# NC

#### Interpretation: intellectual property protections is a generic bare plural. The aff may not defend that member nations of the World Trade Organization reduce a subset of intellectual property protections for medicines.

Nebel 19 Jake Nebel [Jake Nebel is an assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California and executive director of Victory Briefs.] , 8-12-2019, "Genericity on the Standardized Tests Resolution," Briefly, https://www.vbriefly.com/2019/08/12/genericity-on-the-standardized-tests-resolution/ SM

Both distinctions are important. Generic resolutions can’t be affirmed by specifying particular instances. But, since generics tolerate exceptions, plan-inclusive counterplans (PICs) do not negate generic resolutions. Bare plurals are typically used to express generic generalizations. But there are two important things to keep in mind. First, generic generalizations are also often expressed via other means (e.g., definite singulars, indefinite singulars, and bare singulars). Second, and more importantly for present purposes, bare plurals can also be used to express existential generalizations. For example, “Birds are singing outside my window” is true just in case there are some birds singing outside my window; it doesn’t require birds in general to be singing outside my window. So, what about “colleges and universities,” “standardized tests,” and “undergraduate admissions decisions”? Are they generic or existential bare plurals? On other topics I have taken great pains to point out that their bare plurals are generic—because, well, they are. On this topic, though, I think the answer is a bit more nuanced. Let’s see why. 1.1 “Colleges and Universities” “Colleges and universities” is a generic bare plural. I don’t think this claim should require any argument, when you think about it, but here are a few reasons. First, ask yourself, honestly, whether the following speech sounds good to you: “Eight colleges and universities—namely, those in the Ivy League—ought not consider standardized tests in undergraduate admissions decisions. Maybe other colleges and universities ought to consider them, but not the Ivies. Therefore, in the United States, colleges and universities ought not consider standardized tests in undergraduate admissions decisions.” That is obviously not a valid argument: the conclusion does not follow. Anyone who sincerely believes that it is valid argument is, to be charitable, deeply confused. But the inference above would be good if “colleges and universities” in the resolution were existential. By way of contrast: “Eight birds are singing outside my window. Maybe lots of birds aren’t singing outside my window, but eight birds are. Therefore, birds are singing outside my window.” Since the bare plural “birds” in the conclusion gets an existential reading, the conclusion follows from the premise that eight birds are singing outside my window: “eight” entails “some.” If the resolution were existential with respect to “colleges and universities,” then the Ivy League argument above would be a valid inference. Since it’s not a valid inference, “colleges and universities” must be a generic bare plural. Second, “colleges and universities” fails the upward-entailment test for existential uses of bare plurals. Consider the sentence, “Lima beans are on my plate.” This sentence expresses an existential statement that is true just in case there are some lima beans on my plate. One test of this is that it entails the more general sentence, “Beans are on my plate.” Now consider the sentence, “Colleges and universities ought not consider the SAT.” (To isolate “colleges and universities,” I’ve eliminated the other bare plurals in the resolution; it cannot plausibly be generic in the isolated case but existential in the resolution.) This sentence does not entail the more general statement that educational institutions ought not consider the SAT. This shows that “colleges and universities” is generic, because it fails the upward-entailment test for existential bare plurals. Third, “colleges and universities” fails the adverb of quantification test for existential bare plurals. Consider the sentence, “Dogs are barking outside my window.” This sentence expresses an existential statement that is true just in case there are some dogs barking outside my window. One test of this appeals to the drastic change of meaning caused by inserting any adverb of quantification (e.g., always, sometimes, generally, often, seldom, never, ever). You cannot add any such adverb into the sentence without drastically changing its meaning. To apply this test to the resolution, let’s again isolate the bare plural subject: “Colleges and universities ought not consider the SAT.” Adding generally (“Colleges and universities generally ought not consider the SAT”) or ever (“Colleges and universities ought not ever consider the SAT”) result in comparatively minor changes of meaning. (Note that this test doesn’t require there to be no change of meaning and doesn’t have to work for every adverb of quantification.) This strongly suggests what we already know: that “colleges and universities” is generic rather than existential in the resolution. Fourth, it is extremely unlikely that the topic committee would have written the resolution with the existential interpretation of “colleges and universities” in mind. If they intended the existential interpretation, they would have added explicit existential quantifiers like “some.” No such addition would be necessary or expected for the generic interpretation since generics lack explicit quantifiers by default. The topic committee’s likely intentions are not decisive, but they strongly suggest that the generic interpretation is correct, since it’s prima facie unlikely that a committee charged with writing a sentence to be debated would be so badly mistaken about what their sentence means (which they would be if they intended the existential interpretation). The committee, moreover, does not write resolutions for the 0.1 percent of debaters who debate on the national circuit; they write resolutions, at least in large part, to be debated by the vast majority of students on the vast majority of circuits, who would take the resolution to be (pretty obviously, I’d imagine) generic with respect to “colleges and universities,” given its face-value meaning and standard expectations about what LD resolutions tend to mean.

#### It applies to IP protections:

#### Upward entailment test – spec fails the upward entailment test because saying that nations ought to reduce one type of IPP does not entail that those nations ought to reduce all kinds of IPP

#### Adverb test – adding “usually” to the res doesn’t substantially change its meaning because a reduction is universal and permanent

#### Vote neg:

#### Semantics outweigh:

#### T is a constitutive rule of the activity and a basic aff burden – they agreed to debate the topic when they came here

#### Jurisdiction – you can’t vote aff if they haven’t affirmed the resolution

#### It’s the only stasis point we know before the round so it controls the internal link to engagement – there’s no way to use ground if debaters aren’t prepared to defend it

#### Limits – there are countless affs accounting for every kind of intellectual property protections, like tertiary patents, provisional patents, and design patents – unlimited topics incentivize obscure affs that negs won’t have prep on – limits are key to reciprocal prep burden – potential abuse doesn’t justify foregoing the topic and 1AR theory checks PICs

#### Ground – spec guts core generics like innovation that rely on reducing all kinds of IP for all medicines because individual types of IP don’t substantially affect the pharmaceutical industry – also means there is no universal DA to spec affs

#### TVA solves – read as an advantage to whole rez

#### Paradigm issues:

#### Drop the debater – their abusive advocacy skewed the debate from the start

#### Comes before 1AR theory – NC abuse is responsive to them not being topical

#### No RVIs – fairness and education are a priori burdens – and encourages baiting – outweighs because if T is frivolous, they can beat it quickly

#### Fairness is a voter ­– necessary to determine the better debater

#### Education is a voter – why schools fund debate

### Cap K

#### The current IP system is just a tool of the capitalist structure – the current pandemic provides the moment to overhaul the system, so action must be taken immediately.

**Vanni 21** - Amaka Vanni[Phd(University of Warwick), LLM International Economic Law(University of Warwick), BA International Relations and Politics, Lecturer in Law at the University of Leeds], 3-23-2021, "On Intellectual Property Rights, Access to Medicines and Vaccine Imperialism," TWAILR, https://twailr.com/on-intellectual-property-rights-access-to-medicines-and-vaccine-imperialism/

What this pandemic makes clear is that the **development discourse** often **touted by developed nations** to help countries in the Global South ‘catch up’ **is empty when** the essential **medicines needed to stay alive are deliberately denied and weaponised**. Like the free-market reforms designed to produce ‘development’, **IP deployed to incentivise innovation is** yet **another tool in the service of private profits**. As this pandemic has shown, **the reality of contemporary capitalism**– **including the IP regime** that underpins it – **is competition among corporate giants driven by profit and not by human need**. The needs of the poor weigh much less than the profits of big business and their home states. However, it is not all doom and gloom. Countries such as India, China and Russia have stepped up in the distribution of vaccines or what many call ‘vaccine diplomacy.’ Further, Cuba’s vaccine candidate Soberana 02, which is currently in final clinical trial stages and does not require extra refrigeration, promises to be a suitable option for many countries in the global South with infrastructural and logistical challenges. Importantly, Cuba’s history of medical diplomacy in other global South countries raises hope that the country will be willing to share the know-how with other manufactures in various non-western countries, which could help address artificial supply problems and control over distribution. In sum, **this pandemic provides an opportune moment to overhaul this dysfunctional global IP system.**We need not wait for the next crisis to learn the lessons from this crisis.

#### Capitalism causes every impact

**Foster 19** (John, PhD from York University, Professor at the University of Oregon Department of Sociology, “Capitalism Has Failed—What Next?,” Monthly Review, 2/1/19, <https://monthlyreview.org/2019/02/01/capitalism-has-failed-what-next/>, JLin)

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. Capitalism is best understood as a competitive class-based mode of production and exchange geared to the accumulation of capital through the exploitation of workers’ labor power and the private appropriation of surplus value (value generated beyond the costs of the workers’ own reproduction). The mode of economic accounting intrinsic to capitalism designates as a value-generating good or service anything that passes through the market and therefore produces income. It follows that the greater part of the social and environmental costs of production outside the market are excluded in this form of valuation and are treated as mere negative “externalities,” unrelated to the capitalist economy itself—whether in terms of the shortening and degradation of human life or the destruction of the natural environment. As environmental economist K. William Kapp stated, “capitalism must be regarded as an economy of unpaid costs.”42 We have now reached a point in the twenty-first century in which the **externalities** of this irrational system, **such as the costs of war, the depletion of natural resources, the waste of human lives, and the disruption of the planetary environment, now far exceed any future economic benefits that capitalism offers to society** as a whole. The accumulation of capital and the amassing of wealth are increasingly occurring at the expense of an irrevocable rift in the social and environmental conditions governing human life on earth.43 Some would argue that China stands as an exception to much of the above, characterized as it is by a seemingly unstoppable rate of economic advance (though carrying with it deep social and ecological contradictions). Yet Chinese development has its roots in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, carried out by the Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Zedong, whereby it liberated itself from the imperialist system. This allowed it to develop for decades under a planned economy largely free of constraints from outside forces, establishing a strong agricultural and industrial economic base. This was followed by a shift in the post-Maoist reform period to a hybrid system of more limited state planning along with a much greater reliance on market relations (and a vast expansion of debt and speculation) under conditions—the globalization of the world market—that were particularly fortuitous to its “catching up.” Through trade wars and other pressures aimed at destabilizing China’s position in the world market, the United States is already seeking to challenge the bases of China’s growth in world trade. China, therefore, stands not so much for the successes of late capitalism but rather for its inherent limitations. The current Chinese model, moreover, carries within it many of the destructive tendencies of the system of capital accumulation. Ultimately, China’s future too depends on a return to the process of revolutionary transition, spurred by its own population.44 How did these disastrous conditions characterizing capitalism worldwide develop? An **understandin**g of **the failure of capitalism**, beginning in the twentieth century, **requires a historical examination of the rise of neoliberalism**, and how this has only **served to increase the destructiveness of the system.** Only then can we address the future of humanity in the twenty-first century.

#### The idea and history of intellectual property protections is predicated on a capitalist society.

**Söderberg 02** - Johan Söderberg[educated at the Falmouth College of Arts in England and holds a degree in Science and Technology Policy from Lund University, Sweden], 3-4-2002, "View of Copyleft vs. Copyright: A Marxist Critique," No Publication,<https://firstmonday.org/article/view/938/860>

**Intellectual property rights were invented** in the Italian merchant states **and accompanied the spread of early capitalism** to Netherlands and Britain [8]. Early forms of what has become copyright can be traced further back into history, as is sometimes done by copyright champions. In Talmud tradition, for example, sources of information were thoroughly documented, but for the purpose of ensuring the authenticity of information. **Copyright** in a non-trivial sense **can only be realized within the context of a capitalist society, since its function is meaningless without a** developed **market economy** (Bettig, 1996). For most of human existence oral tradition has dominated. Narratives were in constant flux. Performance was regarded more highly than authorship, which seldom could be credited since most culture was built on religious myths or common folklore, and did not originate from an individual creator. With the emergence of a bourgeoisie consciousness of individuals and property, the spread of market relations, and technological breakthroughs, especially the printing press, the need of copyright was created. Consequently, Great Britain developed the first advanced copyright law. In the sixteenth century religious conflicts spurred the circulation of pamphlets, closely followed by legislation that banned writings of heresy, sedition, and treason. Brendan Scott (2000) argues that this censorship bears the legacy of copyright. For example, the custom of printers and authors to have their name listed with their creations began as a law demanding this practice, not to ensure the originator due credit, but in order for the king to keep track of disobedient writers. In 1556 a royal charter established the Stationers' Company and granted it exclusive control of all printing in the United Kingdom. Limiting the number of publishers was a key strategy in the government's arsenal to regulate writings (Bettig, 1996). The two strategies to consolidate control by eradicating anonymity and restricting the number of sources of reproduction are themes that echo into the present day. The expansion of patents and copyright has grown since. It entered a new stage with the signing of the TRIPs Agreement, a global treaty on intellectual property, in 1994 (May, 2000). **The tightening of the intellectual property regime coincides with the increasing exchange value of information** and what is held to be the coming of an information age.

#### The alt is socializing pharma by replacing patent monopolies with public funding – deconstructs capitalism and solves the affirmative by making medicine accessible globally

**Baker**, Dean, “Replace Patent Monopolies with Direct Public Funding For Drug Research”, Truthout, Center For Economic And Policy Research, July 1 20**19**

It is impressive to see many of the leading Democratic candidates put forward bold progressive proposals. Unfortunately, in the case of prescription drugs, their imagination has been notably weak. While there have been proposals for lowering drug prices, none of them have been willing to attack the fundamental problem: government makes prices high by granting patent monopolies.This is a simple but incredibly important point that is often lost in the debate. We frequently hear comments about how progressives want the government to intervene in the free market to bring drug prices down through various mechanisms. That story turns logic on its head. In almost all cases, **drugs are cheap to manufacture. It is government-granted patent monopolies** or some other form of exclusivity **that makes drugs expensive**. In a truly free market, drugs are cheap. The restrictions on prices being proposed are simply efforts to limit the extent to which drug companies can exploit the monopolies the government has given them. That should lead to the next question: Why give drug companies monopolies in the first place? The obvious reason under the current system is that it is expensive to develop new drugs. This requires initial preclinical research and then an extended period of clinical testing to establish their safety and effectiveness, and ultimately bring them through the Food and Drug Administration’s (FDA) approval process. Most leads for new drugs end up going nowhere, which means that the drug company has spent a great deal of money for no return. No pharmaceutical company would undertake major expenditures for developing new drugs if they would have to compete with generics, which are every bit as good, from the day they were approved by the FDA. The declared intent of government patent monopolies is to give companies an incentive to develop new drugs.There is nothing natural about this mechanism for financing research, and even now, **the government** does not rely exclusively on patent monopolies for financing research. It s**pends nearly**[**$40 billion a year**](https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/what-we-do/budget)**on research** through the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and other agencies. While most of this funding goes to more basic research, **many important drugs have been developed with government funding**. In addition, the NIH has supported thousands of clinical trials. In principle, there is no reason that Congress could not double or triple the amount of funding for medical research and replace the [$70 billion](https://truthout.org/articles/sanders-khanna-bill-would-stop-propping-up-drug-prices/) that is now supported by patent monopolies. The NIH, or a new agency, could parcel out this money through long-term contracts to private companies. **The condition of getting the funding is that all research findings would be posted on the web as soon as practical so that other researchers could benefit from it**. The other major condition of the funding is that [**and] all patents are placed in the public domain, so newly developed drugs could be sold immediately as generics**. The savings to consumers from going this route would be enormous. Cutting-edge drugs that sell for tens or even hundreds of thousands of dollars would instead sell for a [few hundred dollars](https://www.thebodypro.com/article/1000-fold-mark-up-for-drug-prices-in-high-income-c). **People would no longer have to struggle** with insurers or use GoFundMe pages to pay **for necessary medications**. The savings to the economy would also be huge. We will spend roughly $460 billion this year on drugs that would likely sell for less than $80 billion in a true free market. The difference of $380 billion a year is more than twice the size of the Trump tax cut and five times the size of the food stamp (SNAP) budget. The benefits go beyond just the savings. Patent monopolies give drug companies an enormous incentive to push their drugs as widely as possible, even when they may not be the most effective drug or have harmful side effects. **Purdue Pharma would not have been pushing OxyContin so vigorously if it were selling at generic prices**. While the opioid crisis is an extreme case, drug companies exaggerate the benefits of their drugs and conceal negative side effects [all the time](https://www.cepr.net/patent-monopolies-and-the-costs-of-mismarketing-drugs/). If we went the route of direct public funding, the savings would go beyond prescription drugs. **Medical equipment and tests are also made expensive** because of government-granted patent monopolies. NPR recently did a [piece](https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2019/06/17/732497053/a-year-after-spinal-surgery-a-94-000-bill-feels-like-a-backbreaker) about a woman who had a surprise bill of $94,000 for neuromonitoring services during a surgery on her spine. The reason this process could be billed for $94,000, as opposed to perhaps 1/20th of this amount, is that the process is patented. If the neuromonitoring system had been developed with public funds, there would be no huge bill with which to surprise patients. Given the many bold progressive proposals that Senators Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders and some of the other candidates have put forward, it is surprising that they have not proposed to reform the financing of drug and other medical research. This failure is especially peculiar, since both Sanders and Warren (along with Senators Cory Booker, Kirsten Gillibrand and Amy Klobuchar) were sponsors of a [bill](https://www.brown.senate.gov/newsroom/press/release/brown-introduces-prop) that would provide some public funding for research that would lead to new drugs being introduced as generics**.The** patent monopoly **system** of financing the development of new drugs and medical equipment **is a disaster** in just about every way. Many of the leading Democratic contenders know how to do better, they need to add this to their agenda.

#### The alt is to socialize the pharmaceutical industry

Dana **Brown**, The Amerrican Prospect, "Before Big Pharma Kills Us, Maybe Public Pharma Can Save Us", August 20**18**, https://prospect.org/health/big-pharma-kills-us-maybe-public-pharma-can-save-us/

This evidence implies that the **pharmaceutical**industry has become an excellent example of a value-extracting industry feeding the needs of shareholder overlords rather than a value-creating industry that provides essential drug development. The innovation we need to produce the next generation of antibiotics and other life-saving medications **requires** the patient capital that **public enterprise** is much better equipped to provide than private equity. In just one recent example of the primacy of value extraction in the industry, over the past five years **pharmaceutical giant Merck spent $1.91 on stock buybacks and dividends for every dollar it earned in profits—30 percent more than what it spent on R&D during that period.** Even the CEO of BlackRock, the world’s largest asset manager, has warned of the dangers that this sort of rent-seeking behavior poses to the larger economy. In a 2014 letter to the leaders of S&P 500 companies, CEO Lawrence Fink wrote, “it concerns us that, in the wake of the financial crisis, many companies have shied away from investing in the future growth of their companies … [by cutting] capital expenditure and even increas[ing] debt to boost dividends and increase share buybacks.” Fink was right to be concerned. Not only does this sort of financialization of industry contribute to economic instability, it also contributes to inequality, itself an important predictor of health outcomes. If the industry’s business model not only exacerbates health disparities but also fails to produce the medications we need to treat many illnesses like antibiotic-resistant infections, **it is time for a real transformation of the sector**, not more tinkering around the edges. With **public funds already supporting the majority of the basic research** needed to develop new drugs, **the industry is a natural choice for deprivatization**. No amount of public shaming or pleas for the industry to behave like good corporate citizens seems to do the trick. Already provided every advantage (monopoly patent rights, subsidies, restrictions on drug imports and resales, etc.) the industry still fails to adequately supply many of the medications we require. As noted health-care economist Uwe Reinhardt put it, rather than a success story of American enterprise, we should think of the pharmaceutical industry as “fragile little birds that the protective hand of government carefully shields from the harsh vagaries of truly free, competitive markets.” **Perhaps it's time for us to stop protecting Big Pharma and to start outcompeting them**. The U.S. pharmaceutical industry may have been the perfect test case for the Chicago School neoliberal project. Why then should it not be the test case for a new economic paradigm, one based on shared prosperity, equity and sustainability? A democratically-controlled pharmaceutical industry working for the public good would be a powerful example for—and important pillar of—the new economy we so desperately need to ensure the long-term health and wellbeing of communities.

### Framing

#### Rejecting and spotting discrepancies within the aff’s use of the state is crucial to lay the groundwork for future policies that avoid the harms that we’ve outlined – it proves the mutual exclusivity of the alt because any distraction from attacking capitalism dilutes our knowledge production

**Michalowski 10**Michalowski, Raymond [Michalowski is Regents' Professor of Criminal Justice at the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at Northern Arizona University]. 2010. "Keynote Address: Critical Criminology for a Global Age." Western Criminology Review 11(1):3-10.  (http://wcr.sonoma.edu/v11n1/Michalowski.pdf)//mb

While there is much to recommend a deviance rather than a legalist model as the meta-theoretical starting point for critical criminological inquiry, doing so relies on a priori social constructions of a particular situation or outcome as problematic (Blumer 1971). However, many harmful consequences of domination may not generate even this level of social recognition and approbation, yet they remain injurious nevertheless**. To the extent that criminologists identify socially injurious outcomes of domination, these can and should be incorporated within the criminological arena, regardless of their juridical or social movement status.** Some years ago, I had suggested that a possible alternative to legalist and deviance-based approaches to the critique of domination might be the concept of analogous social injury (Michalowski 1985). Specifically, analogous social injuries are actions that produce “death, injury, financial loss, fear, emotional distress or **deprivation  of the rights of political participation that are equivalent or greater in gravity to similar consequences resulting from actions defined as criminal by law**” (Michalowski 2007). As a starting point in the conception of our subject matter this approach directs criminologists to actively seek, identify, and analyze social forces that generate individual, collective, and organizational actions whose injurious consequences are equivalent to actions defined as crime by law. It is in this space between accepting and condemning socially injurious actions that states reveal the truth and the contours of domination. Put simply, murder kills people. War kills people. Thus, why nations commit war and who are its victims ought be at least as central to criminological inquiry as why and whom individuals murder. Similarly, robbery, burglary, and theft use force or guile in ways that make people poorer. Many practices fostered by neo-liberal capitalism also use force or guile to make people poorer (Perkins 2005). Thus, I suggest, it makes little sense, but for the ideology of domination, to claim that robbery, burglary, and theft are legitimate topics of criminological inquiry, but global manipulations of credit, the expropriation of hereditary lands or resources under the guise of development, or mandated “structural adjustments” that impoverish many while benefiting few, are not. John Braithwaite (1985:18) once suggested that casting such a broad net is an effort to shape criminological inquiry to fit individual moral preferences. However, I suggest that the concept of analogous social injury does just the opposite. It substitutes an analytic measure – degree of injury – for the moral and political preferences inherent in all legal systems. Those attempting to begin their inquiry from an analogous social injury Michalowski/ Western Criminology Review 11(1), 3-10 (2010) 9 standpoint would, of course, face the challenge of making a compelling factual case that the injuries being studied are indeed analogous in the gravity of injury to criminal acts. Doing this, in itself, however, would play an important role in expanding the horizons of criminological inquiry. A critical criminology formed around a broad vision of social injury is well suited to the challenge of pursuing social justice in the twenty-first century. The globe has been reshaped into a highly integrated, if fragile, capitalist network, with a class structure arrayed as much across nations as within them. While domination remains to be challenged within the advanced capitalists states, I suggest that the dominion that advanced states exert over those situated lower in the global class structure is an even graver challenge to the ideals of social justice that animate critical criminologies of all flavors. Insofar as many of these injurious actions exist in the “space between laws” created by international structures of dominance and subaltern states, it is imperative that critical criminology transcend legalism and strike out toward a new vision that begins with social injury, not with law. As we reveal the discrepant choices through which political systems tolerate grave harms while aggressively repressing lesser ones, we contribute to peeling back the many layers of ideological construction that normalize domination. While doing so does not automatically provoke justice or limit domination, it does contribute to the formulation of new understandings and **new policy options to be tried when and if the political climate surrounding justice policy undergoes significant change.**

#### Epistemology comes first – it determines whether or not the aff’s research project is good or bad which is the prerequisite to good education. Only a new political framework pushes inequality to the forefront of your agenda and address the root causes of the aff’s impacts

**Giroux 20**Henry A. Giroux [Giroux currently is the McMaster University Professor for Scholarship in the Public Interest and The Paulo Freire Distinguished Scholar in Critical Pedagogy], 6-19-2020, "Racist Violence Can’t Be Separated from the Violence of Neoliberal Capitalism," Socialist Project, https://socialistproject.ca/2020/06/racist-violence-neoliberal-capitalism//mb

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 kinds 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, and 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 appeal 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 US 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 by 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 US 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 re-emerge 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. •

#### Brain drain and weak infrastructure make it intraactable

Skirble 7 (Rosanne, reporter @ Voices for America, Africa Fighting Malaria, “Even Billions of Dollars Can’t Solve Global Health”, <http://www.fightingmalaria.org/news.aspx?id=354>) All signs point to continued increases in this funding, according to Laurie Garrett, a senior fellow with the private Council on Foreign Relations. But she says the donations have grown at such a rapid pace that there is little time to reflect on how the money is being spent. "Are we doing the right things?" she asks. "Are we addressing the right problems and are we addressing them in the proper manner?" She says a larger issue is that the majority of the money is earmarked for very specific, narrow disease problems. Garrett says efforts to fight disease must take account of local health care services, if such services are even available. She points to a worsening shortage of health care workers in sub-Saharan Africa, a deficit experts put at roughly one million people. It's due, in part, to the flight of trained professionals to wealthier countries, where the population is aging and more services are needed. Garrett says this 'brain drain' is complicated by the fact that many developing countries lack the basic infrastructure to support a health care system. In many poor countries, hospitals, clinics and laboratories have suffered decades of neglect. Garrett advocates taking a more global, multi-system approach to public health, rather than focusing exclusively on single diseases. "Unless we do that," she warns, "we are going to see this whole moment of generosity turn into something sour, perhaps even claiming increased mortality."

#### African peace, not war.

Burbach 16 Dr. David T. Burbach, Professor of National Security Affairs at the Naval War College, a PhD in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, expertise in African security, defense planning, and U.S. foreign policy. Christopher J. Fettweis, Political Science Professor at Tulane University. [The Coming Peace: Africa's Declining Conflicts, 9-22-16, https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/the-coming-peace-africas-declining-conflicts (figures omitted for formatting)]//BPS

Africa is often presented as a war-ridden continent, but this depiction is becoming outdated. In the 21st century, the amount of warfare in Africa has declined dramatically, and today most Africans are more secure than ever. “Africa” and “conflict” are words all too often linked in Western minds. From Cold War proxy wars, to what Robert Kaplan saw as “the coming anarchy” in the 1990s, to Boko Haram massacres today, news from Africa may seem dominated by never-ending conflict. That image is out of date. In 2002 Tony Blair was justified in describing the state of Africa as a “scar on the conscience of humanity”, but in the years since there has been an underappreciated success story in Africa. The amount of warfare in Africa has declined dramatically, and today most Africans are more secure than ever. Troubled areas remain, unfortunately, but the larger picture of receding conflict has implications for how we think about African security needs. Outside actors can help reinforce positive external and internal trends that mitigate conflict, can avoid creating new conflict zones like Libya or South Sudan, and should recognize emerging human security needs that are becoming relatively more important as armed conflict declines. Africa’s waning wars Quietly over the last 15 years, many African wars did end, to paraphrase Scott Strauss. Lingering Cold War struggles like the Angolan civil war burned out. West African nations including Liberia and Sierra Leone ceased being playgrounds for warlords and regained their status as functional, if weak, states. Eastern Congo is still violent, but far less so than during the 1990s “African World War”. Overall, 21st century Africa has seen more wars end or abate than ignite. The trend towards peace in Africa can be seen by using various datasets on armed conflict (for more on data sources, tabulation, and trend analysis, see Burbach and Fettweis 2014). The Center for Systemic Peace (CSP), for example, tracks conflicts from 1946 to the present, scoring each for the intensity of its societal impact. Figure 1 shows the yearly sum of conflict intensity assessed by CSP, for both Africa and the rest of the world. The end of the Cold War brought peace to much of the world, but African conflicts increased in the 1990s. States like Somalia and Sierra Leone collapsed into warlordism, for example. Central Africa was hit by the Rwanda genocide and bloody chaos in Eastern Congo, killing one to five million people. At least three-fourths of the world’s total war deaths in the late 1990s took place in Africa (Burbach and Fettweis 2014, Figure 4). After the year 2000, the tide of war receded. Africa’s total conflict intensity as measured by CSP fell by approximately half. A similar pattern is shown by the Uppsala Conflict Data Project. Using somewhat different definitions, the Uppsala data shows that the number of conflicts in Africa resulting in 1,000 or more “battle deaths” per year declined from an average of 12 in the late 1990s to an average of 3.5 from 2010-2013. Some decades-long wars ended with formal peace accords, as with Angola in 2002; elsewhere, states gradually gained the upper hand on armed disorder. Given the unfortunate rise of warfare in the Middle East, Africa is no longer the most violent region of the world. africa-conflict-data The decline of warfare in Africa is even more dramatic in terms of individual risks. Africa’s population is growing rapidly, up 150% since 1980. Declining conflict despite a much larger population means the mortality risk from war has fallen substantially. An average of 32 people per 100,000 population were killed per year in the 1980s and 45 per 100,000 in the 1990s. In 2013, though the rate was only 8 per 100,000 (Burbach & Fettweis 2014, Figure 5). World Health Organization data shows an astonishing 95% decline in African conflict deaths from 2000 to 2012. In the 1980s, warfare killed more Africans than vehicle accidents. Today, perhaps three to six times as many Africans die in road crashes than from conflict. Many more Africans are harmed by crime or domestic violence than by warfare. Africa is still afflicted by more conflict than most ofthe world and the suffering of those involved is very real. Nevertheless, a greater proportion of Africans live free of war today than ever in the post-independence period. Celebrating African peace may seem premature given the civil war in South Sudan or the ravages of Boko Haram. Conflict has increased since 2011, but the level of armed conflict still remains lower than any time from 1970 – 2000. The most tragic development is the civil war in South Sudan, which the U.N. estimated had killed 50,000 as of spring 2016.Fortunately, South Sudan’s case is nearly unique: a newly created nation, devoid of physical or administrative infrastructure, with ethnically divided, soon-to-be-unemployed armed factions eyeing the lucrative oil revenues awaiting whomever could seize power. As academic panelists noted in 2011 – two years before the civil war – predictors of conflict were flashing red in South Sudan. Few African countries contain such a combustible mix of problems anymore. Accounting for the decline There are several factors behind the ebbing of conflict in Africa. One important change is the geopolitical environment. During the Cold War, the U.S. and the Soviets armed and funded rival factions in civil wars, allowing bloody wars to fester for decades in countries like Angola, Mozambique, and Ethiopia. Then, 1990s Africa fell into turmoil as superpower-sponsored regimes collapsed. A disinterested world mostly left Africa to its fate, but continued trade in weapons and resources with warlords. In the last decade, however, the U.S., Europe, and China have all become more active in diplomacy, security assistance, and peacekeeping. The US and China are together pressing

the South Sudanese factions to stop fighting, rather than choosing sides. The world has become somewhat less willing to sell arms or purchase minerals that directly fuel conflicts, admittedly with a long way to go. Africans themselves deserve great credit for ending the wars that plagued their continent. Economic growth, improvements in governance, and greater space for peaceful political participation have all made state failure and internal conflict less likely. As Paul Collier among others has noted, civil wars tend to create vicious cycles that spread insecurity to whole regions. Many regions of Africa have climbed out of the conflict trap; political, security, and economic improvements are reinforcing each other. The nations of Africa increasingly work together through the institutions of the African Union to head off or resolve conflict, and to deploy peacekeepers to conflict zones. Needs still outpace available resources, but that cooperation is a marked change from 20th century Africa.

#### African war won’t escalate

Dr. James A. Schear 16, PhD, Global Fellow with the Africa Program at the Woodrow Wilson, “FORGING SECURITY PARTNERSHIPS IN AFRICA: WHAT LIES AHEAD?”, Wilson Quarterly, Winter, http://wilsonquarterly.com/quarterly/the-post-obama-world/forging-security-partnerships-in-africa-what-lies-ahead/

More than a generation later, the tempo of political violence has greatly subsided across large areas of southern and eastern Africa and, more recently, in parts of coastal west Africa. Tragically, other venues — most notably central Africa’s Great Lakes region, as well as the Maghreb and Sahel to the north — are still riven by deep-set instabilities. And, yes, colonial-era legacies do still exert some malign influences, state fragility poses perennial relapse risks, and new threats are ever-evolving.

Despite these complexities, any geostrategist would have to acknowledge contemporary Africa’s positive features. The continent has not seen a war between sovereign states since the late 1990s, when Eritrean and Ethiopian forces waged large-scale mechanized warfare along their (still) disputed border. Nor is Africa a venue for aggressively overreaching hegemons. None of its largest, strongest countries — Angola, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania — are locked into polarizing rivalries with each other, and growing economic interdependencies within and beyond their regions have tended, on balance, to aid local stability. This is all good news, but alas, it is only part of the story.

## Case