## 1NC

### 1

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

Parakkal & Bartz-Marvez 13, Raju Parakkal: Assistant Professor of International Relations, Philadelphia University. Sherry Bartz-Marvez: Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Miami (Capitalism, democratic capitalism, and the pursuit of antitrust laws, *The Antitrust Bulletin*, Vol. 58, No. 4, Winter 2013, DOI: 10.1177/0003603X1305800409)

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.

#### The aff’s narrative that the US is falling behind is fabricated bullshit written for the express purpose of winning weapons contracts for the think tanks funders.

Shirazi & Johnson 20, Nima Shirazi: Editor at Muftah, a digital foreign affairs magazine, and co-host of the media criticism podcast, Citations Needed. Adam Johnson: Host, The Appeal podcast. Media analyst at FAIR.org and host of the Citations Needed podcast (September 9th, “Episode 117: The Always ‘Lagging’ U.S. War Machine,” *Citations Needed*, <https://citationsneeded.medium.com/episode-117-the-sl-lagging-u-s-war-machine-52b8960aedc3>, Accessed 09-23-2021)

Nima: The Guardian proclaims, “U.S. military tactics falling behind those of adversaries, Pentagon official warns.” “Russian Propaganda Is Pervasive, and America Is Behind the Power Curve in Countering It,” reads a report from the RAND Corporation. “U.S. falling behind in new space race, says CIA’s former head of science and tech,” cautions CBS News.

Adam: Repeatedly, US media characterizes the United States — a country with nearly 800 military bases worldwide and an ever-climbing annual defense budget north of one trillion dollars — as the world’s scrappy underdog. Somehow we are always quote-unquote “lagging behind” perennial bad guys Russia, China and evil Muslim terrorists in everything from nuclear weapons, psy-ops, internet security, ice cutters, missiles, drones, outer-space exploration, and the always reliable and equally vague “military readiness.”

Nima: Now this scam typically goes something like this: a weapons contractor and military-funded think tank writes a supposedly neutral “report” or a handful of “US officials” run to a media outlet insisting the US is “lagging behind” in a sector that incidentally coincides with said “report’s” funders or government entity’s interests, American media mindlessly reports on this report or these wordings and everyone acts panicked, treating these reports or military brass’ warnings like a work of sober objective analysis. Congress then reacts and uses this media coverage and secondary cable news coverage to rationalize more money flowing to the very funders and sources of said warnings, further bloating the Pentagon, State Department or CIA budget. Rinse and repeat, rinse and repeat, all the while portraying the US’s gargantuan defense expenditures as insufficient.

Adam: On today’s episode, we’ll parse the trope of the always “lagging” American empire, who pushes it, who funds it, who benefits from it and ask why the inverse question — what if the United States is too powerful and exerts too much domination over the rest of the world? — is never broached by US media, much less honestly discussed.

Nima: Later on the show, we’ll be speaking with Jim Naureckas of Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, where he has edited FAIR’s print publication Extra! since 1990.

[Begin Clip]

Jim Naureckas: Corporate media relies super heavily on think tanks for their quote-unquote “matters of military and security.” They pose as academics without a college, but in reality, they are set up by corporate funders to launder their promotional pitch through the veneer of an academic think tank and it is the quintessential story that you want to tell if you are in the business of not just selling arms, but selling more arms, because as a capitalist enterprise, it’s not enough to make the same profit year after year, you have to increase your profit, because that’s how capitalism works.

#### Capitalism causes existential climate change, nuclear war, democratic collapse, extreme inequality, and perpetual exploitation of the global south — try or die for a 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.

#### Racial capitalism outweighs — Capitalism necessitates super-exploitation of the Global South, colonial dispossession, militaristic imperialism, and racial hierarchies to sustain itself. The system must be rejected on ethical grounds.

Burden-Stelly 20, Visiting Scholar in the Race and Capitalism Project at the University of Chicago. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Africana Studies and Political Science at Carleton College (Charisse, July 1st, Modern U.S. Racial Capitalism, *The Monthly Review*, Volume 72, Number 3, Available at: [https://monthlyreview.org/2020/07/01/modern-u-s-racial-capitalism/)\*\*\*Footnotes](https://monthlyreview.org/2020/07/01/modern-u-s-racial-capitalism/)***Footnotes) inserted at end of paragraph

Drawing on the intellectual production of twentieth-century Black anticapitalists, I theorize modern U.S. racial capitalism as a racially hierarchical political economy constituting war and militarism, imperialist accumulation, expropriation by domination, and labor superexploitation.14 The racial here specifically refers to Blackness, defined as African descendants’ relationship to the capitalist mode of production—their structural location—and the condition, status, and material realities emanating therefrom.15 It is out of this structural location that the irresolvable contradiction of value minus worth arises. Stated differently, Blackness is a capacious category of surplus value extraction essential to an array of political-economic functions, including accumulation, disaccumulation, debt, planned obsolescence, and absorption of the burdens of economic crises.16 At the same time, Blackness is the quintessential condition of disposability, expendability, and devalorization.

Footnote 14: Another feature of modern U.S. racial capitalism is property by dispossession. In Theft Is Property! Dispossession and Critical Theory, Robert Nichols draws on the experience of Indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand to theorize how the “system of landed property” was fundamentally predicated on violent dispossession. While the Anglo-derived legal-political regimes differed in these localities, the “intertwined and co-constitutive” material effects converged in the legalized theft of indigenous territory amounting in “approximately 6 percent of the total land on the surface of Earth.” Such dispossession, Nichols notes, is recursive: “In a standard formulation one would assume that ‘property’ is logically, chronologically, and normatively prior to ‘theft.’ However, in this (colonial) context, theft is the mechanism and means by which property is generated: hence its recursivity. Recursive dispossession is effectively a form of property-generating theft.” As such, theft and dispossession, through property regimes, are an ongoing feature of the Indigenous reality of modern U.S. racial capitalism. Robert Nichols, Theft Is Property! Dispossession and Critical Theory (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), 50–51.

Footnote 15: Borrowing from Karl Marx’s dictum that the labor process is the hidden abode of the capitalist production of value, and Nancy Fraser’s conceptualization of reproduction as the even more hidden abode, or background condition, for the possibility of capitalist production, I understand Blackness as the obfuscated abode. The immense value of Blackness is obscured and rendered unintelligible by its positioning as worthlessness, as something that does not amount to anything—but that does not equal nothing. As a structural location at the intersection of indispensability and disposability, Blackness exceeds the category of race, is not reducible to class, and does not fit the specifications of caste.

My operationalization of capitalism follows Oliver Cromwell Cox’s explication in Capitalism and American Leadership.17 Modern U.S. racial capitalism arose in the context of the First World War, when, as Cox explains, the United States took advantage of the conflict to capture the markets of South America, Asia, and Africa for its “over-expanded capacity.”18 Cox further expounds upon this auspicious moment of ascendant modern U.S. racial capitalism thus:

By 1914, the United States had brought its superb natural resources within reach of intensive exploitation. Under the stimulus of its foreign-trade outlets, the financial assistance of the older capitalist nations, and a flexible system of protective tariffs, the nation developed a magnificent work of transportation and communication so that its mines, factories, and farms became integrated into an effectively producing organism having easy access to its seaports.… [Likewise,] further internal expansion depended upon far greater emphasis on an ever widening foreign commerce.… Major entrepreneurs of the United States proceeded to step up their campaign for expansion abroad. The war accentuated this movement. It accelerated the growth of [modern] American [racial] capitalism and impressed upon its leaders as nothing had before the need for external markets.19

Relatedly, Peter James Hudson argues that the First World War fundamentally changed the terms of order of international finance, allowing New York to compete with London, Paris, and Berlin for the first time in the realm of global banking. This was not least because the Great War “drastically reordered global credit flows,” with the United States transforming from a debtor into a creditor nation.20 In addition to Latin American and Caribbean nations and businesses turning to the United States for financing and credit, domestic saving and investment patterns were altered to the benefit of imperial financial institutions like the City Bank.21

Although the United States is, to use Cox’s terminology, more a “lusty child of an already highly developed capitalism” than an exceptional capitalist power, the nation perfected its techniques of accumulation through its vast natural wealth, large domestic market, imbalance of Northern and Southern economies, and, importantly, through its lack of concern for the political and economic welfare of the overwhelming masses of its population, least of all the descendants of the enslaved.22 Modern U.S. racial capitalism is thus sustained by military expenditure, the maintenance of an extremely low standard of living in “dependent” countries, and the domestic superexploitation of Black toilers and laborers. Cox notes that Black labor has been the “chief human factor” in wealth production; as such, “the dominant economic class has always been at the motivating center of the spreads of racial antagonism. This is to be expected since the economic content of the antagonism, especially at its proliferating source in the South, has been precisely that of labor-capital relations.”23 In a general sense, racial capitalism in the United States constitutes “a peculiar variant of capitalist production” in which Blackness expresses a structural location at the bottom of the labor hierarchy characterized by depressed wages, working conditions, job opportunities, and widespread exclusion from labor unions.24

Furthermore, modern U.S. racial capitalism is rooted in the imbrication of anti-Blackness and antiradicalism. Anti-Blackness describes the reduction of Blackness to a category of abjection and subjection through narrations of absolute biological or cultural difference; ruling-class monopolization of political power; negative and derogatory mass media propaganda; the ascent of discriminatory legislation that maintains and reinscribes inequality, not least various modes of segregation; and social relations in which distrust and antipathy toward those racialized as Black is normalized and in which “interracial mass behavior involving violence assumes a continuously potential danger.”25 Anti-Blackness thus conceals the inherent contradiction of Blackness—value minus worth—obscuring and distorting its structural location by, as Ralph and Singhal remark, contorting it into only a “debilitated condition.”26 Antiradicalism can be understood as the physical and discursive repression and condemnation of anticapitalist and/or left-leaning ideas, politics, practices, and modes of organizing that are construed as subversive, seditious, and otherwise threatening to capitalist society. These include, but are not limited to, internationalism, anti-imperialism, anticolonialism, peace activism, and antisexism.

Anti-Blackness and antiradicalism function as the legitimating architecture of modern U.S. racial capitalism, which includes rationalizing discourses, cultural narratives, technologies of repression, legal structures, and social practices that inform and are informed by racial capitalism’s political economy.27 Throughout the twentieth century, anti-Blackness propelled the “Black Scare,” defined as the specter of racial, social, and economic domination of superior whites by inferior Black populations. Antiradicalism, in turn, was enunciated through the “Red Scare,” understood as the threat of communist takeover, infiltration, and disruption of the American way of life.28 For example, in the 1919 Justice Department Report, Radicalism and Sedition Among the Negroes, As Reflected in Their Publications, it was asserted that the radical antigovernment stance of a certain class of Negroes was manifested in their “ill-governed reaction toward race rioting,” “threat of retaliatory measures in connection with lynching,” open demand for social equality, identification with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and “outspoken advocacy of the Bolshevik or Soviet doctrine.”29

Here, anti-Blackness, articulated through the fear of the “assertion of race consciousness,” was attached to the IWW and Bolshevism—in other words, to anticapitalism—to make it appear even more subversive and dangerous. Likewise, antiradicalism, expressed through the denigration of the IWW and Soviet Doctrine, was made to seem all the more threatening and antithetical to the social order in its linkage with Black insistence on equality and self-defense against racial terrorism. In this way, “defiance and insolently race-centered condemnation of the white race” and “the Negro seeing red” came to be understood as seditious in the context of modern U.S. racial capitalism.

The link between my theory of modern U.S. racial capitalism and Robinson’s catholic theory of racial capitalism, beyond his “suggest[ion] that it was there,” is vivified through the prison abolitionist and scholar Ruth Wilson Gilmore, who writes: “Capitalism…[is] never not racial.… Racial capitalism: a mode of production developed in agriculture, improved by enclosure in the Old World, and captive land and labor in the Americas, perfected in slavery’s time-motion, field factory choreography, its imperative forged on the anvils of imperial war-making monarchs.”30 Racial capitalism, she continues, “requires all kinds of scheming, including hard work by elites and their compradors in the overlapping and interlocking space-economies of the planet’s surface. They build and dismantle and reconfigure states, moving capacity into and out of the public realm. And they think very hard about money on the move.”31 Perhaps more than Gilmore, though, my approach aligns with that of Neville Alexander as described by Hudson.32 Like Alexander, who focused on South Africa, I offer a particularistic understanding of racial capitalism, mine being rooted in the political economy of Blackness and the legitimating architectures of anti-Blackness and antiradicalism in the United States. Gilmore qua Robinson offers a more universalist and transhistorical conception. Like Alexander, my theory of modern U.S. racial capitalism is primarily rooted in (Black) Marxist-Leninists and fellow travelers. This is an important epistemological distinction: whereas Robinson finds Marxism-Leninism to be, at best, inattentive to race, my theory of modern U.S. racial capitalism is rooted in the work of Black freedom fighters who, as Marxist-Leninists, were able to offer potent and enduring analyses and critiques of the conjunctural entanglements of racialism, white supremacy, and anti-Blackness, on the one hand, and capitalist exploitation and class antagonism on the other hand.33

Although Robinson draws on scholars like Fernand Braudel, Henri Pirenne, David Brion Davis, and Eli Heckscher to understand European history, socialist theory, and the European working class, the work of Black Marxists like James Ford, Walter Rodney, Amílcar Cabral, and Paul Robeson offer me those same intellectual, historical, and theoretical resources. Finally, I agree with Alexander that the resolution to racial capitalism is antiracist socialism, not a cultural-metaphysical Black radical tradition.

In what remains of this essay, I will draw on the work of Black Marxist-Leninists and anticapitalists to explicate the defining features of modern U.S. racial capitalism—war and militarism, imperialist accumulation, expropriation by domination, labor superexploitation, and property by dispossession. In this, I demonstrate that their critiques and analyses offer a blueprint for theorizing modern U.S. racial capitalism.

War and militarism facilitate the endless drive for profit. Military conflicts between imperial powers result in the reapportioning of boundaries, possessions, and spheres of influence that often exacerbate racial and spatial economic subjection. War and militarism also perpetuate the endless construction of “threats,” primarily in racialized and socialist states, against which to defend progress, prosperity, freedom, and security. The manufacturing of conflict legitimates the mobilization of extraordinary violence to expropriate untold resources that produce relations of underdevelopment, dependency, extraversion, and disarticulation in the Global South. Moreover, the ruling elite and labor aristocracy in imperialist countries, not least the United States, wage perpetual war to defend their way of life and standard of living against the racialized majority who, because they would benefit most from the redistribution of the world’s wealth and resources, represent a perpetual threat.

#### The alternative is to reject the aff and critically interrogate the neoliberal discourse of the 1AC — resisting capitalist pedagogy in educational spaces is the first step towards a broader movement away from Capitalism; COVID provides a unique transition opportunity.

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.

### 2

#### “The” refers to a group as a whole

Webster’s 5 (Merriam Webster’s Online Dictionary, http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary)

4 -- used as a function word before a noun or a substantivized adjective to indicate reference to a group as a whole <the elite>

#### Private sector means all non-governmental persons or entities, including non-profits

Senate Report 95 (Senate Report. 104-1, “UNFUNDED MANDATE REFORM ACT OF 1995,” https://www.congress.gov/congressional-report/104th-congress/senate-report/1 , date accessed 9/10/21)

"Private sector" is defined to cover all persons or entities in the United States except for State, local or tribal governments. It includes individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, and educational and nonprofit institutions.

#### Topical affs must change a universally-applied standard, like the CWS [Consumer Welfare Standard]

Phillips 18, commissioner on the Federal Trade Commission. (Noah J. November 1, 2018, Before the Federal Trade Commission, “Competition and Consumer Protection in the 21st Century,” https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/documents/public\_events/1415284/ftc\_hearings\_session\_5\_transcript\_11-1-18\_0.pdf)

Our second topic today is the consumer welfare standard. And I think most folks even out in the public know, this is the standard that we use across the board, mergers and conduct in courts and at agencies, to judge anticompetitive conduct. It is not only a standard that we in the U.S. apply, it is a standard that is used by competition agencies around the world. It is an economically-grounded standard, and it requires that there be harm to consumers for conduct to be condemned. Mere harm to competitors is considered insufficient. So let me repeat that again. There has to be harm to consumers, not just competitors. The reason that is so, the reason harm to competitors is considered insufficient is because sometimes a less-efficient firm losing sales or market share to a cheaper, more innovative or efficient rival, can be and often is consistent with vibrant competition and with outcomes that benefit consumers. Courts and agencies have embraced this standard for decades. Today, there are two very important discussions going on about the consumer welfare standard, and they are happening simultaneously. And I think it is important that we understand that there are two conversations going on. One is a continuing discussion about how we apply the standard, regarding whether enforcement is at the appropriate level, whether it is properly targeted. This is an introspective question on some level, in which scholars, economists, practitioners, and enforcers all ask ourselves, are we bringing the right kinds of cases? Are we using the right kinds of evidence? Should we be doing more or less in certain places? The antitrust bar, the business community, and others benefit from this ongoing and active analysis. The second discussion happening now, and the one on which today’s consumer welfare standard panels will focus, is whether the standard is itself the right metric we ought to use in antitrust enforcement and in antitrust law; some argue that enforcement under the consumer welfare standard has failed because of the law, and accordingly, that we should reform the law.

#### Violation: the aff applies exclusively to conduct in a specific segment of the private sector.

#### Vote neg:

#### FIRST---limits and ground---the number of potential subsets is infinite---any industry, product, single companies, individuals---undermines clash. Only big affs have link uniqueness.

#### SECOND----precision---our interp has intent to define, exclude and is in legislative context.

### 3

#### The United States federal government should create a special investigator office in the United States Department of Agriculture charged with promoting market competition.

#### That enables the USDA to promulgate effective regulations to promote market competition---the function is identical to antitrust.

Ryan McCrimmon 21, agriculture reporter for Politico, 6/11/2021, “Senators seek USDA special investigator after meatpacking disruptions,” https://www.politico.com/news/2021/06/11/usda-special-investigator-meatpacking-disruptions-493320

Senior farm-state senators are pushing to designate a special investigator at the Agriculture Department to focus on antitrust issues and national security concerns in the meatpacking industry, POLITICO has learned.

The effort stems from the recent ransomware cyberattack against JBS, the world’s largest meat packer, which controls almost a quarter of U.S. beef processing. The shutdown of the company’s U.S. plants last week reignited bipartisan calls for the government to chip away at consolidation in the industry, after a series of disruptions since 2019 that have caused sharp swings in the livestock and meat markets.

Sens. Jon Tester (D-Mont.) and Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) are filing legislation on Thursday that would create a “special investigator for competition matters” within USDA’s Packers and Stockyards Division. That’s the department’s primary unit in charge of monitoring the meat processing sector for unfair trade practices and monopolistic behavior that can harm producers and consumers.

“It’s really to put some teeth in the Packers and Stockyards Act,” Tester said in a telephone interview, referring to the decadesold antitrust law governing meat and poultry firms. “It will give them subpoena power and the ability to address what I believe are anti-competitive prices by meat packers.”

Retail meat prices have remained high since the pandemic started, because of heavy demand and limited slaughterhouse capacity. But most livestock producers didn’t benefit even as large processing companies were raking in profits.

The new USDA office would include a team of investigators tasked with enforcing antitrust laws in coordination with the Justice Department and Federal Trade Commission.

“This special investigator isn’t about saying, ‘You guys are crooked and we’re going to shut you down,’” Tester said. “It’s about making sure they’re living by the laws that are on the books right now. I don’t think they’re being enforced.”

He pointed as a sign of “nefarious behavior” to recent antitrust actions against top meat packers, such as the $108 million criminal fine paid by JBS subsidiary Pilgrim’s Pride after the poultry processing giant pleaded guilty to fixing prices and rigging bids for broiler chicken products.

JBS separately agreed in March to pay $20 million to settle claims by consumers that the company conspired with competitors to inflate pork prices.

The North American Meat Institute, which represents meat packers, argues that livestock prices are following natural supply and demand factors, such as labor constraints that were exacerbated by the pandemic.

“There are new facilities coming online now that have the same problem as existing packing facilities: a labor shortage,” Sarah Little, a spokesperson for the group, said in an email. “The capacity is not being utilized as fully as packers and producers would like. Drought and higher prices for feed have come together with labor shortages to lower cattle prices for producers.”

Sen. Mike Rounds (R-S.D.) is also cosponsoring the bill, and Tester said he’s spoken to several other senators in both parties about signing on.

The special investigator sought by Tester and Grassley would also serve as a bridge to the Department of Homeland Security on national security threats to the food system.

The JBS hack caused wholesale beef prices to immediately tick higher in the days after the plant closures — highlighting the [vulnerability of a food system](https://www.politico.com/news/2021/06/05/how-ransomware-hackers-came-for-americans-beef-491936) that depends on a small group of dominant companies. The beef facilities were back online within days, but market analysts said that a longer-lasting disruption would have a more drastic impact on consumer prices.

USDA is launching its own effort to bolster the food system, in part by helping small and midsize processors gain a foothold in the industry. Secretary Tom Vilsack has also vowed to reconsider new Packers and Stockyards regulations to improve fairness and transparency in livestock markets.

“There were a number of rules that were pending during the Trump administration that are being reviewed, and there were a number of rules promulgated at the end of the Obama administration that deserve a refresh and a re-look,” Vilsack told reporters on a conference call earlier this week. “The expectation would be over the course of the next several months that we will do just that.”

### 4

#### FTC fraud prevention is funded now---unexpected demands trade off

Bilirakis et al. 21 (Gus Michael Bilirakis is an American lawyer and politician serving as the U.S. Representative for Florida's 12th congressional district since 2013; Hon. Noah Joshua Phillips is a Commissioner at the Federal Trade Commission; Hon. Lina Khan is the Chair of the Federal Trade Commission, “Transforming the FTC: Legislation to Modernize Consumer Protection,” *Committee on Energy and Commerce*, 6/28/21, <https://energycommerce.house.gov/committee-activity/hearings/hearing-on-transforming-the-ftc-legislation-to-modernize-consumer>)

Gus Bilirakis (3:12:44): Thank you. Our committee has worked extensively in a bipartisan manner to protect consumers from fraud and scams. Mr. Carter's Combating Pandemic Scams Act was enacted at the beginning of the year thanks to all of our leadership here. Representive Blunt Rochester's Fraud and Scam Reduction Act, as well as Representative Kelly's Protecting Seniors from Emergency Scams Act both cleared our chamber with bipartisan support this year. My bill, HR 2672, the FTC Reports Act, would require the FTC to report on fraud against our seniors. Commissioner Philips, how important is the work the FTC staff does to protect Americans from scams? Noah Josuha Phillips (3:13:33): Congressman, thank you for your question. The work we do to protect American consumers against frauds and scams, is our bread and butter as an agency. There is no work that makes me feel better as a commissioner, when we watch our ability to find bad guys, or taking money from American consumers, dipping into their life savings, and get that money back to them. So the work that you have done on the committee to provide funding, to provide tools for us to go after scam artists, is critical. And I think that needs to continue with the agency. Gus Bilirakis (3:14:05): Thank you, and Chair Khan, again, as you pursue other initiatives, when staff and resources be shifted away from the fraud program, which is so essential in preventing bad actors from harming our constituents? That's the question, please. Lina Khan (3:14:22): Sorry, could you repeat the question - when should services be shifted... Gus Bilirakis (3:14:26): Yes, of course. As you pursue other initiatives, when staff and resources be shifted away from your fraud program, which is so essential in preventing bad actors from harming our constituents? Lina Khan (3:14:40): Well, of course, we're always limited by the appropriations bills when it comes to thinking through how we're delegating resources across the agency. In certain instances, I think there are exigent needs that can arise in certain aspects. Gus Bilirakis (3:14:54): But you don't anticipate moving money from the fraud program, is that correct? Lina Khan (3:15:00): Not especially, but I mean, I think overall, we are trying to look through the prism of managerial efficiency and trying to understand how we can best use our resources, especially given some of the exigent circumstances and so we'll be continuing to make those determinations. Gus Bilirakis (3:15:15): I suggest that you not because this is such a very important program. Commissioner Wilson, can you elaborate on why the FTC Reports Act would also prove beneficial to increasing much needed transparency and the flow of information within the commission?

#### Unplanned expanded enforcement drains finite resources from existing priorities

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.

#### Fraud funds terror operations

Tierney 18, George & Mary Hylton Professor of International Relations; Director Global Research Institute (GRI) (Michael, “#TerroristFinancing: An Examination of Terrorism Financing via the Internet,” International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism, vol. 8, no. 1, 01/2018, pp. 1–11)

2. TERRORIST FINANCING AND THE INTERNET

As mentioned, terrorists’ use of the internet has become a major concern for security officials across the world in recent years. Like many other users, terrorists have found that the internet is an invaluable tool to share information quickly, in order to disseminate ideas and link up with likeminded individuals (Jacobson, 2010; Okolie-Osemene & Okoh, 2015). In this manner, terrorists use the internet for a variety of purposes, including recruitment, propaganda, and financing. As scholars have also noted, the internet is an attractive option for extremists due to the security and anonymity it provides (Jacobson, 2010). Yet while there have been a growing number of studies completed on the ways in which terrorist organizations use the internet to recruit and indoctrinate others, there has been relatively little focus on the methods by which terrorists finance themselves through online activities. Some researchers have attempted to fill gaps in this area by broadly studying internet aspects of terrorism financing. However, research on this particular aspect of terrorism financing still appears to be lacking, with little focus on new methods of terrorist financing via the internet or a marrying of strategies to combat online financing trends available to practitioners in the field.

For instance, Sean Paul Ashley (2012) assessed the mobile banking phenomenon, which is prevalent in regions such as the Middle East and Africa, and provides extremists with the ability to easily connect to the internet and remit funds around the world. The decentralization of this kind of banking, due to the fact that brick-and-mortar facilities are not needed to conduct transactions, has allowed terrorist financiersto more efficiently move funds while avoiding detection from authorities. Other researchers,such as MichaelJacobson (2010), have studied the waysin which terrorists engage in cyber-crime to raise and move funds. For example, Jacobson (2010) found that online credit card fraud was a fairly major source of terrorist financing. By stealing a victim’s private credit information, terrorists are able to co-opt needed funds and provide support to themselves or their counterparts. Yet as James Okolie-Osemene and Rosemary Ifeanyi Okoh (2015) note, the internet is mostly used to augment and assist activities which occur in the physical world. In this way, it would appear that the internet is far more useful as a means to move funds globally in support of terrorism, rather than simply as a method to raise funds.

#### Nuclear war---cash is key

Hayes 18, Executive Director of the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability, Ph.D. in Energy and Resources from the University of California-Berkeley, Professor of International Relations at RMIT University (Dr. Peter J., “Non-State Terrorism and Inadvertent Nuclear War”, NAPSNet Special Reports, 1/18/2018, <https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-special-reports/non-state-terrorism-and-inadvertent-nuclear-war/>)

The critical issue is how a nuclear terrorist attack may “catalyze” inter-state nuclear war, especially the NC3 systems that inform and partly determine how leaders respond to nuclear threat. Current conditions in Northeast Asia suggest that multiple precursory conditions for nuclear terrorism already exist or exist in nascent form. In Japan, for example, low-level, individual, terroristic violence with nuclear materials, against nuclear facilities, is real. In all countries of the region, the risk of diversion of nuclear material is real, although the risk is likely higher due to volume and laxity of security in some countries of the region than in others. In all countries, the risk of an insider “sleeper” threat is real in security and nuclear agencies, and such insiders already operated in actual terrorist organizations. Insider corruption is also observable in nuclear fuel cycle agencies in all countries of the region. The threat of extortion to induce insider cooperation is also real in all countries. The possibility of a cult attempting to build and buy nuclear weapons is real and has already occurred in the region.[15] Cyber-terrorism against nuclear reactors is real and such attacks have already taken place in South Korea (although it remains difficult to attribute the source of the attacks with certainty). The stand-off ballistic and drone threat to nuclear weapons and fuel cycle facilities is real in the region, including from non-state actors, some of whom have already adopted and used such technology almost instantly from when it becomes accessible (for example, drones).[16]

Two other broad risk factors are also present in the region. The social and political conditions for extreme ethnic and xenophobic nationalism are emerging in China, Korea, Japan, and Russia. Although there has been no risk of attack on or loss of control over nuclear weapons since their removal from Japan in 1972 and from South Korea in 1991, this risk continues to exist in North Korea, China, and Russia, and to the extent that they are deployed on aircraft and ships of these and other nuclear weapons states (including submarines) deployed in the region’s high seas, also outside their territorial borders.

The most conducive circumstance for catalysis to occur due to a nuclear terrorist attack might involve the following nexi of timing and conditions:

1. Low-level, tactical, or random individual terrorist attacks for whatever reasons, even assassination of national leaders, up to and including dirty radiological bomb attacks, that overlap with inter-state crisis dynamics in ways that affect state decisions to threaten with or to use nuclear weapons. This might be undertaken by an opportunist nuclear terrorist entity in search of rapid and high political impact.
2. Attacks on major national or international events in each country to maximize terror and to de-legitimate national leaders and whole governments. In Japan, for example, more than ten heads of state and senior ministerial international meetings are held each year. For the strategic nuclear terrorist, patiently acquiring higher level nuclear threat capabilities for such attacks and then staging them to maximum effect could accrue strategic gains.
3. Attacks or threatened attacks, including deception and disguised attacks, will have maximum leverage when nuclear-armed states are near or on the brink of war or during a national crisis (such as Fukushima), when intelligence agencies, national leaders, facility operators, surveillance and policing agencies, and first responders are already maximally committed and over-extended.

At this point, we note an important caveat to the original concept of catalytic nuclear war as it might pertain to nuclear terrorist threats or attacks. Although an attack might be disguised so that it is attributed to a nuclear-armed state, or a ruse might be undertaken to threaten such attacks by deception, in reality a catalytic strike by a nuclear weapons state in conditions of mutual vulnerability to nuclear retaliation for such a strike from other nuclear armed states would be highly irrational.

Accordingly, the effect of nuclear terrorism involving a nuclear detonation or major radiological release may not of itself be *catalytic* of *nuclear* war—at least not intentionally–because it will not lead directly to the destruction of a targeted nuclear-armed state. Rather, it may be catalytic of non-nuclear war between states, especially if the non-state actor turns out to be aligned with or sponsored by a state (in many Japanese minds, the natural candidate for the perpetrator of such an attack is the pro-North Korean General Association of Korean Residents, often called Chosen Soren, which represents many of the otherwise stateless Koreans who were born and live in Japan) and a further sequence of coincident events is necessary to drive escalation to the point of nuclear first use by a state. Also, the catalyst—the non-state actor–is almost assured of discovery and destruction either during the attack itself (if it takes the form of a nuclear suicide attack then self-immolation is assured) or as a result of a search-and-destroy campaign from the targeted state (unless the targeted government is annihilated by the initial terrorist nuclear attack).

It follows that the effects of a non-state nuclear attack may be characterized better as a *trigger* effect, bringing about a *cascade* of nuclear use decisions within NC3 systems that shift each state increasingly away from nuclear non-use and increasingly towards nuclear use by releasing negative controls and enhancing positive controls in multiple action-reaction escalation spirals (depending on how many nuclear armed states are party to an inter-state conflict that is already underway at the time of the non-state nuclear attack); and/or by inducing concatenating nuclear attacks across geographically proximate nuclear weapons forces of states already caught in the crossfire of nuclear threat or attacks of their own making before a nuclear terrorist attack.[17]

### Adv 1

#### Monocultures are stable and sustainable

Tim Durham 20, Associate Professor at Ferrum College, Degree in Plant Medicine, Operator of Deer Run Farm, “Perspective: Why Monocultures are a Deceptively Simple Solution in Agriculture”, Ag Daily, 4/29/2020, https://www.agdaily.com/crops/row-crop-redemption/

It’s a humble, if one-sided goal. But what’s often in the crosshairs of activists is the philosophy of the planting system — the “dreaded” monoculture.

Row crops are a relic, say self-styled pundits in the sustainability debate.

Indian activist Vandana Shiva touts her surreally titled book “Monocultures of the Mind,” defying the prevailing mindset and conformity of row crops.

In the closing segment of the BBC’s acclaimed Reith Lecture Series, Prince Charles agreed, proposing that we work “with the grain of nature” and follow the “genius of nature’s clearly defined boundaries.”

After straying too far from nature’s bosom, they say it’s time to square up with polyculture, a mosaic inspired by the rainforest. What does this mean? Grow multiple crops in a shared space. Shun that one-dimensional simplification for a more intricate ecosystem. The selling points are perennial stability, productivity, and built-in checks and balances that keep pests and diseases at bay.

Certainly sounds appealing. In their view, it’s naive to think something so elegantly simple can sustainably provide. If monoculture is a 100 level basket-weaving class for unambitious and shortsighted, polyculture is an all-out doctoral dissertation for the studious and eco-aligned.

Seems like a Rube Goldberg complex though — insufferable complexity just for the sake of it. Ironically, nature’s model is best suited to provide food and fiber — only salvation isn’t the miracle system the Prince is peddling.

Though no farm can ever hope (nor should they want to) faithfully replicate a wild ecosystem, current methods seem to be well grounded. In fact, researcher David Wood thinks Mother Nature would be flattered at the lengths we’ll go to mimic her.

Questioning the theory that cereals (not the milk in a bowl kind, at least not directly!) first arose as weeds on the outskirts of human settlements, Wood found that they exist today as vast monocultures along ancient waterways. Frequent floods would flush these stands with nutrient rich sediment; much in the same way a farmer spreads fertilizer in the field.

For centuries, wild rice was widely harvested as a staple crop from southern Sudan to the Atlantic. Wood suggests that early farmers had a working knowledge of this system and adapted it, realizing the precedents set in nature’s fields.

Even though wet rice has been sustained on the same land for millennia, Miguel Altieri of UC-Berkeley claims that monocultures are inherently unstable because they “provide optimal conditions for the unhampered growth of weeds, insects, and diseases because ecological niches are not filled by other organisms.”

The alternative is to model our ambitions on the rainforest. Hosting perhaps 25 million of the Earth’s 30 million wild species, it remains a hotspot of biodiversity. With limited resources, organisms effectively keep the peace by filling the least intrusive niches and avoiding competition at all costs. Skirmishes for resources are just too costly. Though productivity (in terms of sheer plant biomass) remains high, few of those gains are edible or of economic value to a farmer.

Indeed, the rainforest’s treasure trove of life is largely a last ditch effort to survive.

Suggesting such a model for food production is counterintuitive. Blistering heat robs the soil of nutrients and tilth, and yields suffer. In the Amazon, growers are resigned to slash and burn, while U.S. farmers still tend the land that their forefathers cleared centuries before.

They didn’t know it, but early pioneers extended the historical reign of monodominance by selecting the best land, leaving the marginal areas (which host a much broader spectrum of life) as a last resort. This is the polyculture (and often by association, organic) paradox.

It’s also a textbook case in ecology. When resources are plentiful, a few species dominate. Opportunists need not be pests, as Altieri claims. Nobel Laureate Norman Borlaug capitalized on this principle to develop high-yielding wheat strains responsive to fertilizer and other inputs. In the process he saved a billion lives and 12 million square miles of wildlife habitat.

The Green Revolution taught us that the key to averting human misery and wildlife loss is properly pairing land with practice. We can be intentional by conscripting the “best” land (which tends to trend monodominant anyway), and spare the rich biodiversity in poor(er) real estate. This land sparing ensures maximum productivity on the smallest footprint, sustaining us and leaving more land for nature.

Far from failing the eco-palatability taste test, the take home message is to embrace a monoculture in both mind and practice — using nature’s forgotten fields as inspiration. Farmers can (and should) still leverage crop rotation and fallowing to keep pests and pathogens from building to intolerable levels. No one is suggesting they grow the same crop year in, year out, in the same space. That’s the definition of insanity — not monoculture.

Turns out the deceptively simple monoculture playbook has been right all along. As an eco-foray in conservation, food security, and social justice, polyculture is a recurring fad that’s doomed to fail.

#### Pesticide use is plummeting

Alison McGrew 20, Writer for Illinois Farm Families, “3 Myths About Sustainable Agriculture”, March 2020, https://www.watchusgrow.org/2020/03/02/3-myths-about-sustainable-agriculture/

Myth #3: Farmers apply too many pesticides on their fields, which impacts water quality.

Fact: Today’s farmers use fewer pesticides than generations past, thanks to technology advancements:

* Smarter crop protection tools – today’s chemicals are precise, effective and leave virtually no residue on the soil, water or crop.
* Better with biotech – some GMO crops have been genetically engineered to fight off pests, so farmers don’t have to use as many chemicals.
* More accuracy – instead of spraying entire fields for weeds and pests, farmers can use equipment and machinery with variable rate technology to spray precisely where needed.

As mindful as we are about what’s happening in our fields, we also care what happens around them. It’s why many farmers choose to use cover crops, reduce tillage and plant vegetation around nearby bodies of water – all to keep the soil healthy and where it belongs.

#### BUT runoff is inevitable, even with fully optimized agriculture

Eileen McLellan 15, Senior Scientist in the Ecosystems Program for Environmental Defense Fund, 10/23/2015, “Commentary: Fertilizer Runoff Is Just One Piece Of The Dead Zone Puzzle.” http://blogs.edf.org/growingreturns/2015/10/21/fertilizer-runoff-is-just-one-piece-of-the-dead-zone-puzzle/

It’s true that fertilizer runoff, sewage, and other pollutants from the Corn Belt have significantly boosted dead zones in the Gulf of Mexico. That’s because up to half of the fertilizer applied isn’t absorbed by crops, and in order to grow more food we’re using 20 times more fertilizer in the Corn Belt today than in the 1950s.

But even if we optimize fertilizer use on all cropland in the Upper Mississippi and Ohio River Basins, **nutrients will still be lost to rivers and streams and carried into the Gulf of Mexico**. **Some of this loss is** inevitable **given factors like** unpredictable weather, but my colleagues and **I set out to quantify other reasons** for why the Corn Belt exports so much nitrogen.

We discovered that **an increase in fertilizer inputs is** only one part **of the problem**. **Three other** distinct but interconnected **factors also contribute to water pollution and the Gulf dead zone**: the **loss of perennial cover**, the construction of **artificial drainage systems**, and the **loss of wetlands**.

In our latest paper in the Journal of the American Water Resources Association, we examine these factors in detail and explain how this new knowledge can help develop solutions.

1. Loss of perennials

In the past century, **as** Midwestern **grasslands and prairies were converted to farmland** and crop rotations were simplified to maximize yield and profit, **the amount of perennial crop cover decreased** significantly. **Shifting from perennial to annual vegetation reduces evapotranspiration**, **which accelerates the delivery of nitrate** into rivers.

By reintroducing perennial plants such as alfalfa, we could improve soil and water quality across the Corn Belt. And perennials could grow alongside annuals such as corn and soybeans without affecting current yields. Cover crops also have a role to play in reducing the delivery of nitrate to rivers.

2. Artificial drainage systems

The hydrology of row crop landscapes has been further altered by the development of **artificial drainage systems**. While these systems are beneficial to crop production, they **prevent any filtration of nitrogen-rich waters and instead hasten transport into streams.** This is a key factor in the contentious Des Moines Water Works lawsuit – a situation that could become the norm unless we can reduce nutrient runoff.

Improving runoff management and capturing or diverting the nitrogen-rich water would greatly limit its effects on people and animals living downstream.

3. Loss of wetlands

Wetlands are one effective way to filter nitrate-rich water and prevent runoff, but **by 1984, over half of all U.S. wetlands were either drained or filled** in for farmland or development.

Restoring wetlands in strategic positions on just 1 to 3 percent of the region’s cropland will combat nitrogen runoff and help bring the Gulf of Mexico dead zone to a manageable size.

Practical Solutions

We need a comprehensive approach to address high levels of nitrogen in the Corn Belt. **Our study offers solutions that would not drastically alter current farming conditions** or upset the economic system on which modern agriculture depends. For example, we need to tailor different conservation and mitigation efforts by region since each landscape has unique attributes and challenges.

#### No impact — there is zero tipping point

* Permian-Triassic extinction proves resiliency
* No data on tipping points
* Ecosystems never outright collapse
* 600 models prove no ecosystem collapse

Hance 18 [Jeremy Hance, wildlife blogger for the Guardian and a journalist with Mongabay focusing on forests, indigenous people, climate change and more. He is also the author of Life is Good: Conservation in an Age of Mass Extinction. Could biodiversity destruction lead to a global tipping point? Jan 16, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/radical-conservation/2018/jan/16/biodiversity-extinction-tipping-point-planetary-boundary]

Just over 250 million years ago, the planet suffered what may be described as its greatest holocaust: ninety-six percent of marine genera (plural of genus) and seventy percent of land vertebrate vanished for good. Even insects suffered a mass extinction – the only time before or since. Entire classes of animals – like trilobites – went out like a match in the wind.

But what’s arguably most fascinating about this event – known as the Permian-Triassic extinction or more poetically, the Great Dying – is the fact that anything survived at all. Life, it seems, is so ridiculously adaptable that not only did thousands of species make it through whatever killed off nearly everything (no one knows for certain though theories abound) but, somehow, after millions of years life even recovered and went on to write new tales.

Even as the Permian-Triassic extinction event shows the fragility of life, it also proves its resilience in the long-term. The lessons of such mass extinctions – five to date and arguably a sixth happening as I write – inform science today. Given that extinction levels are currently 1,000 (some even say 10,000) times the background rate, researchers have long worried about our current destruction of biodiversity – and what that may mean for our future Earth and ourselves.

In 2009, a group of researchers identified nine global boundaries for the planet that if passed could theoretically push the Earth into an uninhabitable state for our species. These global boundaries include climate change, freshwater use, ocean acidification and, yes, biodiversity loss (among others). The group has since updated the terminology surrounding biodiversity, now calling it “biosphere integrity,” but that hasn’t spared it from critique.

A paper last year in Trends in Ecology & Evolution scathingly attacked the idea of any global biodiversity boundary.

“It makes no sense that there exists a tipping point of biodiversity loss beyond which the Earth will collapse,” said co-author and ecologist, José Montoya, with Paul Sabatier Univeristy in France. “There is no rationale for this.”

Montoya wrote the paper along with Ian Donohue, an ecologist at Trinity College in Ireland and Stuart Pimm, one of the world’s leading experts on extinctions, with Duke University in the US.

Montoya, Donohue and Pimm argue that there isn’t evidence of a point at which loss of species leads to ecosystem collapse, globally or even locally. If the planet didn’t collapse after the Permian-Triassic extinction event, it won’t collapse now – though our descendants may well curse us for the damage we’ve done.

Instead, according to the researchers, every loss of species counts. But the damage is gradual and incremental, not a sudden plunge. Ecosystems, according to them, slowly degrade but never fail outright.

“Of more than 600 experiments of biodiversity effects on various functions, none showed a collapse,” Montoya said. “In general, the loss of species has a detrimental effect on ecosystem functions...We progressively lose pollination services, water quality, plant biomass, and many other important functions as we lose species. But we never observe a critical level of biodiversity over which functions collapse.”

#### No bee apocalypse.

Entine 18, founder and executive director of the Genetic Literacy Project. Citing Michael Burgett, professor emeritus of entomology at Oregon State University. (Jon, 4-17-2018, "The Bee Apocalypse Was Never Real; Here's Why", *American Council on Science and Health*, https://www.acsh.org/news/2018/04/17/bee-apocalypse-was-never-real-heres-why-12851)

But you needn't be. The narrative that honeybees, which are actually not even native to North America, Europe or Australia, face mortal danger and will take us down with them has been advanced by environmental groups for years and echoed in media, casual blogs and mainstream science sites. This twist on the news is so pervasive that it’s often accepted without question: bee populations are rapidly declining as a result of pesticide use, particularly the use of neonics, and the crucial pollinators could be edging towards extinction, plunging our entire food system into chaos. "Declining honeybee population could spell trouble for some crops," blared a headline on Fox News last year. "Death and Extinction of the Bees," was the banner claim on the activist Centre for Research on Globalization. "Honey Bees in a Struggle for Survival," claimed a guest columnist writing earlier this month for a Tennessee newspaper. The only problem is that it isn’t true. Myth of Honeybee decline Honeybee populations haven’t “crashed” in the United States or elsewhere. Honeybees are not going "extinct." Crops are not "in trouble." Source: USDA annual report on honey-producing colonies in the U.S. USDA publishes its final statistics one year after its preliminary estimates. USDA also collects a census, taken every five years in December, of honey-producing and non-honey-producing colonies. While not as valuable for tracking annual numbers, the census confirms the upward trend in managed bee colonies, with a 13.1% increase between 2007 and 2012. The overall population of honeybees in the US, Canada and Europe has held steady or increased slightly since the widespread adoption of neonics in the 1990s. The US honeybee population hit a 22-year high in 2016, according to the figures released by the USDA before dipping slightly last year, and globally are at an all-time high. So how did the meme of the honeybee, legs pointing to the sky, become so popular? As often happens with controversial issues such as food and chemicals, it’s complicated––and ideological. First of all, honeybees aren’t the cute symbol of the natural world that environmentalists make them out to be. They’re actually a managed species, like livestock, bred by beekeepers to make honey and shipped around the country to pollinate crops like almonds. They’re also an exotic species in North America, brought over from Europe by early colonists. [Note: European honeybees originated in Asia 300,000 years ago.] It’s not that honeybees aren’t having some problems — they are. Just not to the degree that environmental groups and the media suggest. And most of the problems, say entomologists and bee keepers, are linked to bee keeping practices, Varrora destructor mites (which vector roughly a dozen different diseases into beehives, and the widely prevalent gut fungus, Nosema ceranae. Seed pesticides, most experts say, play a minor if measurable role, with the miticides used to control the parasites presenting far more of a health threat than neonics. These problems have led to higher-than-average over winter losses. While beekeepers always lose some of their bees over the winter, winter losses of managed honey bee colonies in the US have averaged 28.7 percent since 2006, almost double the historical rate. So what’s going on? How is the US honeybee population stable or rising despite a doubling of winter loss rates? Colony Collapse Disorder is not the same as bee losses linked to diseases and chemicals The independent Bee Informed Partership, which was founded by a grant from the US Department of Agriculture, reported that despite bee health problems in recent years, trends are favorable in tracking overwinter losses, considered the key statistic in evaluating bee colony health. According to a recent USDA report on honeybee health, beekeepers have been able to adapt their managerial practices and repopulate their stocks when cold weather or virus-related losses occur. Winter losses can easily be replenished by splitting hives, but experts say that's not the optimal solution; it would be better for bee stocks for overwinter losses to continue their recent decline. “The media have overstressed the mortality aspects and largely ignored the fact that the beekeeping industry is able to rebound,” Michael Burgett, professor emeritus of entomology at Oregon State University and a co-author of the report, told the GLP. “The honey bee is in no way endangered.”

### Adv 2

#### Food insecurity doesn’t cause war.

Vestby et al 18, \*Jonas, Doctoral Researcher at the Peace Research Institute Oslo, \*\*Ida Rudolfsen, doctoral researcher at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University and PRIO, and \*\*\*Halvard Buhaug, Research Professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO); Professor of Political Science at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU); and Associate Editor of the Journal of Peace Research and Political Geography. (5/18/18, “Does hunger cause conflict?”, *Climate & Conflict Blog*, <https://blogs.prio.org/ClimateAndConflict/2018/05/does-hunger-cause-conflict/>)

It is perhaps surprising, then, that there is little scholarly merit in the notion that a short-term reduction in access to food increases the probability that conflict will break out. This is because to start or participate in violent conflict requires people to have both the means and the will. Most people on the brink of starvation are not in the position to resort to violence, whether against the government or other social groups. In fact, the urban middle classes tend to be the most likely to protest against rises in food prices, since they often have the best opportunities, the most energy, and the best skills to coordinate and participate in protests.

Accordingly, there is a widespread misapprehension that social unrest in periods of high food prices relates primarily to food shortages. In reality, the sources of discontent are considerably more complex – linked to political structures, land ownership, corruption, the desire for democratic reforms and general economic problems – where the price of food is seen in the context of general increases in the cost of living. Research has shown that while the international media have a tendency to seek simple resource-related explanations – such as drought or famine – for conflicts in the Global South, debates in the local media are permeated by more complex political relationships.

#### Adaptation makes agriculture resilient

* plants are being modified to be successful in droughts
* ocean and island crops are resilient to rising sea levels and salinity
* livestock resistant to diseases
* livestock prepared for droughts

FAOUN 19 [FAO COMMISSION ON GENETIC RESOURCES FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE @ UN, “THE STATE OF THE WORLD’s BIODIVERSITY FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE”, https://www.courthousenews.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/fao-report.pdf]

Maintaining, using and developing adapted genetic resources A number of countries note the significance of well-adapted species, varieties or breeds in terms of enhancing resilience to climate change. Several specific examples of how such components of BFA have been utilized in adaptation efforts are provided. For example, Papua New Guinea mentions the distribution to farmers of crop accessions identified in ex situ collections as being tolerant to salinity (taro and cassava varieties), drought (cassava, banana and aibika13 varieties) and flooding (taro and banana varieties). It notes that this activity proved very useful in sustaining food security during the drought that struck the country in 2015 and 2016,14 when 40 percent of the population was seriously affected. Panama reports that its criollo livestock breeds have a combination of characteristics that are not found in any introduced breeds, including high fertility rates, longevity, resistance to parasites and diseases and good grazing abilities, including the ability to make use of poor-quality pastures. It notes, in particular, the potential of two locally adapted cattle breeds, the Guaymi and the Guabal^, in climate change adaptation. It also mentions, among its climate change adaptation measures, the development of maize varieties and hybrids that are tolerant of drought and diplodia rot (a fungal disease) and that grow well in soils with low nitrogen levels. With regard to choices at species level, Sudan reports that some of its livestock keepers have replaced cattle and sheep with dromedaries and goats, as the latter species are better suited to a climate change-affected environment that is more prone to droughts.

Some countries note the significance of participatory breeding programmes in the context of climate change. For example, Oman mentions that local wheat and barley landraces have been improved through such programmes to obtain varieties that have shorter growing seasons and can be managed more flexibly, especially during years with prolonged periods of extreme heat and limited water availability. Ensuring farmers have access to the adapted germplasm they need is another issue highlighted. Nepal, for example, mentions the role of community-based seed banks in providing farmers with immediate access to locally adapted germplasm that can be used in efforts to cope with climate change.

#### US supply isn’t key to global ag.

Charles 13, NPR’s food and agriculture correspondent. Citing Margaret Mellon, a scientist with the environmental advocacy group Union of Concerned Scientists. (Dan, 9/17/13, “American Farmers Say They Feed The World, But Do They?”, *NPR*, https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2013/09/17/221376803/american-farmers-say-they-feed-the-world-but-do-they)

And this is why the words “feed the world” grate on the nerves of people who believe that large-scale, technology-driven agriculture is bad for the environment and often bad for people. Margaret Mellon, a scientist with the environmental advocacy group Union of Concerned Scientists, recently wrote an essay in which she confessed to developing an allergy to that phrase. “If there’s a controversy, the show-stopper is supposed to be, ‘We have to use pesticides, or we won’t be able to feed the world!’ “ she says. Mellon says it’s time to set that idea aside. It doesn’t answer the concerns that people have about modern agriculture — and it’s not even true. American-style farming doesn’t really grow food for hungry people, she says. Forty percent of the biggest crop — corn — goes into fuel for cars. Most of the second-biggest crop — soybeans — is fed to animals. Growing more grain isn’t the solution to hunger anyway, she says. If you’re really trying to solve that problem, there’s a long list of other steps that are much more important. “We need to empower women; we need to raise incomes; we need infrastructure in the developing world; we need the ability to get food to market without spoiling.”

#### COVID thumps food security.

Rudolfsen 20, doctoral researcher at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University and PRIO. (Ida, 7/27/20, "COVID-19, Food Access, and Social Upheaval", *Climate & Conflict*, https://blogs.prio.org/ClimateAndConflict/2020/07/covid-19-food-access-and-social-upheaval/)

According to the World Food Program’s (WFP) latest report, the COVID-19 pandemic will lead to an 82 percent increase in global food insecurity, affecting around 270 million people by the end of the year. On June 29, the organization announced it is undertaking its largest humanitarian effort to assist an increasing number of food-insecure low- and middle-income countries. In a statement about the plan, WFP Executive Director David Beasley said that “until the day we have a medical vaccine, food is the best vaccine against chaos. Without it, we could see increased social unrest and protests, a rise in migration, deepening conflict, and widespread under-nutrition among populations that were previously immune from hunger.”

Why is the pandemic leading to more food insecurity? And why is David Beasley talking about social unrest and protest in connection with food?

As COVID-19 spreads around the world, fears are mounting of how the pandemic might impact and disrupt food distribution channels (e.g., transport disruptions) and disruption in the production of staple foods (e.g., labor shortages due to quarantine measures).

So far, food supply chains have been defined as essential by governments, exempting them from most lockdown measures. Thus, the impact on supply chains has been indirect, mainly caused by reduced income and remittances. A loss of income makes it harder for poor people to access affordable food but also impacts food systems by making it more difficult for producers to sell foodstuffs, since consumer’s ability to buy food declines. Governments, especially in low- and middle-income countries, will therefore have to implement policies that avoid supply chain disruptions and higher food prices.

But what do food insecurity and food prices have to do with protest and violence? The answer: it’s complicated.

The pandemic is spreading at a time when the number of severely food insecure people in the world had already increased—by more than 820 million people before the pandemic started—adding stress to areas already hardly hit by extreme weather events, armed conflict, and low economic development. However, most of these areas have not seen widespread unrest.

## 2NC

### Cap K

#### Neoliberal food systems are terminally unsustainable and will inevitably collapse causing their impacts — there’s momentum for systemic change now but the logic of market dominance and state-based corrections to market externalities propagate the worst excesses of neoliberalism globally causing a litany of existential threats.

Sodano 12 Valeria Sodano University of Naples Federico II | UNINA · Department of Political Sciences; 2012; Food Policy Beyond Neo-Liberalism in Sociological Landscape - Theories, Realities and Trends [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/ 224829022\_Food\_Policy\_Beyond\_Neo-Liberalism](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/%20224829022_Food_Policy_Beyond_Neo-Liberalism) - BS

3. The unsustainable neoliberal food policy

As a generally intended term food policy refers to the two fields of intervention of food safety and food security. Moreover, a third field may be added concerning the control of the environmental impact of food production and distribution; this component may be called food sustainability. As an institutionalized field of state intervention food policy emerged at the beginning of the third food regime. The term food security was coined for the first time following the First World Food Conference in 1974 in Rome. The term food safety was used first in the United States in 1977 when naming the Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS).2 During the previous food regimes the only institutionalized field of public intervention was agricultural policy, which was part of the general economic development policy, and was often subordinated to industrial policy. The first World Food Summit was convened under the emotional boost of the global economic crisis, -consequent to the concomitant food, financial and oil crisis-, of the 1971-73. Nevertheless, it was also the culmination of decades of protests (summarized by the demand for a New International Economic Order) expressed by the “third world” countries due to the exploitation of their natural resources and the consequent persistent hunger and poverty they faced.

In 1974, governments attending the World Food Conference had proclaimed that "every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop their physical and mental faculties." This statement reflects the prevalent politically economic view of the time, which, under the general label of “welfare state”, endorsed an active role of states in the economy in order to fulfill their commitment to uphold human rights and promote social justice. In 1974 the declared goal of governments was to completely eradicate hunger on a world scale. Two decades later, when the neoliberal wind had already passed into oblivion the policy attitudes of the embedded liberalism, the Rome Declaration, at the 1996 World Food Summit, set the far less ambitious target of reducing by half the number of undernourished people by no later than the year 2015.

Therefore, as a matter of fact, food policy so far has suffered from a severe internal inconsistency: while its goals were set in the political era antecedent neo-liberalism, its instruments have been developed together with the consolidation of neoliberal ideology.

Neoliberalism represents a new particular political economic approach in liberal systems of modern capitalist societies, which has replaced the previous approach of embedded liberalism (Harvey, 2005). According to embedded liberalism, to which the experience of welfare states in the thirty years 1950-1970 has been linked, the economic sphere is embedded in the social and political spheres, and the state has the mandate to intervene in the economy with regard to a variety of goals beyond the allocative efficiency; such as distributional and political goals. On the contrary, according to neoliberalism, the economic sphere is independent from the social and political one and states ought to abstain from intervening in the economy, allowing individuals to participate in free and self-regulating markets. In the case of food policy, these two perspectives lead to a very different choice of goals and instruments. Table 1 confronts food policies in the two cases of embedded liberalism and neoliberalism. In the first column, the main food policy goals are listed according to the two possible rationales for intervention: the sole economic rationale, concerning the improvement of allocative efficiency through the correction of market failures (such as non competitive markets, externalities, public goods and information problems), and the ethical/political rationale, concerning the accomplishment of social justice and human rights. In the second and third columns, the main policy instruments deployed in case of embedded liberalism and neoliberalism are listed. There are two major differences between the two political views.

The first difference is that while embedded liberalism is consistent with both the economic and the political/ethical rationales, neoliberalism only accepts the economic rationale. In other words, while embedded liberalism awards distributive and social goals a prominent place in the food policy agenda, the only goal accepted by neoliberalism is economic efficiency. An important consequence is that neoliberalism does not foresee any form of intervention in order to uphold individuals’ rights to adequate and safe food. With respect to food security, the rationale for intervention is ethical and political rather than economic. Ensuring access to food for poor people means carrying out policies of income redistribution, which respond to objectives of social justice rather than of economic efficiency; it also means considering food to be a human right, which has to be upheld by governments through public commitment. However, it is worth noticing that the goal of food security is still pursued under neoliberalism, but the idea is that keeping markets free from any form of intervention will boost economic development and, through a trickle-down process, will eventually benefit hungry people; hence food security is considered to be the “natural” outcome of the economic development assured by a system of free markets.

The second difference is that in the case of market failures, while neoliberalism only acknowledges market-based instruments, embedded neoliberalism strongly relies also on command-and-control policies. Many problems of food safety and sustainability can be modelled in terms of market failures. In the case of food safety an adequate risk prevention may be considered as a public good, for which properties of non rivalry and non excludability prevent the private sector from providing the efficient supply. Also imperfect information applies, when the low food risk is seen as a quality attribute exhibiting the character of a credence good (the typical example is the presence of chemicals and phytosanitary products' residual substances). Externalities are the main concern in the case of sustainability goals; moreover, prevention of negative environment impacts may be considered as a public good; for instance, reducing green house gas (GHG) emissions is a public good, which firms do not provide unless with direct state intervention. As summarized in table 1, embedded liberalism tackles all these problems with a large set of instruments, including all types of state direct and command-and-control interventions, such as standards, regulation and state participation in economic activities. On the contrary neoliberalism only deploys market-based instruments, such as taxes and incentives, privatization and self-regulation (Backer, 2008; Pariotti, 2009). In fact, neoliberal ideology endorses a system of free markets and free trade where the only acceptable reason for state regulation is to safeguard commercial liberty and private property. Accordingly, it stresses that: problems of public goods may be solved through the Coase theorem (and hence through privatization); food safety can be fulfilled through self regulation and SCR; food security is the “natural” outcome of the economic development assured by a system of free markets; state failures are more dangerous than market failures, which tend to be self-correcting as long as the free competitive process is not disturbed.

Food security The number of people lacking access to the minimum diet has risen from 824 million in 1990 to 925 million in 2010.

Global warming Considering also emissions by indirect activities associated with food production and distribution (such as home storage and refrigerators, waste disposal, transportation by final consumers and so on) the global food system is accountable for nearly 50% of total world GHG emissions (Grain, 2009). Climate change threatens food production through desertification, water shortages, yield decreases.

Energy In the future oil shortages may threaten food availability. It takes more than 400 gallons of oil to feed one person for a year in the USA. In terms of energy conversion this food production system means that it takes three calories of energy for every single calorie of edible food produced on average. In the case of grain-fed beef it takes 35 calories of energy for every one calorie of beef. Oil shortage threatens food security also through the increasing use of arable land for bio fuel production.

Land depletion and land grabbing The amount of arable land per capita is steadily decreasing. It has almost halved since 1960. After the 2008 food crisis rich countries and TNCs have been buying large swathes of land, mainly offered by corrupted governments and elites in developing countries.

Water scarcity Agriculture accounts for 70% of global fresh water use. Almost a billion people live in countries chronically short of water. By 2030 demand for water is expected to increase by 30%.

Food safety Unsafe food causes many acute and life-long diseases, ranging from diarrhoeal diseases to various forms of cancer. WHO estimates that foodborne and waterborne diarrhoeal diseases taken together kill about 2.2 million people annually, 1.9 million of them children.

Competition and power asymmetries in the food chain There are evident imbalances of power among the different stages of the world food chain. About 7 billion consumers and 1.5 farmers are squeezed by no more than 500 companies –retailers, food companies, traders and processors- who control 70%of the world food market. Only three companies (Cargill, Bunge and ADM) account for 90% of the global grain trade. Four firms (Dupont, Monsanto, Syngenta and Limagrain) control over 50% of seed industry. Large companies in the food system are now expanding their power by directly regulating the system, setting private standard and dictating policy agendas to international organisms.

Inequalities Hunger does not affect uniformly people in the world: it is concentrated in developing countries, in rural area and among women. In other words hunger is concentrated among poor people. Neoliberal globalization has raised income inequalities, making poverty and hunger “incurable deseases”.

Food loss and waste Food waste and loss, i.e. food that is discarded or lost uneaten, annually account for 1.3 billion tons of food, about one third of the global food production (according to a 2011 estimate). Consumers’ attitudes and retailers’ procurement and marketing policies are referred to as the main causes.

Malnutrition and obesity Besides hunger malnutrition means over nutrition and obesity. Obesity is associated with higher mortality rates for cardiovascular diseases and cancer. In the United States obesity and overweight together are the second leading cause of preventable death. Over the last twenty years obesity has also spread in developing countries. World obesity epidemic has multiple causes, nevertheless important recognized causes are poverty, low level of education, children exposure to junk food advertising.

Table 2. The unsustainable neoliberal food regime

Over the last thirty years, food and agriculture have not been at the top of the agenda for governments of developed countries. Few events, amongst which the BSE outbreak and the failure of the WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun, have been deemed worthy of the front pages of newspapers. It was with the 2008 food crisis that the issues of food security and the fragility of the global food system were brought to the fore as hot topics at the level of governments and international organizations as well as that of society.

The 2008 food crisis and the concomitant financial crisis have shown the contradictions and the shortcomings of neoliberalism to the public at large. Criticism of the system, confined over the previous years at margin of media and academia, have reached the large public and mass media.

In the aftermath of food riots, which spread across poor countries faced by the sudden rise in food prices, two alternative readings of the crisis were given, the “official” one, by mainstream academicians and FAO, and the alternative one, by some ONGs, heterodox social scientists and the various associations which had been fighting the neoliberal food system over the previous years. The comparison of the two analysis offers the opportunity to understand how continuing neoliberal policies may worsen, instead of resolve, future food crisis; it also helps to introduce the discussion on the alternative forms of intervention which is the issue of the next section.

Participants at the FAO Conference held in Rome in June 2008 (FAO, 2008) identified two main causes of the food crisis: 1) the structural changes in demand associated with the high economic growth rate of the emergent capitalistic countries (China in particular); 2) the strong pressure on the energy market, this latter aspect inducing both rising costs of the very fuel dependent food system and a strong competition between food/feed and biofuel crop cultivation. With regards to a third cause, the role of the financial market crisis and its effects on the grain futures market, there was instead a strong disagreement.

In contrast to the “official” interpretation of the crisis, heterodox analysis, as reported by ECT group and PANAP (ECT group, 2008; Guzman, 2008) identified three important points, The first point was that the food emergency did not emerge overnight, and did not begin with record-high prices. It had already been affecting poor countries for 20 years. In the early 1960s developing countries had an overall agricultural trade surplus approaching $7 billion per year (FAO, 2004). By the end of the 1980s the surplus had disappeared and many countries were net importers of food. This shift had been the consequence of US and European policies that had favored corporate agribusiness by keeping commodity prices low, dismantling trade barriers and marginalizing millions of small scale farmers.e barriers and marginalizing millions of small scale farmers.

The second point was the strong food-financial crisis nexus. The reason for food ‘shortages’ had been speculation in commodity futures, following the collapse of the financial derivatives markets. Desperate for quick returns, dealers had been taking trillions of dollars out of equities and mortgage bonds and had ploughed them into food and raw materials.

The amount of speculative money in commodity futures ballooned from US$5 billion in 2000 to US$175 billion in 2007. This is the ‘commodities super-cycle’ on Wall Street and its latest illustration has been the post-GRAND2008 ‘land grab’ by rich governments and corporations (GRAIN, 2008; Ghosh, 2010; Zagema, Lobbyist, 2011). The third point, finally, was that whereas shortage of supply had been pointed at as a main cause of the price surge, this might not be the case. Looking at data and forecasts in the period previous to 2008 production outpaced consumption, on average on a two years basis, for all types of food.

Therefore, according to the heterodox interpretation 2008 price rises were driven by the international food trade, notwithstanding the fact that global food trade has been estimated to be only around 10% of global food production. Because global food trade is controlled by a few TNCs that have gained exceptional profits from price peaks (as reported by Lean, 2008, in the first three month of 2008 Cargill and Archer Daniels Midland increased their net earnings by 86 and 42 per cent) it is likely that high prices have been the consequence, besides the speculation on financial markets, of the exercise of a strong market and buying power by these leading companies.

In other words the heterodox interpretation contends that global food crisis is politicaleconomic in nature and not the mere consequence of unbalanced supply-demand movements. According to this view, the food inflation that has pushed millions of people into poverty and worsened the life of the 2.5 billion people already living on less than $2 a day, has been the consequence of: 1) excess of market/buying power exercised by the big corporations of the agribusiness; 2) process of financiarization of the world economy, that has made food commodities markets vulnerable to financial crisis; 3) twenty-five years of lasting neoliberal policies that have worsened inequalities and created food import dependence in less developed countries.

Consistently with the official interpretation of the crisis, FAO, WB and US and EU governments suggested the following prescriptions to cope with the food crisis: further trade liberalization; enhancing agriculture productivity by shifting from smallholders farms to labor-intensive commercial farming; relying on the private sector as provider of agricultural services; promotion of innovation through science and technology; developing high-value markets (i.e. food sold through supermarkets) for domestic consumption; facilitating input markets in order to assure better access to improved seed and fertilizers; improving the land market to facilitate agriculture consolidation processes; enhancing the performance of producer organization to achieve competitiveness of smallholders; linking ocal economies to broader markets and a shift from self-consumption and self-employment to production for the market and to wage employment; investing in safety nets for the poorest people, preferring targeted cash transfers and in-kind food distribution.

Most of these suggested interventions have been criticized by the “heterodox approach” on the grounds that they are likely to continue the commodification of food initiated with the first food regime and then reinforced by the neoliberal agenda in accordance with the Washington Consensus “credo”: privatization, liberalization, deregulation, decreasing public social expenditure. As far as these interventions reinforce the true causes of the food crisis, - i.e. corporate power, neoliberal ideology and financiarization- they are unlikely to prevent further future food crisis and promote food security.

#### Fiat DA — Their model forwards a broken approach to political organizing, assuming the government will listen if we just ask them nicely. That reifies neoliberal logics and state control — only the alt proposes a clear road map for breaking down neoliberalism.

Quinn 16, Canadian writer and comedian based in London (R.J., December 10th, “Can I Talk to a Manager?” *Jacobin Magazine*, <https://jacobinmag.com/2018/12/liberalism-brexit-donald-trump>, Accessed 08-24-2021)

If Guy Debord were alive today, he might say that “in societies where the neoliberal conditions of political economy prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of customer service interactions.” That is, to the liberal, all relationships are business transactions.

Nowhere is this tendency more apparent than in the contemporary liberal approach to political organizing, which seems to be reducible to a great cry of “Can I speak to a manager?” And nowhere was it better exemplified than in early October, when several thousand middle-class dog owners marched through central London to protest Brexit. Yet another outgrowth of the “People’s Vote” campaign (which is pushing for a redo of the Brexit referendum), the demonstration was called the “Wooferendum.”

The ur-concept of contemporary liberal politics is faith in the authority of a rule-governed order, and an expectation that the appointed minders of that rule-governed order will operate society, more or less, as a service to those who pay for it. In other words, “Excuse me, I do not mean to cause a fuss, but I’m not entirely satisfied.”

In the two years since its vote to leave the European Union, the UK has seen innumerable marches on parliament advancing the demand that the government cancel Brexit, or at least offer a People’s Vote. These marches, proudly unaffiliated with a political tendency, and frequently tinged with rhetoric suggesting that the Brexit vote was enabled by provincial rubes or spending skulduggery, have been an exhortation to the government of the day to just act, please. They are billed as marches politicians “cannot ignore,” that politicians have gone on to ignore. The political theory of change used by The Wooferendum, and others like it, is that once displeasure is voiced by enough people, the powerful — be they billionaires, political leaders, or whoever else — will then graciously remove the offending policy.

This phenomenon, of course, is hardly confined to the United Kingdom. In the United States, the years since Donald Trump’s election have been marked by a liberal obsession with the prospect of a released tax return or well-placed confession extracted by special counsel Robert Mueller to get rid of him. Just act, please.

“Speaking to the manager” is a sort of tyrannical helplessness; it is the haughty demand for intercession on one’s behalf by an array of greater forces you assume are servile. It is worded like a demand, but it is in fact a plea. It relies on a deeply held belief that society has been ordered for your benefit, because you bought it. And by repeatedly reminding those in charge that society is not entirely to your liking, a number of dutiful institutions or solicitous political Jeeveses will course correct and bring things “back to normal.”

It also assumes a hierarchical society, ordered like a restaurant: some eat, some serve, and there is a manager to keep it all going. This is why these same liberals tend to find the prospect of greater popular control over the media, economy, or society chilling, because they must confront the possibility that they will no longer be served and tended to.

We have been conditioned by the market to believe “the customer is always right.” But the power the customer holds over a business is a thin simulacrum of power. Power is classically understood as the ability to compel others to do what, but for you, they would not have done. Yet “consumer” power relies on businesses doing what customers say when it is in their interest to do so. The human construed as a customer can pull but one lever for change: “no.” The customer can decline to purchase, even voice displeasure, but the role of customer is inherently passive.

#### No decoupling — data that accounts for offshoring and rebound effects prove energy efficiency is getting worse. Staying below 1.5° is biophysically impossible under capitalism.

Albert 20, M.D. @ John Hopkins. BA in Evolutionary Biology (Michael, April, The Dangers of Decoupling: Earth System Crisis and the ‘Fourth Industrial Revolution’, *Global Policy*, Volume 11, Issue 2, DOI: 10.1111/1758-5899.12791)

Unfortunately for the ecomodernists, degrowth scholars and ecological economists have begun to poke holes in their optimistic assessments. Their response can be summarized according to three key counter-arguments: (1) the evidence that ecomodernists provide for relative decoupling is flawed and limited at best; (2) their evidence for the possibility of absolute decoupling is even weaker; and (3) even if absolute decoupling was possible in principle, there is even weaker evidence that this could occur with the necessary speed to stabilize the earth system before reaching irreversible tipping points.

First, claims that rich countries have seen relative or even absolute decoupling of economic growth from domestic material consumption have been shown to focus solely on correlations between national GDP and material throughput while ignoring the material-energetic costs embodied in imported consumer goods. For example, Thomas Wiedmann and colleagues show that while the EU, the US, and Japan have grown economically while stabilizing or even reducing domestic material consumption, a broader analysis of their material footprint embedded in their imports shows that it has kept pace with GDP growth. They conclude that ‘no decoupling has taken place over the past two decades for this group of developed countries’ (Wiedmann et al., 2015, p. 6273). Focusing on the global economy as a whole, Krausmann et al. show that its resource intensity improved over the course of the 20th century, though the early 21st century has seen a faster rate of growing resource consumption than global economic growth (cited in Hickel and Kallis, 2019). Thus, as Kallis and Hickel (Kallis and Hickel, 2019, p. 4; italics added) explain: ‘Global historical trends show relative decoupling but no evidence of absolute decoupling, and twenty-first century trends show not greater efficiency but rather worse efficiency, with re-coupling occurring’.

Second, given the limited evidence for even relative decoupling, it is little surprise that the evidential basis on which claims for the possibility of absolute decoupling rest is even flimsier. In the most comprehensive summary of the modeling evidence to date, Hickel and Kallis (2019) show that even the most optimistic scenarios fail to prove the possibility of absolute decoupling. For example, a modeling study by Schandl et al. (2016) shows that in a ‘high efficiency’ scenario, one that combines a high and rising carbon price plus a doubling in the rate of material efficiency improvement, global resource use grows more slowly (about a quarter the rate of GDP growth) but steadily to reach 95 billion tons in 2050, while global energy use grows from 14,253 million tons of oil equivalent in 2010 to 26, 932 million in 2050. The authors therefore conclude: ‘While some relative decoupling can be achieved in some scenarios, none would lead to an absolute reduction in ... materials footprint’ (Schandl et al., 2016, p. 8). A high efficiency scenario modeled by the UNEP comes to even less optimistic conclusions (with global resource use rising to 132 billion tons in 2050), since it incorporates the ‘rebound effect’ in which efficiency improvements lead to increased consumption due to resulting price reductions (Hickel and Kallis, 2019). In short, as they conclude, these ‘models suggest that absolute decoupling is not feasible on a global scale in the context of continued economic growth’ (Hickel and Kallis, 2019, p. 6).

Third, the critics show that even if absolute decoupling (from both emissions and total environmental impact) were possible in principle, this would need to occur fast enough to prevent transgression of ecological tipping points. Just focusing on the climate problem, the 2018 IPCC report claims that emissions must be reduced 7 per cent annually to reach net zero by 2050 in order to achieve the 1.5 C target, whereas they must reduce 4 per cent annually to reach net zero by 2075 for a shot at the 2 degree target (IPCC, 2018, p. 15). However, even under optimistic assumptions (e.g. a near-term implementation of a high and rising carbon price, alongside heroic carbon intensity improvements), studies suggest that annual declines of 3–4 per cent might be the fastest rate possible assuming continued economic growth (Hickel, 2019). Thus, it would most likely be impossible to meet the 1.5 C target in a context of continuous compound growth. While the 2 degree target might be feasible in this context (assuming implementation of a globally coordinated program starting in 2020), many argue that the IPCC’s estimates downplay the existence of positive feedbacks in the earth system (e.g. Steffen et al., 2018), and thus more rapid emissions cuts might be needed even for 2 degrees. On top of this, economic growth must also be decoupled from impacts on other ‘planetary boundaries’ that may have already been overshot, especially land-use change and biodiversity loss (Raworth, 2017). A number of ecologists believe that to bring humanity back into a ‘safe operating space’, total resource consumption should be reduced from roughly 70 to 50 gigatons per year (Hoekstra and Wiedmann, 2014), while a ‘half earth strategy’ should be implemented that protects 50 per cent of the planet’s surface from direct human interference (up from roughly 18 per cent today) (Wilson, 2017), possibly by 2050 to prevent tipping points in biodiversity loss and land-use change (Hickel and Kallis, 2019). Even if these claims are exaggerated, the magnitude of the overall decoupling challenge remains clear. It would mean that total resource consumption and land use needs to shrink, remain stable, or only increase moderately (depending on our assumptions regarding the further stress (if any) that planetary boundaries can handle) even as the total output of the global economy triples by 2060. It is thus not hyperbole to say, as Boris Frankel puts it, that this goal of absolute decoupling is ‘overwhelmingly staggering in its ambition and historical novelty’ (Frankel, 2018, p. 127).

#### Tech fails — doesn’t displace fossil fuels and increased consumption offsets efficiency gains.

Parrique et al. 19, Centre for Studies and Research in International Development (CERDI), University of Clermont Auvergne, France; Stockholm Resilience Centre (SRC), Stockholm University, Sweden, Barth J., Briens F., C. Kerschner, Kraus-Polk A., Kuokkanen A., Spangenberg J.H. (Timothee, July, Decoupling Debunked: Evidence and arguments against green growth as a sole strategy for sustainability, *European Environmental Bureau*, https://mk0eeborgicuypctuf7e.kinstacdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Decoupling-Debunked.pdf)

Not leading to relevant innovations

Innovation is not in and of itself a good thing for ecological sustainability. The desirable type of innovation is eco-innovation or one that results “in a reduction of environmental risk, pollution and other negative impacts of resources use compared to relevant alternatives” (Kemp and Pearson, 2008, p.5). But this is only one type among several. In general, firms have an incentive to innovate to economise on the most expensive factors of production to maximise profits. Because labour and capital are usually relatively more expensive than natural resources, more technological progress will likely continue to be directed towards labour- and capital-saving innovations, with limited benefits, if any, for resource productivity and a potential rise in absolute impacts due to more production. But decoupling will not occur if technological innovations contribute to saving labour and capital while leaving resource use and environmental degradation unchanged.

Another issue is that technologies do not only solve environmental problems but also tend to create new ones. Assuming that resource productivity becomes a priority over labour and capital productivity, there is still nothing preventing technological innovations from creating more damage. For example, research into processes of extractions can lead to better ways to locate resources (imaging technologies and data analytics), to extract them (horizontal drilling, hydraulic fracturing, and automated drilling operations), and to transport them (Arctic shipping routes). These innovations may target resource use but with a result opposite to the objective of decoupling, that is more extraction. And this is not even considering unintended side-effects, which often accompany the development of new technologies (Grunwald, 2018).

Not disruptive enough

Another problem has to do with the replacement of harmful technologies. Indeed, it is not enough for new technologies to emerge (innovation), they must also come to replace the old ones in a process of “exnovation” (Kimberly, 1981). What is required is a “push and pull strategy” (Rockström et al., 2017): pushing environmentally-friendly technologies into society and pulling harmful ones, like fossil-based infrastructure, out of it.

First, in reality, such a process is slow and difficult to trigger. Most polluting infrastructures (power plants, buildings and city structures, transport systems) require large investments, which then creates inertia and lock-in (Antal and van den Bergh, 2014, p. 3). Let us, for instance, consider the energy, buildings, and transport sectors, which account for the large majority of world energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions. Initial lifetime for a nuclear or a coal power plant is about 40 years. Buildings can last at least as much. The average lifetime for a car is 12-15 years, and this is about what it takes for an innovation to spread in the vehicle fleet. The wide availability of petrol refuelling stations gives an infrastructural advantage to petrol-based cars, whereas this is the opposite situation for electric, gas, or hydrogen vehicles that would require different and new supporting infrastructures. Building a highway or a nuclear plant is a commitment to emit for at least as long as these infrastructures will last – Davis and Socolow (2014) speak of “committed emissions.”

Energy is a good case in point: using more renewable energy is not the same as using less fossil fuels. The history of energy use is not one of substitutions but rather of successive additions of new sources of energy. As new energy sources are discovered, developed, and deployed, the old sources do not decline, instead, total energy use grows with additional layers on the energy mix cake. York (2012) finds that each unit of energy use from non-fossil fuel sources displaced less than one-quarter of a unit of its fossil-fuel counterpart, showing empirical support for the claim that expanding renewable energies is far from enough to curb fossil fuel consumption. The relative part of coal in the global energy mix has been reduced since the advent of petroleum but this occurred in spite of absolute growth in the use of coal (Krausmann et al., 2009).

#### ‘Green growth’ relies on unsustainable colonial exploitation of the Global South — maintaining colonial mindsets makes solving warming impossible.

Kolinjivadi & Kothari 20, Vijay Kolinjivadi: Post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Development Policy, University of Antwerp in Belgium. Ashish Kothari: Global Tapestry of Alternatives in India (May 20th, “No Harm Here is Still Harm There: The Green New Deal and the Global South (I),” *Jamhoor*, https://www.jamhoor.org/read/2020/5/20/no-harm-here-is-still-harm-there-looking-at-the-green-new-deal-from-the-global-south, Accessed 07-13-2021)

Additional crucial flaws would also severely hamper the GND’s potential for real change. Foremost, current variants of the GND retain a significant dependence on technological solutions to problems that are not necessarily technological in nature. They also say nothing about the need to reduce material consumption or energy demand overall (except ‘weatherization’ to reduce domestic consumption). Thus for example, they fail to acknowledge that even if the US transitioned completely to renewable energy and technologies like electric cars, it would still be engaging in unsustainable exploitation of nature and natural resources.

Moreover, by focusing heavily on carbon reductions, the GND ignores other major ecological crises, including those of biodiversity and ecosystem loss, driven by uncontrolled consumption in the Global North. Finally, while it commits to holding corporations accountable to domestic climate goals and labour standards, it does not ensure that they will also be held accountable globally (beyond carbon emissions). Similarly, while Bernie’s proposals were committed to ending rising inequality within the US, through taxes on fossil fuel billionaires and “green jobs” for low-income sectors, it is not clear how this inequality would be addressed in a way that does not just shift it outside the US.

As such, the GND cannot adequately challenge the structures of capitalism and patriarchy, and from a global perspective remains rooted in “green” colonialism. It effectively perpetuates the quest for cheap raw materials and black and brown labouring bodies to achieve “green” growth.

In the context of the Global South, then, the GND has failed to illustrate what is “new” about it. Put differently, it is simply inadequate, and indeed unjust, in our current hyper-connected world (laid bare by COVID-19) to limit a GND to the national policy of Global North countries. For instance, if a GND for Europe promises to be “climate neutral,” whose resources and labour will be deployed to power Europe’s unrestrained energy and consumption demands?

This is an especially salient question given how renewable technologies for “cleaner,” “greener” economies depend on the same socially and ecologically degrading land and labour practices as traditional energy sources. They are also conveniently located in countries of the Global South, such as Bolivia and DR Congo, where regulatory safeguards are more lax. The uneven playing field of resources and regulatory frameworks works in the favour of those who have not only historically usurped resources and labouring bodies around the world but also currently dictate the modus operandi of development, including its “greener and eco-friendly” varieties. What is easily forgotten in “eco-friendly” talk is just how development models of the Global North are structurally founded on dehumanization, in which hundreds of millions across the globe are seduced and stripped of their diverse ways of knowing the world, and dumbed down into passive consumerist onlookers and screen junkies, unable or unwilling to acknowledge (much less act upon) the consequences of their consumption patterns.

#### Ag collapse---short term.

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

The Triassic-Permian ‘great dying’ was a megaphase change taking place through pulses lasting for tens of thousands of years, separated by interludes of hundreds of thousands of years, if not millions. The current mass extinction event is a megaphase change taking place in microphase time. Mass extinction is punctuated by the production of what the environmentalist Jonathan Lymbery calls ‘dead zones’: the conversion of wild ecosystems into dead monocultures. In Sumatra, these dead zones are made by burning rainforest and, amid the stench of death, planting palm crop. The palm oil is used in foods and household items, while the nut is used in animal feed. It is secured with barbed wire, and treated with poison, to prevent the crop from being eaten. Surviving animal life, and surrounding human communities, are pushed to the edges, to the brink of extinction. Agricultural workers are abused, underpaid, even enslaved. This is an example of what Moore would call ‘cheap food’, where the ‘value composition’ of the goods, the amount of waged labour necessary to produce each item is ‘below the systemwide average for all commodities’. In this case, a ‘cheap nature’ is produced by a distinctly capitalist form of territorialisation, wherein forestry is converted through deforestation into palm monoculture, while ‘cheap labour’ is secured partly through the dispossession of neighbouring human communities. More calories with less socially-necessary labour-time is cheap food. Cheap is not, of course, the same thing as efficient. Food production is, alongside fuel, a fulcrum of the capitalist organisation of work-energetics. It is one that, as with fossil fuels, wastes an incredible amount of the energy it extracts. According to the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations), 30 per cent of cereals grown for human and animal consumption are wasted, along with almost half of all root crops, fruits and vegetables. To conclude from this grotesque squander that a ‘more efficient’ capitalism would ‘solve the problem’ of ‘the environment’ would be to fail to understand waste, capitalism and ecology: that the first is intrinsic to the second; that the second, whatever the degree to which it is inflected by the first, is inimical to the third. Capitalism also directly undermines its own productivity, precisely through its industrially-produced biospheric destruction. According to the UN, for example, there are at most sixty harvests remaining before the world’s soils are too exhausted to feed the planet. This edaphic impoverishment is a product, not a byproduct. It is the predictable, and long-predicted, consequence of intensive agriculture, over-grazing and the destruction of natural features (such as trees) that prevent erosion. Likewise, the death-drop of insect biomass, the decline of pollinating bees, are hastened by the extensive use of pesticides and fertilisers. Capitalist food production can only evade the problem – a problem, in its terms, of accumulation – either by establishing new ‘cheap natures’ through such means as deforestation, or by extracting rent from competitor producers through such means as intellectual property rights. For instance, since 1994’s notorious TRIPS agreement (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights), through the rules of UPOV (Union for the Protection of New Plant Varieties), particularly the notorious UPOV 1991, and in the face of local fightbacks from Guatemala to Ghana, the World Trade Organisation has enforced property agreements outlawing the saving of seeds from one season to the next, thus sharply raising costs for farmers producing 70 per cent of the global food supply.

#### 2) Carbon bubble, peak oil.

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

The Carbon Tracker Initiative, a London-based think tank serving the energy industry, reports that the steep decline in the price of generating solar and wind energy “will inevitably lead to trillions of dollars of stranded assets across the corporate sector and hit petro-states that fail to reinvent themselves,” while “putting trillions at risk for unsavvy investors oblivious to the speed of the unfolding energy transition.”19 “Stranded assets” are all the fossil fuels that will remain in the ground because of falling demand as well as the abandonment of pipelines, ocean platforms, storage facilities, energy generation plants, backup power plants, petrochemical processing facilities, and industries tightly coupled to the fossil fuel culture. Behind the scenes, a seismic struggle is taking place as four of the principal sectors responsible for global warming—the Information and Communications Technology (ICT)/telecommunications sector, the power and electric utility sector, the mobility and logistics sector, and the buildings sector—are beginning to decouple from the fossil fuel industry in favor of adopting the cheaper new green energies. The result is that within the fossil fuel industry, “around $100 trillion of assets could be ‘carbon stranded.’”20 The carbon bubble is the largest economic bubble in history. And studies and reports over the past twenty-four months—from within the global financial community, the insurance sector, global trade organizations, national governments, and many of the leading consulting agencies in the energy industry, the transportation sector, and the real estate sector—suggest that the imminent collapse of the fossil fuel industrial civilization could occur sometime between 2023 and 2030, as key sectors decouple from fossil fuels and rely on ever-cheaper solar, wind, and other renewable energies and accompanying zero-carbon technologies.21 The United States, currently the leading oil-producing nation, will be caught in the crosshairs between the plummeting price of solar and wind and the fallout from peak oil demand and accumulating stranded assets in the oil industry.22

#### Capitalism causes endless warfare and imperial violence.

Robinson, 20 is Professor of Sociology, University of California at Santa Barbara. (WILLIAM I. ROBINSON “Militarised accumulation: the global war economy” accessed online 9/16/2021 <https://arena.org.au/global-capitalist-crisis-deadlier-than-coronavirus-part-ii/>)

Militarised accumulation: the global war economy Beyond financial speculation, debt-driven growth, and pillaging state finances, the transnational capitalist class (TCC) turned to another mechanism to sustain accumulation in the face of stagnation, what I have termed militarised accumulation. Savage global inequalities are politically explosive and to the extent that the system is simply unable to reverse them or to incorporate surplus humanity it turns to ever more violent forms of containment to manage immiserated populations. As popular discontent has spread in recent years, the dominant groups have imposed systems of mass social control, repression and warfare—from mass incarceration to deadly new modalities of policing and omnipresent systems of state and private surveillance—to contain the actual and the potential rebellion of the global working class and surplus humanity. Militarised accumulation refers to how the global economy is becoming ever more dependent on the development and deployment of systems of warfare, social control and repression, apart from political considerations, simply as a means of making profit and continuing to accumulate capital in the face of stagnation. As the crisis intensifies, militarised accumulation may take over as prime driver of the global economy. The so-called wars on drugs and terrorism, the undeclared wars on immigrants, refugees and gangs (and poor, dark-skinned and working-class youth more generally), the construction of border walls, immigration detention centres, prison-industrial complexes and systems of mass surveillance, and the spread of private security-guard and mercenary companies have all become major sources of profit-making and they will become more important to the system as economic depression sets in. The events of September 11, 2001, marked the start of an era of permanent global war in which logistics, warfare, intelligence, repression, surveillance and even military personnel are more and more the privatised domain of transnational capital. Criminalisation of surplus humanity activates state-sanctioned repression, opening up new profit-making opportunities for the TCC. The Pentagon budget increased 91 per cent in real terms between 1998 and 2011, while worldwide, total defence outlays grew by 50 per cent from 2006 to 2015, from $1.4 trillion to $2.03 trillion, some 3 per cent of gross world product, although this figure does not take into account hundreds of billions of dollars in ‘homeland security’ spending. In the decade from 2001 to 2011 military-industry profits nearly quadrupled. Led by the United States as the predominant world power, military expansion in different countries has taken place through parallel, and often conflictive, processes, yet all show the same relationship between state militarisation and global capital accumulation. But militarised accumulation involves vastly more than activities generated by state military budgets. There are immense sums involved in state spending and private corporate accumulation through militarisation and other forms of generating profit through repressive social control that do not involve militarisation per se. The various wars, conflicts, and campaigns of social control and repression around the world involve the fusion of private accumulation with state militarisation. In this relationship, the state facilitates the expansion of opportunities for private capital to accumulate through militarisation, such as by facilitating global weapons sales by military-industrial-security firms, the amounts of which have reached unprecedented levels. Global weapons sales by the top 100 weapons manufacturers and military service companies increased by 38 per cent between 2002 and 2016. Private military and security firms have proliferated worldwide and their deployment is not limited to the major conflict zones in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. In his study Corporate Warriors, P. W. Singer documents how private military forces (PMFs) have come to play an ever more central role in military conflicts and wars. Beyond the many based in the United States, PMFs come from numerous countries around the world, including Russia, South Africa, Colombia, Mexico, India, the EU countries and Israel. PMF clients include states, corporations, landowners, non-governmental organisations, and even the Colombian and Mexican drug cartels. By 2018, private military companies employed some 15 million people around the world, deploying forces to guard corporate property, provide personal security for TCC executives and their families, collect data, conduct police, paramilitary, counterinsurgency and surveillance operations, carry out mass crowd control and repression of protesters, manage prisons, run private detention and interrogation facilities, and participate in outright warfare. In addition, there were an outstanding 20 million private security workers worldwide in 2017, and the industry was expected to be worth over $220 billion by 2020. In half of the world’s countries, private security agents outnumber police officers. Meanwhile, criminalisation of the poor, the racially oppressed, immigrants, refugees and other vulnerable communities activates ‘legitimate’ state repression to enforce the accumulation of capital, whereby the state turns to private capital to carry out the repression of those criminalised. There has been a rapid increase in imprisonment in countries around the world, led by the United States, which has been exporting its own system of mass incarceration. The global prison population grew by 24 per cent from 2000 to 2018. This carceral state opens up enormous opportunities at multiple levels for militarised accumulation. Worldwide there were in the early twenty-first century some 200 privately operated prisons on all continents and many more ‘public–private partnerships’ that involved privatised prison services and other forms of for-profit custodial services such as privatised electronic-monitoring programs. The countries that were developing private prisons ranged from most member states of the EU to Israel, Russia, Thailand, Hong Kong, South Africa, New Zealand, Ecuador, Australia, Costa Rica, Chile, Peru, Brazil and Canada. Every phase in the war on migrants and refugees has become a wellspring of profit-making, from private, for-profit detention centres and the provision of services inside public detention centres such as healthcare, food and phone systems to other ancillary activities of the deportation regime, such as government contracting of private charter flights to ferry deportees back home and the equipping of armies of border agents. In the United States, the border-security industry was set to double in value, from $305 billion in 2011 to some $740 billion in 2023. In Europe, the budget for the EU public–private border-security agency, Frontex, increased a whopping 3688 per cent between 2005 and 2016, while the European border-security market was expected to nearly double, from some $18 billion in 2015 to approximately $34 billion in 2022. When the health emergency comes to an end we may be left with a global economy even more dependent on this militarised accumulation than before the virus hit, and with the threat that the ruling groups will turn to war. Historically, wars have pulled the capitalist system out of crisis and have also served to deflect attention from political tensions and problems of legitimacy.

#### Competitively oriented, capitalist economics makes great power war inevitable.

Alan J. SPECTOR 10, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University Calumet, Indiana [“Neoliberal Globalization and Capitalist Crises in the Age of Imperialism” in *Globalization in the 21st Century: Labor, Capital, and the State on a World Scale*, ed. by Berberoglu, 2010, p. 48-51]

How might this impact international relations? One might assume that the biggest, wealthiest nations will see a need to cooperate to [END PAGE 48] solve their common problems, and indeed, in the short term, we can see meetings and conferences designed to encourage cooperation. But underlying this whole process are serious potential problems as the advanced capitalist countries compete with each other for profits and control over the less developed countries (what Lenin called “inter-imperialist rivalry”), and that can set the stage for sharper conflicts among the imperialist countries themselves (Lenin 1969). This intense economic crisis puts even greater strains on these capitalist economies and pressures them into finding more international sources of profits, and this, in turn, increases the possibilities for various types of conflicts, not just with smaller countries but with larger ones as well.

World War I appeared to have been started by a conflict between two different factions from small countries in the Balkans, but these countries were proxies for the powerful nations that were battling for much bigger prizes, including Arabian oil. More recently, the U.S. war in Iraq, begun in 2003, has been characterized by some as a war for democracy. This has been critiqued by those who point out U.S. military inaction in the many other areas of the world where the lack of democracy has hurt many more people. Others see it as a war for oil. This has been critiqued by those who point out that the United States has vast quantities of oil, and, in fact, imports very little oil from Iraq. A more subtle but still economically based analysis sees the war as largely motivated by the need to control the flow of oil to Europe, China, and other rivals of U.S. imperialism. Stabilizing a regime in Iraq that would be friendly to U.S. corporate interests is seen as providing a military base to protect U.S. oil company interests in the whole region. It is seen as a way to neutralize Iran, perhaps turning it into a U.S. ally, as it had been for a part of the twentieth century. It would protect the profits that U.S. corporations reap as middlemen, resellers of the region’s oil to others (e.g., Europe). It is not so much the actual oil that the U.S. needs, but rather the huge profits that are made acquiring and then reselling that oil to others who need it. Finally, controlling that oil has other important politicaleconomic benefits. Neither France, nor Germany, Japan, Italy, or Spain own significant sources of oil. Russia has huge amounts of natural gas, but also eyes the clean, inexpensive Arabian and Iranian oil. China has growing needs and is fervently seeking new sources of oil from the Sudan, Eastern Ethiopia, and Nigeria to Venezuela and Mexico. India, too, will have growing needs. If the U.S. corporations can maintain tight control on the oil resources of Iraq, and by extension parts of that region, they can maintain an advantage over those [END PAGE 49] competing oil importers and thus assure U.S. control and domination over the oil resources of the Middle East. It might seem counterintuitive to see allies such as the United States, France, Germany, India, and Japan as rivals to be outmaneuvered by each other, but in a capitalist world, all alliances are ultimately temporary while competition is fundamental. Wallerstein, among others, has argued that there was a sizeable faction within the erstwhile Bush administration that was motivated not just by the so-called Clash of Civilizations between the United States and the radical Islamic movement, but by the economic and political power of Western Europe, Russia, and China as well.

More recently, President Obama has sent a force of over 30,000 more troops to Afghanistan. While Afghanistan may seem to be a poor country with few resources, the reality is that it is strategically located for gas and oil pipelines and for military positioning near Russia, China, and the oil-rich areas in that region.

When the USSR collapsed and much of Eastern Europe pushed aside the various Soviet-style regimes, many mainstream politicians and political theorists postulated that the United States would be the sole superpower for many years to come, the premier world power in a world that was embracing free market capitalism. Even China was opening up its economy to U.S. investments. Within a few years, however, various regional nationalists, especially in the Islamic world, were working to expand their political and economic influence. It was not only the United States that would gain from the collapse of Soviet influence in much of the world. Meanwhile, much of Western Europe moved toward closer economic and political integration, with a unified currency, political alliances, and more coordinated international cooperation on environmental and other policies. This unity might appear to help stabilize the global political situation, but it also creates pressure on some political and economic interests within the United States. The Euro is being used in place of the U.S. dollar in parts of the world, the opposition to U.S. foreign policy, military action, and human rights and environmental policy seems to be growing, and European investments in areas formerly secure for U.S. investments, such as Latin America, are competing with U.S. interests. The European Union, much of which President Bush derided as “Old Europe” in decline, has helped bolster the Hugo Chavez regime in Venezuela and continues to trade with Cuba, as well as lending support to other political movements that are at odds with U.S. imperialism. Currently, the European Union is investing heavily in Mexico. China, too, is rapidly increasing its investments in Latin America. The [END PAGE 50] recent war of words between Russia and the United States, because Russia sees U.S. missiles near its border as a threat, is another example of increased tensions among the great powers. This has been further intensified by the recent conflict between Russia and the former Soviet republic of Georgia, where the United States has been propping up a regime to stir up trouble along the Russian border.

No one is predicting a massive inter-imperialist World War in the near future. The big powers have much to gain from cooperation and much to lose from a major war. However, the increased rivalry among the major capitalist powers in a shrinking world, combined with the rise in economic, technological, and political power of China and India, will create more pressure on all the major capitalist powers. World War I was unthinkable in the early 1890s, the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the big influence that the Soviet government had over hundreds of millions of people over the next seventy years was not imagined by anyone twenty years earlier, the rise of defeated Germany to world power status just twenty years after its crushing defeat in World War I was not predicted by many, and the rather sudden collapse of the Soviet Bloc around 1990 and the very different world that has developed since then were also unexpected just twenty years earlier. How the increased economic pressures of today will be resolved cannot easily be predicted, but history should caution us against predicting one hundred years of world peace, especially as today’s pressures and crises have become globalized in this shrinking world.

#### BUT the Alt solves war---changes calculi that enable conflict.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Socialism is just as popular as capitalism among young Americans — transition is possible.

Salmon 21, Chief financial correspondent at Axios. He writes the weekly Axios Capital newsletter and covers all the ways that money drives the world (Felix, June 25th, “America's continued move toward socialism,” *Axios*, <https://www.axios.com/americas-continued-move-toward-socialism-84a0dda7-4b8d-483a-8c4e-0c2e562c4e67.html>, Accessed 09-17-2021)

Just half of younger Americans now hold a positive view of capitalism — and socialism's appeal in the U.S. continues to grow, driven by Black Americans and women, according to a new Axios/Momentive poll.

Why it matters: The pandemic has caused millions of Americans — including many younger Republicans — to re-evaluate their political and economic worldview. That's likely because of two factors: a renewed focus on deep societal inequalities and the tangible upsides of unprecedented levels of government intervention.

"The pandemic is sure to have lasting impact for decades to come," said Jon Cohen, the chief research officer for Momentive (formerly SurveyMonkey).

The intrigue: Shifts are happening on the right as well as the left, at least among those under 35.

Just 66% of Republicans and GOP-leaners ages 18-34 have a positive view of capitalism, down from 81% in January 2019, when we first polled on these questions.

56% of younger Republicans say the government should pursue policies that reduce the wealth gap, up from just 40% two years ago.

By the numbers: In 2019, 58% of Americans ages 18-34 reacted positively to the word capitalism. That's plunged to 49% today.

Back then, 39% of all U.S. adults viewed socialism positively. That has since ticked up to 41%.

Socialism has positive connotations for 60% of Black Americans, 45% of American women and 33% of non-white Republicans. Those numbers have grown over the past two years from 53%, 41% and 27%, respectively.

Only 48% of American women view capitalism in a positive light, down from 51% two years ago.

Today, 18-34 year-olds are almost evenly split between those who view capitalism positively and those who view it negatively (49% vs. 46%). Two years ago, that margin was a gaping 20 points (58% vs. 38%).

The bottom line: Politicians looking to attack opponents to their left can no longer use the word "socialist" as an all-purpose pejorative. Increasingly, it's worn as a badge of pride.

## 1NR

### T-Private Sector

#### Here’s just a short-list of the most notable industries (that certainly have advocates)

Select USA No Date (“INDUSTRIES”, <https://www.selectusa.gov/industries> , date accessed 9/11/21)

The United States is home to the most innovative and productive companies in the world, forming a diverse and competitive group of industry sectors. The U.S. industries highlighted here are exceptionally dynamic and represent key opportunities for global growth and success.

Aerospace

Agribusiness

Automotive

Biopharmaceuticals

Chemicals

Consumer Goods

Energy

Environmental Technology

Financial Services

Logistics and Transportation

Machinery and Equipment

Media and Entertainment

Medical Technology

Professional Services

Retail Trade

Software and IT Services

Textiles

Travel, Tourism, and Hospitality

#### There are 32 million businesses in the US

FedCommunities 9/9 (“Small-business owners: Share your experiences with credit access this past year” , <https://fedcommunities.org/data/2021-take-federal-reserve-small-businesses-credit-survey/> , September 9, 2021, date accessed 9/11/21)

There are 32.5 million small businesses in the United States. That’s 32.5 million stories of small-business ownership. Representative data drawn from these stories can shed light on more universal experiences.

#### 1.5 million non-profits

Candid Learning No Date (“How many nonprofit organizations are there in the U.S.?” , <https://learning.candid.org/resources/knowledge-base/number-of-nonprofits-in-the-u-s/> , date accessed 9/11/21)

According to the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS), more than 1.5 million nonprofit organizations are registered in the U.S. This number includes public charities, private foundations, and other types of nonprofit organizations, including chambers of commerce, fraternal organizations and civic leagues.

#### Antitrust prohibitions can be global

Hamer et al 16 (Mark H. Hamer is a partner in Baker & McKenzie's Washington, DC office and Chair of the Firm’s North American Antitrust and Competition Practice Group. Celina Joachim is a partner in Baker McKenzie's Houston office and certified in labor and employment law by the Texas Board of Legal Specialization. She represents management in all aspects of labor and employment law, including employment arbitration, litigation, counseling, and traditional labor law. Cynthia Jackson is a partner in the Compliance Group in Baker & McKenzie's Palo Alto office. “US Federal Agencies Issue Joint Guidance for HR Professionals Warning of Criminal Liability for Wage-Fixing and No-Poaching Agreements” , <https://www.globalcompliancenews.com/2016/11/15/us-issues-guidance-for-hr-professionals-wage-fixing-20161110/> , NOVEMBER 15, 2016, date accessed 9/5/21)

US antitrust prohibitions can apply to global conduct when there is a negative effect on competition in the United States. For instance, agreements between non-US companies, or transactions driven outside of the US, that include US compensation data, wage or benefit sharing, and/or no-hire / no poach or wage fixing agreements which impact US workforces will be in violation of this new guidance and constitute unlawful antitrust agreements. Multinational employers should therefore be mindful of sharing data or entering into such restrictive agreements where they involve US workforces.

#### And cover specific products

Markham 11 (Jesse W. Markham, Jr-\* Marshall P. Madison Professor of Law, The University of San Francisco School of Law. “LESSONS FOR COMPETITION LAW FROM THE ECONOMIC CRISIS: THE PROSPECT FOR ANTITRUST RESPONSES TO THE “TOO-BIG-TO-FAIL” PHENOMENON” , FORDHAM JOURNAL OF CORPORATE & FINANCIAL LAW, Vol. 16, Issue 2, <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1281&context=jcfl> , 2011, date accessed 9/11/21)

A merger is not the only setting in which antitrust champions scale efficiencies. At the retail level, economies of scale constitute a legitimate reason for a manufacturer to limit intrabrand competition by imposing vertical restraints.92 Antitrust law also generally tolerates combinations of competitors into joint ventures to achieve economies of scale, with the presence of such efficiencies removing a challenge from the application of per se condemnation and establishing a facially plausible justification for the concerted activity.93 Removing conduct from per se illegality comes close to legalizing it, given the rarity of plaintiff successes in challenging the conduct under the rule of reason.94

[[BEGIN FOOTNOTE 94]]

94. One rare successful challenge under the rule of reason is found in Polygram Holding, Inc. v. FTC, 416 F.3d 29 (D.C. Cir. 2005), a case that is indicative of the difficulties plaintiffs face under Post-Chicago School antitrust rules. In that case the FTC challenged an agreement between competing record companies to suspend advertising and discounting of two record albums temporarily during the launch period for a jointly-produced recording. The court affirmed the FTC’s application of the rule of reason to the challenged agreement, even though it involved competitors agreeing not to put specific products on sale for a period of time – a collusive restriction on price and advertising that in an earlier era probably would have met with per se condemnation.

[[END FOOTNOTE 94]]

#### Other parts of the US code concur

US Code 96 (United States Code, 2 U.S. Code § 658 – Definitions, <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/2/658#9> , Section effective Jan. 1, 1996, date accessed 9/10/21)

(9) Private sector

The term ``private sector'' means all persons or entities in the United States, including individuals, partnerships, associations, corporations, and educational and nonprofit institutions, but shall not include State, local, or tribal governments.

#### AND, policy analysts

Adler 99 – Senior Director of Environmental Policy, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C. (Jonathan, “WETLANDS, WATERFOWL, AND THE MENACE OF MR. WILSON: COMMERCECLAUSE JURISPRUDENCE AND THE LIMITS OF FEDERAL WETLAND REGULATION,” 29 Envtl. L. 1)

In discussions of environmental policy, it is traditional to equate environmental protection with environmental regulation. This connection is unfounded, however. Direct government regulation is only one means of addressing environmental problems. Other approaches include the use of fiscal instruments (for example, subsidies and taxes), direct government provision or purchase of public goods, and the creation or recognition of property rights in environmental resources. 404Link to the text of the note Fiscal instruments are typically used to modify behavior in the marketplace by changing the incentives faced by individuals and corporations. For example, providing a financial incentive to maintain habitat for endangered species will induce more landowners to protect species habitat than if the government had not provided an added incentive. Similarly, taxing certain activities, such as the emission or particular substances, will reduce those activities on the margin. 405Link to the text of the note In circumstances in which federal policymakers believe that the private sector will underprovide a public good, the federal government can provide the good directly. 406Link to the text of the note Federal agencies can, and do, purchase ecologically sensitive lands from private landowners and groups to ensure [55] their protection. 407Link to the text of the note In those cases where landowners are unwilling to sell, the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution allows the federal government to take land for public use so long as compensation is provided. 408Link to the text of the note Thus, the federal government can use the spending power to advance environmental goals where its regulatory powers are limited. Governments need not take direct action to facilitate conservation efforts. The creation of property interests empowers owners to act as stewards of environmental resources and facilitates conservation efforts in the private sector.

\*\*\*start 409\*\*\*

It should be noted that here the phrase "private sector" is used to encompass all nongovernmental institutions and undertakings, and not just for-profit corporations and profit- seeking individuals.

\*\*\*end 409\*\*\*

Thus, the recognition of conservation easements empowers conservation groups to purchase development rights from a given parcel of land and protect the present ecological values. 410Link to the text of the note Similarly, when states recognize property interests in instream water flows, a local environmental group can purchase instream flows to improve salmon habitat. 411Link to the text of the note Internationally, allowing the commercial utilization and quasi- ownership of elephants in Zimbabwe has led to larger herds and the devotion of greater acreage for wildlife habitat. 412Link to the text of the note In New Zealand the creation of fishing rights known as "individual transferable quotas" (ITQs) reduced overfishing and encouraged fishermen to support sustainable harvesting. 413Link to the text of the note The expansion of property rights in these areas further enhances the already substantial private conservation efforts going on today. 414Link to the text of the note

#### AND, international law

Avis 16 (Dr William Robert Avis-International Development Department Research Fellow @ University of Birmingham. “Private sector engagement in fragile and conflict-affected settings”, GSDRC Applied Knowledge Services Helpdesk Research Report , 13.01.2016 <http://unprmeb4p.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Private-sector-engagement-in-fragile-and-conflict-affected-settings.pdf> , date accessed 7/19/21).

NOTE: \*DFAT is short for Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the department of the Australian federal government responsible for foreign policy and relations, international aid, consular services and trade and investment.

Whilst PSD is considered to have an important role to play in the field of economic development, there is much debate over what constitutes ‘best practice’ in PSD and what the term private sector encompasses. The private sector1 [[BEGIN FOOTNOTE 1]] DFAT use the term ‘private sector’ to refer to all commercial enterprises (businesses) and includes individual farmers and street traders, small and medium enterprises, large locally-owned firms and multinational corporations.[[END FOOTNOTE 1]] can include local formal, informal and illegal actors, diaspora communities and regional and multinational players (Peschka, 2010). This review adopts DFATs definition of private sector engagement which is characterised as a tool to achieve better development outcomes in private sector development and human development.

#### This is the most common usage

Your Dictionary No Date(“Private-sector” , <https://www.yourdictionary.com/private-sector> , date accessed 9/10/21)

Private-sector meaning

The part of the economy that is controlled by individuals or private organizations and is not funded by the government.

noun

(business) All organizations in an economy or jurisdiction that are not controlled by government, including privately owned businesses and not-for-profit organizations.

*After spending two decades at various government agencies, he returned to the private sector and took a job as a business consultant.*

#### The consumer welfare standard is the heart of antitrust—it’s an entire topic’s worth of literature

Dorsey 20 (Elyse Dorsey-At the time of publication: Counsel to the Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division @ U.S. Department of Justice; Adjunct Professor @ George Mason University - Antonin Scalia Law School. “Antitrust in Retrograde: The Consumer Welfare Standard, Socio-Political Goals, and the Future of Enforcement”. , The Global Antitrust Institute Report *on the Digital Economy 4*, <https://gaidigitalreport.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Dorsey-Antitrust-in-Retrograde.pdf> , date accessed 9/11/21)

Judge Richard A. Posner famously described the consumer welfare standard as the “lodestar that shall guide the contemporary application of the antitrust laws” in 1986.1 In the decades since, the antitrust community readily embraced the “lodestar” denomination.2 The consumer welfare standard is indeed the focal point of modern antitrust analysis, guiding decisions and informing the rules and standards antitrust law imposes. But this is not the consumer welfare standard’s only function as lodestar. It is both guide and tether. It serves as the linchpin tying antitrust law to economic concepts and reasoning. Its guidance illuminates both what antitrust law is and—just as important, what it is not. The consumer welfare standard provides the basis for distinguishing between those concerns that antitrust law appropriately considers and those that it rightly omits. In doing so, the consumer welfare standard ensures a common language is spoken across antitrust matters today.

Antitrust law did not always operate with a common language. For many decades following the passage of the Sherman Act in 1890, antitrust lacked a unifying, consistent language. It was a cacophonous area of law, where decisions could be—and often were— premised upon vastly different reasoning from one to another, leading to numerous inconsistencies and internal tensions. This resulted in a general confusion as to how any given case would be decided. But more fundamentally, to questions regarding the very goals of antitrust law.

The consumer welfare standard, with its economic underpinning, has come to represent a robust language defining antitrust discourse today. For the last several decades, courts and enforcers, economists and practitioners, and other experts have developed this language. The analysis today is far more comprehensive than it was when the courts first embraced the consumer welfare standard 40 years ago. Experts have continued to investigate and seek out theories of harm; to develop economic tools for empirically investigating conduct; and to analyze numerous other components factoring into antitrust analysis, such as potential efficiencies.

Of late, the consumer welfare standard—and antitrust law more broadly—has come under renewed criticism. Criticisms come in various forms, but largely follow a similar thread, cataloguing its purported limitations: That it myopically focuses upon the short term and only upon price effects; that it omits consideration of important sociopolitical goals; that it is incapable of identifying and condemning problems endemic in the modern economy. While some of the criticisms ring true (the consumer welfare standard does not permit consideration of socio-political factors), others do not (the consumer welfare standard addresses far more than short term price effects). And many miss the mark because they overlook the history of how and why we arrived at the current understanding.

Indeed, a common characteristic of the current criticism, often referred to as the Neo-Brandeisian movement, is that it bears remarkable resemblance to those populist movements that came before it. Today, antitrust critics make nearly the exact same arguments regarding the proper goals of antitrust law—any number of socio-political ends such as protecting small businesses and preventing “bigness”—that similar movements throughout the 20th century (and the late 19th century) espoused.3 Antitrust law did, in fact, embrace a more socio-political approach, which explicitly purported to serve just such values, for much of the 20th century.

#### Second, they change the burden of proof, the rule of reason, which applies across the economy—per se changes that

Kimmel and Fanchiang 20 (Lisa Kimmel-Senior Counsel at Crowell & Moring, LLP in Washington, D.C., twenty years of experience as an antitrust lawyer and holds a Ph.D. in economics from the University of California at Berkeley; and Eric Fanchiang, associate in Crowell & Moring’s Irvine, CA office and a member of the firm’s antitrust and commercial litigation group. “Antitrust and Intellectual Property Licensing,” in *2020 Licensing Update*, Wolters Kluwer Legal & Regulatory U.S., 2020, <https://www.crowell.com/files/20200401-Licensing-Update-Chapter-13.pdf> , date accessed 9/11/21)

The key substantive provisions of the Sherman Act are Sections 1 and 2. Section 1 prohibits agreements that unreasonably restrain trade. An agreement can be any “meeting of the minds” between separate entities. An agreement can be express or in the form of a tacit unwritten understanding.5 Most agreements are evaluated under the “rule of reason” standard. The rule of reason is a fact-based test that requires a plaintiff to prove that an agreement has harmed competition. To prove that an agreement has harmed competition, courts typically apply a three-step burden shifting framework. The plaintiff has the initial burden to show that the agreement imposed a meaningful restriction on competition in a relevant market. Agreements among parties that do not possess some degree of market power are unlikely to generate competitive harm, so market power plays an important role in step one of the test, either directly or indirectly. If the plaintiff shows competitive harm, the defendant must show a procompetitive rationale for the agreement. If the defendant succeeds, the burden shifts back to the plaintiff to show that the same benefits could reasonably be achieved in a less restrictive manner.6

Where courts have determined that a particular type of agreement is unlikely to ever generate procompetitive benefits, that agreement is subject to the per se rather than rule of reason standard.7 If an agreement is per se unlawful, competitive harm is presumed and irrebuttable. Even parties that do not possess market power can violate Section 1 under the per se standard.8 Agreements in the per se category are primarily limited to agreements among competitors to fix prices, allocate territories, or engage in bid rigging. The DOJ has the discretion to prosecute these kinds of “hard core” violations criminally.9

#### Specifically expands the scope

Richman 84 (Daniel C. Richman-J.D., Yale University, 1984. “Antitrust Standing, Antitrust Injury, and the Per Se Standard” , *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 93: 1309, 1984, Hein accessed online via KU Libraries, date accessed 9/4/21)

As merely a "special case" of the rule of reason,' the per se standard is not intended to condemn conduct that the rule of reason would not bar. Nonetheless, the per se rules have often operated to expand the scope of antitrust liability.15 In part, this expansion has been caused by the questionable validity of the presumptions made by certain per se rules. Expectations that vertical price fixing' 6 and certain kinds of boycotts' will in variably disrupt competition may well be unfounded. The leverage theory, which underlies the per se rule against tying arrangements and argues that a firm can use its power in one market to force its way into another market, has been especially criticized."8 By freezing certain theories into mechanically applied rules and by obstructing further analysis, the per se standard may condemn conduct that would have passed muster under the rule of reason. 9 Even if the government were the sole enforcer of the antitrust laws, this overbreadth would impose a cost on defendants in the form of increased liability, and on society by deterring socially efficient activities. The existence of the private action for treble damages, however, has created a second, less noticed, cost of the per se standard.

#### Third, other changes to the 5 areas of antitrust as long as they apply to on-going practices across the entire private sector

Foer 16 (Albert Foer-The American Antitrust Institute, “A Vocabulary for Conversing About Entrepreneurship, Innovation, and Antitrust”, *The Antitrust Bulletin* 2016, Vol. 61(4) 479-493, Hein accessed online via KU libraries, date accessed 9/11/21)

Antitrust in the United States operates in five areas: anticonspiracy (Section 1 of the Sherman Act23), antimonopolization (Section 2 of the Sherman Act24), merger controls (the Clayton Act25), unfair methods of competition (Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission [FTC] Act,26 incorporating anticonspiracy, antimonopoly, and merger controls, plus a still-unclear penumbra), and competition advocacy. The latter is the realm in which the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) and the FTC, our two federal antitrust enforcement agencies, use their expertise to attempt to influence other agencies of federal and state government to adopt policies consistent with antitrust’s figurative role as ‘‘the Magna Carta of free enterprise.’’27