they lost full control (just before a wave of gerrymandering in 2010), it was a decade until they got it back. Twitter avatar for @sarahposner Sarah Posner @sarahposner New, from me, @TPM: That all begins in January 2023 — which makes this year’s reconciliation bill the Democrats’ last big shot at climate and clean energy policy. There are two key clean-energy policies on the table Climate folk are prone to endless policy arguments; everyone has their favorites. But most of those arguments are immaterial right now. Democrats have lined up behind a menu of clean energy policies in line with Biden’s climate plan. What’s on that menu is what might get in the bill. Might. If it’s not on that menu, it’s not going to get in. There’s no carbon tax. There’s no cap-and-dividend. There’s no prohibition on new fossil fuel infrastructure. You may support any and all of those policies, but they are not live options in the reconciliation bill. Right now, political pressure is best aligned behind options that actually are on the menu. Two in particular are immensely important — together, they would be transformative. The first is a Clean Energy Standard that would reduce electricity sector greenhouse gas emissions 80 percent by 2030. (Biden’s plan calls for 100 percent by 2035, but a reconciliation bill can only extend 10 years out.) It’s not actually going to be a standard, per se, because you can’t pass regulatory standards through reconciliation. Instead, it’s going to be a system of fines and payments that will incentivize utilities to increase their proportion of renewable energy to meet the targets. It’s called a clean electricity payment program (CEPP). A CEPP actually has some advantages over the traditional CES’s and renewable portfolio standard (RPSs) commonly seen in states. For one thing, it’s more progressive: the money to drive the transition comes from federal coffers (via taxes on corporations and the wealthy) rather than from electricity rates, which are regressive. If you’re interested in the details of how a reconciliation-friendly CEPP will be structured, see this piece from Ben Storrow and Scott Waldman of E&E, or this thread from Princeton professor Jesse Jenkins: Twitter avatar for @JesseJenkins JesseJenkins @JesseJenkins Broad contours of a Reconciliation-friendly Clean Electricity Standard (CES) are now coming into public view, as House & Senate Dems prepare a $3.5T Budget Resolution that will kick off a Reconciliation process, which permits passage of budget-related measures w/50+ Senate votes. July 15th 2021 1 Retweet16 Likes The end result will be the same as a conventional CES: the US electricity grid will reach 80 percent decarbonization by 2030, which is an achievable but still incredibly ambitious target. As I’ve said so many times, nothing is more important to deep decarbonization than cleaning up the electricity grid. It’s the core of the “electrify everything” strategy. The second is boosted and expanded clean energy tax credits. The investment tax credit (ITC) and production tax credit (PTC), for wind and solar respectively, would be renewed, but various forms of tax credits would also be extended to energy storage, hydrogen, carbon capture, and other key clean energy technologies. (The details are in flux; for a blueprint, see the Senate Finance Committee’s Clean Energy for America Act or the House Ways and Means’ GREEN Act.) Tax credits will provide the supply push; the CEPP will provide the demand pull. The result will be an enormous surge of clean energy projects and jobs. This is the core of good climate policy: pushing fossil fuels off the grid over the next decade and replacing them with zero-carbon energy. There are other good climate provisions on the Democrats’ menu for reconciliation as well. I would love to see a Civilian Climate Corps. I’d love to see more money for public transportation and an electrified postal service fleet. Lots of smaller climate provisions might make it through just by virtue of not drawing much notice, which would be great. But the CEPP and the tax credits are the one-two punch needed to make a real short-term difference in the energy system. And they are on the menu. Manchin is likely to be skeptical of the CEPP. Although carbon capture counts as clean energy under the program, every analyst understands that the practical effect is going to be to ramp up renewables and ramp down fossil fuels on the grid. Manchin doesn’t actually want that. I have no idea if public pressure will have any effect at all on Manchin, but it couldn’t hurt. Might as well try it. The perilous path ahead for reconciliation Everyone on the left is aware that the reconciliation bill is the last big legislative train leaving the station, and every interest group wants a seat on it. Climate policy will be competing with other Democratic priorities. Especially as Sinema and Manchin arbitrarily reduce the total size of the bill, as they surely will, the factions of the party will be fighting it out over a shrinking pie. It is far from a sure thing that the CEPP and tax credits will survive negotiations. It’s all being decided right now. Everyone who cares about US climate progress should put aside their personal projects and preferences for a few weeks and speak in a unified voice. Call your representatives. Push the groups you’re involved to make noise about it. It’s going to be the CEPP and tax credits or nothing big for climate. If both those policies are put in place, it could set the US power system on a new course and strengthen American credibility at the upcoming COP26 international climate meeting. If they slip through the cracks, climate will have to settle for scraps and the US will surrender all hope of meeting its climate targets or influencing others to do the same. For the next few months, this is all that matters. If you’ve ever considered getting involved, now is the time.

#### Warming is existential

Ng ’19 [Yew-Kwang; May 2019; Professor of Economics at Nanyang Technology University, Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia and Member of the Advisory Board at the Global Priorities Institute at Oxford University, Ph.D. in Economics from Sydney University; Global Policy, “Keynote: Global Extinction and Animal Welfare: Two Priorities for Effective Altruism,” vol. 10, no. 2, p. 258-266; RP]

Catastrophic climate change

Though by no means certain, CCC causing global extinction is possible due to interrelated factors of non‐linearity, cascading effects, positive feedbacks, multiplicative factors, critical thresholds and tipping points (e.g. Barnosky and Hadly, 2016; Belaia et al., 2017; Buldyrev et al., 2010; Grainger, 2017; Hansen and Sato, 2012; IPCC 2014; Kareiva and Carranza, 2018; Osmond and Klausmeier, 2017; Rothman, 2017; Schuur et al., 2015; Sims and Finnoff, 2016; Van Aalst, 2006).7

A possibly imminent tipping point could be in the form of ‘an abrupt ice sheet collapse [that] could cause a rapid sea level rise’ (Baum et al., 2011, p. 399). There are many avenues for positive feedback in global warming, including:

* the replacement of an ice sea by a liquid ocean surface from melting reduces the reflection and increases the absorption of sunlight, leading to faster warming;
* the drying of forests from warming increases forest fires and the release of more carbon; and
* higher ocean temperatures may lead to the release of methane trapped under the ocean floor, producing runaway global warming.

Though there are also avenues for negative feedback, the scientific consensus is for an overall net positive feedback (Roe and Baker, 2007). Thus, the Global Challenges Foundation (2017, p. 25) concludes, ‘The world is currently completely unprepared to envisage, and even less deal with, the consequences of CCC’.

The threat of sea‐level rising from global warming is well known, but there are also other likely and more imminent threats to the survivability of mankind and other living things. For example, Sherwood and Huber (2010) emphasize the adaptability limit to climate change due to heat stress from high environmental wet‐bulb temperature. They show that ‘even modest global warming could … expose large fractions of the [world] population to unprecedented heat stress’ p. 9552 and that with substantial global warming, ‘the area of land rendered uninhabitable by heat stress would dwarf that affected by rising sea level’ p. 9555, making extinction much more likely and the relatively moderate damages estimated by most integrated assessment models unreliably low.

While imminent extinction is very unlikely and may not come for a long time even under business as usual, the main point is that we cannot rule it out. Annan and Hargreaves (2011, pp. 434–435) may be right that there is ‘an upper 95 per cent probability limit for S [temperature increase] … to lie close to 4°C, and certainly well below 6°C’. However, probabilities of 5 per cent, 0.5 per cent, 0.05 per cent or even 0.005 per cent of excessive warming and the resulting extinction probabilities cannot be ruled out and are unacceptable. Even if there is only a 1 per cent probability that there is a time bomb in the airplane, you probably want to change your flight. Extinction of the whole world is more important to avoid by literally a trillion times.

### 1NC

#### The United States federal government should

#### ---modernize the grid, including at least the implementation of microgrids

#### ---increase Department of Defense network visibility

#### ---increase information sharing, collaboration, and research and development funding for the private sector

#### ---implement cross-domain deterrence in cyber operations

#### Solves detection and deter attacks.

Buchanan and Sulmeyer 16 (Ben and Michael; 12/13/2016; post-doctoral fellow at the Belfer Center’s Cyber Security Project, director of the Belfer Center’s Cyber Security Project; “Russia and Cyber Operations: Challenges and Opportunities for the Next U.S. Administration,” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/12/13/russia-and-cyber-operations-challenges-and-opportunities-for-next-u.s.-administration-pub-66433>; Date Accessed: 7/10/2017; DS)

To better position the United States against increased Russian cyber operations, an approach designed to improve American operations in three areas is essential: **defense, detection, and deterrence**. Implementing these recommendations in these areas will enable U.S. policymakers to have greater confidence in the baseline level of security in key networks, a better chance of quickly **identify**ing **and thwart**ing Russian intrusions when they do occur, and a clearer posture for limiting Russian behavior. The standard of baseline defenses must improve, both in government networks and in privately operated critical infrastructure. Network defenders should prioritize deploying audited code—software that has been **checked for vulnerabilities**—and applying security updates in order to **minimize the opportunities for intrusion** as much as possible. Ideally, such efforts will minimize the percentage of successful intrusion attempts, enabling defenders to focus their time on more sophisticated threats, such as those potentially posed by Russia. This will likely involve **replacing older so-called legacy systems** that were not built with security in mind. In the case of federal networks, Congress should **authorize the modernization** of important information technology infrastructure; the 2016 budget request from President Barack Obama contains initiatives that are a useful starting point.21 A related component of defense is detection. The faster adversaries can be spotted and removed from a network, the **less damage** the adversaries will be able to do. Better perimeter defenses are a fundamental part of cybersecurity, but they are not by themselves sufficient. Within both the private and public sector, networks should be designed or, where applicable, redesigned to **increase the visibility** defenders have into all activity taking place. With better network visibility, defenders should monitor their own networks for anomalous activity that could indicate the presence of an intruder.22 Older systems will likely have to be replaced over time in order to achieve this; President Obama’s proposal for information technology modernization in government is also a good start.23 To aid this effort, the United States government should **increase its information sharing** with the private sector. It should prioritize efforts to declassify as much as possible threat intelligence on sophisticated foreign actors, including Russian operators, and share this data with the relevant sector-specific information sharing and analysis organizations. When this threat intelligence is married with better network architecture, ongoing detection of malicious activity becomes a more tractable problem. Where appropriate, the United States should increase its intelligence collection in order to inform this effort. In addition, the U.S. government should lead or encourage a **widespread effort to detect adversaries** already lurking in American critical infrastructure. This mission, which will likely involve a private-public partnership in some areas, should seek to identify intrusions that have already taken place and remove them from the affected networks. The goal should be to reduce, as much as possible, the Russian ability to perform ongoing collection and to hold key U.S. targets at risk. Decontamination of networks is a challenging and resource-intensive undertaking, but it is vital. The last recommendation relates to deterrence. The United States should make it clear that there are costs for intrusive cyber operations, especially when those operations exceed acceptable norms of behavior. In order to make this deterrent credible, the United States must be **prepared to retaliate** for activities it deems inappropriate. But this response does not need to be limited to cyber operations. Indeed, there is already a precedent for non-cyber-operation responses to intrusions, a concept known as **cross-domain deterrence**. In response to cases like the hacking of campaign officials and the leaking of their personal emails, the United States should identify the perpetrators and consider an unambiguous public rejoinder. The Department of Justice has obtained indictments against Chinese and Iranian cyber operators; where appropriate, it should consider using that tool against Russian actors. This **naming and shaming**, combined with the possible restrictions on travel—due to fear of arrest—that accompany indictments indicates to operators that the United States is capable of doing attribution and that there perhaps **will be consequences** for their actions. In addition, sanctions in response to cyber activity may also be merited. The 2015 executive order signed by President Obama enables the United States to impose sanctions on other nations for their behavior in cyberspace. With Russia, there are already sanctions in place due to the conflict in Ukraine, but additional targeted sanctions for cyber activity may be warranted.24

### 1NC

#### FTC will litigate health mergers now.

Levine 8-25-2021, master’s degree from the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism and a bachelor of arts in English from the University of Pennsylvania. She is also an alumna of the Fellowships at Auschwitz for the Study of Professional Ethics, a program in Germany and Poland that explores the ethics of reporting on politics, war and genocide (Alexandra, “How Biden's tech trustbuster could change health care,” *Politico*, <https://www.politico.com/newsletters/future-pulse/2021/08/25/how-bidens-tech-trustbuster-could-change-health-care-797333>)

Lina Khan’s Federal Trade Commission has its eyes on health care. The agency known for efforts to rein in Big Tech companies like Facebook and Amazon is also enmeshed in high-stakes health care and health tech battles that extend well beyond Silicon Valley. Case in point: The FTC trial that kicked off yesterday examining monopoly concerns in the market for cancer screening technology. (More on that below.) That closely watched antitrust case — involving the giant Illumina and startup Grail — predates Khan’s confirmation as FTC chair. But it underscores how health issues are looming over the agenda, particularly heading into the pandemic's second year. The way health care companies and consumer health apps handle sensitive data “is an area that I'm sure [Khan’s] very, very interested in,” said Jessica Rich, former director of the FTC’s consumer protection bureau, adding that the Biden administration's FTC will also be closely scrutinizing hospital mergers. “I expect her and the commission to take a very bold approach to what constitutes harm for both,” Rich said. “I expect her to pay close attention to algorithms and potential discrimination in health care, both denials and pricing issues which the FTC's laws can address.” The FTC’s jurisdiction touches nearly the entire health economy. While its competition bureau looks at health care mergers like the Illumina-Grail deal, its consumer protection side is focused on health privacy and data security issues, as well as fighting bogus medical claims on everything from weight loss to Covid cures. When Congress passed the Covid-19 Consumer Protection Act last year, the agency was granted new authority to police Covid scams. Although Khan hasn't spoken publicly about her health care agenda, she's likely to take issue with health apps and companies whose business models maximize, incentivize and monetize data collection. Of particular concern is how firms disclose what they’re doing with consumers’ data — and whether it may still be deceptive or unfair.

#### Resources are finite---plan draws from merger litigation.

McCabe 18, covers technology policy from The Times' Washington bureau, formerly of Axios (David, “Mergers are spiking, but antitrust cop funding isn't,” Axios, https://www.axios.com/antitrust-doj-ftc-funding-2f69ed8c-b486-4a08-ab57-d3535ae43b52.html)

The number of corporate mergers has jumped in recent years, but funding has stagnated for the federal agencies that are supposed to make sure the deals won’t harm consumers. Why it matters: A wave of mega-mergers touching many facets of daily life, from T-Mobile’s merger with Sprint to CVS’s purchase of Aetna, will test the Justice Department's and Federal Trade Commission’s ability to examine smaller or more novel cases, antitrust experts say. What they’re saying: “You have finite resources in terms of people power, so if you are spending all of your time litigating big mergers … there might be some investigations where decisions might have to be made about which investigations you can pursue,” said Caroline Holland, who was a senior staffer in DOJ’s Antitrust Division under President Obama and is now a Mozilla fellow. What's happening: More mergers are underway now than at any point since the recession. The total number of transactions reported to the federal government in fiscal year 2017, and not including cases given expedited approval or where the agencies couldn't legally pursue an investigation, is 82% higher than the number reported in 2010 and 55% higher than the number reported in 2012. Funding for antitrust officials who weigh the deals hasn’t kept pace. The funding for the Department of Justice’s antitrust division has fallen 10% since 2010, when adjusted for inflation. That's in line with the broader picture: not adjusting for inflation, the Department's overall budget increased just slightly in 2016 and 2017. Funding for the FTC has fallen 5% since 2010 (adjusted for inflation). An FTC spokesperson declined to comment on funding levels and Antitrust Division officials didn't provide a comment. Driving the news: Merger and acquisition activity is up 36% in the United States compared to the same time last year, according to Thomson Reuters data from April. Several deals under government review have gotten national attention, including Sinclair’s purchase of Tribune's TV stations or T-Mobile’s deal with Sprint, which stands to reduce the number of national wireless providers from four to three. Meanwhile, the Justice Department is awaiting the ruling on its lengthy legal effort to block AT&T’s proposed $85 billion purchase of Time Warner. Yes, but: It’s not the attention-grabbing mega-mergers that advocates worry will get less of a close look thanks to a shortage of funds. Instead, some say budget limitations are likely to matter when officials are deciding which smaller or "borderline" deals to investigate further. “Sometimes there’s nothing there,” said Holland of the agency's early investigations. “Other times, it might be, ‘This is kind of a close call, and we’ve got three or four close calls and we need to pick one of them.’" "It could mean settlements get accepted that otherwise wouldn’t, or deals that should be challenged aren’t," said Michael Kades of the Washington Center for Equitable Growth, an antitrust-enforcement-friendly think tank that has done extensive research on the topic, in an email.

#### Health consolidation collapses rural care

Numerof 20, PhD @ Bryn Mawr, internationally recognized consultant and author with over 25 years of experience in the field of strategy development and execution, business model design, and market analysis (Rita, “Covid-Induced Hospital Consolidation: What Are The Impacts On Consumers, And Potentially The President,” *Forbes*, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ritanumerof/2020/11/11/covid-induced-hospital-consolidation-what-are-the-impacts-on-consumers-and-potentially-the-president/?sh=692d6fc94da0>)

Covid-19 has initiated yet another wave: A wave of hospital mergers and acquisitions that will have devastating consequences for public health if industry doesn’t soon execute an about-face. Whether because they’re on the brink of bankruptcy and have subscribed to the half-truth that size is protective, or because they think they can score some good deals and believe scale and success are synonymous, the financial fallout of Covid-19 has caused many hospital executives to make consolidation a core part of their future plans. With the intent of increasing care quality and decreasing consumer costs despite these challenging times, the merger between Shannon Medical Center and Community Hospital and partnership between Intermountain and Sanford Health are just two examples. There are multiple reasons why consumers absolutely cannot afford for industry to bulk up in an effort to weather this storm. The first is that the positive efforts executives claim consolidation will help them accomplish often prove to be futile. Research shows that wherever market concentration is high, there are also higher prices for both consumers and the employers who provide their healthcare coverage. In the absence of competition, costs increase and quality deteriorates. That’s the opposite of progress. Second, generally speaking, the union of two institutions with operational shortcomings only creates one larger institution with even more operational shortcomings! That’s not progress either. Third, Covid-induced consolidation will only make future progress many times more difficult. The larger an organization is, the more it will struggle to rapidly adapt to healthcare disruptions like we’re seeing today. Retail giants like Walmart, Walgreens, Amazon and CVS are pivoting to cater to healthcare consumer demands for affordability and accessibility. Right now, they’re still a blip on the radar relative to mainstream healthcare delivery, but they are looking to eventually corner the market and drive the industry forward. And as they continue down this path, consolidated healthcare systems will be left behind, potentially at the expense of the consumers in that area. The potential impact of continued consolidation on rural patients is especially concerning. Rural communities may have a limited number of the big-box retailers mentioned above. And the unfortunate fact of the matter is that when a larger hospital or health system purchases a smaller, rural hospital, it’s usually only a matter of time before the purchasing system realizes that unless they drastically pare down and reconfigure operations, the acquired hospital will never be profitable. Many eventually decide to close up shop, in some instances reducing or even eliminating rural patients’ options for care delivery. In the absolute worst-case scenario, this is exactly the reality all consumers could face if consolidation continues at its current pace. In theory and if left unchecked, all of the hospitals in the United States could be owned by only a handful of mammoth systems that then lack incentive to continually deliver quality services at lower total cost of care.

#### Rural care is key to US ag exports

Lichtenwald 16, CEO of Medsphere Systems Corporation (Irv, “Is CMS Efforts Enough to Transform Rural Healthcare?,” <http://hitconsultant.net/2016/02/22/32016/>)

The scenario is far from unrealistic. For the most part, non-urban healthcare organizations are not doing well. In fact, almost every rural hospital in the country is operating near the margin or in the red. According to iVantage Health Analytics Senior Vice President Michal Topchik, speaking to Health Data Management, 67 rural hospitals have closed since 2010, and 283 were vulnerable to closure last year. Already in 2016 iVantage has identified 673 vulnerable rural hospitals, with 210 at very high risk. While only about 15 percent of the American population, roughly 46 million people, live in rural areas, they do some of the nation’s most essential work. Mostly, they grow food, produce energy or provide services to the people that grow food and produce energy. Obviously, the rural healthcare situation matters in terms of food and energy security at home, but also in terms of economics—the United States is by far the largest global exporter of food, with roughly $40 billion separating America from number two, and is on the cusp of ending energy imports for the first time since 1950. In reality, rural healthcare is transitioning, not disappearing, mostly because doing nothing is just bad economics. People in rural areas need care. If they can’t get it locally, they have to be flown to the nearest facility, which ends up being more expensive over the long term than funding a local hospital. To their credit, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) are already aware of the situation in rural America and have been taking steps toward fixing it. Speaking recently to the National Rural Health Association, CMS Acting Administrator Andy Slavitt explained that the agency is “establishing a CMS Rural Health Council to work across the entire agency to oversee our work in three strategic priority areas– first, improving access to care to all Americans in rural settings; second, supporting the unique economics of providing health care in rural America; and third making sure the health care innovation agenda appropriately fits rural health care markets.” As Slavitt points out, rural Americans tend to be older, earn less money and they generally lack health insurance—more than 60 percent of citizens without health insurance live in rural areas in states that have not expanded Medicaid through the Affordable Care Act. Nearly 75 percent of government health insurance exchange users make less than 250 percent of the federal poverty level—currently a bit less than $12,000 a year for an individual and slightly more than $24,000 for a family of four. So, if the argument could be made that rural America is home to the greatest number of healthcare challenges, then it also represents the greatest opportunity. If we can make affordable healthcare work outside urban areas, we may have a template applicable to other scenarios. On Slavitt’s first two points—access and economics—CMS is working to sign rural Americans up for health insurance and adjusting requirements and payment models for rural care. Which brings us to the “innovation agenda,” Slavitt’s term for the digitization of healthcare and the all-in bet the federal government has made on the benefits of health IT. The goal here is to transform rural hospitals and clinics into efficient, wired, lean operations that can absorb the realities of rural care and still operate in the black. With 35 percent of rural hospitals losing money and almost two-thirds running a negative operating margin, there’s simply no way rural facilities can invest in health IT without help. From CMS, that help takes the form of several planned or in-process programs: – Medicaid State Innovation Model grants for technical support in smaller rural hospitals – Aggregation of services in rural communities creating benefits from population health – The Frontier Community Health Integration Project (summer 2016), developing and testing new models in isolated areas using telemedicine and integration approaches – The ACO investment model for hospitals that can’t invest in ACO infrastructure; the model now serves 350,000 rural beneficiaries through 1,100 rural providers – Incorporating telemedicine where appropriate; CMS is publishing a Medicaid final rule that for the first time allows for face-to-face encounters using telehealth It’s clear that CMS understands we can’t leave rural hospitals to fend for themselves. But it also seems clear that a lot of hospitals invested in electronic health records (EHRs) they could ill afford to qualify for Meaningful Use funds—dollars that seldom covered implementation costs for solutions that didn’t yield significant cost savings and required additional technical personnel. By and large, that MU money has been dispensed. The carrot has been eaten. What Medicare- and Medicaid-heavy hospitals can expect next is two sticks: more stringent reporting requirements necessitating EHR use and direct penalties (for now) related to Meaningful Use non-compliance. “The high capital and operating costs associated with health IT, specifically EHRs, have put some hospitals in a difficult position,” wrote Becker’s Hospital CFO in a prescient January 2014 article. “Do they absorb the financial hit now, even if they know they can’t afford it? Most organizations are doing so …” Yes, CMS is trying to help lessen the impact of that metaphorical beating, but these rural hospitals also have to make decisions to help themselves. Too many are paying for systems they can’t afford to maintain. Moreover, they are unable to invest in necessary security, leaving them increasingly open to data breaches. Many are also still handicapped by the costs of ICD-10 transition, for which there was no federal reimbursement. Rural hospitals need a comprehensive EHR platform that integrates with a revenue cycle system so they can properly capture charges and manage the billing process, and effectively collect on previously lost billing. These systems need to be available as a subscription service so that rural hospitals don’t have to come up with huge money down. And they can’t require the hiring of an additional 50 application specialists to make the new systems work. “The benefits of IT are still to come,” Standard and Poor’s Marin Arrick told Becker’s Hospital CFO more than two years ago. Still the economic crisis in rural care rages on, certainly lessening access to care for millions of Americans and arguably impacting the labor force that produces food, energy, etc.

#### US ag exports prevent hotspot escalation

Castellaw 17

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The United States faces many threats to our National Security. These threats include continuing wars with extremist elements such as ISIS and potential wars with rogue state North Korea or regional nuclear power Iran. The heated economic and diplomatic competition with Russia and a surging China could spiral out of control. Concurrently, we face threats to our future security posed by growing civil strife, famine, and refugee and migration challenges which create incubators for extremist and anti-American government factions. Our response cannot be one dimensional but instead must be a nuanced and comprehensive National Security Strategy combining all elements of National Power including a Food Security Strategy. An American Food Security Strategy is an imperative factor in reducing the multiple threats impacting our National wellbeing. Recent history has shown that reliable food supplies and stable prices produce more stable and secure countries. Conversely, food insecurity, particularly in poorer countries, can lead to instability, unrest, and violence. Food insecurity drives mass migration around the world from the Middle East, to Africa, to Southeast Asia, destabilizing neighboring populations, generating conflicts, and threatening our own security by disrupting our economic, military, and diplomatic relationships. Food system shocks from extreme food-price volatility can be correlated with protests and riots. Food price related protests toppled governments in Haiti and Madagascar in 2007 and 2008. In 2010 and in 2011, food prices and grievances related to food policy were one of the major drivers of the Arab Spring uprisings. Repeatedly, history has taught us that a strong agricultural sector is an unquestionable requirement for inclusive and sustainable growth, broad-based development progress, and long-term stability. The impact can be remarkable and far reaching. Rising income, in addition to reducing the opportunities for an upsurge in extremism, leads to changes in diet, producing demand for more diverse and nutritious foods provided, in many cases, from American farmers and ranchers. Emerging markets currently purchase 20 percent of U.S. agriculture exports and that figure is expected to grow as populations boom. Moving early to ensure stability in strategically significant regions requires long term planning and a disciplined, thoughtful strategy. To combat current threats and work to prevent future ones, our national leadership must employ the entire spectrum of our power including diplomatic, economic, and cultural elements. The best means to prevent future chaos and the resulting instability is positive engagement addressing the causes of instability before it occurs. This is not rocket science. We know where the instability is most likely to occur. The world population will grow by 2.5 billion people by 2050. Unfortunately, this massive population boom is projected to occur primarily in the most fragile and food insecure countries. This alarming math is not just about total numbers. Projections show that the greatest increase is in the age groups most vulnerable to extremism. There are currently 200 million people in Africa between the ages of 15 and 24, with that number expected to double in the next 30 years. Already, 60% of the unemployed in Africa are young people. Too often these situations deteriorate into shooting wars requiring the deployment of our military forces. We should be continually mindful that the price we pay for committing military forces is measured in our most precious national resource, the blood of those who serve. For those who live in rural America, this has a disproportionate impact. Fully 40% of those who serve in our military come from the farms, ranches, and non-urban communities that make up only 16% of our population. Actions taken now to increase agricultural sector jobs can provide economic opportunity and stability for those unemployed youths while helping to feed people. A recent report by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs identifies agriculture development as the core essential for providing greater food security, economic growth, and population well-being. Our active support for food security, including agriculture development, has helped stabilize key regions over the past 60 years. A robust food security strategy, as a part of our overall security strategy, can mitigate the growth of terrorism, build important relationships, and support continued American economic and agricultural prosperity while materially contributing to our Nation’s and the world’s security.

### 1NC

#### The United States federal government should substantially increase prohibitions on anticompetitive business practices by the private sector by expanding regulatory constraints on business practices that impair the competitive process

#### The counterplan solves and competes

Shelanski 18, Professor of Law @ Georgetown (Howard, “Antitrust and Deregulation,” Yale Law Journal)

A. Antitrust and Regulation as Policy Alternatives

A variety of institutions can govern economic competition. Decentralized, capitalist economies generally rely on markets themselves to provide the incen- tives and discipline necessary to keep prices low, output high, and innovation moving forward.8 But sometimes market forces alone cannot ensure efficiency and economic welfare—for example, when the market structure has changed due to mergers or the rise of a dominant firm, or when the market is an oligopoly susceptible to parallel conduct or collusion. In such cases, governance of competition by a nonmarket institution might be warranted. Because concentrated markets or even monopolies can arise for good reasons related to efficiency, in- novation, and consumer preference, the governance of competition more often involves vigilance than liability or injunctions. Then-Judge Stephen Breyer, long a leading scholar of antitrust and regulation, described the best situation as being an unregulated, competitive market in which “antitrust may help maintain com- petition.”9 Antitrust law aims to prevent the improper creation and exploitation of market power on a case-by-case basis while avoiding the punishment of commercial success justly earned through “skill, foresight and industry.”10 Thus, competition authorities like the FTC and the DOJ’s Antitrust Division review mergers, inves- tigate single-firm conduct, and prosecute collusion.11 Private plaintiffs can pur- sue civil antitrust liability through suits in the federal courts.12 To win their claims, enforcement agencies and private plaintiffs bear the burden of showing that the effect of a firm’s activity is “substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly,”13 or to constitute a “contract, combination, . . . or conspir- acy” in restraint of trade,14 or to “monopolize, or attempt to monopolize” any line of business.15 Antitrust is not, however, the only institution through which government addresses competition concerns and market failures. Congress can give regulatory agencies authority to intervene where they see the need to address competition and market structure—and Congress has often done so. With such statutory authority, “[i]n effect, the agency becomes a limited-jurisdiction enforcer of antitrust principles.”16 For example, the Department of Transportation (DOT) has jurisdiction to approve transfers of routes between airlines carriers, giving it a role in reviewing airline mergers.17 The 1992 Cable Act gave the FCC authority to limit the share of the national cable market that a single operator could serve, thereby giving the agency some control over the industry’s market structure.18 The FCC has long regulated market entry and, through its control over license transfers, reviewed mergers and acquisitions in several sectors of the telecom- munications industry. More recently, the FCC issued,19 and then repealed, 20 “network neutrality” regulations intended to preserve ease of entry and a level playing field for digital services. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), Department of Energy, and numerous other federal agencies have various powers that directly affect competition.21 State regulation can be important as well in governing competition, particularly in the insurance and healthcare industries.22 In contrast to the case-by-case approach of antitrust, regulation typically im- poses ex ante prohibitions or requirements on business conduct. The Telecommunications Act of 1996, for example, required incumbent local telephone com- panies to grant new competitors access to parts of their networks and prohibited incumbents from refusing to interconnect calls from their customers to custom- ers of competing networks.23 With the rule in place, the FCC bore no burden of proving that a specific instance of network access was necessary for competition, or that a specific denial of interconnection would harm competition. In contrast to antitrust, where the burden of proving liability is on the agency, under a regulatory regime the burden of seeking a waiver from regulation or challenging an agency’s enforcement decision is usually on the regulated party. Antitrust and regulation therefore present alternative approaches to governing competition and addressing market failures.24 The government can review individual mergers under the antitrust laws, as it does in most markets, or it can set rules that impose clear, ex ante limits on the extent of concentration, as the FCC did for media ownership under the Communications Act.25 Government can investigate under the antitrust laws whether a firm has monopoly power that it has “willful[ly]” acquired or maintained other than “as a consequence of a su- perior product, business acumen, or historic accident.”26 Alternatively, with au- thority from Congress an agency can regulate how much of a market a single firm can serve, as the FCC tried to do with cable companies,27 or require firms to dispose of key assets in order to promote competition in a relevant market, as the DOT has done with airline slots.28

## Adv 1

### 1NC---!D---Economy

#### No correlation between economic decline and war.

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

On balance, however, I do not think that even the extraordinary economic conditions we are witnessing today are going to have much impact on the likelihood of war. Why? First of all, if depressions were a powerful cause of war, there would be a lot more of the latter. To take one example, the United States has suffered 40 or more recessions since the country was founded, yet it has fought perhaps 20 interstate wars, most of them unrelated to the state of the economy. To paraphrase the economist Paul Samuelson’s famous quip about the stock market, if recessions were a powerful cause of war, they would have predicted “nine out of the last five (or fewer).”   
Second, states do not start wars unless they believe they will win a quick and relatively cheap victory. As John Mearsheimer showed in his classic book Conventional Deterrence, national leaders avoid war when they are convinced it will be long, bloody, costly, and uncertain. To choose war, political leaders have to convince themselves they can either win a quick, cheap, and decisive victory or achieve some limited objective at low cost. Europe went to war in 1914 with each side believing it would win a rapid and easy victory, and Nazi Germany developed the strategy of blitzkrieg in order to subdue its foes as quickly and cheaply as possible. Iraq attacked Iran in 1980 because Saddam believed the Islamic Republic was in disarray and would be easy to defeat, and George W. Bush invaded Iraq in 2003 convinced the war would be short, successful, and pay for itself.

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

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

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

### 1NC---Cyber

#### No cyber impact.

Lewis 20, PhD, a senior vice president and director of the Technology Policy Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. (James Andrew, 8-17-2020, "Dismissing Cyber Catastrophe", *CSIS*, https://www.csis.org/analysis/dismissing-cyber-catastrophe)

A catastrophic cyberattack was first predicted in the mid-1990s. Since then, predictions of a catastrophe have appeared regularly and have entered the popular consciousness. As a trope, a cyber catastrophe captures our imagination, but as analysis, it remains entirely imaginary and is of dubious value as a basis for policymaking. There has never been a catastrophic cyberattack.

To qualify as a catastrophe, an event must produce damaging mass effect, including casualties and destruction. The fires that swept across California last summer were a catastrophe. Covid-19 has been a catastrophe, especially in countries with inadequate responses. With ~~man-made~~ actions, however, a catastrophe is harder to produce than it may seem, and for cyberattacks a catastrophe requires organizational and technical skills most actors still do not possess. It requires planning, reconnaissance to find vulnerabilities, and then acquiring or building attack tools—things that require resources and experience. To achieve mass effect, either a few central targets (like an electrical grid) need to be hit or multiple targets would have to be hit simultaneously (as is the case with urban water systems), something that is itself an operational challenge.

It is easier to imagine a catastrophe than to produce it. The 2003 East Coast blackout is the archetype for an attack on the U.S. electrical grid. No one died in this blackout, and services were restored in a few days. As electric production is digitized, vulnerability increases, but many electrical companies have made cybersecurity a priority. Similarly, at water treatment plants, the chemicals used to purify water are controlled in ways that make mass releases difficult. In any case, it would take a massive amount of chemicals to poison large rivers or lakes, more than most companies keep on hand, and any release would quickly be diluted.

More importantly, there are powerful strategic constraints on those who have the ability to launch catastrophe attacks. We have more than two decades of experience with the use of cyber techniques and operations for coercive and criminal purposes and have a clear understanding of motives, capabilities, and intentions. We can be guided by the methods of the Strategic Bombing Survey, which used interviews and observation (rather than hypotheses) to determine effect. These methods apply equally to cyberattacks. The conclusions we can draw from this are:

Nonstate actors and most states lack the capability to launch attacks that cause physical damage at any level, much less a catastrophe. There have been regular predictions every year for over a decade that nonstate actors will acquire these high-end cyber capabilities in two or three years in what has become a cycle of repetition. The monetary return is negligible, which dissuades the skilled cybercriminals (mostly Russian speaking) who might have the necessary skills. One mystery is why these groups have not been used as mercenaries, and this may reflect either a degree of control by the Russian state (if it has forbidden mercenary acts) or a degree of caution by criminals.

There is enough uncertainty among potential attackers about the United States’ ability to attribute that they are unwilling to risk massive retaliation in response to a catastrophic attack. (They are perfectly willing to take the risk of attribution for espionage and coercive cyber actions.)

No one has ever died from a cyberattack, and only a handful of these attacks have produced physical damage. A cyberattack is not a nuclear weapon, and it is intellectually lazy to equate them to nuclear weapons. Using a tactical nuclear weapon against an urban center would produce several hundred thousand casualties, while a strategic nuclear exchange would cause tens of millions of casualties and immense physical destruction. These are catastrophes that some hack cannot duplicate. The shadow of nuclear war distorts discussion of cyber warfare.

State use of cyber operations is consistent with their broad national strategies and interests. Their primary emphasis is on espionage and political coercion. The United States has opponents and is in conflict with them, but they have no interest in launching a catastrophic cyberattack since it would certainly produce an equally catastrophic retaliation. Their goal is to stay below the “use-of-force” threshold and undertake damaging cyber actions against the United States, not start a war.

This has implications for the discussion of inadvertent escalation, something that has also never occurred. The concern over escalation deserves a longer discussion, as there are both technological and strategic constraints that shape and limit risk in cyber operations, and the absence of inadvertent escalation suggests a high degree of control for cyber capabilities by advanced states. Attackers, particularly among the United States’ major opponents for whom cyber is just one of the tools for confrontation, seek to avoid actions that could trigger escalation.

The United States has two opponents (China and Russia) who are capable of damaging cyberattacks. Russia has demonstrated its attack skills on the Ukrainian power grid, but neither Russia nor China would be well served by a similar attack on the United States. Iran is improving and may reach the point where it could use cyberattacks to cause major damage, but it would only do so when it has decided to engage in a major armed conflict with the United States. Iran might attack targets outside the United States and its allies with less risk and continues to experiment with cyberattacks against Israeli critical infrastructure. North Korea has not yet developed this kind of capability.

One major failing of catastrophe scenarios is that they discount the robustness and resilience of modern economies. These economies present multiple targets and configurations; they are harder to damage through cyberattack than they look, given the growing (albeit incomplete) attention to cybersecurity; and experience shows that people compensate for damage and quickly repair or rebuild. This was one of the counterintuitive lessons of the Strategic Bombing Survey. Pre-war planning assumed that civilian morale and production would crumple under aerial bombardment. In fact, the opposite occurred. Resistance hardened and production was restored.1

This is a short overview of why catastrophe is unlikely. Several longer CSIS reports go into the reasons in some detail. Past performance may not necessarily predict the future, but after 25 years without a single catastrophic cyberattack, we should invoke the concept cautiously, if at all. Why then, it is raised so often?

#### Nuclear hacking is impossible---safeguards, deterrence, and redundancy.

Caylor 16, LCDR, MA student at Air Command and Staff College. (Matt, 2-1-2016, "The Cyber Threat to Nuclear Deterrence", *War on the Rocks*, https://warontherocks.com/2016/02/the-cyber-threat-to-nuclear-deterrence/)

The perception that cyber threats will ultimately undermine the relevance or effectiveness of nuclear deterrence is flawed in at least three keys areas. First among these is the perception that nuclear weapons or their command and control systems are similar to a heavily defended corporate network. The critical error in this analogy is that there is an expectation of IP-based availability that simply does not exist in the case of American nuclear weapons — they are not online. Even with physical access, the proprietary nature of their control system design and redundancy of the National Command and Control System (NCCS) makes the possibility of successfully implementing an exploit against either a weapon or communications system incredibly remote. Also, whereas the cyber domain is characterized by significant levels of risk due to a combination of bias toward automated safeguards and the liability of single human failures, nuclear weapon safety and surety are predicated on balanced elements of stringent human interaction and control. From two-person integrity in physical inspections and loading, to the rigorous mechanisms and authority required for weapons release, human beings serve as a multi-factor safeguard while retaining the ultimate role to protect the integrity of nuclear deterrence against cyber threats.

To a large degree, the potential vulnerabilities caused by wireless communications and physical intrusions into areas holding nuclear material are already mitigated via secure communications that are not linked to the outside and multiple layers of physical security systems. While there has been a great deal of publicity surrounding the Y-12 break-in of 2012, the truth is that the three people involved never got near any nuclear material or technology.

Without state-level resourcing in the billions of dollars, the technical sophistication required to pursue a Stuxnet-like attack against nuclear weapons is most likely beyond the capability of even the most gifted group of hackers. For all intents, this excludes terrorist organizations and cyber criminals from the field of threats and restricts it to those nations that already possess nuclear weapons. Nuclear-weapon states, however, have the full-spectrum cyber threat capability referenced in the Defense Science Board report and would most likely be influenced by an understanding of the elements of classic nuclear deterrence strategy. In the case of first strike, no cyber weapon could be expected to perform at a rate higher than any conventional anti-nuclear capability (i.e., not 100 percent effective). Therefore, an adversary’s nuclear threat would be perceived to endure, thereby negating and dissuading the effort to use and employ a cyber weapon against an adversary’s nuclear force. Additionally, just as missile defense systems have been historically controversial due to perceived destabilizing effects, it is reasonable to conclude that these nuclear-weapon states would view the attempt to deploy a cyber capability against their nuclear stockpiles from a similar perspective.

Finally, the very existence of nuclear weapons is often enough to alter the risk analysis of an adversary. With virtually no chance of remote or unauthorized detonation (which would be the desired results of a sabotage event), the most probable cyber threat to any nuclear stockpile is that of espionage. Attempted cyber intrusions at the U.S. National Nuclear Security Agency (NNSA) and its efforts to bolster cybersecurity initiatives provide clear evidence that this is already underway. However, theft of design information or even more robust intelligence on the location of stored nuclear weapons cannot eliminate the potential destruction that even a handful of nuclear weapons can bring to an adversary. Knowledge alone, particularly the imperfect knowledge that cyber espionage is likely to offer, is incapable of drastically altering an adversary’s risk calculus. In fact, quite the opposite is true. An adversary with greater understanding of the nuclear capabilities of a rival is forced to consider courses of action to prevent escalation, potentially increasing the credibility of a state’s nuclear deterrence.

Despite the growing sophistication in cyber capabilities and the willingness to use them for espionage or in concert with kinetic attack, the strategic value of nuclear weapons has not been diminished. The insulated architecture combined with a robust and redundant command-and-control system makes the existence of any viable cyber threat of exploitation extremely low. With the list of capable adversaries limited by both funding and motivation, it is highly unlikely that any nation will possess, or even attempt to develop, a cyber weapon sufficient to undermine the credibility of nuclear weapons. In both psychological and physical terms, the threat of the megabyte will never possess the ability to overshadow the destructive force of the megaton. Although the employment of cyberspace for military effect has brought new challenges to the international community, the role of nuclear weapons and their associated deterrence against open and unconstrained global aggression are as relevant now as they were in the Cold War.

## Adv 2

### 1NC---Kindleberger

#### LIO decline inevitable—anti-democratic institutions in the US and violation of international agreements

Reinert 11/13 (Manuel Reinert is a PhD candidate in international relations at American University, consultant with the World Bank Group, and former officer with the French Foreign Service. “America’s Democratic Shortcomings and the Liberal International Order” 11/13/20 https://www.e-ir.info/2020/11/13/opinion-americas-democratic-shortcomings-and-the-liberal-international-order/)

According to its proponents, the LIO is organized under guiding principles, including: multilateral institutions, open markets, liberal democracy, and leadership by the US. Liberal internationalists denounce the rise of authoritarian powers and receding democratic values to explain the decay of these principles. They also blame Donald Trump for deserting the LIO leadership. Under his administration, the US has indeed abandoned major international accords such as the Paris Agreement on climate and the Iran nuclear deal (JCPOA), blasted the role of IOs, and adopted an aggressive diplomacy, apart from some notable exceptions. Consequently, numerous analyses have been announcing the ‘twilight’ of the LIO and preparing for what comes next. Others have claimed that this order was doomed to fail, while the eternal debate on American involvement in world affairs is regularly reignited. Most of these analyses are missing two important components. First, they attribute the demise of the LIO to external factors and a strategically flawed foreign policy, while failing to see that such weakening is directly linked to America’s democratic shortcomings. The Trump presidency is the symptom of institutional dysfunctions that make the US less democratic. This decline is the result of rigid institutions that disproportionately favor a conservative minority. Second, they negate the extent to which the US has used this order and escaped its rules when convenient. America has a history of ambiguity towards multilateralism: even if Donald Trump took the subversion of rules-based institutions to a new level, the trend did not start with him. The conservative minority has regularly eroded the LIO foundations. Ultimately, America’s ability to improve democracy will be decisive to advance multilateralism and a genuinely rules-based international system. America’s democracy needs fixing The US has steadily declined in major democratic indices, such as the Economist Intelligence Unit democracy index and the Varieties of Democracy Liberal Democracy Index. These indices highlight factors such as the treatment of journalists, polarization, and executive adherence to the rule of law. The Trump administration demonstrates how executive disregard for democratic norms undermines the “checks and balances” framework. However, these metrics do not account for deeper dynamics peculiar to the US system such as voting power, turnout, and the extraordinary influence of money on policymaking. To take the first two issues: US institutions favor conservatives, enabling Republicans to maintain power with an ever-smaller minority of voters nationwide. Voters in small states and rural areas, who usually champion conservative candidates, are particularly powerful. States have equal representation in the Senate: from Wyoming to California. Rural voters have an edge in the House and states’ legislatures because they are more efficiently distributed in a first-past-the-post system that rewards the spread of voters across space. Since the Electoral College allocates votes according to states’ congressional delegations, these disparities are reflected in the Presidential election. The imbalance is accentuated by the winner-take-all approach, which confers voters in key “swing states” extra voting power. Over the past fifty years, the turnout of the voting age population in Presidential elections has oscillated between 50% and 55%. While the 2020 elections should set a record with 65%, the US still lags behind other democracies. Turnout in similar elections is generally around 70% in the UK and France, and 80% in Germany. This low US turnout is largely explained by the lasting problem of voter suppression. Voter registration restrictions, voter purges, felony disenfranchisement, gerrymandering, and restricted access to polling places are among the main tools used to exclude minorities and poor populations. Millions of voters have been purged over the past years (following the 2013 Supreme Court decision altering the Voting Rights Act) and jurisdictions with a history of racial discrimination have shown higher purge rates. One in 13 African-Americans cannot vote because of voter suppression. As the pandemic made clear in Wisconsin, Georgia, and elsewhere, conservatives seek to restrain voting. Republicans mounted a multi-front fight against mail-in and other forms of early voting ahead of the Presidential Election: from legal battles to unsubstantiated claims of fraud. Protected by rigid institutions, the conservative minority has been able to undermine democracy by limiting turnout. Such democratic shortcomings have had a decisive influence on the LIO. The LIO reconsidered According to liberal internationalists, the LIO is a framework rooted in the institutions built by the US after WWII. The American approach was novel because it diverted from the zero-sum thinking and promoted collective prosperity and security instead. The US provided global public goods through an array of multilateral institutions and advanced rules-based cooperation on multiple issues. Even if the Soviet threat partially explains American motivations, the commitment to liberal norms was unprecedented and there is no doubt that the international landscape would have looked different had Germany prevailed in WWII. The full version of the LIO materialized after the end of the Cold War, when the US benefited from a “unipolar moment” of unmatched power. America’s security frameworks were reinforced, while IOs saw their mandate expanded. Liberal internationalists celebrated peace-building achievements and generalized economic growth. At the turn of the century, inter-state conflicts had indeed decreased and humanitarian concepts such as the “responsibility to protect” emerged. Despite strong pushbacks against the Washington Consensus in parts of the world, 1.2 billion people came out of poverty status between 1990 and 2015. Legitimacy characterized American leadership. Yet, liberal internationalists grew increasingly disenchanted. Interestingly, they agree with realists, conservatives, and other thinkers in foreign policy on a few factors that doomed the US-led LIO’s golden age: the countereffects of untamed globalization; the rise of authoritarian and revisionist powers such as China and Russia; and America’s overextension in the promotion of liberal values. Finally, they blame the Trump administration for precipitating the decline. In fact, the US has periodically undermined the LIO over the past decades. For instance, the US has developed a habit of reneging on treaties and agreements it had signed. The US refused to ratify the Kyoto Protocol and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) following the election of George Bush. The Trump administration went a step further, by blacklisting ICC officials for investigating possible war crimes in Afghanistan. Previously, the US had withdrawn from the International Court of Justice’s compulsory jurisdiction after the Court had condemned America’s interference in Nicaragua. The Iraq war is also telling. America’s democratic allies all supported its campaign in Afghanistan after 9/11 and this intervention had no difficulty being approved by the UN Security Council (UNSC). Yet, many allies opposed the intervention in Iraq as there was no clear evidence of terrorist links with the Hussein’s regime or weapons of mass destruction. The invasion went forward without UNSC backing and resulted in a humanitarian and strategic disaster.

#### The aff makes the US cling to power – causes massive hegemonic war

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Conflict between hegemon and challenger can take many forms, ranging in intensity from a sustained rivalry for geopolitical influence in one or more geographic regions to a major or hegemonic war. Again, we narrowly defined peaceful change as a process in which the hegemon voluntarily cedes its dominant geopolitical role to a challenger in one or more geographic regions. This may entail the hegemon withdrawing its military forces and forward bases from a region, renegotiating, or modifying alliances and economic agreements with regional states, often at the behest of the challenger. It is important to note that peaceful change might occur in one locale, while conflict might occur simultaneously in another locale. Lastly, the likelihood of either of the two outcomes—conflict and peaceful transition— depends upon the grand strategic adjustments by the hegemon as well as the challenger.

Neoclassical Realist Theory of Peaceful Change

Our neoclassical realist theory purports to explain the conditions under which a regional or global hegemon will concede some or all of the challenger’s demands without contest. Like all neoclassical realist theories, our theory assumes that all states respond to the international constraints and opportunities they face but that how they respond will be shaped by their domestic constraints (Rose 1988; Lobell, Ripsman, and Taliaferro 2009; Ripsman, Taliaferro, and Lobell 2016).

Our argument is that peaceful change is only likely in one of three circumstances: (1) when the hegemon’s foreign policy executive (FPE) has high confidence that change is inevitable because it lacks the military, political, or economic capabilities to resist it; or (2) when the political and economic costs of resisting that change are anticipated to be prohibitively high; or (3) when the FPE is domestically constrained in its ability to extract and mobilize the resources to resist the challenger. Each of these three propositions is a sufficient condition for the hegemon to accept peaceful change. They combine to make a necessary condition for peaceful change; that is, unless one or more of them is obtained, the hegemon will resist peaceful change. In this section, we unpack the logic underlying each of these propositions.

The dependent variable (DV) is the pattern of strategic adjustment by the hegemon. A hegemon has two broad strategic choices in response to a rising challenger: it can accept peaceful transition, or it can resist it.7 Resistance entails a variety of strategies, ranging from containment to preventive war. Economically, the hegemon might deny the challenger access to its markets, use sanctions, employ exchange and currency controls, and more broadly isolate the challenger from trade to undermine the economic base for its military power. Militarily, the hegemon could forge alliances with states along the challenger’s periphery, dramatically augment its own defense spending, sabotage the challenger’s weapons programs, seek to embroil the challenger’s armed forces in costly proxy conflicts, or, in the extreme, initiate a preventive war (Copeland 2000; Levy 2008, 2011).

A strategy of peaceful transition (or retrenchment) entails the strategic reorientation away from confrontation with a challenger. The hegemon, acknowledging the inevitability of the power transition, scales back its military deployments and alliance commitments, relaxes or removes economic sanctions targeting the challenger, and cedes its leadership role to the challenger in formerly contested regions (MacDonald and Parent 2011, 11–13).

The three propositions we derive from the theory specify the combinations of neoclassical realism’s systemic-level independent variables (IVs) and domestic-level intervening variables (IVVs) that increase the likelihood that a hegemon will pursue a resistance strategy or a peaceful transition strategy.

Proposition 1 (the inevitability of international change) relates directly to three IVs: the relative distribution of power, the nature of the strategic environment that a hegemon confronts in a particular region, and the degree of systemic clarity regarding threats and opportunities. Hegemons that enjoy an overall power advantage over rising challengers are unlikely to see a future power transition as inevitable. Hegemons experiencing relative decline or those that are simply at a marked disadvantage in one or more categories of power vis-à-vis a challenger, however, are more likely to conclude that a power transition is inevitable.

The second IV is the nature of the strategic environment that a hegemon confronts in a contested region. A state’s strategic environment refers to the magnitude and the imminence of the external threats and opportunities that it faces at any given time. All other things being equal, the more imminent and dangerous the threat or the more fleeting and enticing the opportunity, the more restrictive a state’s strategic environment will be. Conversely, the more remote and less intense the threat or the more enduring and less enticing the opportunity, the more permissive a state’s strategic environment will be. Restrictive and permissive strategic environments exist along a continuum (Ripsman et al. 2016, 52–53).

Regional hegemons exercise geopolitical dominance over a single region. A global hegemon, by definition, has wide interests across several regions of the globe. Consequently, they can confront different strategic environments across different regions. An increase or a decrease in a challenger’s economic, political, or military penetration of a contested region, up to and including the conquest of all or part of that region, can shift the strategic environment the hegemon faces from permissive to restrictive or vice versa (Taliaferro 2018). Where a global hegemon faces a restrictive strategic environment in a contested region, it is more likely to conclude that the competitor will challenge its leadership in the locale and that a power transition is inevitable. Conversely, where it faces a permissive strategic environment in a contested region, it is more likely to conclude that a power transition is not inevitable.

The third IV is the degree of systemic clarity regarding threats and opportunities. The degree of systemic clarity involves the signals or information that states receive from the international system or a regional sub-system. Systemic clarity has three subcomponents: (1) the extent to which external threats or opportunities can be readily identified, (2) whether the international system provides information about the time horizon in which those threats or opportunities will materialize, and (3) whether there is an “optimal” strategic response (Ripsman et al. 2016, 46–47).

The logic here is that if the hegemon judges that it has no alternatives to prevent a power transition, it would be irrational to waste resources resisting the inevitable. In general, hegemons have different strategic options for countering challengers in the short- and long-run. In the short-run, a hegmon can balance internally by increasing its armaments or externally by seeking allies. Over the longer turn, it has more options. Economic growth and emulation can redress relative decline. Nonetheless, if the hegemon’s leadership calculates that it lacks the resources for economic growth and emulation over the longer term, and they also calculate that the rising challenger’s economic growth will likely continue indefinitely, they might conclude resistance is futile. For instance, by 1901, recognizing the United States’ ascendency, Britain ceded leadership over the Western hemisphere by signing the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (Lobell 2003, 70–71). In the late 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev realized that the depth of the Soviet Union’s relative economic decline made it impossible to continue competing with the United States. Gorbachev scaled back military commitments in Eastern Europe and elsewhere and began to make unilateral concessions in nuclear and conventional arms control (Brooks and Wohlforth 2000, 33).

#### China fills in for leadership decline by providing global public goods and avoiding a Kindleberger trap

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Undoubtedly, the globalization pendulum is now passing the equilibrium point. In recent years, with the relative decline in the overall strength of the United States and the increasing amount of global public goods consumption, the US has no intention or power to make an adequate unilateral contribution to the world, and it is even more reluctant to make concessions under the frameworks of multilateral agreements. In particular, the Trump administration withdrawing from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, revising the North American Free Trade Agreement, proactively provoking a trade war and reducing the sharing of international responsibilities all clearly bear strong nativism, protectionism, isolationism and de-globalization. This is a major departure from the globalization advocated by the US after World War II. Therefore, the world is generally uneasy and worried about the global leadership vacuum exacerbating turbulence in the world order.

In January 2017, Joseph Nye, a renowned scholar of international relations at Harvard University, published an article on Euronews titled "The Kindleberger Trap: What are Trump's challenges with China". In the article, he suggested that US President Donald Trump's China policy should avoid both the Thucydides trap and the Kindleberger trap. On one hand, it is necessary to prevent an established power (like the US) from becoming too fearful of a rising power (like China). Otherwise, a cataclysmic war may erupt. On the other, it is necessary to guard against the Kindleberger trap: That is, by showing weakness rather than showing strength, China may become a disruptive free rider, pushing the world into the Kindleberger trap.

Where does the Kindleberger trap come from? Charles P. Kindleberger, the late Harvard University economic historian, believed that the stable operation of the world economic system requires a country to bear public costs. This view was later developed by Robert Gilpin into the hegemonic stability theory. This theory holds that only under the special condition when there is a hegemon can other countries cooperate. There is a causal relationship between the international hegemony system and the stability of the international order. A strong and hegemonic player is conducive to the stability of the international system and the realization of public welfare. Those hegemonic countries with absolute advantages in politics, economy, military affairs, and science and technology can provide the international community with global public goods such as a stable international financial system, a free trade system, a reliable security system and an effective international aid system to obtain the recognition of other countries for the international order established by the hegemonic countries, so as to achieve stability and prosperity within the system. However, after the US replaced the United Kingdom as a world power in the 1930s, it failed to take over the role of the UK as a provider of global public goods, eventually causing the global system to fall into recession, political turmoil and even WWII.

History has repeatedly proved that the model of a single hegemonic country dominating the supply of global public goods not only fails to effectively safeguard the stability of the world economy and the economies of various countries, but may also lead to uneven distribution of benefits and risks globally. After WWII, the US paid high costs for global public goods, especially security products. A detailed breakdown of US military expenditure shows that in the 2016 fiscal year, the total US military defense budget exceeded $770 billion, not only consecutively being the highest in the world, but also surpassing the sum of defense budgets of many major powers in the world. The US has long provided its allies with high security defense spending that made it overwhelmed and exacerbated the federal government's debt. In 2017, the US federal debt totaled $20.6 trillion and the debt-to-GDP ratio was 104 percent. The high cost of global public goods has led the US into the hegemon's dilemma. In this predicament, the hegemon can choose between two routes to rebalance the system: One is to seek for an increase in resources, use more resources to maintain hegemonic status and assume hegemonic obligations; the other is to reduce the international obligations and responsibilities on its shoulder. Trump chose the second route.

Of course, the US has never given up its willingness to lead the world, but its willingness to assume global responsibility for global public goods is declining. In particular, Trump's election as president further exacerbates this trend and fully reveals that the US has the slightest inclination to share the cost of global public goods. Therefore, the predicament of the Kindleberger trap is more acute than the Thucydides trap. In the area of economics and trade, the US has turned to "America First" in an all-around manner in an attempt to maximize its domestic revenue while reducing its commitment to global responsibility, showing more radical isolationism and protectionism.

Currently, the Trump administration has opened a Pandora's box with a global trade war. If the US disregards the rules-based multilateral trading system and advances the mercantilist trade policy, and if other countries follow suit, the foundation of the global economy with the World Trade Organization as its core will be eroded and the global trading system established after WWII will be about to usher in the most dangerous moment.

How do we cross the Kindleberger trap caused by the hegemon's dilemma? How do we avoid repeating the mistake? Is there a third way to cross this trap? Robert Keohane, the most important founder of neoliberal institutionalism, has proved in his book After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy through strong arguments that even without the existence of a hegemon, cooperation among countries can still be realized or even strengthened.

Historical experience shows that hegemonic stability is not fundamental to maintaining a global order. Supplying global public goods beyond the nation's development stage and overall national strength can also lead to strategic overdraft risks. China will stick to the direction of taking up the responsibility within its capability in the long run. China will never follow the footsteps of the big powers that have sought hegemony once they grew strong. China will not take hegemony as a strategic goal, nor does it intend to seek the status of hegemon or dominant supplier of global public goods. As the world's largest developing country, China has proposed to the world a new concept of building a community with a shared future for mankind as well as the Belt and Road Initiative. These are the most inspiring proposals by China in promoting global development and stability as well as the best practices for cracking the Kindleberger trap.

Over the past 30 years, China has grown from being a beneficiary of globalization to an advocate and defender. China advocates that globalization be promoted in a direction that is more open, inclusive, balanced and win-win. As the largest developing country, the world's second-largest economy and a responsible major country, China has spared no effort to contribute its own wisdom and strength to maintaining world peace and promoting common development, and has actively provided global public goods within its capabilities. In recent years, with the dramatic increase in overall national strength, China has become more open to the existing international order. This has laid a solid foundation for China to participate in the supply of global public goods and respond to global, regional and domestic challenges. It has also achieved the transition of its role from funder, institution designer to idea innovator.

China has actively promoted the construction of an open economy, the Belt and Road Initiative and the Asia-Pacific free trade area, which contribute to the formation of an open world. China advocates the concept of a community of shared future for mankind. It honors the principle of mutual dependence, interwoven interests and common prosperity. Peaceful development and win-win cooperation are its backbones. The old international political and economic relations will be superseded by its idea of pursuing dialogue instead of confrontation, and partnerships rather than alliances. Based on the above, it has creatively put forward a series of new strategic ideas.

The Belt and Road Initiative will become the driving force and carrier for the new globalization. It offers new opportunities for global inclusive, shared, sustainable and balanced growth. The initiative will focus on building a public product supply system that can be replicated and promoted on a global scale by strengthening the role of multilateral cooperation mechanisms, infrastructure financing systems, trade and investment facilitation, and public products related to financial risks, stability and mutual assistance.

The Belt and Road Initiative will become an important cornerstone for realizing the global sustainable development agenda. The five key cooperation areas advocated by the initiative are connectivity of policy, infrastructure, trade, finance and people. This coincides with the United Nations' commitment to human sustainable development and providing technologies and equipment to the developing countries, especially the least-developed countries. This will also help speed up the process of industrialization and urbanization in developing countries. The five types of connectivity are cornerstones for the implementation of the 17 goals and 169 associated targets of the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. They also indicate the path for the transformation of global governance.

Fundamentally, it is more advanced for a responsible major power to contribute public goods like thoughts and plans. At present, international agreements and rules on plurilateral, multilateral, regional and global levels need to be refined and restructured. Avoiding the Kindleberger trap requires a global consensus. Many new global challenges cannot be dealt with by a single country. Instead, the international community should make concerted efforts to restructure the global governance system, which is the fundamental way to build a more inclusive global stability framework.

Considering its own capabilities and the responsibility of a major country, China can start by providing public goods in the economic and trade field or quasi-public products, giving priority to neighboring countries, and providing the international community with global economic public goods with Chinese characteristics and a competitive edge. We will further strengthen the supply of public goods in the areas of emissions reduction, poverty reduction, international aid and sustainable development. We should actively cultivate nongovernment markets and nongovernment supply entities, gradually form a multilevel and stable mechanism arrangement, and gradually expand the supply of global public goods to areas such as regional environment and global public safety.

### 1NC---China Tech

#### Chinese leadership is key to solving all global problems – that solves the case

Shen Yamei 18, Deputy Director and Associate Research Fellow of Department for American Studies, China Institute of International Studies, 1-9-2018, "Probing into the “Chinese Solution” for the Transformation of Global Governance," CAIFC, http://www.caifc.org.cn/en/content.aspx?id=4491

As the world is in a period of great development, transformation and adjustment, the international power comparison is undergoing profound changes, global governance is reshuffling and traditional governance concepts and models are confronted with challenges. The international community is expecting China to play a bigger role in global governance, which has given birth to the Chinese solution. A. To Lead the Transformation of the Global Governance System. The “shortcomings” of the existing global governance system are prominent, which can hardly ensure global development. First, the traditional dominant forces are seriously imbalanced. The US and Europe that used to dominate the global governance system have been beset with structural problems, with their economic development stalling, social contradictions intensifying, populism and secessionism rising, and states trapped in internal strife and differentiation. These countries have not fully reformed and adjusted themselves well, but rather pointed their fingers at globalization and resorted to retreat for self-insurance or were busy with their own affairs without any wish or ability to participate in global governance, which has encouraged the growth of “anti-globalization” trend into an interference factor to global governance. Second, the global governance mechanism is relatively lagging behind. Over the years of development, the strength of emerging economies has increased dramatically, which has substantially upset the international power structure, as the developing countries as a whole have made 80 percent of the contributions to global economic growth. These countries have expressed their appeal for new governance and begun policy coordination among themselves, which has initiated the transition of global governance form “Western governance” to “East-West joint governance”, but the traditional governance mechanisms such as the World Bank, IMF and G7 failed to reflect the demand of the new pattern, in addition to their lack of representation and inclusiveness. Third, the global governance rules are developing in a fragmented way, with governance deficits existing in some key areas. With the diversification and in-depth integration of international interests, the domain of global governance has continued to expand, with actors multiplying by folds and action intentions becoming complicated. As relevant efforts are usually temporary and limited to specific partners or issues, global governance driven by requests of “diversified governance” lacks systematic and comprehensive solutions. Since the beginning of this year, there have been risks of running into an acephalous state in such key areas as global economic governance and climate change. Such emerging issues as nuclear security and international terrorism have suffered injustice because of power politics. The governance areas in deficit, such as cyber security, polar region and oceans, have “reversely forced” certain countries and organizations to respond hastily. All of these have made the global governance system trapped in a dilemma and call urgently for a clear direction of advancement. B. To Innovate and Perfect the International Order. Currently, whether the developing countries or the Western countries of Europe and the US are greatly discontent with the existing international order as well as their appeals and motivation for changing the order are unprecedentedly strong. The US is the major creator and beneficiary of the existing hegemonic order, but it is now doubtful that it has gained much less than lost from the existing order, faced with the difficulties of global economic transformation and obsessed with economic despair and political dejection. Although the developing countries as represented by China acknowledge the positive role played by the post-war international order in safeguarding peace, boosting prosperity and promoting globalization, they criticize the existing order for lack of inclusiveness in politics and equality in economy, as well as double standard in security, believing it has failed to reflect the multi-polarization trend of the world and is an exclusive “circle club”. Therefore, there is much room for improvement. For China, to lead the transformation of the global governance system and international order not only supports the efforts of the developing countries to uphold multilateralism rather than unilateralism, advocate the rule of law rather than the law of the jungle and practice democracy rather than power politics in international relations, but also is an important subject concerning whether China could gain the discourse power and development space corresponding to its own strength and interests in the process of innovating and perfecting the framework of international order. C. To Promote Integration of the Eastern and Western Civilizations. Dialog among civilizations, which is the popular foundation for any country’s diplomatic proposals, runs like a trickle moistening things silently. Nevertheless, in the existing international system guided by the “Western-Centrism”, the Western civilization has always had the self-righteous superiority, conflicting with the interests and mentality of other countries and having failed to find the path to co-existing peacefully and harmoniously with other civilizations. So to speak, many problems of today, including the growing gap in economic development between the developed and developing countries against the background of globalization, the Middle East trapped in chaos and disorder, the failure of Russia and Turkey to “integrate into the West”, etc., can be directly attributed to lack of exchanges, communication and integration among civilizations. Since the 18th National Congress of CPC, Xi Jinping has raised the concept of “Chinese Dream” that reflects both Chinese values and China’s pursuit, re-introducing to the world the idea of “all living creatures grow together without harming one another and ways run parallel without interfering with one another”, which is the highest ideal in Chinese traditional culture, and striving to shape China into a force that counter-balance the Western civilization. He has also made solemn commitment that “we respect the diversity of civilizations …… cannot be puffed up with pride and depreciate other civilizations and nations”; “facing the people deeply trapped in misery and wars, we should have not only compassion and sympathy, but also responsibility and action …… do whatever we can to extend assistance to those people caught in predicament”, etc. China will rebalance the international pattern from a more inclusive civilization perspective and with more far-sighted strategic mindset, or at least correct the bisected or predominated world order so as to promote the parallel development of the Eastern and Western civilizations through mutual learning, integration and encouragement. D. To Pass on China’s Confidence. Only a short while ago, some Western countries had called for “China’s responsibility” and made it an inhibition to “regulate” China’s development orientation. Today, China has become a source of stability in an international situation full of uncertainties. Over the past 5 years, China has made outstanding contributions to the recovery of world economy under relatively great pressure of its own economic downturn. Encouraged by the “four confidences”, the whole of the Chinese society has burst out innovation vitality and produced innovation achievements, making people have more sense of gain and more optimistic about the national development prospect. It is the heroism of the ordinary Chinese to overcome difficulties and realize the ideal destiny that best explains China’s confidence. When this confidence is passed on in the field of diplomacy, it is expressed as: first, China’s posture is seen as more forging ahead and courageous to undertake responsibilities ---- proactively shaping the international agendas rather than passively accepting them; having clear-cut attitudes on international disputes rather than being equivocal; and extending international cooperation to comprehensive and dimensional development rather than based on the theory of “economy only”. In sum, China will actively seek understanding and support from other countries rather than imposing its will on others with clear-cut Chinese characteristics, Chinese style and Chinese manner. Second, China’s discourse is featured as a combination of inflexibility and yielding as well as magnanimous ---- combining the internationally recognized diplomatic principles with the excellent Chinese cultural traditions through digesting the Chinese and foreign humanistic classics assisted with philosophical speculations to make “China Brand, Chinese Voice and China’s Image get more and more recognized”. Third, the Chinese solution is more practical and intimate to people as well as emphasizes inclusive cooperation, as China is full of confidence to break the monopoly of the Western model on global development, “offering mankind a Chinese solution to explore a better social system”, and “providing a brand new option for the nations and peoples who are hoping both to speed up development and maintain independence”. II.Path Searching of the “Chinese Solution” for Global Governance Over the past years’ efforts, China has the ability to transform itself from “grasping the opportunity” for development to “creating opportunity” and “sharing opportunity” for common development, hoping to pass on the longing of the Chinese people for a better life to the people of other countries and promoting the development of the global governance system toward a more just and rational end. It has become the major power’s conscious commitment of China to lead the transformation of the global governance system in a profound way. A. To Construct the Theoretical System for Global Governance. The theoretical system of global governance has been the focus of the party central committee’s diplomatic theory innovation since the 18th National Congress of CPC as well as an important component of the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, which is not only the sublimation of China’s interaction with the world from “absorbing and learning” to “cooperation and mutual learning”, but also the cause why so many developing countries have turned from “learning from the West” to “exploring for treasures in the East”. In the past 5 years, the party central committee, based on precise interpretation of the world pattern today and serious reflection on the future development of mankind, has made a sincere call to the world for promoting the development of global governance system toward a more just and rational end, and proposed a series of new concepts and new strategies including engaging in major power diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, creating the human community with common destiny, promoting the construction of new international relationship rooted in the principle of cooperation and win-win, enriching the strategic thinking of peaceful development, sticking to the correct benefit view, formulating the partnership network the world over, advancing the global economic governance in a way of mutual consultation, joint construction and co-sharing, advocating the joint, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security concept, and launching the grand “Belt and Road” initiative. The Chinese solution composed of these contents, not only fundamentally different from the old roads of industrial revolution and colonial expansion in history, but also different from the market-driven neo-liberalism model currently advocated by Western countries and international organizations, stands at the height of the world and even mankind, seeking for global common development and having widened the road for the developing countries to modernization, which is widely welcomed by the international community. B. To Supplement and Perfect the Global Governance System. Currently, the international political practice in global governance is mostly problem-driven without creating a set of relatively independent, centralized and integral power structures, resulting in the existing global governance systemcharacterized as both extensive and unbalanced. China has been engaged in reform and innovation, while maintaining and constructing the existing systems, producing some thinking and method with Chinese characteristics. First, China sees the UN as a mirror that reflects the status quo of global governance, which should act as the leader of global governance, and actively safeguards the global governance system with the UN at the core. Second, China is actively promoting the transforming process of such recently emerged international mechanisms as G20, BRICS and SCO, perfecting them through practice, and boosting Asia-Pacific regional cooperation and the development of economic globalization. China is also promoting the construction of regional security mechanism through the Six-Party Talks on Korean Peninsula nuclear issue, Boao Forum for Asia, CICA and multilateral security dialog mechanisms led by ASEAN so as to lay the foundation for the future regional security framework. Third, China has initiated the establishment of AIIB and the New Development Bank of BRICS, creating a precedent for developing countries to set up multilateral financial institutions. The core of the new relationship between China and them lies in “boosting rather than controlling” and “public rather than private”, which is much different from the management and operation model of the World Bank, manifesting the increasing global governance ability of China and the developing countries as well as exerting pressure on the international economic and financial institution to speed up reforms. Thus, in leading the transformation of the global governance system, China has not overthrown the existing systems and started all over again, but been engaged in innovating and perfecting; China has proactively undertaken international responsibilities, but has to do everything in its power and act according to its ability. C. To Reform the Global Governance Rules. Many of the problems facing global governance today are deeply rooted in such a cause that the dominant power of the existing governance system has taken it as the tool to realize its own national interests first and a platform to pursue its political goals. Since the beginning of this year, the US has for several times requested the World Bank, IMF and G20 to make efforts to mitigate the so-called global imbalance, abandoned its commitment to support trade openness, cut down investment projects to the middle-income countries, and deleted commitment to support the efforts to deal with climate change financially, which has made the international systems accessories of the US domestic economic agendas, dealing a heavy blow to the global governance system. On the contrary, the interests and agendas of China, as a major power of the world, are open to the whole world, and China in the future “will provide the world with broader market, more sufficient capital, more abundant goods and more precious opportunities for cooperation”, while having the ability to make the world listen to its voice more attentively. With regard to the subject of global governance, China has advocated that what global governance system is better cannot be decided upon by any single country, as the destiny of the world should be in the hands of the people of all countries. In principle, all the parties should stick to the principle of mutual consultation, joint construction and co-sharing, resolve disputes through dialog and differences through consultation. Regarding the critical areas, opening to the outer world does not mean building one’s own backyard, but building the spring garden for co-sharing; the “Belt and Road” initiative is not China’s solo, but a chorus participated in by all countries concerned. China has also proposed international public security views on nuclear security, maritime cooperation and cyber space order, calling for efforts to make the global village into a “grand stage for seeking common development” rather than a “wrestling arena”; we cannot “set up a stage here, while pulling away a prop there”, but “complement each other to put on a grand show”. From the orientation of reforms, efforts should be made to better safeguard and expand the legitimate interests of the developing countries and increase the influence of the emerging economies on global governance. Over the past 5 years, China has attached importance to full court diplomacy, gradually coming to the center stage of international politics and proactively establishing principles for global governance. By hosting such important events as IAELM, CICA Summit, G20 Summit, the Belt and Road International Cooperation Forum and BRICS Summit, China has used theseplatforms to elaborate the Asia-Pacific Dream for the first time to the world, expressing China’s views on Asian security and global economic governance, discussing with the countries concerned with the Belt and Road about the synergy of their future development strategies and setting off the “BRICS plus” capacity expansion mechanism, in which China not only contributes its solution and shows its style, but also participates in the shaping of international principles through practice. On promoting the resolution of hot international issues, China abides by the norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and insists on justice, playing a constructive role as a responsible major power in actively promoting the political accommodation in Afghanistan, mediating the Djibouti-Eritrea dispute, promoting peace talks in the Middle East, devoting itself to the peaceful resolution of the South China Sea dispute through negotiations. In addition, China’s responsibility and quick response to international crises have gained widespread praises, as seen in such cases as assisting Africa in its fight against the Ebola epidemic, sending emergency fresh water to the capital of Maldives and buying rice from Cambodia to help relieve its financial squeeze, which has shown the simple feelings of the Chinese people to share the same breath and fate with the people of other countries. D. To Support the Increase of the Developing Countries’ Voice. The developing countries, especially the emerging powers, are not only the important participants of the globalization process, but also the important direction to which the international power system is transferring. With the accelerating shift of global economic center to emerging markets and developing economies, the will and ability of the developing countries to participate in global governance have been correspondingly strengthened. As the biggest developing country and fast growing major power, China has the same appeal and proposal for governance as other developing countries and already began policy coordination with them, as China should comply with historical tide and continue to support the increase of the developing countries’ voice in the global governance system. To this end, China has pursued the policy of “dialog but not confrontation, partnership but not alliance”, attaching importance to the construction of new type of major power relationship and global partnership network, while making a series proposals in the practice of global governance that could represent the legitimate interests of the developing countries and be conducive to safeguarding global justice, including supporting an open, inclusive, universal, balanced and win-win economic globalization; promoting the reforms on share and voting mechanism of IMF to increase the voting rights and representation of the emerging market economies; financing the infrastructure construction and industrial upgrading of other developing countries through various bilateral or regional funds; and helping other developing countries to respond to such challenges as famine, refugees, climate change and public hygiene by debt forgiveness and assistance.

#### Effective global governance prevents unregulated emergent tech – prevents extinction

Robert Bailey 18, Vision of Earth contributor and computer science masters, 9-5-2018, "Why do we need global governance?," Vision of Earth, https://www.visionofearth.org/social-change/global-governance/

Global governance is necessary because humanity increasingly faces both problems and opportunities that are global in scale. Today, transnational problems such as violence and pandemics routinely reach across borders, affecting us all. At the same time, the increasingly integrated global system has also laid the necessary foundations for peace and spectacular prosperity. Effective global governance will allow us to end armed conflict, deal with new and emerging problems such as technological risks and automation, and to achieve levels of prosperity and progress never before seen.1 The most important challenge for humanity to overcome is that of existential risks. One way to look at the danger of an existential risk is to quantify the level of global coordination needed to deal with it. While best-shot risks, at one end of the spectrum only require that a single nation, organization or even individual (i.e., superhero) has the means and the will to save everyone, weakest-link risks, at the other end of the spectrum, are dangers that might require literally every country to take appropriate action to prevent catastrophe, with no room for failure.2 3 We’ve always been at risk of natural disaster, but with advances in our level of technology the risk we pose to ourselves as a species becomes ever greater. Nuclear weapons are a well-known risk that we still live with to this day. The progress of technological research exposes us to new dangers such as bioengineered superbugs, nanotechnological menaces, and the risk of an out-of-control artificial intelligence with ill-intent. Increased levels of global coordination are needed to combat many of these risks, as described in our article on the cooperation possibilities frontier. There are other problems that don’t necessarily threaten the species or even civilization as we know it, but which are holding back the development of prosperity and progress. Armed conflict, around since the dawn of history, still haunts us today. Even though wars between great powers appear to be a thing of the past, regional conflicts still account for tremendous human suffering and loss of life in parts of the world without stable governance.4 Other problems have emerged precisely because of our successes in the past. The unprecedented advancement of human wellbeing and prosperity over the past century has been based in large part on the use of fossil fuels, thus exposing us to climate change. Widespread automation, already a stressor on society, will put increased pressure on the social and economic fabric of our societies over the next few decades. Global governance can help alleviate these issues in various ways – we refer the interested reader to the very detailed work in Ruling Ourselves. Finally, global governance will increasingly be judged not only by the extent to which it prevents harm, but also by its demonstrated ability to improve human wellbeing.5 Progress has let us set our sights higher as a species, both for what we consider to be the right trajectory for humanity and for our own conduct.6 Major advances in human wellbeing can be accomplished with existing technology and modest improvements in global coordination. Effective global governance is global governance that tackles these issues better than the regional governments of the world can independently. Global governance is key to solving global problems. Without it, we may not be able to avoid weakest-link existential risks or regulate new and dangerous technologies. With it, we may be able to prosper as we never have before. The next step is to determine how effective global governance can be achieved.

### 1NC---Digital Divide

#### Their ‘digital divide’ impact is about authoritarian blocs, not access---the plan does not change Chinese incentives to make a separate internet.

Wong ’20 [Johnson; 2020; Graduate School of Public and International Affairs @ UOttowa; Major Research Paper, “Digital Divide: Geotechnology, Politics and the International System,” <https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/41017/1/WONG%2C%20Johnson%2020205.pdf>]

Governing cyberspace

This fundamental difference in understanding how 5G technological innovation as a tool of the state reflected in cultural norms is at the crux of the digital divide in the international system. The principles that guide ICANN which seek a “multi-stakeholder, community-based and consensus-driven approach” to the governance of the Internet, is anathema to the harmonious and strong central state championed by autocrats and their allies. The liberal governance model of technological innovation based on pluralism, freedom and consensus, are linked to Western democracy which in turn challenges the legitimacy of the authoritarian rule of the state. To maintain their political power, and unable to escape the trappings of technological modernity, China, Russia and other authoritarians will be determined to build a separate “other”-net to compete with the Western version, and in some cases, surpass it. Muller argues,

The proclaimed differences are in interpretation and implementation, with China emphasizing the issue of priorities and progressive realization and rejecting the liberal model not as such, but the notion that it is the only model. In one respect, this reflects the indeterminacy and generality of the rhetoric of the ‘international community’. However, it also raises the question of the nature of the international community. In some liberal views, all roads lead to liberal democracy along more or less western models. However, a truly pluralist international society which accommodates cultural diversity and accepts the principle of self-determination, would accept that countries can also take a different development path, as emphasized by China (Muller, 2015, 236).

While modern liberal democracies seek to accommodate diverse perspectives and build a plural political order, geopolitical interests based on nationalistic factors continue to dominate the discourse (Sidorenko, 2015, 1260). Even within liberal governments themselves, various data protection laws are becoming a point of contention between countries, with the European Union taking a more teleological vision about its universal development model and placing its model above geopolitical power politics and nationalism, to encompass a historical imperative that they believe should be replicated around the world (Browning, 2016, 110). The irony is that a liberal system that values and respects plurality should accept equal but alternative value systems as legitimate (Muller, 2015, 219).

Digital sovereignty and the primacy of alliances

The three drivers mentioned above, 5G standardization, strategic economic dependency, and competing normative values, are transforming the international system and will result in a digital divide. Globalization continues to increase socio-economic transactions between states, and the growth of cyberspace has created economic value from consumer data. Various state operators compete with each other for consumer dollars while, at the same time, the need to cooperate to connect their networks with each other – using internationally recognized protocols – is creating tension between the public good of a seamless system, and the private interests of operators and the state (O’Hara and Hall, 2020, 10). Controversies related to 5G standard-setting by companies that are supposed to be impartial are contributing to a difficult process for all major players involved. Huawei, the leading Chinese operator that is participating on the 5G standard-setting consortium, has been repeatedly accused of being under the influence of the central Chinese state party. This poses a challenge in the existing liberal model of standardsetting for, if Huawei succeeds in its efforts to control the technical standards of 5G, will secure for the Chinese state a much bigger stake (and control) of the 5G patent licensing system. Once standards have been set and essential patents defined, companies must build to the agreed standards and pay royalties to patent licensees as required (Triolo, 2018, 10). These are supposed to be separate – and most importantly, independent – processes, but there is little doubt among the international 5G and telecommunications community that the Chinese state is directing Huawei in order to obtain a substantial stake in the upcoming technological transition in order to secure its political and economic ambitions. It is important to note that once standards are set, governments and companies will be compelled to follow them or risk being non-interoperable with the rest of the world. In some cases, this is the strategic vision for China: By controlling the vast majority of 5G licensing patents and creating networked systems that only work with Chinese-branded equipment, it will be able to project its digital power abroad and force compliance. Without access to Chinese equipment, and a licensee payment system that is indebted to a Chinese state-backed company, antagonistic states will quickly become isolated and find themselves cut off. Sidorenko argues that, “The world is becoming more unified, but not safer; traditional regional conflicts are escalating into geopolitical conflicts ushered by the phenomena of globalization and all the changes and nuances it brings to the economic, political, socio-cultural and spiritual spheres” (Sidorenko, 2015, 1261).

The relativity by which actors are able to influence the political discourse and debate state sovereignty has never before been so uncertain, with the digital world becoming the new arena for states to challenge existing norms, values and economic systems of the past. The digital realm offers a different variation of sovereignty challengers that include the dynamics of nonstate actors, such as private companies, civil society, non-governmental organizations, and even individuals, to question the legitimacy of the state and its relationship to external actors and those within the state (Timmers, 2019, 12; Adonis, 2019, 268). The fundamental challenge and struggle for states to maintain their independence in this space relies upon the extent to which state control of the technological tools, systems and structures are within their influence, and the extent to which they are able to maintain the independence of their national security networks without being isolated from the rest of the world.

Therefore, to achieve this global network based on common standards and shared values, an alliance of liked-minded partners is needed to buttress this digital divide. Timmers says, “Like-mindedness is based on shared values, whether these pertain to the individual (such as respect for privacy and autonomy) or to economy (liberal market economy) or to society and democracy (independent judiciary, freedom of expression, free elections) or to international relations (respect for the system of sovereign states and multilateralism). A wide range of governance tools can be mobilized for supervision, decision-making, and certification” (Timmers, 2019, 15). In the context of the digital divide, countries allied with authoritarian regimes will align their 5G technical standards, find commonalities in terms of political structure, and seek to share in the economic union driven by the divide. Alliances – especially historical alliances – will play a key role in accelerating this digital divide through collaboration between liked-minded states on both sides of the gap. The alliance between cooperating states will not just be an alliance of authoritarians – rather, it will be based on a common set of values and norms shared by the people and state government. These norms and values, as previously mentioned, will originate primarily from common values about the role of the state, its obligations to its peoples, and the extent that it is seen as legitimate by its citizens. Even in democracies, it is feasible for a country to ally itself with China if it finds that it shares more in common with the CCP than the US.

# 2NC

## Adv 1

### 2NC---!D---Economy

#### Countries turn inward---post COVID evidence.

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

One familiar argument is the so-called diversionary (or “scapegoat”) theory of war. It suggests that leaders who are worried about their popularity at home will try to divert attention from their failures by provoking a crisis with a foreign power and maybe even using force against it. Drawing on this logic, some Americans now worry that President Donald Trump will decide to attack a country like Iran or Venezuela in the run-up to the presidential election and especially if he thinks he’s likely to lose.

This outcome strikes me as unlikely, even if one ignores the logical and empirical flaws in the theory itself. War is always a gamble, and should things go badly—even a little bit—it would hammer the last nail in the coffin of Trump’s declining fortunes. Moreover, none of the countries Trump might consider going after pose an imminent threat to U.S. security, and even his staunchest supporters may wonder why he is wasting time and money going after Iran or Venezuela at a moment when thousands of Americans are dying preventable deaths at home. Even a successful military action won’t put Americans back to work, create the sort of testing-and-tracing regime that competent governments around the world have been able to implement already, or hasten the development of a vaccine. The same logic is likely to guide the decisions of other world leaders too.

Another familiar folk theory is “military Keynesianism.” War generates a lot of economic demand, and it can sometimes lift depressed economies out of the doldrums and back toward prosperity and full employment. The obvious case in point here is World War II, which did help the U.S economy finally escape the quicksand of the Great Depression. Those who are convinced that great powers go to war primarily to keep Big Business (or the arms industry) happy are naturally drawn to this sort of argument, and they might worry that governments looking at bleak economic forecasts will try to restart their economies through some sort of military adventure.

I doubt it. It takes a really big war to generate a significant stimulus, and it is hard to imagine any country launching a large-scale war—with all its attendant risks—at a moment when debt levels are already soaring. More importantly, there are lots of easier and more direct ways to stimulate the economy—infrastructure spending, unemployment insurance, even “helicopter payments”—and launching a war has to be one of the least efficient methods available. The threat of war usually spooks investors too, which any politician with their eye on the stock market would be loath to do.

Economic downturns can encourage war in some special circumstances, especially when a war would enable a country facing severe hardships to capture something of immediate and significant value. Saddam Hussein’s decision to seize Kuwait in 1990 fits this model perfectly: The Iraqi economy was in terrible shape after its long war with Iran; unemployment was threatening Saddam’s domestic position; Kuwait’s vast oil riches were a considerable prize; and seizing the lightly armed emirate was exceedingly easy to do. Iraq also owed Kuwait a lot of money, and a hostile takeover by Baghdad would wipe those debts off the books overnight. In this case, Iraq’s parlous economic condition clearly made war more likely. Yet I cannot think of any country in similar circumstances today. Now is hardly the time for Russia to try to grab more of Ukraine—if it even wanted to—or for China to make a play for Taiwan, because the costs of doing so would clearly outweigh the economic benefits. Even conquering an oil-rich country—the sort of greedy acquisitiveness that Trump occasionally hints at—doesn’t look attractive when there’s a vast glut on the market. I might be worried if some weak and defenseless country somehow came to possess the entire global stock of a successful coronavirus vaccine, but that scenario is not even remotely possible.

#### Empirics prove---downturn causes threat deflation.

Clary 15, PhD, Assistant Professor of Political Science @ the U of Albany. (Christopher, 04/21/15, “Economic Stress and International Cooperation: Evidence from International Rivalries”, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology Political Science Department*, Research Paper No. 2015-8; pg. 4)

Why Might Economic Crisis Cause Rivalry Termination?

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

### 2NC---!D---Cyber

#### Uncertainty alone checks.

Lewis 18, PhD, a senior vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). (James Andrew, 1-1-2018, “Rethinking Cybersecurity: Strategy, Mass Effect, and States”, pg. 29, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22408.8?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents>)

This upper bound on cyber attack is affected by the likelihood of attribution. If an attacker was confident that it could avoid having the attack attributed to it, the risk of retaliation would be reduced, making some attacks more attractive. Uncertainty about attribution capabilities, particularly American capabilities, combined with uncertainty about the effectiveness of cyber attack, creates caution. Public expressions of uncertainty about attribution are not shared by opponents, who know when they have been caught. Over the last decade, the United States has made a major effort to improve its attribution capabilities and has succeeded to the point where no opponent can be confident about anonymity and this, if linked to truly credible threats to impose consequences, may finally produce the cyber deterrence so long sought by the United States.

The implicit threshold governing cyber attack is the line between force and coercion. With very few exceptions, states have avoided cyber actions that could be judged as the use of force, based on international understandings on what actions qualify as the use of force or armed attack. Opponents have engaged in cyber actions below this implicit threshold with impunity, but they are reluctant to cross it for fear of creating a situation that they cannot control. In this, cyber incidents are more like border incursions or bandit raids than attacks.

Public sources suggest that at least seven countries have used cyber tools for coercive purposes. However, they have been careful to avoid anything that could be interpreted as the use of force, and they have avoided physical destruction or casualties. This suggests that countries prefer actions that advance their strategic goals without creating unmanageable risk of escalation into armed conflict. Opponents calculate the advantage they would gain from an attack against the potential cost. Miscalculation is possible, but if anything, opponents appear more likely to overestimate the risk of retaliation.

#### 3---no motivation.

Lewis 18, PhD, a senior vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). (James Andrew, 1-1-2018, “Rethinking Cybersecurity: Strategy, Mass Effect, and States”, pg. 7-9, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22408.5?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents>) \*language edited---brackets

The most dangerous and damaging attacks required resources and engineering knowledge that are beyond the capabilities of nonstate actors, and those who possess such capabilities consider their use in the context of some larger strategy to achieve national goals. Precision and predictability—always desirable in offensive operations in order to provide assured effect and economy of force—suggest that the risk of collateral damage is smaller than we assume, and with this, so is the risk of indiscriminate or mass effect. State Use of Cyber Attack Is Consistent with Larger Strategic Aims Based on a review of state actions to date, cyber operations give countries a new way to implement existing policies rather than leading them to adopt new policy or strategies. State opponents use cyber techniques in ways consistent with their national strategies and objectives. But for now, cyber may be best explained as an addition to the existing portfolio of tools available to nations. Cyber operations are ideal for achieving the strategic effect our opponents seek in this new environment. How nations use cyber techniques will be determined by their larger needs and interests, by their strategies, experience, and institutions, and by their tolerance for risk. Cyber operations provide unparalleled access to targets, and the only constraint on attackers is the risk of retaliation—a risk they manage by avoiding actions that would provoke a damaging response. This is done by staying below an implicit threshold on what can be considered the use of force in cyberspace. The reality of cyber attack differs greatly from our fears. Analysts place a range of hypothetical threats, often accompanied by extreme consequences, before the public without considering the probability of occurrence or the likelihood that opponents will choose a course of action that does not advance their strategic aims and creates grave risk of damaging escalation. Our opponents’ goals are not to carry out a cyber 9/11. While there have been many opponent probes of critical infrastructure facilities in numerous countries, the number of malicious cyber actions that caused physical damage can be counted on one hand. While opponents have probed critical infrastructure networks, there is no indication that they are for the purposes of the kind of [devastating] crippling strategic attacks against critical infrastructure that dominated planning in the Second World War or the Cold War. Similarly, the popular idea that opponents use cyber techniques to inflict cumulative economic harm is not supported by evidence. Economic warfare has always been part of conflict, but there are no examples of a country seeking to imperceptibly harm the economy of an opponent. The United States engaged in economic warfare during the Cold War, and still uses sanctions as a tool of foreign power, but few if any other nations do the same. The intent of cyber espionage is to gain market or technological advantage. Coercive actions against government agencies or companies are intended to intimidate. Terrorists do not seek to inflict economic damage. The difficulty of wreaking real harm on large, interconnected economies is usually ignored. Economic warfare in cyberspace is ascribed to China, but China’s cyber doctrine has three elements: control of cyberspace to preserve party rule and political stability, espionage (both commercial and military), and preparation for disruptive acts to damage an opponent’s weapons, military information systems, and command and control. “Strategic” uses, such as striking civilian infrastructure in the opponent’s homeland, appear to be a lower priority and are an adjunct to nuclear strikes as part of China’s strategic deterrence. Chinese officials seem more concerned about accelerating China’s growth rather than some long-term effort to undermine the American economy.6 The 2015 agreement with the United States served Chinese interests by centralizing tasking authority in Beijing and ending People’s Liberation Army (PLA) “freelancing” against commercial targets. The Russians specialize in coercion, financial crime, and creating harmful cognitive effect—the ability to manipulate emotions and decisionmaking. Under their 2010 military doctrine on disruptive information operations (part of what they call “New Generation Warfare”). Russians want confusion, not physical damage. Iran and North Korea use cyber actions against American banks or entertainment companies like Sony or the Sands Casino, but their goal is political coercion, not destruction. None of these countries talk about death by 1000 cuts or attacking critical infrastructure to produce a cyber Pearl Harbor or any of the other scenarios that dominate the media. The few disruptive attacks on critical infrastructure have focused almost exclusively on the energy sector. Major financial institutions face a high degree of risk but in most cases, the attackers’ intent is to extract money. There have been cases of service disruption and data erasure, but these have been limited in scope. Denial-of-service attacks against banks impede services and may be costly to the targeted bank, but do not have a major effect on the national economy. In all of these actions, there is a line that countries have been unwilling to cross. When our opponents decided to challenge American “hegemony,” they developed strategies to circumvent the risks of retaliation or escalation by ensuring that their actions stayed below the use-of-force threshold—an imprecise threshold, roughly defined by international law, but usually considered to involve actions that produce destruction or casualties. Almost all cyber attacks fall below this threshold, including, crime, espionage, and politically coercive acts. This explains why the decades-long quest to rebuild Cold War deterrence in cyberspace has been fruitless. It also explains why we have not seen the dreaded cyber Pearl Harbor or other predicted catastrophes. Opponents are keenly aware that launching catastrophe brings with it immense risk of receiving catastrophe in return. States are the only actors who can carry out catastrophic cyber attacks and they are very unlikely to do so in a strategic environment that seeks to gain advantage without engaging in armed conflict. Decisions on targets and attack make sense only when embedded in their larger strategic calculations regarding how best to fight with the United States. There have been thousands of incidents of cybercrime and cyber espionage, but only a handful of true attacks, where the intent was not to extract information or money, but to disrupt and, in a few cases, destroy. From these incidents, we can extract a more accurate picture of risk. The salient incidents are the cyber operations against Iran’s nuclear weapons facility (Stuxnet), Iran’s actions against Aramco and leading American banks, North Korean interference with Sony and with South Korean banks and television stations, and Russian actions against Estonia, Ukrainian power facilities, Canal 5 (television network in France), and the 2016 U.S. presidential elections. Cyber attacks are not random. All of these incidents have been part of larger geopolitical conflicts involving Iran, Korea, and the Ukraine, or Russia’s contest with the United States and NATO. There are commonalities in each attack. All were undertaken by state actors or proxy forces to achieve the attacking state’s policy objectives. Only two caused tangible damage; the rest created coercive effect, intended to create confusion and psychological pressure through fear, uncertainty, and embarrassment. In no instance were there deaths or casualties. In two decades of cyber attacks, there has never been a single casualty. This alone should give pause to the doomsayers. Nor has there been widespread collateral damage.

### 2NC---!D---C2 Hacking

#### Hacking impossible. Nukes aren’t online.

Fung 16, MSc, international relations. Reporter focusing on telecommunications, media, and competition. Citing Maj. General Jack Weinstein. (Brian, 5-26-2016, "The real reason America controls its nukes with ancient floppy disks", *Washington Post*, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-switch/wp/2016/05/26/the-real-reason-america-controls-its-nukes-with-ancient-floppy-disks/)

As it happens, a similar logic underpins the U.S. military’s continued use of floppy disks. The fact that America’s nuclear forces are disconnected from digital networks actually acts as a buffer against hackers. As Maj. General Jack Weinstein told CBS’s “60 Minutes” in 2014: Jack Weinstein: I'll tell you, those older systems provide us some -- I will say huge safety when it comes to some cyber issues that we currently have in the world. Lesley Stahl: Now, explain that. Weinstein: A few years ago we did a complete analysis of our entire network. Cyber engineers found out that the system is extremely safe and extremely secure on the way it's developed. Stahl: Meaning that you're not up on the Internet kind of thing? Weinstein: We're not up on the Internet. Stahl: So did the cyber people recommend you keep it the way it is? Weinstein: For right now, yes. In other words, the rise of hackers and cyberwarfare is exactly why even technologically obsolete systems can still serve a valuable purpose.

#### Deterrence checks.

Lewis 18, PhD, a senior vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). (James Andrew, 1-1-2018, “Rethinking Cybersecurity: Strategy, Mass Effect, and States”, pg. 28-29, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22408.8?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents>) \*language edited---brackets

If it was possible to use a cyber attack to simultaneously [devastate] ~~cripple~~ strategic forces and launch a massive attack on critical infrastructure, an opponent might be tempted, but this would require a high degree of certainty that all strategic delivery systems could be taken offline by a cyber attack. This is unlikely, and it is more probable that a cyber attack will not be 100 percent effective. Some targeted weapons or systems will still operate. Saying that the United States can only shoot 50 missiles at your capital instead of 100 is not much of a comfort. In a larger armed conflict, this kind of reduction in enemy tactical capabilities can be valuable, but if the goal is to attack without fear of retaliation, it is insufficient.

## Adv 2

### 2NC-! Overview

#### Rising powers have status incentives to maintain the LIO – the only scenario for war is status denial

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Equally if not more important is the category of rising powers—namely China, India, and Brazil—who are not allies of the United States and are predisposed to be skeptical of American power. In a host of issue areas including international security, trade, development finance, nuclear nonproliferation, and climate change mitigation, these rising states have benefited from the self-interested willingness of the U.S. (and some of its allies) to disproportionately bear the costs of international regime formation and maintenance while the benefits of these regimes are dispersed across the international system. While they may disagree with the distribution of benefits and status within the global order, contemporary rising powers have operated and prospered within its parameters.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of the value of the liberal order is the manner in which various major powers have rushed to shore up different aspects of it in the immediate aftermath of Trump’s election. Faced with Trump’s economic nationalism, Chinese President Xi Jinping declared at Davos in 2017 that “many of the problems troubling the world are not caused by economic globalization.”[15] After Washington’s exit from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), Japan under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe spearheaded its replacement in the form of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP).[16] A similar decision by Trump to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change mitigation prompted Prime Minister Narendra Modi to double down on India’s efforts to meet its emissions targets under the agreement.[17] In France and Germany, support for NATO in 2017 took a sharp turn upward after years of gradual decline.[18]

These instances are remarkable because they are ironic: China has a record of subverting global economic openness to its own advantage, Japan of being deeply reluctant to liberalize its trade policies, India of insisting on the greater responsibility of developed nations in mitigating climate change, and France and Germany of being skeptical of NATO’s relevance and value after the Cold War. Had the liberal order imposed rules on these countries that ran contrary to their material preferences, they would have taken this opportunity of relative U.S. decline and retrenchment to pursue those preferences. On the contrary, they have worked to uphold the basic principles and institutions of an order in which the U.S. disproportionately bears the costs of maintenance while the benefits are distributed among those best positioned to take advantage of them.

Rising Powers and the Liberal Order

The above discussion raises a deeper issue with regard to global order—in what form will it survive the Trump presidency? Given that the liberal order has helped to stabilize international relations, lengthen the shadow of U.S. power, and distribute material benefits to a number of major powers, how will it be transformed by the current phase of U.S. retrenchment and relative decline? The answer depends to a great measure on the grand strategies of rising powers, who are increasingly capable of having determinative effects on the order.

There are a number of accounts of what we might expect from rising powers with regard to international order as the global distribution of power shifts in their favor. Scholars in the tradition of Robert Gilpin straightforwardly predict that rising powers will challenge the order.[19] According to this view, the existing order reflects the interests of a dominant power, and rising powers will seek to pursue their own interests by altering that order. The dominant power resists these attempts, often sparking a hegemonic war that fundamentally transforms international relations.

This framework does not allow for situations where rising powers benefit from the existing international order. Institutionalist theory suggests that rising powers will uphold an order when its institutions produce outcomes more efficiently than unilateral or bilateral means of cooperation.[20] Dominant powers may pay significant costs to establish an order, but once it is up and running, its members may have good reason to support it. Over a period of time, it is possible that rising powers may become socialized into supporting an order or some of its constituent institutions even when it is not in their material interest to do so.[21]

Assuming that rising powers do benefit from an existing order, as in the contemporary case, under certain conditions they may decide to free-ride on the dominant power’s ability and willingness to maintain the order. Rather than challenging or accepting the order, rising powers under this scenario become “shirkers,”[22] seeking to maximize the benefits they obtain from the order while minimizing the costs they pay for its maintenance. This strategy can work if the dominant power has sufficient incentive to pay the costs of order no matter what; although it can detect shirking and may find it bothersome, it has sufficient resources and reason to continue maintaining the order.

Finally, a growing body of work focusing on non-material objectives argues that rising powers seek recognition as world powers, or some sort of status equality with existing great powers.[23] The persistent denial of said recognition or status by the dominant power may spark a challenge to the international order, which typically reflects the identity and interests of the dominant power. In this scenario, rising powers are willing to incur significant material risks or costs by challenging or seeking to reform the order to attain the symbolic equality they seek with the great powers.

### 2NC- AT: No link

#### The link is zero sum – any gain for the US is perceived as status denial by China

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Yan Xuetong captures the Chinese mindset well when he writes that the Chinese ‘regard their rise as regaining China's lost international status rather than obtaining something new … [They] consider the rise of China as a restoration of fairness rather than gaining advantage over others.’81 But at the highest levels, the status or prestige game is a zero-sum game: it is about gaining advantage over your competitors. Either you are number one or you are not.82 And if Yong Deng is correct in observing that China ‘may very well be the most status-conscious country in the world’—partly because it assumes that ‘status entails some magical qualities with which core national interests can be secured’83—we should expect the geopolitical competition between China and the United States to intensify in the years ahead.

#### The 1AC defends AI management- the only coherent way they solve is if they enact that through US led culture- Which is a link .

Ding 18 (Jeffrey, Centre for the Governance of AI, Future of Humanity Institute, University of Oxford, “Deciphering China’s AI Dream,” March 2018, <https://www.fhi.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Deciphering_Chinas_AI-Dream.pdf>, DOA: 1-5-2021) //Snowball

The implications of China’s AI strategy in the economic realm are numerous. Research from PwC in 2017 estimated that China had the most to gain from AI technologies, forecasting a potential 26% boost in GDP to benefits from AI.162 A report from McKinsey Global Institute supports this view, estimating that 51% of work activities in China can be automated - more than any other country in the world.163 Faced with unfavorable demographic trends, China could improve its productivity levels by integrating AI systems.164 This would enable China to sustain its economic growth and meet GDP targets. The stakes for global economic preeminence are stark. A report by PwC projects that the AI sector could contribute up to USD 15.7 trillion to the world economy by 2030.165

Economic benefit is the primary, immediate driving force behind China’s development of AI, so evaluating the economic impact of China’s AI strategy will be a key test of the strategy’s feasibility and success. Early signs support cautious optimism about China’s AI sector. Metrics from the section on China’s commercial AI ecosystem revealed that new AI companies and investment in the years 2014-2016 surpassed the number of companies and investment in all the years prior. These figures should be tempered by the potential for speculative over-investment to cause boom-bust cycles and the need for more concrete figures directly tied to economic growth, such as revenues and assets. As earlier analysis on megaprojects demonstrated, China’s industrial policy approach to scientific innovation has been criticized for diverting resources from bottom-up, investigator-driven projects to large national projects run by mediocre laboratories, on the basis of personal connections.

#### Advantage 1 is a link

Frederick Kempe, 20 - is a best-selling author, prize-winning journalist and president & CEO of the Atlantic Council, one of the United States’ most influential think tanks on global affairs (“Op-ed: How the US can win the post-coronavirus race for global dominance” CNBC, 4/21, <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/04/18/op-ed-how-us-can-win-the-post-coronavirus-race-for-global-dominance.html> //DH

The post-COVID19 race could determine whether the U.S. rebounds in a manner that allows it to retain the mantle of global leadership. More likely for the moment, Beijing could leverage its first-mover advantage – alongside a faster economic recovery across Asian markets – accelerating the trend toward a Chinese-centric globalization.

Elsewhere, as President Macron argued this week to the Financial Times, the coming months could determine whether the European Union collapses as a political and economic project. The days ahead also could trigger a dangerous widening of the economic gap between emerging markets and the developed world – with escalating conflict and surging migration.

It may seem premature to reflect on which of the globe’s economies is likely to have the most robust and lasting economic comeback – and with what geopolitical impact. After all, this was a week in which the International Monetary Fund projected a 3% contraction in global GDP for 2020, the most dramatic drop since the Great Depression.

Yet it is the details behind that dismal forecast that should raise concerns within the U.S. and Europe. Their steeper economic decline and slower recovery could lay the seeds for a long-lasting shift of global tectonic plates to China’s advantage.

The IMF projected a U.S. economic decline of about 6% in 2020 and a contraction of the eurozone of 7.5%. That compares to projected Chinese economic growth for 2020 of 1.2% after a first quarter real decline of 6.7% – far less than the 10%-plus dip many experts had expected. The only group of countries in the world projected to be in positive territory are East Asian, at roughly 1%.

Even if one accepts that Chinese coronavirus fatalities likely are greater than their public figures and that the growth decline is likely larger, that doesn’t change the potential for a scenario that Deloitte and Salesforce this week referred to as “Sunrise in the East.”

Describing this scenario, as one of four possibilities they list, they write, “The global center of power shifts decisively east as China and other East Asian nations take the reigns as primary powers on the world stage and lead global coordination of the health system and other multilateral institutions.”

### 2NC- China tech good

#### AI, Superbugs, Operationalized weapons all existential risk- Chinese leadership key to stop it

Robert Bailey 18, Vision of Earth contributor and computer science masters, 9-5-2018, "Why do we need global governance?," Vision of Earth, https://www.visionofearth.org/social-change/global-governance/

Global governance is necessary because humanity increasingly faces both problems and opportunities that are global in scale. Today, transnational problems such as violence and pandemics routinely reach across borders, affecting us all. At the same time, the increasingly integrated global system has also laid the necessary foundations for peace and spectacular prosperity. Effective global governance will allow us to end armed conflict, deal with new and emerging problems such as technological risks and automation, and to achieve levels of prosperity and progress never before seen.1 The most important challenge for humanity to overcome is that of existential risks. One way to look at the danger of an existential risk is to quantify the level of global coordination needed to deal with it. While best-shot risks, at one end of the spectrum only require that a single nation, organization or even individual (i.e., superhero) has the means and the will to save everyone, weakest-link risks, at the other end of the spectrum, are dangers that might require literally every country to take appropriate action to prevent catastrophe, with no room for failure.2 3 We’ve always been at risk of natural disaster, but with advances in our level of technology the risk we pose to ourselves as a species becomes ever greater. Nuclear weapons are a well-known risk that we still live with to this day. The progress of technological research exposes us to new dangers such as bioengineered superbugs, nanotechnological menaces, and the risk of an out-of-control artificial intelligence with ill-intent. Increased levels of global coordination are needed to combat many of these risks, as described in our article on the cooperation possibilities frontier. There are other problems that don’t necessarily threaten the species or even civilization as we know it, but which are holding back the development of prosperity and progress. Armed conflict, around since the dawn of history, still haunts us today. Even though wars between great powers appear to be a thing of the past, regional conflicts still account for tremendous human suffering and loss of life in parts of the world without stable governance.4 Other problems have emerged precisely because of our successes in the past. The unprecedented advancement of human wellbeing and prosperity over the past century has been based in large part on the use of fossil fuels, thus exposing us to climate change. Widespread automation, already a stressor on society, will put increased pressure on the social and economic fabric of our societies over the next few decades. Global governance can help alleviate these issues in various ways – we refer the interested reader to the very detailed work in Ruling Ourselves. Finally, global governance will increasingly be judged not only by the extent to which it prevents harm, but also by its demonstrated ability to improve human wellbeing.5 Progress has let us set our sights higher as a species, both for what we consider to be the right trajectory for humanity and for our own conduct.6 Major advances in human wellbeing can be accomplished with existing technology and modest improvements in global coordination. Effective global governance is global governance that tackles these issues better than the regional governments of the world can independently. Global governance is key to solving global problems. Without it, we may not be able to avoid weakest-link existential risks or regulate new and dangerous technologies. With it, we may be able to prosper as we never have before. The next step is to determine how effective global governance can be achieved.

### 2NC – Sustainability

#### 2 --- *globalization* --- it causes cyclical crises that will crash the LIO

Mearsheimer 19 (John J, President and Fellows of Harvard College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. <KEN> “Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order,” International Security, Volume 43, Issue 4, Spring 2019)

There is another major problem that comes with hyperglobalization. The ease and speed with which capital flows across borders, coupled with the emphasis that the liberal world order places on government deregulation, make this order prone to large-scale economic crises in particular countries or regions, or even the entire world. “Periods of high international capital mobility,” Carmen Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff write, “have repeatedly produced international banking crises.”80 In fact, there have been a number of crises since hyperglobalization began taking root in the late 1980s.81 The most consequential were the Asian financial crisis of 1997–98, which came dangerously close to spreading across the entire globe, and the 2007–08 global financial crisis, which was the most severe economic breakdown since the Great Depression of the 1930s and did much to delegitimize the liberal international order in the West.82 Given the continuing mobility of capital, more crises of this sort will likely occur, further weakening the present order and perhaps even bringing it crashing down.

#### 3 --- *political polarization* and *institutional weakness*

Drezner 19 --- Prof of Int Political at the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy (Daniel W., “This Time Is Different: Why U.S. Foreign Policy Will Never Recover,” May-June, Foreign Affairs 98.3)//CMR

It is therefore all too easy to dismiss the current angst over U.S. President Donald Trump as the latest hymn from the Church of Perpetual Worry. This is hardly the first time observers have questioned the viability of a U.S.-led global order. The peril to the West was never greater than when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik--until U.S. President Richard Nixon ended the Bretton Woods system. The oil shocks of the 1970s posed a grave threat to the liberal international order--but then came the explosion of the U.S. budget and trade deficits in the 1980s. The perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks seemed like an existential threat to the system--until the 2008 financial crisis. Now there is Trump. It is worth asking, then, whether the current fretting is anything new. For decades, the sky has refused to fall. But this time really is different. Just when many of the sources of American power are ebbing, many of the guardrails that have kept U.S. foreign policy on track have been worn down. It is tempting to pin this degradation on Trump and his retrograde foreign policy views, but the erosion predated him by a good long while. Shifts in the way Americans debate and conduct foreign policy will make it much more difficult to right the ship in the near future. Foreign policy discourse was the last preserve of bipartisanship, but political polarization has irradiated that marketplace of ideas. Although future presidents will try to restore the classical version of U.S. foreign policy, in all likelihood, it cannot be revived. The American foundations undergirding the liberal international order are in grave danger, and it is no longer possible to take the pillars of that order for granted. Think of the current moment as a game of Jenga in which multiple pieces have been removed but the tower still stands. As a result, some observers have concluded that the structure remains sturdy. But in fact, it is lacking many important parts and, on closer inspection, is teetering ever so slightly. Like a Jenga tower, the order will continue to stand upright--right until the moment it collapses. Every effort should be made to preserve the liberal international order, but it is also time to start thinking about what might come after its end. The gravity of the problem is dawning on some members of the foreign policy community. Progressives are debating among themselves whether and how they should promote liberal values abroad if they should return to power. Conservatives are agonizing over whether the populist moment represents a permanent shift in the way they should think about U.S. foreign policy. Neither camp is really grappling with the end of equilibrium, however. The question is not what U.S. foreign policy can do after Trump. The question is whether there is any viable grand strategy that can endure past an election cycle. THE GOOD OLD DAYS In foreign policy, failures garner more attention than successes. During the Cold War, the "loss of China," the rise of the Berlin Wall, the Vietnam War, the energy crisis, and the Iran hostage crisis all overshadowed the persistently effective grand strategy of containment. Only once the Soviet Union broke up peacefully was the United States' Cold War foreign policy viewed as an overarching success. Since then, the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Syria, along with the 2008 financial crisis and the rise of populism, have dominated the discussion. It is all too easy to conclude that the United States' recent foreign policy has been an unmitigated disaster. At the same time that all these negative developments were taking place, however, underlying trends were moving in a more U.S.-friendly direction. The number of interstate wars and civil wars was falling dramatically, as was every other metric of international violence. Democracy was spreading, liberating masses of people from tyranny. Globalization was accelerating, slashing extreme poverty. The United States could take a great deal of credit for these gains, because the liberal order it nurtured and expanded had laid the foundations for decades of relative peace and prosperity. Washington made mistakes, of course, such as invading Iraq and forcing countries to remove restrictions on the flow of capital across their borders. As misguided as these errors were, and as much as they alienated allies in the moment, they did not permanently weaken the United States' position in the world. U.S. soft power suffered in the short term but recovered quickly under the Obama administration. The United States still managed to attract allies, and in the case of the 2011 intervention in Libya, it was NATO allies begging Washington to use force, not vice versa. Today, the United States has more treaty allies than any other country in the world--more, in fact, than any country ever. The United States was able to weather the occasional misstep in large part because its dominance rested on such sturdy foundations. Its geographic blessings are ample: bountiful natural resources, two large oceans to the east and the west, and two valued partners to the north and the south. The country has been so powerful for so long that many of its capabilities seem to be fundamental constants of the universe rather than happenstance. The United States has had the most powerful military in the world since 1945, and its economy, as measured by purchasing power parity, became the biggest around 1870. Few people writing today about international affairs can remember a time when the United States was not the richest and most powerful country. Long-term hegemony only further embedded the United States' advantage. In constructing the liberal international order, Washington created an array of multilateral institutions, from the UN Security Council to the World Bank, that privileged it and key allies. Having global rules of the game benefits everyone, but the content of those rules benefited the United States in particular. The Internet began as an outgrowth of a U.S. Department of Defense initiative, providing to the United States an outsize role in its governance. American higher education attracts the best of the best from across the world, as do Silicon Valley and Hollywood, adding billions of dollars to the U.S. economy. An immigrant culture has constantly replenished the country's demographic strength, helping the United States avoid the aging problems that plague parts of Europe and the Pacific Rim. The United States has also benefited greatly from its financial dominance. The U.S. dollar replaced the British pound sterling as the world's reserve currency 75 years ago, giving the United States the deepest and most liquid capital markets on the globe and enhancing the reach and efficacy of its economic statecraft. In recent decades, Washington's financial might has only grown. Even though the 2008 financial crisis began in the American housing market, the end result was that the United States became more, rather than less, central to global capital markets. U.S. capital markets proved to be deeper, more liquid, and better regulated than anyone else's. And even though many economists once lost sleep over the country's growing budget deficits, that has turned out to be a non-crisis. Many now argue that the U.S. economy has a higher tolerance for public debt than previously thought. Diplomatically, all these endowments ensured that regardless of the issue at hand, the United States was always viewed as a reliable leader. Its dense and enduring network of alliances and partnerships signaled that the commitments Washington made were seen as credible. American hegemony bred resentment in some parts of the globe, but even great-power rivals trusted what the United States said in international negotiations. At the same time as the international system cemented the United States' structural power, the country's domestic politics helped preserve a stable foreign policy. A key dynamic was the push and pull between different schools of thought. An equilibrium was maintained--between those who wanted the country to adopt a more interventionist posture and those who wanted to husband national power, between those who preferred multilateral approaches and those who preferred unilateral ones. When one camp overreached, others would seize on the mistake to call for a course correction. Advocates of restraint invoked the excesses of Iraq to push for retrenchment. Supporters of intervention pointed to the implosion of Syria to argue for a more robust posture. Thanks to the separation of powers within the U.S. government, no one foreign policy camp could accrue too much influence. When the Nixon White House pursued a strictly realpolitik approach toward the Soviet Union, Congress forced human rights concerns onto the agenda. When the Obama administration was leery of sanctioning Iran's central bank, congressional hawks forced it to take more aggressive action. Time and time again, U.S. foreign policy reverted to the mean. Overreaching was eventually followed by restraint. Buck-passing led to leading. The results of these crosscutting pressures were far from perfect, but they ensured that U.S. foreign policy did not deviate too far from the status quo. Past commitments remained credible into the future. For decades, these dynamics, global and domestic, kept crises from becoming cataclysmic. U.S. foreign policy kept swinging back into equilibrium. So what has changed? Today, there is no more equilibrium, and the structural pillars of American power are starting to buckle. THE NEW NORMAL Despite the remarkable consistency of U.S. foreign policy, behind the scenes, some elements of American power were starting to decline. As measured by purchasing power parity, the United States stopped being the largest economy in the world a few years ago. Its command of the global commons has weakened as China's and Russia's asymmetric capabilities have improved. The accumulation of "forever wars" and low-intensity conflicts has taxed the United States' armed forces. Outward consistency also masked the dysfunction that was afflicting the domestic checks on U.S. foreign policy. For starters, public opinion has ceased to act as a real constraint on decision-makers. Paradoxically, the very things that have ensured U.S. national security--geographic isolation and overwhelming power--have also led most Americans to not think about foreign policy, and rationally so. The trend began with the switch to an all-volunteer military, in 1973, which allowed most of the public to stop caring about vital questions of war and peace. The apathy has only grown since the end of the Cold War, and today, poll after poll reveals that Americans rarely, if ever, base their vote on foreign policy considerations. The marketplace of ideas has broken down, too. The barriers to entry for harebrained foreign policy schemes have fallen away as Americans' trust in experts has eroded. Today, the United States is in the midst of a debate about whether a wall along its southern border should be made of concrete, have see-through slats, or be solar-powered. The ability of experts to kill bad ideas isn't what it used to be. The cognoscenti might believe that their informed opinions can steady the hands of successive administrations, but they are operating in hostile territory. To be fair, the hostility to foreign policy experts is not without cause. The interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya were massive screwups. Despite what the experts predicted, globalization has not transformed China into a Jeffersonian democracy. The supposedly infallible advice enshrined in the Washington consensus ended up triggering multiple financial crises. Economists and foreign affairs advisers advocated austerity, despite the pain it caused the poor and the middle class, and consistently cried wolf about an increase in interest rates that has yet to come. No wonder both Barack Obama and Trump have taken such pleasure in bashing the Washington establishment. Institutional checks on the president's foreign policy prerogatives have also deteriorated--primarily because the other branches of government have voluntarily surrendered them. The passage of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, which exacerbated the Great Depression, showed that Congress could not responsibly execute its constitutional responsibilities on trade. With the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, it delegated many of those powers to the president, marking the beginning of a sustained decline in congressional oversight. More recently, political polarization has rendered Congress a dysfunctional, petulant mess, encouraging successive administrations to enhance the powers of the executive branch. Nor has the judicial branch acted as much of an impediment. The Supreme Court has persistently deferred to the president on matters of national security, as it did in 2018 when it ruled in favor of the Trump administration's travel ban. Foreign policy analysts largely celebrated this concentration of power in the executive branch, and prior to Trump, their logic seemed solid. They pointed to the public's ignorance of and Congress' lack of interest in international relations. As political gridlock and polarization took hold, elected Democrats and Republicans viewed foreign policy as merely a plaything for the next election. And so most foreign policy elites viewed the president as the last adult in the room. What they failed to plan for was the election of a president who displays the emotional and intellectual maturity of a toddler. As a candidate, Trump gloried in beating up on foreign policy experts, asserting that he could get better results by relying on his gut. As president, he has governed mostly by tantrum. He has insulted and bullied U.S. allies. He has launched trade wars that have accomplished little beyond hurting the U.S. economy. He has said that he trusts Russian President Vladimir Putin more than his own intelligence briefers. His administration has withdrawn from an array of multilateral agreements and bad-mouthed the institutions that remain. The repeated attacks on the EU and NATO represent a bigger strategic mistake than the invasion of Iraq. In multiple instances, his handpicked foreign policy advisers have attempted to lock in decisions before the president can sabotage them with an impulsive tweet. Even when his administration has had the germ of a valid idea, Trump has executed the resulting policy shifts in the most ham-handed manner imaginable. Most of these foreign policy moves have been controversial, counterproductive, and perfectly legal. The same steps that empowered the president to create foreign policy have permitted Trump to destroy what his predecessors spent decades preserving. The other branches of government endowed the White House with the foreign policy equivalent of a Ferrari; the current occupant has acted like a child playing with a toy car, convinced that he is operating in a land of make-believe. After Trump, a new president will no doubt try to restore sanity to U.S. foreign policy. Surely, he or she will reverse the travel ban, halt the hostile rhetoric toward long-standing allies, and end the attacks on the world trading system. These patches will miss the deeper problem, however. Political polarization has eroded the notion that presidents need to govern from the center. Trump has eviscerated that idea. The odds are decent that a left-wing populist will replace the current president, and then an archconservative will replace that president. The weak constraints on the executive branch will only make things worse. Congress has evinced little interest in playing a constructive role when it comes to foreign policy. The public is still checked out on world politics. The combination of worn-down guardrails and presidents emerging from the ends of the political spectrum may well whipsaw U.S. foreign policy between "America first" and a new Second International. The very concept of a consistent, durable grand strategy will not be sustainable. In that event, only the credulous will consider U.S. commitments credible. Alliances will fray, and other countries will find it easier to flout global norms. All the while, the scars of the Trump administration will linger. The vagaries of the current administration have already forced a mass exodus of senior diplomats from the State Department. That human capital will be difficult to replace. For the past two years, the number of international students who have enrolled in U.S. university degree programs has fallen as nativism has grown louder. It will take a while to convince foreigners that this was a temporary spasm. After the Trump administration withdrew from the Iran nuclear deal, it forced SWIFT, the private-sector network that facilitates international financial transactions, to comply with unilateral U.S. sanctions against Iran, spurring China, France, Germany, Russia, and the United Kingdom to create an alternative payment system. That means little right now, but in the long run, both U.S. allies and U.S. rivals will learn to avoid relying on the dollar. Perhaps most important, the Trump administration has unilaterally surrendered the set of ideals that guided U.S. policymakers for decades. It is entirely proper to debate how much the United States should prioritize the promotion of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law across the world. What should be beyond debate, however, is that it is worthwhile to promote those values overseas and enshrine them at home. Trump's ugly rhetoric makes a mockery of those values. Although a future president might sound better on these issues, both allies and rivals will remember the current moment. The seeds of doubt have been planted, and they will one day sprout. The factors that give the United States an advantage in the international system--deep capital markets, liberal ideas, world-class higher education--have winner-take-all dynamics. Other actors will be reluctant to switch away from the dollar, Wall Street, democracy, and the Ivy League. These sectors can withstand a few hits. Excessive use of financial statecraft, alliances with overseas populists, or prolonged bouts of anti-immigrant hysteria, however, will force even close allies to start thinking about alternatives. The American advantage in these areas will go bankrupt much like Mike Campbell in The Sun Also Rises did: "gradually and then suddenly." Right now, the United States' Jenga tower is still standing. Remove a few more blocks, however, and the wobbling will become noticeable to the unaided eye. What would collapse look like? The United States would remain a great power, of course, but it would be an ordinary and less rich one. On an increasing number of issues, U.S. preferences would carry minimal weight, as China and Europe coordinated on a different set of rules. Persistent domestic political polarization would encourage Middle Eastern allies, such as Israel and Saudi Arabia, to line up with Republicans and European allies, such as Germany and the United Kingdom, to back Democrats. The continued absence of any coherent grand strategy would leave Latin America vulnerable to a new Great Game as other great powers vied for influence there. Demographic pressures would tax the United States, and the productivity slowdown would make those pressures even worse. Trade blocs would sap global economic growth; reduced interdependence would increase the likelihood of a great-power war. Climate change would be mitigated nationally rather than internationally, leaving almost everyone worse off.

### 2NC – !D – LIO

#### No Rules based order impact

Staniland 18 --- PhD from MIT (Paul Staniland is Associate Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Committee on International Relations at the University of Chicago, “Misreading the “Liberal Order”: Why We Need New Thinking in American Foreign Policy,” July 29, https://www.lawfareblog.com/misreading-liberal-order-why-we-need-new-thinking-american-foreign-policy)

Pushing back against Trump’s foreign policy is an important goal. But moving forward requires a more serious analysis than claiming that the “liberal international order” was the centerpiece of past U.S. foreign-policy successes, and thus should be again. Both claims are flawed. We need to understand the limits of the liberal international order, where it previously failed to deliver benefits, and why it offers little guidance for many contemporary questions. First, advocates of the order tend to skim past the policies pursued under the liberal order that have not worked. These mistakes need to be directly confronted to do better in the future. Proponents of the order, however, often present a narrow and highly selective reading of history that ignores much of the coercion, violence, and instability that accompanied post-war history. Problematic outcomes are treated as either aberrant exceptions or as not truly characterizing the order. One recent defense of the liberal order by prominent liberal institutionalists Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, for instance, does not mention Iraq, Afghanistan, Vietnam, or Libya. Professors Stephen Chaudoin, Helen Milner, and Dustin Tingley herald the order’s “support for freedom, democracy, human rights, a free press.” Kori Schake writes that Western democracies’ wars are “about enlarging the perimeter of security and prosperity, expanding and consolidating the liberal order.” Historian Hal Brands argues that the order has advocated “political liberalism in the form of representative government and human rights; and other liberal concepts, such as nonaggression, self-determination, and the peaceful settlement of disputes.” Other analysts have persuasively argued that these accounts create an “imagined” picture of post-World War II history. Patrick Porter outlines in detail how coercive, violent, and hypocritical U.S. foreign policy has often been. To the extent an international liberal order ever actually existed beyond a small cluster of countries, writes Nick Danforth, it was recent and short-lived. Thomas Meaney and Stephen Wertheim further argue that “critics exaggerate Mr. Trump’s abnormality,” situating him within a long history of the pursuit of American self-interest. Graham Allison—no bomb-throwing radical—has recently written that the order was a “myth” and that credit for the lack of great power war should instead go to nuclear deterrence. Coercion and disregard for both allies and political liberalism have been entirely compatible with the “liberal” order. The last two decades have been a bumpy ride for U.S. foreign policy. Since 9/11, we have seen the disintegration of Syria, Yemen, and Libya, a war without end in Afghanistan, the collapse of the Arab Spring, the rise and resurgence of the Islamic State, and the distinctly mixed success of strategies aimed at managing China’s rise. At home, the growth of a national-security state has placed remarkable power in the hands of Donald Trump. Simply returning to the old order is no guarantee of good results. Grappling openly with failure and self-inflicted wounds—while also acknowledging clear benefits of the order—is essential for moving beyond self-congratulatory platitudes. Second, the liberal order in its idealized form had very limited reach into what are now pivotal areas of U.S. security policy: Asia, the Middle East, and the “developing world” more broadly. The core of the liberal order remains transatlantic, but Asia is now growing dramatically in wealth and military power. What is the record of the order in the region? There was certainly some democracy promotion when authoritarian regimes began to totter, but there was also deep, sustained cooperation with dictators like Suharto and Ferdinand Marcos; while there are some regional institutions (such as ASEAN), they are comparatively weak; while there are some rules, they have been deeply contested. Close U.S. allies like Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea (the latter two experiencing long bouts of U.S.-allied autocracy) were not integrated into a broad alliance pact like NATO. India and Pakistan were never part of the core order, and China was only very partially integrated (primarily into the economic pillar of the order, and through ad hoc security cooperation from the 1970s). Southeast Asia has been a site of warfare and authoritarianism for much of its post-1945 history. The United States has long considered the Middle East vital to its security, but the extent to which the United States should invest its own blood and treasure in protecting the area was always up for debate. It was only in the 1970s that the United States decided it was prepared to use force to defend the region; “dual containment” in the 1990s was always controversial, while the invasion of Iraq and its chaotic aftermath revealed deep fissures over how much presence was enough. Meanwhile, liberalism, democracy, human rights, and international institutions have not made much of a mark in the region. Jake Sullivan, in a rather odd defense of the order, suggests that “Middle Eastern instability has been a feature, not a bug, of the system.” This is not reassuring about the order’s ability to structure politics in the area. The same can be said about the order’s history in Africa, with deep Western involvement in civil wars, support for authoritarian regimes, and often-counterproductive demands for economic liberalization contributing to ongoing instability. The legacy of the “liberal order” is both far more complex and shallower outside of the north Atlantic core than within it. Invocations of the order are seen with greater cynicism and suspicion in these areas than in Washington or Berlin. Yet they are precisely the regions that are increasingly the focus of U.S. security policy. Finally, and as the preceding already suggests, the idea of “liberal order” isitself frequently too vague a concept, and was too incomplete a phenomenon, to offer guidance on a number of key contemporary questions. Allison goes so far as to call it “conceptual Jell-o.” The extremely abstract principles that experts use to define the order are confronted with a reality of extreme historical variation. This amorphousness undermines its usefulness as an actual guide to future foreign policy. U.S. alliances in Western Europe since World War II looked dramatically different than those in East Asia. Both have achieved their basic goals, so which should be the model for the future? The United States often applied pressure to coerce its allies into adopting economic and security policies conducive to U.S. interests—going so far as to threaten abandonment of close European allies—even as it simultaneously built key elements of the liberal order. The core of the liberal order was a more tenuous and contested political space than we often remember. This inconsistency applies to involvement in the domestic politics of other states. The United States has regularly embraced authoritarian leaders (and distanced itself from democratic regimes), while at other times it has helped to push these leaders out in the face of domestic mobilization. Advocates of the order tend to stress the latter and dismiss the former as aberrant, but both strategies contributed to the ultimate victory of the liberal order over the Soviet bloc. The order’s history offers support for aggressively promoting democracy, accepting democratization when it emerges, and strongly supporting friendly dictators. This makes it unhelpful for grappling with the question of whether and how to promote democracy. The same is true of military interventions and covert operations abroad. U.S. leaders invested heavily in Cold War proxy wars and the overthrow of foreign regimes, while at other times and places they avoided such interventions. This history carries important implications for addressing today’s policy challenges. Simply appealing to the order does not, for instance, tell us much about how to deal with a rising China: Since the liberal order included highly institutionalized alliances, loose “hub-and-spoke” arrangements, and coalitions of the willing, and was characterized by both preventive wars and containment, it is extremely unclear what the order suggests for America’s China strategy. While “rules-based” order is a term in vogue, it doesn’t tell us what the rules should actually be, or how they should be decided. Nor does appealing to the liberal order help us understand whether the United States needs to be deeply involved or largely absent from the Middle East, or somewhere in between. Under the order, democracy promotion and assertive liberal intervention sometimes occurred, but so too did restraint and an acceptance of autocracy. There are no answers in the liberal international order for navigating the enormously difficult terrain of the contemporary Middle East.

### AT: War

#### Trising powers replace the US and have a stake in maintaining international order for status benefits

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The empirical evidence since the end of the Cold War suggests that rising powers such as China, India, and Brazil are content not to challenge the liberal order despite their varying levels of dissatisfaction with it.[24] Instead, they have adopted a free-riding strategy, i.e. not fully paying the costs of maintaining the order while benefiting significantly from it. This type of strategy is what underlies China’s exploitation of international trading rules, India’s grandstanding on climate change, and Brazil’s outsized influence relative to its economic power within the World Trade Organization (WTO).[25]

This unwillingness to genuinely contribute to the liberal order may seem puzzling given that it makes these countries diplomatically vulnerable to the charge of free-riding. It is explained, however, by the non-material aspects of the order, or what Gilpin called the “hierarchy of prestige.”[26] Put simply, the distribution of prestige within the liberal order is still skewed in favor of the U.S. and its allies, while the distribution of power is shifting steadily in favor of the rising powers. Voting rights at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), permanent membership of the UNSC, top leadership positions in International Financial Institutions (IFIs), the official designation of nuclear weapons states in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT), and small-group decision-making within the WTO are some of the more prominent institutional aspects of the liberal order that rising powers to varying extents have contested as exclusionary, discriminatory, and unequal.[27] Wherever possible, they have sought to reform institutions from within. Where these efforts have been repeatedly frustrated, they have established new institutions such as the New Development Bank (NDB) of the Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) group (which, unlike the IMF, operates on the principle of “one country, one vote, and no veto”)[28] and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB),[29] or bolstered existing forums where they already hold leadership positions, such as the India, Brazil, South Africa (IBSA) group and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

The overarching question is this: who gets to be included in the club of great powers that manage the liberal order alongside the United States? Club membership brings both material and status benefits, but it also comes at a price. Rising powers are unwilling to pay the price unless they are made full and equal members, especially since material benefits already accrue to them in significant measure simply through membership in the order. For its part, the U.S. has been unwilling to admit rising powers into the club, questioning their ability to act as “responsible stakeholders.”[30] These conflicting incentives create a chicken-and-egg problem: rising powers decline full responsibility without elite membership, while the U.S. refuses them elite membership without full responsibility.

The Trump Transformation

The Trump presidency has unsettled this equilibrium. Washington’s newfound willingness to challenge the fundamental tenets of the global order—capitalism, democracy, and multilateralism—and Trump’s undermining of key institutional arrangements in areas such as international trade, climate change, and arms control have opened up space in the upper echelons of the global governance architecture for rising powers (and other countries). In the security realm, as Trump shifts U.S. global strategy to what looks like offshore balancing,[31] China and India have each begun stepping up their strategic presence to the extent of their respective capabilities, especially in the Indo-Pacific region. Across the board, Chinese and Indian leaders are counselling caution and patience with an eye to managing Washington’s illiberal turn toward the liberal international order.[32] In the process, the rising powers have become the guardians of the status quo and the U.S. has finally taken ownership of its post-Cold War role as a revisionist power.[33] There is no better example of the decoupling of the liberal order and U.S. foreign policy. The Trump presidency has in effect been a gift to Xi’s Chinese Dream and Modi’s desire to make India a “leading power”[34] within the parameters of the existing order. As the second-ranked power in the international system, China in particular has perceived an opportunity “to define itself as the representative and spokesperson of forward-looking forces.”[35]

Yet, as Chinese and Indian leaders well know, global leadership is a costly proposition. The cost is only worthwhile if the eclipse of U.S. credibility under Trump can translate into status benefits for their countries.

The decoupling of the U.S. from the international order of its own creation becomes significant in this context. In the absence of an engaged Washington, it is unclear whether the institutions that comprise the international order will function on business-as-usual terms, or they will be more open to reform and the inclusion of new aspirants to the great-power club. Despite Trump’s disengagement, the U.S. still retains significant structural power in the international order and may be willing to exert this power in order to prevent rising states from rushing too quickly to fill the temporary leadership void.

A more fundamental challenge faces the rising powers, which is simply the lack of capacity and vision to fundamentally alter the basis of the liberal order. Importantly, none of the rising powers has a credible alternative set of principles or institutional arrangements to offer as the foundation of a new order.[36] China’s influence, while growing, is largely based on a mercantilist approach and is increasingly facing resistance across the vast geography covered by the Belt and Road Initiative.[37] India lacks the capacity to maintain international order and must focus inward on long-term economic development before it can shoulder global responsibilities. Brazil lacks the hard power resources and domestic political consensus necessary to single-handedly underwrite an international order.[38] At a fundamental level, none of these powers has any reason to fundamentally alter an order that has so far handsomely abetted their stellar economic performance, enhanced their diplomatic influence, and ensured their national security.

A contemporary alternative to the liberal order therefore does not exist. This fact should give pause to both those who celebrate the order’s alleged demise and those who mourn it. The current policy and academic debates fail to consider this simple question: relative to what is the liberal order a failure or success? In other words, could the world have done better? The answer is both yes and no. On the one hand, yes, the United States could have set up a ‘truly’ liberal international rules-based order; this is a question of degree. On the other hand, no, there was no other credible alternative that was attractive to as large a number of countries as the U.S.-led liberal order; this is a question of type. At present, the fact that no other major power is in a position to offer an alternative type of global order suggests that the much-maligned liberal order, while it may change in degree, is fundamentally secure. If not Washington, then Beijing, New Delhi, and Brasilia will ensure this outcome.

Looking Forward

Historically, new international orders have emerged in the aftermath of major wars. Major wars are today ruled out by the state of military technology, i.e., nuclear weapons. Barring a change in this dimension, we can expect the politics of power shifts to play out to a great extent in international institutions. The evolution of the liberal international order will depend on the role of the dominant and rising powers within it. If Donald Trump is a one-term aberration, then the U.S. may course-correct after 2020 and reinvest in the liberal order. Outcomes will then hinge on Washington’s ability to accommodate the status demands of an increasingly powerful cabal of rising powers.

If Donald Trump turns out to be a two-term president, or a herald of deeper changes in the United States’ worldview, then the U.S. will likely further disengage from an order that it perceives to be a bad deal (precisely because that order has benefited rising powers to such an extent). Outcomes will then hinge on the ability of rising powers to take leadership of one or more issue areas, or to co-manage the order as its new guardians. The former scenario will lead to a fragmentation of the liberal order as the respective powers impose their own preferences on different pieces of it. The latter scenario may reinvest the order with resilience by aligning the distribution of capabilities with the distribution of prestige. Nonetheless, severe conflicts of interest will remain as the U.S. goes from system insider to outsider.[39]

#### Taiwan incursions are responsive to US aggression

**Jalil 19** (Ghazala Yasmin, research fellow focusing on nuclear and arms control issues for the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad, “China’s Rise: Offensive or Defensive Realism” Strategic Studies 39(1), http://issi.org.pk/chinas-rise-offensive-or-defensive-realism/)slair

Taiwan issue is one instance where China’s policies are viewed by the West as a non-status quo. However, the issue can be seen in terms of a security dilemma between the US and China. In the last few decades, America continued selling advanced weapons to Taiwan,50 mainland China considers these developments to encourage Taiwan’s independence and a threat to its interests. According to Yiwei Wang, “on the Taiwan issue, America’s logic is that peace comes from “balance of power.” China has time and again protested the matter of arms sales to Taiwan with the US but to no avail. China sees these moves as an effort to change the distribution of power in the region. In turn, China has threatened Taiwan against moves for independence and deployed missiles on the mainland as well. Consequently, this makes the US suspicious of China’s revisionist intentions towards Taiwan – locking the two powers in a security dilemma.

### 2NC- AT: Auth Divide

#### US internet has the same issues

Lemley 21, Professor @ Stanford (Mark, “THE SPLINTERNET ,” Duke Law Journal)

IP is a big exception. U.S. copyright industries have tried for some time to shut down as much of the internet as possible.24 I think they’ve given up trying to shut it down altogether, but they would like to lock it down to the extent possible.25 One way they accomplish that is through geoblocking.26 And increasingly, their efforts are being accommodated by U.S. tech companies who are coming to deals with the copyright companies to engage in various kinds of filtering.27 But outside IP, the U.S. approach to the internet has been fairly laissezfaire.

#### No Chinese digital authoritarianism

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No Evidence of a Grand Strategy On balance, there are limited signs that China is pursuing a grand strategy to systematically proliferate digital authoritarian tools. Rather, China’s efforts vary by country, local context, and its own interests. As Cornell scholar [Jessica Weiss observes](https://docs.house.gov/meetings/IG/IG00/20190516/109462/HHRG-116-IG00-Wstate-ChenWeissJ-20190516.pdf), “The diffusion of digital authoritarianism is not the same thing as an intentional effort to remake other governments in China’s image. Although these systems can help governments monitor and control their people, how exactly they are used depends on local politics.” This remains a hotly debated issue in the policy and research communities. Experts such as [Elizabeth Economy push back](https://www.cfr.org/blog/yes-virginia-china-exporting-its-model) and assert that China is seeking to export a “variant of authoritarian capitalism.” Why does this matter? Intent is critical to discerning geopolitical motives and future actions. If China is pursuing a comprehensive strategy to proliferate advanced technologies to non-democratic regimes in order to counter liberal alliances, this calls for developing specific policies in response. On the other hand, if China’s actions are less systematic than opportunistic (which they appear to be), then this significantly changes how democracies might react to China’s incursions.

#### China solves warming

Tooze 20 (Adam, history professor and director of the European Institute at Columbia University, “Did Xi Just Save the World?,” 9-25-2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/09/25/xi-china-climate-change-saved-the-world%e2%80%a8/>, DOA: 1-4-2021) //Snowball

“China will scale up its Intended Nationally Determined Contributions by adopting more vigorous policies and measures. We aim to have [carbon dioxide] emissions peak before 2030 and achieve carbon neutrality before 2060.”

Xi Jinping’s speech via video link to the United Nations General Assembly on Sept. 22 was not widely trailed in advance. But with those two short sentences China’s leader may have redefined the future prospects for humanity.

That may sound like hyperbole, but in the world of climate politics it is hard to exaggerate China’s centrality. Thanks to the gigantic surge in economic growth since 2000 and its reliance on coal-fired electricity generation, China is now by far the largest emitter of carbon dioxide. At about 28 percent of the global total, the carbon dioxide produced in China (as opposed to that consumed in the form of Chinese exports) is about as much as that produced by the United States, European Union, and India combined. Per capita, its emissions are now greater than those of the EU if we count carbon dioxide emissions on a production rather than a consumption basis.

Global warming is produced not by the annual flows of carbon but by the stocks that have accumulated over time in the Earth’s atmosphere. Allowing an equal ration for every person on the planet, it remains the case that the historic responsibility for excessive carbon accumulation lies overwhelmingly with the United States and Europe. Still today China’s emissions per capita are less than half those of the United States. But as far as future emissions are concerned, everything hinges on China

. As concerned as Europeans and Americans may be with climate policy, they are essentially bystanders in a future determined by the decisions made by the large, rapidly growing Asian economies, with China far in the lead. China’s rapid rebound from the COVID-19 shock only reinforces that point. With his terse remarks, Xi has mapped out a large part of the future path ahead.

As the impact of his remarks sank in, climate modelers crunched the numbers and concluded that, if fully implemented, China’s new commitment will by itself lower the projected temperature increase by 0.2-0.3 degrees Celsius. It is the largest favorable shock that their models have ever produced.

There’s an obvious question, of course: Is Xi for real?

There are reasons to be skeptical. Xi is not promising an immediate turnaround. The peak will still be expected around 2030. Recent investments in new coal-fired capacity have been alarming. A gigantic 58 gigawatts of coal-fired capacity have been approved or announced just in the first six months of this year. That is equivalent to 25 percent of America’s entire installed capacity and more than China has projected in the previous two years put together. Due to the decentralization of decision-making, Beijing has only partial control over the expansion of coal-burning capacity. If Beijing is actually to implement this policy, there are huge political as well as technological challenges ahead. There have been some encouraging noises about new renewable energy commitments. But the transition costs will be huge, and Beijing has to face its own fossil fuel lobby. As one commentator remarked, Chinese officials laugh when they earnestly seek advice from Europeans on problems of the “just transition” and realize that the entire fossil fuel workforce that has to be taken care of in Germany is smaller than that of a single province in China. It will be an upheaval similar to the traumatic 1990s shakeout of Mao Zedong-era heavy industry.

But as ambitious as the objective may be, Xi would not be making such an announcement lightly. Within China, his words have huge weight. The first test of the seriousness of China’s commitment will come when we get the final details of the 14th five-year plan, the road maps that have guided China’s economic development since the beginning of the Communist era. They will begin to emerge by the end of the year.

Toward the outside world, the significance is no less momentous. Hitherto the only big bloc fully committed to neutrality was the EU. The hope for this year was an EU-China deal that would set the stage for ambitious new targets to be announced at the COP26 U.N. climate conference planned for Glasgow in November. Rather than a summit in Leipzig, the Sino-EU meeting took place via videoconference. The exchanges were surprisingly substantive. The Europeans wanted China to commit to peak emissions by 2025 and made menacing references to carbon taxes on imports from China if Beijing did not raise its ambition. They have given a cautious welcome to Xi’s U.N. statement. They can hardly have expected more.

Xi’s move is all the more striking given the deterioration of China’s relations not just with the United States but with the EU and India. This summer, Indian and Chinese troops skirmished in the Himalayas, and Germany pivoted to an Indo-Pacific strategy aligned with South Korea and Japan. Now the pressure will be on India, long China’s partner in resisting calls from the West for firm commitments to decarbonization, to make a similarly bold climate announcement.

Though Europe will cheer Xi’s commitment, in strategic terms it underlines how awkward the EU’s position is. On the one hand, the Europeans increasingly want to stake out a strong position on Hong Kong, Xinjiang, human rights, and any geopolitical aggression in the South China Sea. Europe’s residual attachment to the United States is real. But China has now underscored how firmly it aligns with a common agenda with the EU on climate policy. The contrast to the Trump administration could hardly be starker.

Beijing has acted unilaterally. It is playing by the rules of the Paris climate agreement, which revolve around independent national commitments. Beijing has not asked for a quid pro quo from Europe or anyone else. Nor has it waited for the outcome of the U.S. election in November.

This ought to give Americans from all sides pause. If the Republican China hawks mean what they say, it surely should be puzzling to them that Beijing, which they accuse of foisting the climate issue on the world to hobble America, is now making a huge and unilateral commitment on decarbonization.

# 1NR

## DA---Tradeoff

### 1NR---2AC 1

#### The plan requires an unexpected, significant and drawn-out expenditure of finite law enforcement resources

Dafny 21, Professor of Business Administration at the Harvard Business School and the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and former Deputy Director for Healthcare and Antitrust in the Bureau of Economics at the Federal Trade Commission. Professor Dafny’s research focuses on competition in health care markets, and the intersection of industry and public policy. (Leemore, “The Covid-19 Pandemic Should Not Delay Actions to Prevent Anticompetitive Consolidation in US Health Care Markets,” *Pro Market*, <https://promarket.org/2021/06/10/covid-pandemic-consolidation-pandemic-monopoly/>)

However, as Commissioner Rebecca Slaughter, the current acting FTC chair has noted, these efforts have “faced resistance, with two of these recent victories only coming after district court setbacks.” Blocking a horizontal merger, even when it appears to be an “open and shut” case to a layperson, requires extraordinary resources, including large investigation and litigation teams, as well as economic and other subject matter experts who must analyze the transaction, lay out the case for blocking the merger, and rebut arguments advanced by Defendants’ attorneys and experts. To pick a recent example, consider the proposed merger of two hospital systems in the Memphis area, which the FTC filed to block in November 2020. Based on the FTC’s complaint, the merger would have reduced the number of competing systems from four to three and created a system with over a 50 percent market share. In the face of litigation, the parties abandoned the deal—consistent with this being a straightforward case. Although the FTC prevailed without a trial, it took nearly a year from the merger announcement to the abandonment. Over that period, the FTC likely devoted thousands of staff hours to the investigation and lawsuit and expended substantial taxpayer resources on expert witnesses. The higher the payoff from the merger for the merging parties—and the payoff in the case of an increase in market power can be substantial—the greater the incentive for defendants to invest extraordinary resources to fight a merger challenge. Even if there is only a middling (and in some cases, small) chance of getting a merger through, it may well be in the parties’ interest to see if they can prevail, absorbing the agencies’ (i.e., DOJ and FTC’s) scarce resources in that attempt and preventing them from devoting those resources to investigate other transactions or anticompetitive practices. The substantial resources required to challenge transactions, paired with stagnating enforcement budgets, may explain why authorities have elected not to challenge some horizontal transactions they would likely have challenged in previous eras. Using data on a wide range of industries, antitrust scholar John Kwoka documents that enforcers rarely raise concerns about changes in market structure that used to draw scrutiny—that is, mergers that yield five or more market participants.

### 1NR---2AC 2

#### Just a brink/tradeoff argument. (KU)

Tara Lachapelle 21, staff writer at Bloomberg, “Wall Street Is Ready to Put Lina Khan’s FTC to the Test,” Bloomberg, 8-25-2021, https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-08-25/wall-street-is-ready-to-put-lina-khan-s-ftc-to-the-test

An overburdened U.S. Federal Trade Commission is warning acquirers that if they get impatient and close any deals without the agency’s permission, it just might slap them with a lawsuit. Dealmakers won’t hold their breath.

As President Joe Biden pushes for more aggressive antitrust enforcement — an effort spearheaded by legal scholar Lina Khan, his controversial pick to lead the FTC — the agency is running up against practical limitations. It’s working with very limited resources for a very large number of deals. How large? So far this year, nearly 10,000 U.S. companies agreed to be acquired for a combined deal value of $1.25 trillion, data compiled by Bloomberg show. That’s already surpassed last year’s sum and may even be on track for a record. Not all of those tie-ups will require regulatory approval but in July alone, 343 transactions filed premerger notifications and are awaiting review, compared with 112 in July 2020, according to the FTC.

Chart, bar chart, histogram

Description automatically generated

These filings start a 30-day clock for regulators to decide whether to further investigate a deal. If that waiting period expires without any action, a company would typically take that to mean that it’s free to complete the transaction. But now the FTC says it can’t get to its backlog fast enough and that inaction on its part doesn’t signal permission to proceed. In warning letters sent to filers this month, the agency said companies that go ahead anyway do so at their own risk because the FTC might later decide a deal violates antitrust laws and sue to undo it — and what a mess that would create for buyers and sellers. And yet, if the agency thought such an aggressive move might discourage mergers, it was wrong.

“To my mind, it is a completely hollow threat and makes the agency look weak,” Joel Mitnick, a partner in the antitrust and global litigation groups at law firm Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft LLP, said in a phone interview. “They’re saying they’re going to ignore the statutory time limits on them whenever they feel like it and continue to investigate transactions until they’re satisfied. But it’s very difficult for the agency to sue to unwind the transaction once the eggs are scrambled.”

Merger reviews traditionally involve some give and take. Companies will often give regulators more time if they think it will increase the odds of winning approval. If that cooperative attitude is being tossed out the window, though, dealmakers are ready to reassess and embrace a more adversarial process.

For M&A lawyers, it’s a disturbance to an equilibrium that existed under other administrations, and they fear a reversion to the merger-hostile environment of the 1960s. Of course, folks in Khan’s camp would say it wasn’t an equilibrium at all, but rather an often overly cozy relationship between regulators and companies that were given too much leeway in recent years.

In any case, businesses are understandably frustrated by what would seem to be an unreasonable ask. Waiting indefinitely to close a deal is costly and full of risks. At least one acquirer isn’t having it. Last week, Illumina Inc. finalized an $8 billion purchase of cancer-testing startup Grail even though U.S. and European authorities haven’t completed their probes. Even as the FTC began this week its attempt to unwind the deal, other dealmakers may decide they like their chances, too.

The FTC “better be ready to litigate,” said David Wales, a partner in the antitrust and competition group at law firm Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP and former acting director of the agency’s Bureau of Competition. “I’ve seen first-hand the resource constraints at the FTC,” he said. “They can’t sue everybody. They can’t block every deal. They will have to be strategic about it.”

Already, regulators have two major cases sucking up resources. The FTC last week refiled its monopoly lawsuit against Facebook Inc., alleging its takeovers of Instagram and WhatsApp violated antitrust laws. (Its deal last year for Giphy also employed a sneaky maneuver to avoid showing up on regulators’ radars, and now they’re looking to close that loophole.) The Justice Department is pursuing its own case against Google. And what was initially seen as a narrow effort to reel in dominant technology companies has since expanded to other industries in light of a sweeping executive order from President Biden. Even more obscure areas such as ocean shipping are facing new scrutiny.

M&A reviews had already become more of a slog in recent years. Dechert LLP’s Antitrust Merger Investigation Timing Tracker — aptly nicknamed the DAMITT report — shows how investigations that once took an average of eight months now stretch into a year or longer:

Graphical user interface, chart

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Just because the FTC threatens a drawn-out legal process doesn’t mean a court will take its side in the end. Even as some politicians and antitrust officials look to toughen up M&A laws, judges still rely on precedent, which can be favorable to merging companies (it was for AT&T Inc. in its giant takeover of Time Warner, for instance). An ambitious agenda without the financial resources to match it will also be of less service to consumers than if regulators pick their battles.

As it stands now, Khan’s FTC looks like it’s biting off more than it can chew, and its threats aren’t having the intended effect

#### Enforcement high, resources key, sustained focus solves consolidation

King 21, John and Marylyn Mayo Chair in Health Law and Professor of Law at the University of Auckland (Jaime, “Stop Playing Health Care Antitrust Whack-A-Mole,” Harvard Bill of Health, <https://blog.petrieflom.law.harvard.edu/2021/05/17/health-care-consolidation-antitrust-enforcement/>)

The time has come to meaningfully address the most significant driver of health care costs in the United States — the consolidation of provider market power. Over the last 30 years, our health care markets have consolidated to the point that nearly 95% of metropolitan areas have highly concentrated hospital markets and nearly 80% have highly concentrated specialist physician markets. Market research has consistently found that increased consolidation leads to higher health care prices (sometimes as much as 40% more). Provider consolidation has also been associated with reductions in quality of care and wages for nurses. In consolidated provider markets, insurance companies often must choose between paying dominant providers supracompetitive rates or exiting the market. Unfortunately, insurers have little incentive to push back against provider rate demands because they have the ability to pass those rate increases directly to employers and individuals, in the form of higher premiums. In turn, employers take premium increases out of employee wages, contributing to the growing disparity between health care price growth and employee wages. As a result, rising health care premiums mean that every year, consumers pay more, but receive less. Dynamic health care antitrust enforcement is an idea whose time has finally come, but addressing the ills of consolidation in America’s health care system will require a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach. We have seen repeatedly how an entity with market power can respond quickly to negate the benefits of unilateral policy approaches, leading to an endless cycle of competition policy whack-a-mole. For instance, in the last decade, as health system merger and acquisition challenges became more successful, joint ventures and affiliations, especially with urgent care centers and private equity firms, became more frequent. Further, COVID-19 has exacerbated the threat of health care consolidation by leaving many independent hospitals and physician groups struggling financially and vulnerable to acquisition. Fortunately, the Biden/Harris administration appears uniquely poised to implement a comprehensive initiative to address health care consolidation. First and foremost, Biden has positioned key personnel with antitrust expertise, often with distinct knowledge of the health care industry, throughout his administration. For instance, the nomination of former California Attorney General Xavier Becerra, who championed health care antitrust efforts in the state, as Secretary of Health and Human Services was an inspired choice and presents a unique opportunity to enhance competition through Medicare policy. Biden’s appointment of Tim Wu to the National Economic Council and nomination of Lina Khan to one of five seats on the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) also signal a strong commitment to strengthening antitrust enforcement writ large. Second, the Biden administration should support recent efforts in Congress to address health care antitrust concerns. Senator Amy Klobuchar (D-MN) recently introduced a bill, the Competition and Antitrust Law Enforcement Reform Act, which introduces sweeping reforms that would expand funding to the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the Federal Trade Commission, strengthen prohibitions against anticompetitive mergers by forbidding mergers that “create an appreciable risk of materially lessening competition,” shift the burden of proof to require merging entities to demonstrate that the merger will not harm competition, and take steps to prevent dominant firms from engaging in anticompetitive conduct. Likewise, Senator Patty Murray’s (D-WA) Lower Health Care Costs Act of 2019 demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of how health care entities can use market power to obscure health care prices and negotiate anticompetitive contract terms, like all-or-nothing bargaining, gag clauses, and anti-steering provisions, and provided solid policy solutions to both issues. Providing support for bills like these will be essential to developing a comprehensive competition strategy. Third, on September 17, 2020, the Federal Trade Commission announced much needed plans to revamp the Merger Retrospective program. The Biden administration should provide substantial funding and resources to reinvigorate this program. Merger retrospectives, like Steven Tenn’s Sutter-Summit retrospective in 2008, have been pivotal and provided the FTC with much needed insight on how hospital mergers have leveraged the market power necessary to increase prices and harm consumer welfare. A newly revamped Merger Retrospective program holds great promise for antitrust enforcement in health care, especially if used to gain insight into whether and how vertical and cross-market health care mergers create anticompetitive harms. While a majority of consolidating transactions in health care include vertical or cross-market acquisitions, federal antitrust enforcement has been absent in this area. Fourth, Congress and the Trump Administration have moved mountains to expand price transparency in health care, which will greatly facilitate research into the effects of different types of health care consolidation and contracting practices on prices. The Biden Administration should stand firm on requiring hospitals, insurers, and self-insured employers to report negotiated health care prices, and dedicate resources to analyze that data to determine both the drivers of health care prices and the effectiveness of public policy initiatives designed to control prices. In addition, the Biden administration should promote transparency in health care consolidation by requiring all health care providers (hospitals, clinics, provider organizations, etc.) to report any material change in ownership to the Department of Health and Human Services and the FTC to allow the agencies to monitor consolidation patterns and look for stealth consolidation. All winds seem to blow in the direction of the Biden Administration taking significant action to address rampant consolidation in health care and its harms. Yet, doing so requires funding and willpower. Funding for the FTC and DOJ has decreased in relative dollars since 2010, despite a near doubling in merger filings. The FTC and DOJ need increased funding to expand their ability to review and challenge anticompetitive transactions and practices by dominant health care entities, revamp and expand the scope of their Merger Retrospective Review program, and provide technical assistance to state antitrust enforcers. Furthermore, the FTC should be granted the authority and requisite funding to challenge anticompetitive behavior by non-profit organizations, as they have developed a significant expertise in health care provider markets. Challenging the existing market dynamics in health care also demands the political will to take on some of the biggest industries in the nation (who make some of the largest lobbying contributions). As we have seen in recent challenges to the practices of dominant health care providers, the battle will be hard-fought. Yet, the alternative — allowing the health care industry to continue to siphon off ever-increasing portions of the economy and wages — is unacceptable and irresponsible. The Biden administration must make every attempt to improve the functioning of health care markets where possible, and implement price regulations in markets where competition has failed. Antitrust enforcement agencies must use the full force of their legal arsenal to restore competition in health care — and this may include breaking up large health systems that exploit their market power. For too long, the notion of “unscrambling the egg,” i.e., unwinding a previously consummated hospital merger, has been a non-starter in enforcement circles. To truly restore some form of competition in many health care markets, antitrust enforcers need to break up large systems, or at least have a credible threat of doing so. The Biden administration has an opportunity to reinvigorate our health care markets, but only if it is willing to adopt a bold, determined, and comprehensive competition strategy.

#### Resources are sufficient for effective health enforcement now

Abbott 21, formerly served as general counsel of the Federal Trade Commission (Alden, “Lack of Resources and Lack of Authority Over Nonprofit Organizations Are the Biggest Hindrances to Antitrust Enforcement in Healthcare,” https://www.mercatus.org/publications/antitrust-and-competition/lack-resources-and-lack-authority-over-nonprofit)

During my years as an executive in the FTC’s Bureau of Competition and as FTC general counsel, I became quite familiar with FTC antitrust development and policy research applicable to healthcare. In my opinion, the FTC staff possesses the legal tools (with the exception of the nonprofit limitation, discussed earlier) to fully investigate and take action against anticompetitive behavior in this sector. What’s more, the FTC has had an excellent enforcement track record, including in hospital mergers. It currently is addressing a broad range of healthcare-related activity. Existing agency guidance, including the 2020 Vertical Merger Guidelines, provide ample support for appropriate, evidence-based, economically sound enforcement. New general legislation is not needed.

### 1NR---2AC 3

#### Civil and criminal sectors aren’t isolated.

Macy & Lee 17, \*Creighton J., Attorney, Baker McKenzie. Formerly served as chief of staff and senior counsel in the Department of Justice Antitrust Division, working as a senior advisor to the acting assistant attorney general on civil and criminal antitrust enforcement and policy matters, as well as budget and personnel issues. \*\*Craig Y., Attorney, Baker McKenzie. Leads the Firm’s global cartel task force (12-14-2017, "When Merger Review Turns Criminal", *American Bar Association*, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/business\_law/publications/blt/2017/12/07\_lee/)

But that separation of criminal and civil enforcement sections at the Antitrust Division does not create walls or silos. The different criminal offices often work together on large investigations and trials. Similarly, the size of many civil investigations requires pulling resources from the various civil sections, as well as from the Antitrust Division’s Appellate, International, and Competition Policy and Advocacy sections. But the collaboration does not end there. Coordination between the civil and criminal sections is the norm. Section managers meet regularly to discuss matters and often consult on an informal basis. Cross‑pollination occurs at the trial attorney level as attorneys are detailed to other sections for specific matters or periods of time. And understanding this collaboration between the civil and criminal sections is vital to attorneys and their clients subject to the merger review process. A recent case not only shows how in sync the Antitrust Division’s criminal and civil sections are, but also highlights the implications of that collaboration.

#### Plan has to be FTC/DOJ

Lawrence Fullerton et al. 08. Joel M Mitnick, William V Reiss, George C Karamanos and Owen H Smith. Sidley Austin LLP. Vertical Agreements The regulation of distribution practices in 34 jurisdictions worldwide. “United States.” https://www.sidley.com/-/media/files/publications/2008/03/getting-the-deal-through--vertical-agreements-2008/files/view-united-states-chapter/fileattachment/united-states-21.pdf

5 What entity or agency is responsible for enforcing prohibitions on anticompetitive vertical restraints? Do governments or ministers have a role?

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice (DoJ) are the two federal agencies responsible for the enforcement of federal antitrust laws. The FTC and the DoJ have jurisdiction to investigate many of the same types of conduct, and therefore have adopted a clearance procedure pursuant to which matters are handled by whichever agency has the most expertise in a particular area.

Additionally, other agencies, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission and Federal Communications Commission, maintain oversight authority over regulated industries pursuant to various federal statutes, and therefore may review vertical restraints for anti-competitive effects.

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#### FTC is empirically effective

Abbott 21, formerly served as general counsel of the Federal Trade Commission (Alden, “Lack of Resources and Lack of Authority Over Nonprofit Organizations Are the Biggest Hindrances to Antitrust Enforcement in Healthcare,” https://www.mercatus.org/publications/antitrust-and-competition/lack-resources-and-lack-authority-over-nonprofit)

During my years as an executive in the FTC’s Bureau of Competition and as FTC general counsel, I became quite familiar with FTC antitrust development and policy research applicable to healthcare. In my opinion, the FTC staff possesses the legal tools (with the exception of the nonprofit limitation, discussed earlier) to fully investigate and take action against anticompetitive behavior in this sector. What’s more, the FTC has had an excellent enforcement track record, including in hospital mergers. It currently is addressing a broad range of healthcare-related activity. Existing agency guidance, including the 2020 Vertical Merger Guidelines, provide ample support for appropriate, evidence-based, economically sound enforcement. New general legislation is not needed.