### 1

#### The standard is maximizing expected wellbeing.

#### Prefer it:

#### 1] Actor specificity:

#### A] Aggregation – every policy benefits some and harms others, which also means side constraints freeze action.

#### B] No act-omission distinction – choosing to omit is an act itself – governments decide not to act which means being presented with the aff creates a choice between two actions, neither of which is an omission

#### C] No intent-foresight distinction – If we foresee a consequence, then it becomes part of our deliberation which makes it intrinsic to our action since we intend it to happen

#### 2] Lexical pre-requisite: threats to bodily security preclude the ability for moral actors to effectively act upon other moral theories since they are in a constant state of crisis that inhibits the ideal moral conditions which other theories presuppose

#### 3] Only consequentialism explains degrees of wrongness—if I break a promise to meet up for lunch, that is not as bad as breaking a promise to take a dying person to the hospital. Only the consequences of breaking the promise explain why the second one is much worse than the first. Intuitions outweigh—they’re the foundational basis for any argument and theories that contradict our intuitions are most likely false even if we can’t deductively determine why.

#### 5] Psychological evidence proves we don’t identify with our future selves.

Opar 14. Alisa Opar (articles editor at Audubon magazine; cites Hal Hershfield, an assistant professor at New York University’s Stern School of Business; and Emily Pronin, a psychologist at Princeton) “Why We Procrastinate” Nautilus January 2014

“The British philosopher Derek Parfit espoused a severely reductionist view of personal identity in his seminal book, Reasons and Persons: It does not exist, at least not in the way we usually consider it. We humans, Parfit argued, are not a consistent identity moving through time, but a chain of successive selves, each tangentially linked to, and yet distinct from, the previous and subsequent ones. The boy who begins to smoke despite knowing that he may suffer from the habit decades later should not be judged harshly: “This boy does not identify with his future self,” Parfit wrote. “His attitude towards this future self is in some ways like his attitude to other people.” Parfit’s view was controversial even among philosophers. But psychologists are beginning to understand that it may accurately describe our attitudes towards our own decision-making: It turns out that we see our future selves as strangers. Though we will inevitably share their fates, the people we will become in a decade, quarter century, or more, are unknown to us. This impedes our ability to make good choices on their—which of course is our own—behalf. That bright, shiny New Year’s resolution? If you feel perfectly justified in breaking it, it may be because it feels like it was a promise someone else made. “It’s kind of a weird notion,” says Hal Hershfield, an assistant professor at New York University’s Stern School of Business. “On a psychological and emotional level we really consider that future self as if it’s another person.” Using MRI, Hershfield and colleagues studied brain activity changes when people imagine their future and consider their present. They homed in on two areas of the brain called the medial prefrontal cortex and the rostral anterior cingulate cortex, which are more active when a subject thinks about himself than when he thinks of someone else. They found these same areas were more strongly activated when subjects thought of themselves today, than of themselves in the future. Their future self “felt” like somebody else. In fact, their neural activity when they described themselves in a decade was similar to that when they described Matt Damon or Natalie Portman. And subjects whose brain activity changed the most when they spoke about their future selves were the least likely to favor large long-term financial gains over small immediate ones. Emily Pronin, a psychologist at Princeton, has come to similar conclusions in her research. In a 2008 study, Pronin and her team told college students that they were taking part in an experiment on disgust that required drinking a concoction made of ketchup and soy sauce. The more they, their future selves, or other students consumed, they were told, the greater the benefit to science. Students who were told they’d have to down the distasteful quaff that day committed to consuming two tablespoons. But those that were committing their future selves (the following semester) or other students to participate agreed to guzzle an average of half a cup. We think of our future selves, says Pronin, like we think of others: in the third person.

#### 6] Phenomenal introspection --- it’s the most epistemically reliable --- historical moral disagreement over internal conceptions of morality such as questions of race, gender, class, religion, etc prove the fallibility of non-observational based ethics --- introspection means we value happiness because we can determine that we each value it --- just as I can observe a lemon’s yellowness, we can make those judgements about happiness.

#### 7] Use epistemic modesty for evaluating the framework debate:

#### A] Substantively true since it maximizes the probability of achieving net most moral value—beating a framework acts as mitigation to their impacts but the strength of that mitigation is contingent.

#### B] Clash—disincentives debaters from going all in for framework which means we get the ideal balance between topic ed and phil ed—it’s important to talk about contention-level offense

#### 8] Reject calc indicts and util triggers permissibility arguments:

#### A] Empirically denied—both individuals and policymakers carry out effective cost-benefit analysis which means even if decisions aren’t always perfect it’s still better than not acting at all

#### B] Theory—they’re functionally NIBs that everyone knows are silly but skew the aff and move the debate away from the topic and actual philosophical debate, killing valuable education

### 2

#### The global economy is recovering and is set to accelerate this year, but any shocks can devastate growth

World Bank 21 - [The World Bank is an international financial institution that provides loans and grants to the governments of low- and middle-income countries for the purpose of pursuing capital projects.] "The Global Economy: on Track for Strong but Uneven Growth as COVID-19 Still Weighs" 06/08/2021 <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2021/06/08/the-global-economy-on-track-for-strong-but-uneven-growth-as-covid-19-still-weighs> VS

A year and a half since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the global economy is poised to stage its most robust post-recession recovery in 80 years in 2021. But the rebound is expected to be uneven across countries, as major economies look set to register strong growth even as many developing economies lag. Global growth is expected to accelerate to 5.6% this year, largely on the strength in major economies such as the United States and China. And while growth for almost every region of the world has been revised upward for 2021, many continue to grapple with COVID-19 and what is likely to be its long shadow. Despite this year’s pickup, the level of global GDP in 2021 is expected to be 3.2% below pre-pandemic projections, and per capita GDP among many emerging market and developing economies is anticipated to remain below pre-COVID-19 peaks for an extended period. As the pandemic continues to flare, it will shape the path of global economic activity. The United States and China are each expected to contribute about one quarter of global growth in 2021. The U.S. economy has been bolstered by massive fiscal support, vaccination is expected to become widespread by mid-2021, and growth is expected to reach 6.8% this year, the fastest pace since 1984. China’s economy – which did not contract last year – is expected to grow a solid 8.5% and moderate as the country’s focus shifts to reducing financial stability risks.

#### Strikes deck economy– 2 warrants

#### 1] Stop investment

Tenza 20 - Tenza, Mlungisi. . [Senior Lecturer, University of KwaZulu-Natal] “The Effects of Violent Strikes on the Economy of a Developing Country: A Case of South Africa.” Obiter, Nelson Mandela University, 2020, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1682-58532020000300004VS

These strikes are not only violent but take long to resolve. Generally, a lengthy strike has a negative effect on employment, reduces business confidence and increases the risk of economic stagflation. In addition, such strikes have a major setback on the growth of the economy and investment opportunities. It is common knowledge that consumer spending is directly linked to economic growth. At the same time, if the economy is not showing signs of growth, employment opportunities are shed, and poverty becomes the end result. The economy of South Africa is in need of rapid growth to enable it to deal with the high levels of unemployment and resultant poverty.

One of the measures that may boost the country's economic growth is by attracting potential investors to invest in the country. However, this might be difficult as investors would want to invest in a country where there is a likelihood of getting returns for their investments. The wish of getting returns for investment may not materialise if the labour environment is not fertile for such investments as a result of, for example, unstable labour relations. Therefore, investors may be reluctant to invest where there is an unstable or fragile labour relations environment.

#### 2] Strikes negatively impact labor and confidence, causing major economic losses

Tenza 20 - Tenza, Mlungisi. . [Senior Lecturer, University of KwaZulu-Natal] “The Effects of Violent Strikes on the Economy of a Developing Country: A Case of South Africa.” Obiter, Nelson Mandela University, 2020, http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci\_arttext&amp;pid=S1682-58532020000300004. VS

When South Africa obtained democracy in 1994, there was a dream of a better country with a new vision for industrial relations.5 However, the number of violent strikes that have bedevilled this country in recent years seems to have shattered-down the aspirations of a better South Africa. South Africa recorded 114 strikes in 2013 and 88 strikes in 2014, which cost the country about R6.1 billion according to the Department of Labour.6 The impact of these strikes has been hugely felt by the mining sector, particularly the platinum industry. The biggest strike took place in the platinum sector where about 70 000 mineworkers' downed tools for better wages. Three major platinum producers (Impala, Anglo American and Lonmin Platinum Mines) were affected. The strike started on 23 January 2014 and ended on 25 June 2014. Business Day reported that "the five-month-long strike in the platinum sector pushed the economy to the brink of recession".7 This strike was closely followed by a four-week strike in the metal and engineering sector. All these strikes (and those not mentioned here) were characterised with violence accompanied by damage to property, intimidation, assault and sometimes the killing of people. Statistics from the metal and engineering sector showed that about 246 cases of intimidation were reported, 50 violent incidents occurred, and 85 cases of vandalism were recorded.8 Large-scale unemployment, soaring poverty levels and the dramatic income inequality that characterise the South African labour market provide a broad explanation for strike violence.9 While participating in a strike, workers' stress levels leave them feeling frustrated at their seeming powerlessness, which in turn provokes further violent behaviour.10 These strikes are not only violent but take long to resolve. Generally, a lengthy strike has a negative effect on employment, reduces business confidence and increases the risk of economic stagflation. In addition, such strikes have a major setback on the growth of the economy and investment opportunities. It is common knowledge that consumer spending is directly linked to economic growth. At the same time, if the economy is not showing signs of growth, employment opportunities are shed, and poverty becomes the end result. The economy of South Africa is in need of rapid growth to enable it to deal with the high levels of unemployment and resultant poverty.

#### Econ collapse goes nuclear

Mann 14 (Eric Mann is a special agent with a United States federal agency, with significant domestic and international counterintelligence and counter-terrorism experience. Worked as a special assistant for a U.S. Senator and served as a presidential appointee for the U.S. Congress. He is currently responsible for an internal security and vulnerability assessment program. Bachelors @ University of South Carolina, Graduate degree in Homeland Security @ Georgetown. “AUSTERITY, ECONOMIC DECLINE, AND FINANCIAL WEAPONS OF WAR: A NEW PARADIGM FOR GLOBAL SECURITY,” May 2014, <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/37262/MANN-THESIS-2014.pdf>)

The conclusions reached in this thesis demonstrate how economic considerations within states can figure prominently into the calculus for future conflicts. The findings also suggest that security issues with economic or financial underpinnings will transcend classical determinants of war and conflict, and change the manner by which rival states engage in hostile acts toward one another. The research shows that security concerns emanating from economic uncertainty and the inherent vulnerabilities within global financial markets will present new challenges for national security, and provide developing states new asymmetric options for balancing against stronger states.¶ The security areas, identified in the proceeding chapters, are likely to mature into global security threats in the immediate future. As the case study on South Korea suggest, the overlapping security issues associated with economic decline and reduced military spending by the United States will affect allied confidence in America’s security guarantees. The study shows that this outcome could cause regional instability or realignments of strategic partnerships in the Asia-pacific region with ramifications for U.S. national security. Rival states and non-state groups may also become emboldened to challenge America’s status in the unipolar international system.¶ The potential risks associated with stolen or loose WMD, resulting from poor security, can also pose a threat to U.S. national security. The case study on Pakistan, Syria and North Korea show how financial constraints affect weapons security making weapons vulnerable to theft, and how financial factors can influence WMD proliferation by contributing to the motivating factors behind a trusted insider’s decision to sell weapons technology. The inherent vulnerabilities within the global financial markets will provide terrorists’ organizations and other non-state groups, who object to the current international system or distribution of power, with opportunities to disrupt global finance and perhaps weaken America’s status. A more ominous threat originates from states intent on increasing diversification of foreign currency holdings, establishing alternatives to the dollar for international trade, or engaging financial warfare against the United States.

### 3

#### Counterplan text: Just governments should implement a $1000 per month universal basic income

Worstall 15

Tim Worstall, [Studied at London School of Economics. Senior Fellow of the Adam Smith Institute.], 18 September 2015, “The Real Value Of A Universal Basic Income Is That It Raises The Reservation Wage”, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/timworstall/2015/09/18/the-real-value-of-a-universal-basic-income-is-that-it-raises-the-reservation-wage/?sh=56b3995a7ca1> // AK

The usual answer to this is that we must therefore rebuild union power. Although I have to say that if the solution is to bring back Jimmy Hoffa to "invest" the workers' pensions funds I think we may well have mis-stated the question. For the thing is that we don't necessarily want to bring back the unions as the representatives of the workers' power. What we want to bring back is the workers' power. Specifically, we want the workers to be able to tell the employers to go take a hike if they offer insultingly low wages. And that's exactly the thing that a universal basic income does achieve: Improved worker bargaining power • Many of us consider the declining relative fortunes of the perfectly hardworking people who could once afford middle class lives and now cannot (without dodgy borrowing) to be a compelling social problem. • Reversing the decline of union power, or the degree to which middle class workers are now in competition with counterparts in lower-wage countries, or the potential for automation seems unlikely and arguably undesirable. Quite so. But the universal basic income rides to the rescue: A universal basic income creates bargaining power by increasing all workers’ capacity to refuse a raw deal. - A UBI increases workers’ “reserve price” — the minimum each worker must be paid before she is willing to accept a given job with particular working conditions • A UBI is a much more flexible means of enhancing labor bargaining power than unionization or a minimum wage. - All workers are able to drive a harder bargain with a UBI than without, shifting the distribution of behavior and effectively augmenting bargaining power. - Firms and individuals retain complete freedom to negotiate the terms of their own engagement, and to take into account unusually pleasant working conditions or nonpecuniary benefits of certain kinds of jobs that might be made untenable by a minimum wage. You don't have to be a member of a union to gain this increased bargaining power: there's no need for there to be a priestly caste standing between you and the employer, a priestly caste growing fat off your tithes (or, union dues) in order to stand up to The Man. Simply because everyone knows that they've got the minimum they can scrape by upon (and yes, is is scrape by upon, not live comfortably upon) then everyone has that greater market power. The other way around of putting this is that the reservation wage has gone up. Imagine that there's no welfare system at all: it would thus be possible, when there's high unemployment, for an employer to offer 2 lbs of bread a day as the wage. That was the deal in early Victorian times in England. And people took it because there was no alternative. With people getting $800 a month for just being a breathing adult then such tactics would not work. The amount that an employer must pay in order to convince someone to get up off the couch and come into work will rise. Those of us who are already higher paid already have that market power: that's why we get paid more than some subsistence amount. One of the things a universal basic income does is provide at least a modicum of that market power to the currently low skilled and low paid. A UBI therefore meets one of the demands of the liberal right (ie, the economically liberal), that if we're going to have some form of a welfare state, which we obviously are, then let's have the most efficient one we can. With the fewest distortions, with low marginal tax rates, fewest disincentives to work and lifestyle choice and so on. A UBI also meets the demands of the liberal left (ie, the not so economically liberal in the modern parlance) and aids in overturning the power imbalances that they see in the current society.

### Case

#### Batailles history of consumption is backwards – ancients founded consumption on definitive concepts of wealth and class – the alt reinforces class binaries

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(“Bataille’s Libidinal Economics: Capitalism as an Open Wound,” Critical Sociology ﻿1-16)

From Capitalism to the Sun

Bataille’s economic conception – as unfolded in The Accursed Share – has the strange effect that while pretending to submit capitalism, ‘the restricted economy’, to a radical critique from the point of view of ‘general economy’ – the laws of circulation of energy in the cosmos, which he claims to have fathomed – **it rather ends up** projecting capitalism, particularly its specific failings – its irrationality, its wastefulness, its crises – **onto nature**. Here again capitalism is provided with an indirect apologetic outlet, inasmuch as attention is diverted from society and history to natural, and hence insurmountable, ‘deeper’ causes which humanity can hardly expect to control.

Accompanying such move is a related elimination of the historically positive contribution of capitalism – its unprecedented development of the productive forces – and a belittling of human creativity, manifested in labor. **The result is deeply pessimistic, with** debilitating consequences **for human agency, since both human culpability and capability are downplayed**.

Let us first address the way capitalism is naturalized. General economy to start with attributed to nature the crucial feature of capitalist production, the very creation of a surplus, the ‘excess’ of ‘the accursed share’. ‘I will begin,’ Bataille apodictically claims, ‘with a basic fact: the living organism … ordinarily receives more energy than is necessary for maintaining life … On the surface of the globe, for living matter in general, energy is always in excess; the question is always posed in terms of extravagance. The choice is limited to how the wealth is squandered’ (1991: 21–23, emphasis in the original). General economy is thus all about wealth, and how best to consume it. Economic crisis, according to Bataille, is therefore primarily a result of alienated humanity causing a bottleneck in the overflowing channels of cosmic energy. Stingy humanity is finally overwhelmed by the lavish gifts showered on it by nature. Bataille contrasts the ‘Poverty of Organisms or Limited Systems and the Excess Wealth of Living Nature’. Humanity myopically tries to turn the boons of nature into capitalist profits at all costs, without realizing that squandering the surplus is inevitable. The result of such misapprehension is economic crisis, and often catastrophic wars, forcing the system to vomit the excess: ‘The final dissipation cannot fail to carry out the movement that animates terrestrial energy.’ (Bataille, 1991: 22) In that way, Bataille ascribes to nature both the historical achievements of human beings – the creation of wealth – and their failures: the inability of the system they have created to sustain growth. For wealth is anything but natural; plenty and surplus, even on a very small scale, is an extremely rare phenomenon, and far from pertaining to the ‘living organism’ as such it is specifically human. Moreover, for almost the entire course of their existence on ‘the globe’ human beings, too, hardly had to deal with an excess, accursed or otherwise. If we consider that humanity’s early forefathers, the first hominines, first walked the earth about six million years ago, and that homo sapiens is about 125,000 years old, **we can see that wealth of any form, for humanity, is a striking historical novelty.** Indeed, placed on the time scale of historical humanity (to say nothing about that of living matter), the ‘ancient’ civilizations that Bataille takes for his examples of extravagant consumption, conducted in intuitive synchrony with nature, such as the Aztec empire, happened merely seconds ago, themselves being examples of humanity at an **extremely advanced and sophisticated historical phase.** For almost the entire course of their long trajectory humans lived from hand to mouth, and could only dream of significant surplus, which they knew neither how to produce nor – in times of particularly favorable natural conditions – how to store. Excess is therefore not a cosmic natural gift living organisms ‘receive’ but a product of humanity advancing through history in an arduous struggle with a rather tight-fisted and indifferent nature, that has left humanity to fend for itself (these are conscious anthropomorphisms of nature, meant to dialogue with Bataille’s).7

Wealth is thus a colossal human achievement**, due primarily not to nature but to labor working on nature:** a point which Bataille, furiously resisting the master-slave dialectic, was keen to downplay. In his alternative scheme, the cowardly slave was denied not only heroism – which Hegel, too, regarded as the prerogative of the master – **but also ingenuity, creativity and productivity. It is as if the base labor of the slave is to be erased out of the picture altogether**, leaving consumption as a strictly aristocratic interplay between the master and the life-giving sun. Bataille so radically transfigured the dialectic to the point that the master does not consume the slave’s labor as much as he consumes the slave himself, whom he sacrifices.

The problematic nature of abundance, for its part, is a still younger phenomenon than wealth. The key adjective ‘accursed’ belongs to indirect apologetics, since material growth only becomes a problem under a historically specific mode of production. Only under capitalism do we have crises of over-production, since here one produces precisely not in order to serve a useful purpose, as Bataille argues, but in order to make profit. And to understand over-production we need to examine the laws of motion of capitalism, not of nature or of terrestrial energy. Yet Bataille (1991: 24) proposed, on the contrary, to naturalize such problems, turn them into ahistorical givens. ‘These excesses of life force,’ he contended, ‘are in fact the most dangerous factors of ruination … Ancient societies found relief in festivals; some erected admirable monuments that had no useful purpose.’ **Already the ancients are said to have suffered from over-production** **and to have had to seek ‘relief’ from the burden of wealth, rather than to enjoyably consume such wealth**. Similarly, Bataille insists that the monuments the ancients built were useless, whereas actually their use was exactly the fact that they were ‘admirable’. **Such monuments** had the same use-value **for their contemporaries**, as countless goods that the moderns consume because they find them beautiful, pleasant, decorative, etc. In reality, one can turn against Bataille his admiration for ancient times where sacred sentiment was rife, and hence, allegedly, indifference to utility was great, as compared to profane modernity, obsessed with utility. One might argue exactly the reverse: precisely because they were religious the monuments the ancients built and their **extravagant practices were still useful in the sense of enticing or** placating the gods. Modern consumption, in that sense, is more deeply indifferent to ulterior consideration of benefits. **Think of a** cinema or a football stadium **as compared to an Aztec temple or a medieval cathedral. In the former, the pleasure from the consumer’s point of view is more properly sovereign than that of the ancient person, in thrall to his sovereign divinities**.

#### Maintaining the conditions of possibility for life is a prerequisite to ongoing experiences with death

Nidesh Lawtoo, Department of Comparative Literature, University of Washington, “Bataille and the Suspension of Being,” Lingua Romana : a journal of French, Italian and Romanian culture volume 4, issue 1 / fall ‘5

Bataille's notion of communication involves a dialectic with two positives (hence a non-dialectic) where two sovereigns confront death not in view of an end but as an end in itself: "confronting death," in fact, "puts the subjects at stake-"l'être en eux-mêmes [est] mis en jeu" (Sur Nietzsche 61). Further, Bataille affirms that "[p]ersonne n'est-un instant-souverain qui ne se perde" (OC VIII 429). It is the Nietzschean self-forgetfulness that is here evoked; a self-forgetfulness which implies a transgression of the limits of both communicating subjects. Again, for Bataille "[l]a 'communication' n'a lieu qu'entre deux êtres mis en jeu-déchirés, suspendus, l'un et l'autre penchés au-dessus de leur néant" (Sur Nietzsche 62). However, if according to Nietzsche, self-forgetfulness takes place in solitude, for Bataille it necessitates the presence of an "other."(5) Communication in fact, asks for "deux êtres mis en jeu" who participate in what he defines as "une fête immotivée" (Sur Nietzsche 31). There the sovereign loses himself (se perde) with the other, through the other, in the other, in a process of "mutual laceration" (Essential 105) which is simultaneously tragic and ludic. The emphasis on the other is Hegelian, but unlike dialectics, communication does not confront the subject with an object (Gegen-stand, something that stands against the subject). As Bataille puts it (apparently echoing Baudelaire), communication takes place with "un semblable," "mon frère" (OC VIII 289). And he adds: "Cela suppose la communication de sujet à sujet" (OC VIII 288). Bataille's notion of communication is not based upon a "violent hierarchy" (Derrida's term) but rather upon egalitarianism. Moreover, transgressing the limits of the subject implies that the two subjects already possess (in potential) the characteristics of sovereignty. Hence, the status of sovereign is not achieved as a result of a fight to the death, but requires the subject to be open to an other who is outside the limits of the self. Derrida speaks of the "trembling" to which Bataille submits Hegelian concepts (253). This trembling, I would argue, has its source in Nietzsche (6): "The figs fall from the trees" says Zarathustra, "they are good and sweet, and when they fall, their red skins are rent. A north wind am I unto ripe figs" (qtd. in Philosophy 135). If we apply this passage to Bataille's philosophy, we could say that inherent in this "fall" is an explosion of Hegelian concepts, and in particular, as we have seen, the notion of Herrshaft. Further, communication, for Bataille, involves a similar "fall" which rents (déchire) the skin of the subjects (their limits) exposing the red flesh which lies beneath the skin. According to the French philosopher, Nietzsche's critique of the subject is more radical than Hegel's, since, as he puts it in "Hegel, la mort et le sacrifice," Hegel's philosophy, and I would add Kojève's interpretation of it, is "une théologie, où l'homme aurait pris la place de Dieu" (OC XII 329). Hegel's "theology" preserves the identity of the subject. Now, Bataille makes his position to this "theology" clear as he writes: "I don't believe in God-from the inability to believe in self" (Essential 10). By establishing a direct link between the death of the subject and the death of God, Bataille extends his critique of "beings" into the larger, ontological, critique of "Being." Implicit in this theoretical move is the articulation of the ontology of sovereignty. Bataille's philosophy is Nietzschean insofar as it is grounded in experience and in the immanence of the body. Communication, for Bataille is first and foremost a bodily affair. Hence the interrogation of the limits of the subject starts from an interrogation of what we could call the "gates," or openings of the body: the mouth, the vagina, the anus and the eyes are for Bataille central places for philosophical investigation because at these gates, the integrity of the subject is questioned; its limits can be transgressed. They are spaces of transition where a "glissement hors de soi" (OC VIII 246) can take place. These bodily openings, which Bataille also defines as "blessures," (Sur Nietzsche 64) found his conception of the sovereign subject. In fact, each "blessure" can be linked to a specific dimension of communication which obsesses Bataille. His central themes match different bodily openings: the mouth connects to laughter; the vagina to eroticism; the eyes to tears; the anus to the excrements which he links to death. Through these openings the subject is traversed by different fluxes and its integrity, totality and stability is challenged. They allow for the possibility of a glissement of the subject's being. The same could be said of Bataille's corpus: it is a unitary entity, which, like a body, escapes the totalizing temptation of closure. Despite the fact that Bataille defines sovereignty in terms of the Kojèvian/Hegelian "nothingness" (Bataille's Rien), his conception of communication is built upon the Nietzschean ontological distinction between the Dionysian and the Apollonian. In fact, the ontological movement that takes place in communication "exige que l'on glisse" (OC VI 158) from an "insufficient" and "discontinuous" being to a reality of "continuity" that transcends binary oppositions (Erotism 13-14). To put it more simply, communication introduces a movement from the "many" to the "One"; from a "discontinuity of being" to a "continuity of being;" from separate "beings" to a common ontological ground ("Being"). The source of Bataille's ontology is clear: it stems from Nietzsche's The Birth of Tragedy which in turn, is construed upon Schopenhauer's distinction between will and representation. "As a sailor sits in a small boat in a boundless raging sea," writes Schopenhauer," surrounded on all sides by heaving mountainous waves, trusting to his frail vessel; so does the individual man sit calmly in the middle of a world of torment, trusting to the principium individuationis" (Birth 21) .(7) Communication, for Bataille, as the Dionysian for Nietzsche, involves the shattering of the principium individuationis, a tearing down of the veil of Maya which constitutes, what Bataille calls, with a blink of the eye to Schopenhauer, the "illusion of a being which is isolated" (Essential 10; my emphasis). Communication, thus, involves an opening of the subject to the larger ground of Being. The sovereign's boat is constantly leaking. Yet, in order for communication to take place, the boat needs to keep floating. That is to say that for transgression to take place, the limits of the subject need to be preserved (Erotism 63; Foucault 34). The being of the sovereign subject is suspended upon the abîme-what Bataille also calls "une realité plus vaste" (OC II 246)-which means that the subject neither dwells safely within the limits of the "small, insufficient boat" of individuation, nor within the depth of the undifferentiated "raging sea," but in the space of contact in-between the two spheres. This precision is key in order to delineate the originality of Bataille's ontology of sovereignty. Bataille's conception of the communicating subject (i.e., of sovereignty) walks a thin line between its self-dissolution and its self-preservation. Hence the idea that he is above all a thinker of limits or borders. The sovereign's being, in fact, is "suspended" on the "bord de l'abîme" (Coupable V 355) but never actually falls, except, of course, in death. Hence, for Bataille, "[i]l s'agit d'approcher la mort" [it is approaching death] that is to say, the abîme, or the continuity of being, "d'aussi près qu'on peut l'endurer" [as close as one can endure] (337-338). The sovereign subject confronts death while preserving his life. His being is placed at the border between life and death. Hence, if Bataille defines philosophy as "existence striving to reach its limits" (Essential 146), it should be specified that the being of the subject is not found beyond its limits, as his use of "existence" seems to suggest (Ek-sistenz) since that would imply a total dissolution of the subject. Bataille's philosophy of transgression implies the preservation of the limits of the subject so that the sovereign can experience and endure death in life. The tension between self-expenditure (Nietzsche's Verschwendung) and self-preservation (linked to Hegel's Anerkennung) is analogous to the movement of a moth that is first attracted by the fire of a candle and subsequently distances itself from the fire in order to preserve its life.(8) This repeated back and forth movement recapitulates the movement of communication and is responsible for the underlying tension which traverses Bataille's philosophy. It is an inner (bodily) drive that attracts the moth to death and not, as it is the case for Hegel's master, a reasoned project in view of an end (recognition). The moth's self-sacrifice, in fact, is perfectly useless (it serves no purpose) and hence is truly sovereign. Bataille would call it "une négativité sans emploi." Or, as he says with respect to eroticism in his first and last interview before he died, "it is purely squandering, an expenditure of energy for itself" (in Essential 220). This movement forwards, towards the flame of self-dissolution (which takes place in death, eroticism, laughter…) and its retreat backwards, towards life and the limits it involves, epitomizes Bataille's notion of communication. A practice which for Bataille seems to have the characteristic of a fort-da game in which the subject is not in control of the movement. This movement, Bataille writes in the Preface to Madame Edwarda, happens "malgré nous" (III 11). Thus conceived the sovereign accepts the place of a toy in the hands of a child playing-a definition similar to Heraclitus' vision of life, which he defines as "a child at play, moving pieces in a game (Fragment 52, in GM 149). This view of communication is both tragic and joyful; violent and useless. A joyful tragedy, which challenges the limits of the subject; that puts the subject's being en jeu. If Bataille is deeply fascinated by death, decay and the dissolution of the subject in a continuity of being, he escapes the temptation to embrace death at the expense of life. His definition of eroticism sums up this fundamental tension: "Eroticism," he writes, "is assenting to life up to the point of death" (Erotism11). This applies not only to eroticism but also to all communicating activities such as laughter, play, tears, and ultimately to the ethos that sustains the totality of Bataille's philosophy. If Kojève defines dialectics as a "negating-negativity" (5), Bataille's communication can be read as an affirmative negativity. In fact, death is confronted and even invoked, but what is found in death is the ultimate affirmation of life. Negation of the integrity (the limits) of the subject leads to a radical affirmation of life. And if in the Preface to Madame Edwarda, Bataille can affirme "l'identité de l'être et de la mort" (OC III 10), let us also note that the identity of being and death is realized in life. Faithful to Nietzsche, Bataille does not become a negator of the will; a negator of life; a pessimist, a Buddhist or worse, a nihilist (some of the derogatory terms used by Nietzsche to retrospectively define his first and last master). Bataille remains truthful to life. While the ontological premises grounding sovereignty are taken from Schopenhauer (via Nietzsche), Bataille's conclusions are diametrically opposed to Nietzsche's first master. In fact, Bataille's philosophy can be seen as an affirmation of the will (he operates an inversion of values) through Dionysian practices (included sexuality which Schopenhauer condemned) that put the subject in touch with the ultimate ground of being, without dissolving him/her in it.

#### Blindly introducing the right to strike always entrenches neoliberalism, guaranteeing its own fruitlessness and undermining the power of the working class, turning case—South Africa proves

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The analysis presented in this article offers a challenge for the use of the PRA and the analysis of institutional power. By situating institutional power within an analysis of corporatism, I argue that institutional power develops further analytical utility, which is attentive to class forces. In addition to this, in the specificities of the South African context, corporatism also provides an avenue for understanding how the specific forms of institutional power that have been forged by COSATU are related to their political relationship to the ANC, thus providing a more comprehensive account of how institutional power has been shaped. The article not only considers what gives rise to institutional power but also how it has been strategically used. Understanding this requires a wider consideration of COSATU’s associational and structural power as well as its waning political influence. **By analysing the 1995 LRA and the 2019 amendments this article is able to give some consideration as to [shows] how COSATU’s institutional power has unfolded through time. Rather than viewing the 1995 LRA as an unqualified victory, as is commonly the case within the literature (Adler and Webster, 1999), this article highlights how significant compromises within the 1995 LRA entrenched neo-liberalism in South Africa, the unintended consequences of which have served to undermine the power of trade unions and the working class overall.** The analysis presented within this article demonstrates how neo-liberal restructuring in South Africa emerged hand-in-hand with corporatism. **The 1995 LRA was the first and one of the most significant pieces of legislation to be enacted by the first democratic government. While it was undoubtedly a significant step forward for South African workers, particularly black South African workers, it also set out an explicitly neo-liberal path focused on “regulated flexibility” (Du Toit et al., 2003), an objective of both corporatism and neo-liberalism** (Humphrys, 2018). While it could be argued that the compromises of the 1995 LRA were necessary in order to formally end the apartheid labour regime, this does not mean we should negate an understanding of COSATU’s agency in resisting the forces of neo-liberalism. **As this article argues, COSATU made strategic choices about whom to organise, and in doing so chose to neglect some of the most vulnerable sections of the South African labour market. In the absence of organised labour, the number of precarious workers has grown considerably.** While COSATU did utilise its institutional power to initiate reforms to the LRA to enhance protections for vulnerable workers, this has translated into little concrete organising of these workers. **Indeed, if anything, the 2019 amendments illustrate that COSATU is willing to act against the interests of these workers in order to shore up its own structural, associational and institutional power**