### 1 – Bioweapons DA

#### The COVID epidemic has exposed massive flaws in biosecurity, lack of public health compliance, anti-vaxxers, and PPE shortages have shown unique vulnerabilities – the US is specifically exposed

Lyon 21 (Regan Lyon; 7/1/21; Military Medicine, Volume 186, Issue7-8, July-August 2021, Pages 193-196; *“The COVID-19 Response Has Uncovered and Increased Our Vulnerability to Biological Warfare”*; accessed 8/13/21; <https://academic.oup.com/milmed/article/186/7-8/193/6135020>; Department of Defense Analysis at the Naval Postgraduate School) HB \*We do not endorse the ableist language of the card\*

INTRODUCTION Biological warfare has been an unlikely, but serious, concern for military operations and national security. The 2018 National Biodefense Strategy (NBS) articulated a collaborative plan to prevent, detect, and respond to biological threats to the USA.1 The NBS highlights recent, isolated outbreaks of Systemic Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), Ebola, and Zika viruses as warnings to nation states and justification for enhanced biological threat responses. Although these events are not considered deliberate threats, clandestine bioweapon programs and terrorist groups seeking such programs are known to exist and capitalize on such natural outbreaks.1 The NBS’s emphasis on prevention and response drives the requirement to enhance biological weapon deterrence and defense strategies to avert the employment of biological weapons on U.S. civilians or military personnel.1 The public health crisis that ensued with SARS-associated coronavirus-2 (SARS-CoV-2) has highlighted our nation’s bioweapon vulnerabilities on the international stage and has the potential for disastrous effects on national security. Previous questions regarding how the USA would respond to a large biological outbreak (or biological weapon) have now been answered for potential adversaries across the world. The ambiguity of both our capabilities and weaknesses, which provided deterrence to adversarial employment of biological weapons before the pandemic, no longer exists. This article will provide an overview on biological weapons and the concepts of deterrence and defense in the context of bioterrorism. Then, it will analyze how the national personal protective equipment (PPE) shortage, public resistance to public health measures, the anti-vaccination movement, and USNS (United States Navy Ship) Comfort deployment to New York City have increased our vulnerability to bioterror attack by impacting our deterrence and defense measures. Finally, it will offer recommendations to restore our bioterrorism security after the detrimental effects from the events unfolding in the USA. BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS REGULATIONS, DETERRENCE, AND DEFENSE Even though biological warfare is considered a “weapon of mass destruction” and is prohibited by a treaty drafted by the 1972 United Nations Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), not all adversaries adhere to these standards. Terrorist groups and covert operations have utilized biological weapons for small operations because the actors, by nature, are either non-eligible to ratify the treaty or would not do so if they could. Although there have been no intentional large-scale attacks, especially by adversarial nation states, this is not guaranteed to be the case in the future.2 The BWC does not prohibit ratified nations from having pathogens or toxins for peaceful purposes, such as the development of vaccines. After the natural outbreak of smallpox and its subsequent eradication accomplished by the World Health Organization in 1980, less virulent poxviruses have continued to be used in a variety of laboratories for research and development of vaccines for a variety of diseases.3 The original, more deadly strain of smallpox has been retained at two facilities in Russia and Atlanta.4 Because smallpox’s virology makes it an ideal biological weapon, the samples in Atlanta and Russia offer defense through researching countermeasures should an attack occur and simultaneously provide a repository from which a biological weapon can be acquired. “Deterrence” and “defense” are two concepts which are typically described in terms of nuclear warfare, but they can also be applied to national security from a biological attack.5 Deterrence is the ability to prevent an adversary from taking some action during peacetime.5 For biological warfare deterrence, vaccines and preventative medicine measures prevent susceptibility to a microbe. For a largely vaccinated and/or health-conscious population, the costs of production, storage, and dissemination of a bioweapon greatly outweighs the rare chance of the target contracting the disease. New Zealand’s robust public health measures, citizen compliance, and continued efforts to sustain a caseload under 20 since April is a strong deterrent for biological attack.6 Defense mechanisms decrease the effectiveness of the attack, putting a high cost-to-benefit burden on the adversary.5 A defense measure for bioterrorism would be an adequate medical treatment response to casualties of the bioweapon, decreasing mortality and the overall effectiveness of the weapon. COVID-19 PANDEMIC ANALYSIS The novel SARS-CoV-2 has several characteristics of an ideal biological weapon, including high transmission rate, long incubation period, airborne transmission, and significant morbidity/mortality.7 In fact, early in the pandemic, suspicion was cast that the virus was being developed as a biological weapon by a laboratory in Wuhan, China.8 Although these allegations have been deemed conspiracy theories as a result of misinformation operations, the resulting pandemic and the panicked public share similarities to a bioterror attack. The events occurring within the USA during the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic create a global narrative on how we respond to a biological crisis. The 2018 NBS emphasized the continued threat of biological weapons to national security and identified the need to deter and defend against bioterrorism acts.1 This section will analyze events in the USA during the pandemic, how they bolstered or negated our current bioterrorism deterrence or defense strategies, and offer areas for improvement to restore our bioterror security. Personal Protective Equipment Shortage The 2018 NBS mandates having a robust mobilization of PPE for frontline healthcare workers and an adequate communication plan on preventative health measures for the general public in the event of an attack.1 The ability to provide sufficient quantities of PPE for medical personnel is a vital defense tactic as it increases the efficiency of the healthcare system to treat casualties in response to a biological outbreak. Having the ability to mobilize these resources to hospitals strengthens bioterror deterrence by demonstrating to a potential adversary that a bioterror attack would have a limited effect on a population given the healthcare preparedness. As conflicting information was published across multiple media platforms from January to March, panic spread that the virus was more dangerous than originally believed. Citizens flooded stores in town and online, buying “essential items” in preparation for a lockdown. Items such as masks, gloves, and sanitizers were out of stock everywhere, including healthcare supply chains. More importantly, citizens heard N95 masks could prevent contracting the virus, suddenly increasing N95 demand.9 Demand exceeded supply quickly, and healthcare workers began complaining of the nation-wide shortage of appropriate PPE required to care for infected patients.10 The inability to acquire necessary PPE supplies due to crippled supply chains and general public hoarding caused a ripple effect within the healthcare system. As a result, hospitals began to institute resource conservation measures, attempting to extend the life of supplies intended for one-time use. These PPE conservation measures, however, were interpreted by some healthcare workers as putting their lives in jeopardy and instigated lobbying and campaigning for government involvement. News reports flourished of disgruntled healthcare workers who were at risk of infection due to a lack of PPE. Such reports of general public hoarding, inadequate PPE logistical chains, and inappropriate PPE conservation measures by hospitals demonstrate the USA’s poor public health response. The NBS calls for an extensive mobilization of adequate PPE in response to a biological outbreak to decrease the pathogen spread, minimize its effects, and improve our resiliency.1 The capability to decrease the pathogen’s effects increases an attacker’s “sunk costs” should they choose to release a biological weapon. An impaired, or presumably impaired, capability adversely affects our defense strategy. In addition, the decrease in cost-to-risk ratio impairs our deterrence measures by showing worsened biological denial. The rapid healthcare PPE disappearance secondary to pandemic panic demonstrated a critical vulnerability in one of the most important defense strategies for a bioterror attack. To improve our defense capability, our healthcare workers must have an adequate supply of PPE, which can be mobilized expeditiously. Bioweapons have a high transmission rate and are easily disseminated, which make airborne and droplet transmission favorable. Public health experts should retrospectively analyze the types and amounts of PPE utilized in areas highly impacted by SARS-CoV-2. With these data, models can be created to make recommendations for phase-based mobilization of PPE and to determine the size of stockpile needed for immediate release. Government agencies need to establish agreements with PPE manufacturers to prioritize production in declared biological emergencies. Anti-Vaccination Movements Non-compliance with recommended public health and protective measures, including vaccines, also cripples our nation’s biodefense. Public health measures such as social distancing, aggressive sanitation, and mask mandates are examples of defense tactics for the COVID-19 pandemic. The individualistic U.S. culture fueled widespread non-compliance with these measures and has had significant effect on our ability to “flatten the curve” compared to other countries.11 The preference for “freedom…without interference from the state” is present in 58% of U.S. citizens, compared to 30-38% of European countries.11 The USA’s inability to uniformly employ these measures and decrease the virus spread compared to other countries signals to adversaries a weakness in our defense to decrease the effects of a biological outbreak. Furthermore, the speculation and conspiracy theories surrounding COVID-19 vaccines suggest an inevitable resistance to receiving the vaccine when available. Resistance to vaccinations is nothing new and caused challenges for vaccination against smallpox in the 19th-century U.K. epidemic.12 Then in 2019, the U.S. measles outbreak was amplified by anti-vaxxer campaigns.13 Since early in the COVID-19 pandemic, social media posts have warned that future coronavirus vaccines contain either tracking devices for the U.S. government or toxic chemicals.13,14 This unopposed and contagious anti-vax movement directly affects future biological deterrence because our adversaries know that the population will not be universally compliant with vaccination and will be susceptible to certain pathogens. Recent polls indicate that one-third of U.S. citizens,14 compared to 14% of U.K. citizens,12 would avoid receiving a SARS-CoV-2 vaccine, even if available and affordable. A poor vaccination rate increases a population’s disease susceptibility and decreases biological weapon deterrence by denial. The anti-vaccination movement has caught traction from massive information operations and propaganda on multiple media platforms. Since May 2020, anti-vaxxers have been propagating lies about the side effects of the coronavirus vaccine, but as of June, the Centers for Disease Control, which is responsible for vaccine education, had only a “plan” to counter such anti-vaccine campaigns.14 When the first vaccines were being administered to healthcare workers in the USA in December 2020, multiple social media efforts were started to promote the vaccine.15 Hashtags such as #vaxup, #IGotTheShot, #vaccineswork, and many more were used with social media posts of doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel receiving their vaccine.16 Some posts continued with threads of updates on any side effects encountered to quell public concerns. Information operations such as these may be more effective to counter the anti-vaccination propaganda than government-sponsored campaigns and require further research by public health officials.

#### Patents are the key to preventing bioweapon development – they prevent technology from being accessible to hostile state and non-state actors

Finlay 10 (Brian Finlay; Summer 2010; The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, *“The Bioterror Pipeline: Big Pharma, Patent Expirations, and New Challenges to Global Security”*; accessed 8/13/21; Brian Finlay is a senior associate at the Stimson Center in Washington, DC, where he directs the Managing Across Boundaries Program. He has worked at the Brookings Institution, the Century Foundation, and Canadas Laboratory Center for Disease Control/Health Canada; pages 54-58; ask me for the pdf) HB

NEW CHALLENGES: THE BIOTECH REVOLUTION AND THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR Myriad private sector actors, ranging from single-employee enterprises to major multinational pharmaceutical giants dominate today's biopharmaceutical marketplace. Privately owned companies not only develop, produce, and operate the lion's share of biological industrial equipment, but carry out the greatest share of the scientific research and development for the relevant technologies, goods, and methods of application. University and other non-profit research is often commercially-funded, and many governments around the globe have built public-private partnerships, even in some of the most sensitive areas of biotechnology, to capitalize on cost reductions and innovation. According to a recent Ernest and Young study of the industry, today more than 80 percent of biotechnology firms-and, thus, the technologies they innovate-are in the hands of the private sector." In the United States, the industry's compound annual growth rate has historically hovered around 15 percent, yielding aggregate revenues of more than $70 billion in 2008.18 With fortunes to be made, unprecedented new applications to be discovered, and practically unlimited possibilities for growth, the biopharmaceutical industry has swelled dramatically over the past decade. It is estimated that the biotech sector supports about 3.2 million jobs across the U.S. economy-a little more than one job for every 100 Americans.' 9 In Europe, publicly traded biotech companies' revenues increased 17 percent in one year, from f9.6 billion in 2007 to £11.2 billion in 2008. And although the recent global financial crisis had a negative impact, the product pipelines of European industry are growing across all phases of clinical development.20 By virtually any measure, the United States and Europe remain unmatched global hubs for biotechnological investment and innovation. For national security analysts, this reality has long provided some measure of comfort. Although the system of security assurances mandated by technologically advanced (principally Western) governments is far from a panacea against biothreats, the absence of similarly robust legal barriers in many countries raises serious international security concerns. 2' For instance, although the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Singapore have all introduced strict regulations on pathogenic agents that may be of interest to committed bioterrorists, most countries have not. Similarly, export controls and enforcement over many sensitive technologies are often extremely lax, particularly in countries of the Global South.22 And because terrorists and proliferant states may shop for pathogens and dual-use production technologies where controls are the weakest, this uneven patchwork of regulations leaves open a significant gap in global biosecurity standards.23 It was in this porous regulatory environment that President Obama released his National Strategy for Countering Biological Threats in November 2009. His plan cited both unparalleled innovations in the life sciences and imperfections in existing control regimes as the principle motivations for a new strategy that seeks to prevent biotechnology products from being used for harmful purposes.24 However, while the President's plan presented a more forward-leaning agenda to counter the rising risk of proliferation by explicitly leveraging public health in support of international security, at its root, the strategy extends the traditional state-centric approaches to a problem that is increasingly one of the private sector. A proper approach to the issue-and its solution set-must place industry at its epicenter. In short, the Obama strategy exemplifies the continued mismatch between governments' near singular focus on regulation of the industry on the one hand, and the elusive nature of privately-driven biotech innovation on the other. Beyond encouraging the industry to adopt more stringent security standards in the public interest, governments have generally proven bereft of innovative ideas that more directly link these measures to the private sector's enlightened self-interest. This mismatch is aggravated by the reality that the biotech and pharmaceutical community stands on the brink of yet another grand transformation that will render traditional control efforts, however effective they may have proven in the past, even more anachronistic. Over the course of the coming decade, the traditional drug development strategies employed so successfully by Western biopharmaceutical companies in the past will run headlong into two realities that will fundamentally alter biopharmaceuticals' business model: continued and rampant globalization of the life sciences and big pharma's patent expiration challenges. These forces will have profound implications on the future of drug development and the internationalization of intellectual property. Further, it threatens to open a new era of biological weapons proliferation by pushing bio-innovation into regions that are ill-prepared to manage the leakage of sensitive knowledge and equipment to those intent on developing biological weapons. Accelerating Globalization of the Life Sciences As globalization began to take firm root in the 1980s, virtually every industrial sector across the Western world sought to capitalize upon its underlying forces to promote efficiency and financial gain. Conceptions of tightly integrated firms whose product development was bound by national borders gave way to an internationalization of R&D, production, and supply chains. Expedited global trade, hastened by advances in everything from information to transportation technologies, allowed profit and efficiency to be maximized through outsourcing, off-shoring, supply-chaining, and other activities that drove intellectual and manufacturing capacity far beyond Western shores. The corresponding transfer of information, processes, and technology generated new local enterprises, including subsidiary operations that collaborated with or competed for global market share. This dynamic, in turn, created a virtuous cycle that accelerated the biotechnological competencies of these new markets. Soon, states that were seen to have lacked the indigenous expertise to perform complex R&D and manufacturing operations began to develop advanced, competitive industrial sectors.25 By the late 1990s, the spread of biotechnological knowledge and equipment allowed even more companies, universities, and research institutes around the world to benefit from advances in the life sciences. Today, developing countries nurture competitive industrial sectors that challenge traditional suppliers in Western Europe. According to the United Nations, many developing countries, including Argentina, Brazil, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Mexico, and South Africa are already approaching the leading edge of biotechnological applications and have "significant" research capacity in the biosciences.26 In aggregate, this can only be seen as a significant boon to global development. As in the North, the developing South is putting these biotech capacities to work for peaceful purposes. Recent technological breakthroughs are indicative of this new geographic diversity of biological talent: the first vaccine against meningitis B was developed in Cuba; South Africa was the first country involved in HIV-C strain preventive treatment; India is the world's largest producer of the hepatitis B vaccine; and China was the first country to license gene therapy.27 Meanwhile, biotechnology is providing an infusion of high-skilled, stable, and lucrative jobs, and endowing struggling economies with critical growth and diversification. For the security conscious, however, the globalization of biotechnology has also expanded the locus of the bioproliferation challenge from technologically advanced countries of the North into far-flung places around the globe.28 Thus, even as humankind reaps the benefits of the biotech revolution, governments around the world are increasingly challenged by the confluence of rapidly advancing science and technology and by globalization itself. High technical hurdles to isolation and weaponization of dangerous pathogens once confined fears about the development and use of biological weapons to advanced industrial states. But now, the spread of dual-use biotechnologies means that a growing number of countries-and even terrorist groups-may gain access to the capacities necessary to develop a bioweapon.

#### Any reduction in bioweapons threat is key – 1ar impact defense doesn’t account for future technology developments that make them a existential threat

Millett and Snyder-Beattie 17 (Piers Millett and Andrew Snyder-Beattie; 2017; Health Security, Volume 15, Number 4; *“Existential Risk and Cost-Effective Biosecurity”*; accessed 8/13/21; <https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/pdf/10.1089/hs.2017.0028>; Piers Millett, PhD, is a Senior Research Fellow, and Andrew Snyder-Beattie, MS, is Director of Research; both at the University of Oxford, Future of Humanity Institute, Oxford, England.; page 378) HB

Why Uncertainty Is Not Cause for Reassurance Each of our estimates rely to some extent on guesswork and remain highly uncertain. Technological breakthroughs in areas such as diagnostics, vaccines, and therapeutics, as well as vastly improved surveillance, or even eventual space colonization, could reduce the chance of disease-related extinction by many orders of magnitude. Other breakthroughs such as highly distributed DNA synthesis or improved understanding of how to construct and modify diseases could increase or decrease the risks. Destabilizing political forces, the breakdown of the Biological Weapons Convention, or warfare between major world powers could vastly increase the amount of investment in bioweapons and create the incentives to actively use knowledge and biotechnology in destructive ways. Each of these factors suggests that our wide estimates could still be many orders of magnitude off from the true risk in this century. But uncertainty is not cause for reassurance. In instances where the probability of a catastrophe is thought to be extremely low (eg, human extinction from bioweapons), greater uncertainty around the estimates will typically imply greater risk of the catastrophe, as we have reduced confidence that the risk is actually at a low level.48 xxx Given that our conservative models are based on historical data, they fail to account for the primary source of future risk: technological development that could radically democratize the ability to build advanced bioweapons. If the cost and required expertise of developing bioweapons falls far enough, the world might enter a phase where offensive capabilities dominate defensive ones. Some scholars, such as Martin Rees, think that humanity has about a 50% chance of going extinct due in large part to such technologies.49 However, incorporating these intuitions and technological conjectures would mean relying on qualitative arguments that would be far more contentious than our conservative estimates. We therefore proceed to assess the cost-effectiveness on the basis of our conservative models, until superior models of the risk emerge.

#### Bioweapon usage causes extinction – increasing development of lethality and spread proves that the threat is increasing – action now to bolster infrastructure is key

Millett and Snyder-Beattie 17 (Piers Millett and Andrew Snyder-Beattie; 2017; Health Security, Volume 15, Number 4; *“Existential Risk and Cost-Effective Biosecurity”*; accessed 8/13/21; <https://www.liebertpub.com/doi/pdf/10.1089/hs.2017.0028>; Piers Millett, PhD, is a Senior Research Fellow, and Andrew Snyder-Beattie, MS, is Director of Research; both at the University of Oxford, Future of Humanity Institute, Oxford, England.; page 374) HB

In the modern context, no single disease currently exists that combines the worst-case levels of transmissibility, lethality, resistance to countermeasures, and global reach. But many diseases are proof of principle that each worst-case attribute can be realized independently. For example, some diseases exhibit nearly a 100% case fatality ratio in the absence of treatment, such as rabies or septicemic plague. Other diseases have a track record of spreading to virtually every human community worldwide, such as the 1918 flu,10 and seroprevalence studies indicate that other pathogens, such as chickenpox and HSV-1, can successfully reach over 95% of a population.11,12 Under optimal virulence theory, natural evolution would be an unlikely source for pathogens with the highest possible levels of transmissibility, virulence, and global reach. But advances in biotechnology might allow the creation of diseases that combine such traits. Recent controversy has already emerged over a number of scientific experiments that resulted in viruses with enhanced transmissibility, lethality, and/or the ability to overcome therapeutics.13-17 Other experiments demonstrated that mousepox could be modified to have a 100% case fatality rate and render a vaccine ineffective.18 In addition to transmissibility and lethality, studies have shown that other disease traits, such as incubation time, environmental survival, and available vectors, could be modified as well.19-21 Although these experiments had scientific merit and were not conducted with malicious intent, their implications are still worrying. This is especially true given that there is also a long historical track record of state-run bioweapon research applying cutting-edge science and technology to design agents not previously seen in nature. The Soviet bioweapons program developed agents with traits such as enhanced virulence, resistance to therapies, greater environmental resilience, increased difficulty to diagnose or treat, and which caused unexpected disease presentations and outcomes.22 Delivery capabilities have also been subject to the cutting edge of technical development, with Canadian, US, and UK bioweapon efforts playing a critical role in developing the discipline of aerobiology.23,24 While there is no evidence of staterun bioweapons programs directly attempting to develop or deploy bioweapons that would pose an existential risk, the logic of deterrence and mutually assured destruction could create such incentives in more unstable political environments or following a breakdown of the Biological Weapons Convention.25The possibility of a war between great powers could also increase the pressure to use such weapons—during the World Wars, bioweapons were used across multiple continents, with Germany targeting animals in WWI,26 and Japan using plague to cause an epidemic in China during WWII.27 Non-state actors may also pose a risk, especially those with explicitly omnicidal aims. While rare, there are examples. The Aum Shinrikyo cult in Japan sought biological weapons for the express purpose of causing extinction.28 Environmental groups, such as the Gaia Liberation Front, have argued that ‘‘we can ensure Gaia’s survival only through the extinction of the Humans as a species. we now have the specific technology for doing the job. several different [genetically engineered] viruses could be released’’(quoted in ref. 29). Groups such as R.I.S.E. also sought to protect nature by destroying most of humanity with bioweapons.30 Fortunately, to date, non-state actors have lacked the capabilities needed to pose a catastrophic bioweapons threat, but this could change in future decades as biotechnology becomes more accessible and the pool of experienced users grows.31,32

### 2 – Midterms DA

#### Dems win now – republican retirements, lack of true battle ground states, and the general progression of life in the pandemic sets them up to retain control

Shapiro 8/16 (Walter Shapiro; 8/16/21; The News Republic; *“Can Biden Defy History in 2022?”*; accessed 8/17/21; <https://newrepublic.com/article/163086/can-biden-defy-history-2022-midterms>; Walter Shapiro is a staff writer at The New Republic. He is also a fellow at the Brennan Center for Justice and a lecturer in political science at Yale.) UNT-HB

Since 2008, Gallup has been asking online panels to rate how they feel about their lives (on a 0–10 scale) and how they envision their lives in five years. A June survey found that Americans reported higher life satisfaction now and in the future than in any prior Gallup survey—a sharp jump from a historic low point during the Covid spring of 2020 and a significant improvement over the mixed ratings at time of Biden’s inauguration. To put it in the simplest possible terms: With Joe Biden in the White House, life is getting better for most Americans, and they anticipate that the good times will continue. As the Gallup write-up of the survey notes, “Beyond the vaccination rollout and improving economic conditions, though, is the critical psychological benefit of renewed social interaction. Reuniting in person with family and friends and joining in large gatherings of people such as at sporting events is a crucial part of social wellbeing.” (Full Disclosure: I have been part of an online Gallup panel for years. While I cannot recall if my upbeat post-vaccination assessment was part of the June survey, I do know that the question in the past has caused me to seriously ponder in a way that I do not with queries on political preferences and policy issues. Why as a journalist do I participate in such surveys? Much as conscience-stricken hedge funders give back by donating wings to major hospitals and buildings to Ivy League universities, I give back as a political reporter by honestly answering questions from reputable pollsters.) Many left-wing Democrats believe that the 2022 elections will pivot around a lengthy legislative to-do list on Capitol Hill. This line of thought suggests that unless Biden delivers on epic climate-change legislation, immigration reform, voting rights, and a CVS-receipt–size list of other pet issues, the Democrats will be viewed as failures. But activists with these unrealistic expectations fail to appreciate that Biden has already accomplished far more than most presidents going into the midterm elections. Consider his $1.9 trillion stimulus package, his vaccination rollout, and the dramatic change of tone in Washington. As the Democratic pollster Mark Mellman told me, “People are not going to evaluate Joe Biden on the number of bills that he passed, but on the direction of the country.” This far in advance, the list of senators and House members who are retiring in 2022 can serve as a rough proxy for each party’s prospects for holding a majority. The assumption is that the frustrations of serving in the minority make the life (and the paycheck) of a lobbyist far more alluring than running for another term with diminished power. That is why it is telling that so far only a handful of House Democrats have announced plans to run for other offices or leave elective politics. In contrast, five Senate Republicans whose seats are on the ballot in 2022 have already announced their retirements, with the future plans of Trump toady Ron Johnson in Wisconsin and 87-year-old Chuck Grassley in Iowa still undetermined. Unlike 2018, when the Democrats had to defend Senate seats in such flaming red Trump states as North Dakota, West Virginia, Montana, and Missouri, the 2022 map gives the party reason for optimism. This time around, the rough consensus is that the most endangered Democratic incumbent is New Hampshire’s Maggie Hassan, since popular Governor Chris Sununu (a 68 percent approval rating) may well be her formidable Republican challenger. When the Democrats’ toughest state is New Hampshire, which last opted for a GOP presidential candidate in 2000, it is a far cry from even 2020, when the party knew from the outset that Doug Jones was doomed to defeat in Alabama. In 2022, no Senate Democrat will be on the ballot in a state that Trump carried in the last election. But Raphael Warnock in Georgia and Mark Kelly in Arizona—two states where Biden’s 2020 margins were somewhere between an eyelash and a whisker—are running again after being elected to just partial terms. It is premature to give Daily Racing Form rundowns of key Senate races. But the Democrats are well-positioned to make gains with open GOP-held seats in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, as well as in Wisconsin, whether or not Johnson runs for a third term. Perhaps the biggest Senate advantage the Democrats will have in 2022 is the likelihood of divisive Republican primaries in battleground states. In 2017–2018, the Democrats won six key Senate races (Alabama, Arizona, Michigan, Montana, West Virginia, and Wisconsin) following scorched-earth GOP primaries. The most enduring joke in politics—a joke that has launched enough memes to sustain Twitter for a century—is that “it all comes down to turnout.” It may be a laugh line, much like Infrastructure Week under Trump, but it is also the biggest unknown about 2022. Nancy Pelosi is speaker for a simple reason: Democratic turnout in 2018 was the highest for an off-year election in more than a century and produced a 40-seat pickup in the House that sustains the party’s narrow majority today. But will Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents again vote in record numbers in 2022 without Trump in the White House or on the ballot? A strong argument can be made that Tip O’Neill’s dictum has been reversed, and these days “all politics are national,” as ticket-splitting appears to be going the way of the Prohibition Party. True, the Republicans have been adept at locating forgotten pockets of rural white voters. But the Democrats, with a long history of their voters going AWOL in non-presidential years, probably have the most to gain from the fervent attitude that both sides now bring to all elections. The political scientist and election forecaster Rachel Bitecofer is a strong adherent to the concept of negative partisanship, the idea that voters are primarily motivated by scorn for the other party. For 2022, she is devoting her energies to launching StrikePAC, a political group trying to brand the entire Republican Party as far-right extremists. Her motivation: fear that the Biden White House and most Democratic consultants are too reasonable and too reluctant to go for the jugular. As she said in an interview, “Happy people don’t vote. You know who’s always unhappy? The Republicans.” Bitecofer believes that the most important measure going into 2022 will be the level of enthusiasm of the Democratic coalition. But a strong case can be made that the makeup of the 2022 Democratic coalition also matters, since higher-income and better-educated voters tend to be the most reliable voters. These days, for better or worse, the Democrats are increasingly the party of high SAT scores. According to the data analysis firm Catalist, the Democrats’ performance among white college-educated voters jumped from 46 percent support in 2012 (when Barack Obama won 51 percent of the vote nationally) to a comfortable 54 percent in 2018 and 2020. The upshot of these demographic changes, Ali Lapp from House Majority PAC argues, is that “the idea that the Democrats are the party of inconsistent voters is no longer true.” But the Democrats have a secret weapon in 2022: Donald J. Trump. Unlike any defrocked president since the nineteenth century, Trump seems determined to make the midterms, especially the GOP primaries, into a crusade for his personal vindication. It is as if Herbert Hoover stumped for Republican candidates in 1934—two years after he carried just six states in his reelection bid—by claiming that it was “fake news” that he was paralyzed in the face of the Depression. Imagine if in 1974, just months after he resigned in disgrace, Richard Nixon toured the nation with an “I should have burned the White House tapes” rehabilitation tour. But Trump—whose ego needs were never going to be sated by crashing a wedding at Mar-a-Lago to rant about a stolen election—has embarked on a single-minded mission to quash all dissent within the Republican Party. Pollster Mark Mellman captured the GOP dilemma: “The problem that the Republicans have is that they think that Donald Trump is the secret for turning out the base. And for Democrats, he’s a red flag in front of a bull.” In 2020, Trump did inspire a hidden battalion of MAGA-hatted voters who had skipped both 2016 and 2018. According to an in-depth Pew Research Center study, which combined poll results with the records of actual voting turnout, 19 percent of 2020 voters had not cast ballots in the prior two elections. That group of occasional voters was evenly split between the two 2020 presidential candidates, although the Biden supporters skewed much younger. The Republican strategy for creating repeat voters out of this off-and-on cohort is predicated on nonstop fearmongering. Some of the issues that the GOP is flogging are perennials that have worked for Republicans in prior elections—especially crime and immigration. The weaponization of these issues concerns Democratic strategists looking ahead to 2022. But for the Republicans these days, everything is a threat, from door-to-door vaccination drives to elementary school curricula. The GOP seems more obsessed with critical race theory than the John Birch Society during the Cold War ever was with The Communist Manifesto. H.L. Mencken would probably have mocked this kind of Fox News fanaticism as “boob bait.” As a skeptical Republican consultant, who works almost exclusively in swing states, put it, “In the quiet moments before people vote in 2022, I don’t think that they will be thinking about critical race theory.” Perhaps the Democrats’ biggest hope for 2022 is that Republican primaries for winnable Senate and House seats will be dominated by candidates who might seem extreme even to QAnon believers. Fealty to Trump is not just a popular approach among Republicans—it is a job requirement. Washington Post cartoonist Michael de Adder conjured up a 2021 version of Joseph McCarthy, including the jowls and the five o’clock shadow, badgering a browbeaten GOP witness, “Are you now, or have you ever been, disloyal to Donald Trump?” Republicans with long memories, starting with Mitch McConnell, know how easy it is to squander a Senate seat if the wrong candidate prevails in a primary. In 2012, Democrat Claire McCaskill won an extra term in the Senate after her Republican opponent, Todd Akin, began talking about the repugnant concept of “legitimate rape.” And in 2010, Christine O’Donnell, the GOP Senate nominee in Delaware who had once bragged about her occult experimentation, was forced to begin her first TV ad by saying earnestly to the camera, “I am not a witch.” The hardest things for the Democrats to accept 14 months before the 2022 elections are the virtues of patience. If activists allow themselves to take off their dark glasses of gloom and see all the scenarios under which the Democrats could hold Congress in 2022, they might temper their unrealistic expectations about what Biden and the congressional leaders can accomplish in the next year with micrometer majorities on Capitol Hill. In a sense, one of the gravest dangers ahead—both for the Democrats and for American democracy—is the possibility of younger voters giving up on electoral politics because utopia was not achieved in the first two years of the Biden presidency. In truth, as even Isaac Newton might agree, taming a pandemic and reviving a stricken economy is a hell of a ticket to run on.

#### The plan is politically unpopular – voters are divided which means that plans passage flips the major thin margins – vaccines proves

The Hill 5/4 (The Hill; 5/4/21; The Hill; *“Poll: Majority oppose proposal to temporarily waive intellectual property rights on COVID-19 vaccines”*; accessed 8/27/21; <https://thehill.com/hilltv/what-americas-thinking/551797-poll-majority-oppose-proposal-to-temporarily-waive-intellectual>) HB

A majority of voters oppose the proposal to temporarily waive intellectual property rights on COVID-19 vaccines, a new Hill-HarrisX poll finds. The survey comes as the Biden administration faces mounting pressure to support a proposal led by India and South Africa that would waive an international intellectual property agreement that protects pharmaceutical trade secrets. Backers of the move argue it would enable lower-income countries to manufacture the vaccines themselves while those opposed say it could make the vaccine less safe and damper production in existing locations. Fifty-seven percent of registered voters in the May 3-4 survey said they oppose the proposal to waive intellectual property rights on COVID-19 vaccines. By contrast, 43 percent of respondents said they support the proposal. Sixty-four percent of Republican voters along with 52 percent of both Democratic and independent voters said they oppose waiving the intellectual property rights of vaccines. "This is a complex issue with a remarkably sophisticated understanding by the public. The tension is as follows: On one hand you have the need to protect the intellectual property rights of the scientists and companies that brought about the fastest vaccine in history, and will likely need to produce new versions of the shot even faster to battle evolving strains," Dritan Nesho, chief researcher and CEO of HarrisX, told Hill.TV. "On the other hand there’s the need to save lives, reaching global heard immunity and providing access to the vaccine as broadly and equitably as as possible," Nesho continued. "Today a majority of 57 percent of U.S. voters would like to protect the intellectual property of vaccine makers, but as more and more people are vaccinated in advanced economies, voter pressure for broader and more equitable distribution will rise," Nesho added. "Already we see Democrats and independents here split on the issue of whether or not to waive IP rights to provide greater access to the vaccines." President Biden is expected to weigh in on the proposal at a World Trade Organization meeting on Wednesday. The most recent Hill-HarrisX poll was conducted online among 939 registered voters. It has a margin of error of 3.2 percentage points.

#### A Republican win in 2022 shuts out climate action for decades

Silverman 8/24 (Ellie Silverman; 8/24/21; The Washington Post; *“Climate activists fear this is the last chance to pass meaningful legislation”*; accessed 8/27/21; <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2021/08/24/climate-biden-congress-protest/>; Ellie Silverman covers protest movements, activism and local news. At The Post, she has also covered local crime and courts. She has previously reported on retail, breaking news and general assignment stories for the Philadelphia Inquirer, her hometown paper. She graduated from the University of Maryland, where she reported for the Diamondback) HB

There is a rising frustration among many of those organizers, who say they helped turn out the vote in 2020 but are not seeing climate pledges translate into meaningful changes. They are worried that the opportunity to push through ambitious climate legislation will soon be gone — and that they may not have another chance. “He said he was the climate president,” Peltier — an Anishinaabe citizen of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa and a member of the Indigenous environmental justice organization Honor the Earth — said outside the White House on Monday. “Now he doesn’t care.” Many climate activists have described an escalating sense of urgency to implement the sweeping changes needed to slow Earth’s warming, highlighted by the recent landmark report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. U.N. Secretary General António Guterres called the report a “code red for humanity.” The pace of emissions shows the planet is on track to warm more than two degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels, which could trigger irreversible damage, according to the IPCC report. The Greenland ice sheet could collapse, and sea levels could rise more than six feet. There will be more of the climate-fed fires of this summer, deadly heat waves and devastating floods. Natalie Mebane read the IPCC report and thought of how much ground the climate movement in this country lost under President Donald Trump, whose administration allowed more pollution and weakened protections for wildlife. She worries Republicans will regain power in the 2022 midterms and thinks the slim window from now until then may be the final opportunity to see climate priorities passed through Congress. If not, it could be years before Democrats are in control — wasted time that Mebane fears could cause permanent devastation. “If the Democrats lose a single seat in the Senate, it’s over,” said Mebane, the associate director of U.S. policy for 350.org, an international climate group. “These years that we have right now is the last time that we can even make an impact and influence on climate change before it becomes runaway climate change that we have zero control over.” Biden has tackled greenhouse-gas emissions by proposing new federal goals and mandates to begin shifting the country toward electric cars, rejoined the Paris climate accord and revoked a federal permit for the Keystone XL oil pipeline. But activists point out Biden is still supporting Line 3, a tar-sands oil-pipeline expansion project that will be able to carry 760,000 barrels a day from Canada across northern Minnesota and into Wisconsin. They have called for him to revoke the permit, as he did with Keystone XL, and have protested for months, including on construction sites, chaining themselves to equipment and risking arrest. The White House did not respond to a request for comment. Earlier this month, the Senate approved the $1.2 trillion infrastructure bill with funding to tackle climate change, but many activists said the legislation has fallen short of dramatically addressing goals as lofty as this crisis demands. That does not mean Democrats should pass just any climate legislation, activists say — it has to include the right policies. Compromising on climate, they said, is not good enough. Though the bipartisan infrastructure bill apportions billions of dollars toward funding new public transit and electric-car charging stations, measures that are meant to cut climate-warming emissions, environmental organizations say it does not go far enough. They want to see legislation supporting Biden’s stated goal of replacing 100 percent of lead pipes and the replacement of all diesel school buses with clean electric ones. “It’s hard to square the scale of the problem with the solutions being discussed,” said Lukas Ross, program manager for the Climate and Energy Justice program at Friends of the Earth, another environmental group. “This is not the moment to bargain away the store in the name of passing anything.” Climate groups are focusing on the passage of a second bill through budget reconciliation, a process that would allow Democrats to pass more dramatic climate legislation without Republican support. Democrats in Congress are hoping to work in a clean-energy standard that would compel power providers to shift to wind, solar and other low-emission sources of energy to achieve 80 percent clean electricity by the end of the decade.

#### US climate action is key to world wide action

Beeler 19 (Carolyn Beeler; 9/18/19; PRI; *“Top US leadership is 'missing ingredient' in climate change action”*; accessed 8/27/21; <https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-09-18/top-us-leadership-missing-ingredient-climate-change-action>; Carolyn Beeler leads environment coverage for The World. She reports and edits stories focused on the people and places most impacted by climate change, and what they're doing to address it. She has reported from all seven continents and won national and regional awards for her breaking news and in-depth feature reporting. Before joining The World, Carolyn helped pilot the weekly health and science show, The Pulse, at WHYY in Philadelphia, and reported from Berlin for a year as a Robert Bosch Foundation fellow. She studied journalism at Northwestern University and got her start in radio as a Kroc fellow at NPR.) HB

World leaders will meet in New York next week for the United Nations Climate Summit, an event called by the Secretary-General to push for more and faster cuts to global greenhouse gas emissions. Notably missing at the summit: American leadership. Five years ago, a joint climate policy announcement from the US and China paved the way for the Paris climate accord to come to fruition after decades of failed attempts at an international climate pact. Then in June 2017, President Donald Trump announced that he would withdraw the US from the very same agreement his country had helped broker just a few years before. Under the rules of the accord, countries can announce the intention to leave, but must wait two years before being allowed to do so. Two years later, what impact has this policy whiplash had on the climate? Inside the US, that answer is relatively simple to quantify. Across the country, some 4,000 state and local governments, institutions and businesses have declared that, though the federal government intends to withdraw from the Paris climate agreement, they’re still on board with cutting emissions. One of those local governments is in Arlington, Massachusetts, where the town hall was illuminated green after Trump’s 2017 Paris withdrawal announcement. “We’ve come to the realization that if the federal government’s not going to do it, it’s going to fall to the local level,” said Adam Chapdelaine, Arlington’s town manager. “Somebody has to step up and be a leader.” Even before the Paris Agreement, the town has long worked to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions, from switching its street lights to LED bulbs to buying electric vehicles for its official fleet. Residents can opt-in to 100% renewable energy in their homes and the town is advocating for all-electric heating and cooling systems. Since the US federal government reversed its climate change policies, Arlington has gotten perhaps more ambitious: The town’s new high school is being designed to run on geothermal and solar energy and the whole town aims to go carbon-neutral by 2050. These state and local actions are being highlighted as “answering the global call to combat the climate crisis” by a coalition of sub-national actors formed by New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg and former California Gov. Jerry Brown. But these actions have only partly counteracted sweeping federal changes under the Trump administration. Trump has slashed regulations on emissions from power plants, air conditioners and refrigerators, and oil and gas drilling nationwide. He moved to revoke California’s ability to set its own strict vehicle emission rules on Wednesday, highlighting the limits of state-based action on climate change. So how does the emissions balance sheet tally up today, two years after the US backed away from the Paris agreement? Kate Larsen, a director at the independent research firm the Rhodium Group, said US carbon emissions are a few percentage points higher than they would have been if former President Barack Obama-era policies were in place. Projected forward five years, that gap will just grow. “Under the current set of Trump administration policies, the US is on track to achieve only about 14 to 17% emission reductions below 2005 levels in 2025,” Larsen said. That’s about half of the 26 to 28% emission reductions that the US promised in the climate accord. “[It's] a long way from the commitment that Obama reached in Paris,” Larsen said. Scientists say that to limit warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius and avoid the worst impacts of climate change, global emissions must be cut nearly in half by 2030. Inside the US, local action is partly, but not wholly, counteracting federal policies. The bigger question is how much global ambition to tackle the climate crisis will flag if the world’s largest historic emitter is no longer leading the push. Will countries, seeing the US doing less on climate change, do the same themselves? Under Obama, the US put its full diplomatic muscle into getting countries signed on to the Paris Agreement. “If you were a head of state from India, from China, or from anywhere and you were going to meet with the United States, you knew that you'd have to be prepared to speak about climate change and the Paris Agreement,” said Elan Strait, a former climate negotiator on the Paris Agreement who now works at the World Wildlife Foundation. By 2020, countries are requested to announce new carbon cuts as part of the Paris process. Those cuts have to be more ambitious if countries hope to meet the Paris Agreement goal of keeping warming “well below” 2 degrees Celsius and pursue efforts to limit warming to the scientist-recommended 1.5 degree Celsius. “I completely believe that the missing ingredient this time around is the United States leadership driving climate as a head-of-state agenda,” Strait said. Only when those 2020 climate pledges start rolling in will the international community start to see the full impact of the US climate policy reversal.

**Climate change causes extinction – ocean acidification, water and resource wars, econ collapse, and regional conflicts.**

Pachauri and Meyer 15 (Rajendra K. Pachauri Chairman of the IPCC, Leo Meyer Head, Technical Support Unit IPCC were the editors for this IPCC report, “Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report” <http://epic.awi.de/37530/1/IPCC_AR5_SYR_Final.pdf> IPCC, 2014: Climate Change 2014: Synthesis Report. Contribution of Working Groups I, II and III to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [Core Writing Team, R.K. Pachauri and L.A. Meyer (eds.)]. IPCC, Geneva, Switzerland, 151 pp)

SPM 2.3 Future risks and impacts caused by a changing climate Climate change will amplify existing risks and create new risks for natural and human systems. Risks are unevenly distributed and are generally greater for disadvantaged people and communities in countries at all levels of development. {2.3} Risk of climate-related impacts results from the interaction of climate-related hazards (including hazardous events and trends) with the vulnerability and exposure of human and natural systems, including their ability to adapt. Rising rates and magnitudes of warming and other changes in the climate system, accompanied by ocean acidification, increase the risk of severe, pervasive and in some cases irreversible detrimental impacts. Some risks are particularly relevant for individual regions (Figure SPM.8), while others are global. The overall risks of future climate change impacts can be reduced by limiting the rate and magnitude of climate change, including ocean acidification. The precise levels of climate change sufficient to trigger abrupt and irreversible change remain uncertain, but the risk associated with crossing such thresholds increases with rising temperature (medium confidence). For risk assessment, it is important to evaluate the widest possible range of impacts, including low-probability outcomes with large consequences. {1.5, 2.3, 2.4, 3.3, Box Introduction.1, Box 2.3, Box 2.4} A large fraction of species faces increased extinction risk due to climate change during and beyond the 21st century, especially as climate change interacts with other stressors (high confidence). Most plant species cannot naturally shift their geographical ranges sufficiently fast to keep up with current and high projected rates of climate change in most landscapes; most small mammals and freshwater molluscs will not be able to keep up at the rates projected under RCP4.5 and above in flat landscapes in this century (high confidence). Future risk is indicated to be high by the observation that natural global climate change at rates lower than current anthropogenic climate change caused significant ecosystem shifts and species extinctions during the past millions of years. Marine organisms will face progressively lower oxygen levels and high rates and magnitudes of ocean acidification (high confidence), with associated risks exacerbated by rising ocean temperature extremes (medium confidence). Coral reefs and polar ecosystems are highly vulnerable. Coastal systems and low-lying areas are at risk from sea level rise, which will continue for centuries even if the global mean temperature is stabilized (high confidence). {2.3, 2.4, Figure 2.5} Climate change is projected to undermine food security (Figure SPM.9). Due to projected climate change by the mid-21st century and beyond, global marine species redistribution and marine biodiversity reduction in sensitive regions will challenge the sustained provision of fisheries productivity and other ecosystem services (high confidence). For wheat, rice and maize in tropical and temperate regions, climate change without adaptation is projected to negatively impact production for local temperature increases of 2°C or more above late 20th century levels, although individual locations may benefit (medium confidence). Global temperature increases of ~4°C or more 13 above late 20th century levels, combined with increasing food demand, would pose large risks to food security globally(high confidence). Climate change is projected to reduce renewable surface water and groundwater resources in most dry subtropical regions (robust evidence, high agreement), intensifying competition for water among sectors (limited evidence, medium agreement). {2.3.1, 2.3.2} Until mid-century, projected climate change will impact human health mainly by exacerbating health problems that already exist (very high confidence). Throughout the 21st century, climate change is expected to lead to increases in ill-health in many regions and especially in developing countries with low income, as compared to a baseline without climate change (high confidence). By 2100 for RCP8.5, the combination of high temperature and humidity in some areas for parts of the year is expected to compromise common human activities, including growing food and working outdoors (high confidence). {2.3.2} In urban areas climate change is projected to increase risks for people, assets, economies and ecosystems, including risks from heat stress, storms and extreme precipitation, inland and coastal flooding, landslides, air pollution, drought, water scarcity, sea level rise and storm surges (very high confidence). These risks are amplified for those lacking essential infrastructure and services or living in exposed areas. {2.3.2} Rural areas are expected to experience major impacts on water availability and supply, food security, infrastructure and agricultural incomes, including shifts in the production areas of food and non-food crops around the world (high confidence). {2.3.2} Aggregate economic losses accelerate with increasing temperature (limited evidence, high agreement), but global economic impacts from climate change are currently difficult to estimate. From a poverty perspective, climate change impacts are projected to slow down economic growth, make poverty reduction more difficult, further erode food security and prolong existing and create new poverty traps, the latter particularly in urban areas and emerging hotspots of hunger (medium confidence). International dimensions such as trade and relations among states are also important for understanding the risks of climate change at regional scales. {2.3.2} Climate change is projected to increase displacement of people (medium evidence, high agreement). Populations that lack the resources for planned migration experience higher exposure to extreme weather events, particularly in developing countries with low income. Climate change can indirectlyincrease risks of violent conflicts by amplifying well-documented drivers of these conflicts such as poverty and economic shocks (medium confidence). {2.3.2} 2010 )