# 1NC

## 1

**The standard is maximizing expected wellbeing.**

**1] Value is only accessible through experience.**

Sam **Harris 10**, CEO Project Reason; PHD UCLA Neuroscience; BA Stanford  Philosophy, “ The Moral Landscape: How Science Can Determine Human  Values”) OS

Here is my (consequentialist) starting point: all questions of value(right and wrong, good and evil, etc.) depend upon the  possibility of experiencing such value.Without potential consequences at the  level of experience—happiness, suffering, joy, despair, etc.—all talk of value is  empty. Therefore, to say that an act is morally necessary, or evil, or blameless, is  to make (tacit) claims about its consequences in the lives of conscious creatures (whether actual or potential). I am unaware of any interesting exception to this rule. Needless to say, if one is worried about pleasing God or  His angels, this assumes that such invisible entities are conscious (in some  sense) and cognizant of human behavior. It also generally assumes and that it is possible to suffer their wrath or enjoy their approval,  either in this world or the world to come. Even within religion, therefore, consequences and conscious states remain the foundation of all values.

**2] Only consequences can explain degrees of wrongness, i.e. why it’s worse to break a promise to a dying friend than to skip meeting someone for lunch – either ethical theories cannot explain comparative badness, or it collapses**

**3] Death must be the primary concern of an ethical theory since it destroys the subject itself.**

Craig **Paterson 03** – Department of Philosophy, Providence College, Rhode  Island, “A Life Not Worth Living?”, Studies in Christian Ethics, 2003. Contrary to those accounts, I would argue that it is **death per se that is really the objective evil for us,  not because it deprives us of a prospective future of overall good**judged better than  the alter- native of non-being. **It cannot be about harm to a former person who has ceased  to exist, for no person actually suffers from the sub-sequent non participation. Rather, death in itself is an evil to us because it ontologically  destroys the current existent subject** — it is the ultimate in metaphysical lightening strikes.80 The evil of death is truly  an ontological evil borne by the person who already exists, **independently of calculations about better or  worse** possible lives. **Such an evil need not be consciously experienced**in order to be an evil for  the kind of being a human person is. Death is an evil because of the change in kind it brings about, a change that is destructive of the type of entity that we  essentially are. **Anything**, whether caused naturally or caused by human intervention (intentional or unintentional) **that drastically  interferes in the process of maintaining the person in existence is an  objective evil** for the person.

**4] Theory – determines the validity of substance. Prefer util: a. Ground – every impact function under util whereas other ethics flow to one side exclusively. Kills fairness since we both need arguments to win and b. Topic lit – most articles are written through the lens of util because they’re crafted for policymakers and the public who take consequences to be important, not philosophy majors. Key to fairness and education – the lit is where we do research and determines how we engage in the round.**

#### 5] Util is the only egalitarian metric---anything else collapses cooperation on collective action crises and makes extinction inevitable

Khan 18 (Risalat, activist and entrepreneur from Bangladesh passionate about addressing climate change, biodiversity loss, and other existential challenges. He was featured by The Guardian as one of the “young climate campaigners to watch” (2015). As a campaigner with the global civic movement Avaaz (2014-17), Risalat was part of a small core team that spearheaded the largest climate marches in history with a turnout of over 800,000 across 2,000 cities. After fighting for the Paris Agreement, Risalat led a campaign joined by over a million people to stop the Rampal coal plant in Bangladesh to protect the Sundarbans World Heritage forest, and elicited criticism of the plant from Crédit Agricolé through targeted advocacy. Currently, Risalat is pursuing an MPA in Environmental Science and Policy at Columbia University as a SIPA Environmental Fellow, “5 reasons why we need to start talking about existential risks,” https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/01/5-reasons-start-talking-existential-risks-extinction-moriori/)

Infinite future possibilities I find the story of the Moriori profound. It teaches me two lessons. Firstly, that human culture is far from immutable. That we can struggle against our baser instincts. That we can master them and rise to unprecedented challenges. Secondly, that even this does not make us masters of our own destiny. We can make visionary choices, but the future can still surprise us. This is a humbling realization. Because faced with an uncertain future, the only wise thing we can do is prepare for possibilities. Standing at the launch pad of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the possibilities seem endless. They range from an era of abundance to the end of humanity, and everything in between. How do we navigate such a wide and divergent spectrum? I am an optimist. From my bubble of privilege, life feels like a rollercoaster ride full of ever more impressive wonders, even as I try to fight the many social injustices that still blight us. However, the accelerating pace of change amid uncertainty elicits one fundamental observation. Among the infinite future possibilities, only one outcome is truly irreversible: extinction. Concerns about extinction are often dismissed as apocalyptic alarmism. Sometimes, they are. But repeating that mankind is still here after 70 years of existential warning about nuclear warfare is a straw man argument. The fact that a 1000-year flood has not happened does not negate its possibility. And there have been far too many nuclear near-misses to rest easy. As the World Economic Forum’s Annual Meeting in Davos discusses how to create a shared future in a fractured world, here are five reasons why the possibility of existential risks should raise the stakes of conversation: 1. Extinction is the rule, not the exception More than 99.9% of all the species that ever existed are gone. Deep time is unfathomable to the human brain. But if one cares to take a tour of the billions of years of life’s history, we find a litany of forgotten species. And we have only discovered a mere fraction of the extinct species that once roamed the planet. In the speck of time since the first humans evolved, more than 99.9% of all the distinct human cultures that have ever existed are extinct. Each hunter-gatherer tribe had its own mythologies, traditions and norms. They wiped each other out, or coalesced into larger formations following the agricultural revolution. However, as major civilizations emerged, even those that reached incredible heights, such as the Egyptians and the Romans, eventually collapsed. It is only in the very recent past that we became a truly global civilization. Our interconnectedness continues to grow rapidly. “Stand or fall, we are the last civilization”, as Ricken Patel, the founder of the global civic movement Avaaz, put it. 2. Environmental pressures can drive extinction More than 15,000 scientists just issued a ‘warning to humanity’. They called on us to reduce our impact on the biosphere, 25 years after their first such appeal. The warning notes that we are far outstripping the capacity of our planet in all but one measure of ozone depletion, including emissions, biodiversity, freshwater availability and more. The scientists, not a crowd known to overstate facts, conclude: “soon it will be too late to shift course away from our failing trajectory, and time is running out”. In his 2005 book Collapse, Jared Diamond charts the history of past societies. He makes the case that overpopulation and resource use beyond the carrying capacity have often been important, if not the only, drivers of collapse. Even though we are making important incremental progress in battles such as climate change, we must still achieve tremendous step changes in our response to several major environmental crises. We must do this even while the world’s population continues to grow. These pressures are bound to exert great stress on our global civilization. 3. Superintelligence: unplanned obsolescence? Imagine a monkey society that foresaw the ascendance of humans. Fearing a loss of status and power, it decided to kill the proverbial Adam and Eve. It crafted the most ingenious plan it could: starve the humans by taking away all their bananas. Foolproof plan, right? This story describes the fundamental difficulty with superintelligence. A superintelligent being may always do something entirely different from what we, with our mere mortal intelligence, can foresee. In his 2014 book Superintelligence, Swedish philosopher Nick Bostrom presents the challenge in thought-provoking detail, and advises caution. Bostrom cites a survey of industry experts that projected a 50% chance of the development of artificial superintelligence by 2050, and a 90% chance by 2075. The latter date is within the life expectancy of many alive today. Visionaries like Stephen Hawking and Elon Musk have warned of the existential risks from artificial superintelligence. Their opposite camp includes Larry Page and Mark Zuckerberg. But on an issue that concerns the future of humanity, is it really wise to ignore the guy who explained the nature of space to us and another guy who just put a reusable rocket in it? 4. Technology: known knowns and unknown unknowns Many fundamentally disruptive technologies are coming of age, from bioengineering to quantum computing, 3-D printing, robotics, nanotechnology and more. Lord Martin Rees describes potential existential challenges from some of these technologies, such as a bioengineered pandemic, in his book Our Final Century. Imagine if North Korea, feeling secure in its isolation, could release a virulent strain of Ebola, engineered to be airborne. Would it do it? Would ISIS? Projecting decades forward, we will likely develop capabilities that are unthinkable even now. The unknown unknowns of our technological path are profoundly humbling. 5. 'The Trump Factor' Despite our scientific ingenuity, we are still a confused and confusing species. Think back to two years ago, and how you thought the world worked then. Has that not been upended by the election of Donald Trump as US President, and everything that has happened since? The mix of billions of messy humans will forever be unpredictable. When the combustible forces described above are added to this melee, we find ourselves on a tightrope. What choices must we now make now to create a shared future, in which we are not at perpetual risk of destroying ourselves? Common enemy to common cause Throughout history, we have rallied against the ‘other’. Tribes have overpowered tribes, empires have conquered rivals. Even today, our fiercest displays of unity typically happen at wartime. We give our lives for our motherland and defend nationalistic pride like a wounded lion. But like the early Mosrioris, we 21st-century citizens find ourselves on an increasingly unstable island. We may have a violent past, but we have no more dangerous enemy than ourselves. Our task is to find our own Nunuku’s Law. Our own shared contract, based on equity, would help us navigate safely. It would ensure a future that unleashes the full potential of our still-budding human civilization, in all its diversity. We cannot do this unless we are humbly grounded in the possibility of our own destruction. Survival is life’s primal instinct. In the absence of a common enemy, we must find common cause in survival. Our future may depend on whether we realize this.

#### 6] Apocalyptic images challenge dominant power structures – contest the implausibility that inequitable structures can produce catastrophe

Jessica Hurley 17, Assistant Professor in the Humanities at the University of Chicago, “Impossible Futures: Fictions of Risk in the Longue Durée”, Duke University Press, https://read.dukeupress.edu/american-literature/article/89/4/761/132823/Impossible-Futures-Fictions-of-Risk-in-the-Longue

If contemporary ecocriticism has a shared premise about environmental risk it is that genre is the key to both perceiving and, possibly, correcting ecological crisis. Frederick Buell’s 2003 From Apocalypse to Way of Life: Environmental Crisis in the American Century has established one of the most central oppositions of this paradigm. As his title suggests, Buell tells the story of a discourse that began in the apocalyptic mode in the 1960s and 70s, when discussions of “the immanent end of nature” most commonly took the form of “prophecy, revelation, climax, and extermination” before turning away from apocalypse when the prophesied ends failed to arrive (112, 78). Buell offers his suggestion for the appropriate literary mode for life lived within a crisis that is both unceasing and inescapable: new voices, “if wise enough….will abandon apocalypse for a sadder realism that looks closely at social and environmental changes in process and recognizes crisis as a place where people dwell” (202-3). In a world of threat, Buell demands a realism that might help us see risks more clearly and aid our survival.¶ Buell’s argument has become a broadly held view in contemporary risk theory and ecocriticism, overlapping fields in the social sciences and humanities that address the foundational question of second modernity: “how do you live when you are at such risk?” (Woodward 2009, 205).1 Such an assertion, however, assumes both that realism is a neutral descriptive practice and that apocalypse is not something that is happening now in places that we might not see, or cannot hear. This essay argues for the continuing importance of apocalyptic narrative forms in representations of environmental risk to disrupt conservative realisms that maintain the status quo. Taking the ecological disaster of nuclear waste as my case study, I examine two fictional treatments of nuclear waste dumps that create different temporal structures within which the colonial history of the United States plays out. The first, a set of Department of Energy documents that use statistical modeling and fictional description to predict a set of realistic futures for the site of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in New Mexico (1991), creates a present that is fully knowable and a future that is fully predictable. Such an approach, I suggest, perpetuates the state logics of implausibility that have long undergirded settler colonialism in the United States. In contrast, Leslie Marmon Silko’s contemporaneous novel Almanac of the Dead (1991) uses its apocalyptic form to deconstruct the claims to verisimilitude that undergird state realism, transforming nuclear waste into a prophecy of the end of the United States rather than a means for imagining its continuation. In Almanac of the Dead, the presence of nuclear waste introjects a deep-time perspective into contemporary America, transforming the present into a speculative space where environmental catastrophe produces not only unevenly distributed damage but also revolutionary forms of social justice that insist on a truth that probability modeling cannot contain: that the future will be unimaginably different from the present, while the present, too, might yet be utterly different from the real that we think we know.¶ Nuclear waste is rarely treated in ecocriticism or risk theory, for several reasons: it is too manmade to be ecological; its catastrophes are ongoing, intentionally produced situations rather than sudden disasters; and it does not support the narrative that subtends ecocritical accounts of risk perception in which the nuclear threat gives rise to an awareness of other kinds of threat before reaching the end of its relevance at the end of the Cold War.2 In what follows, I argue that the failure of nuclear waste to fit into the critical frames created by ecocriticism and risk theory to date offers an opportunity to expand those frames and overcome some of their limitations, especially the impulse towards a paranoid, totalizing realism that Peter van Wyck (2005) has described as central to ecocriticism in the risk society. Nuclear waste has durational forms that dwarf the human. It therefore dwells less in the economy of risk as it is currently conceptualized and more in the blown-out realm of deep time. Inhabiting the temporal scale that has recently been christened the Anthropocene, the geological era defined by the impact of human activities on the world’s geology and climate, nuclear waste unsettles any attempt at realist description, unveiling the limits of human imagination at every turn.3 By analyzing risk society through a heuristic of nuclear waste, this essay offers a critique of nuclear colonialism and environmental racism. At the same time, it shows how the apocalyptic mode in deep time allows narratives of environmental harm and danger to move beyond the paranoid logic of risk. In the world of deep time, all that might come to pass will come to pass, sooner or later. The endless maybes of risk become certainties. The impossibilities of our own deaths and the deaths of everything else will come. But so too will other impossibilities: talking macaws and alien visitors, the end of the colonial occupation of North America, or a sudden human determination to let the world live. The end of capitalism may yet become more thinkable than the end of the world. Just wait long enough. Stranger things will happen.

#### The roll of the ballot is to evaluate the fiated aff plan vs a competitive alternative or the status quo.

#### 1] Policies reduce material violence.

Mattson 12 (Michelle, Rhodes College German politics and culture professor, “Rebels Without Causes: Contemporary German Authors Not in Search of Meaning”, Monatshefte, 104.2, Summer, project muse)

I shall not venture to judge whether Baudrillard’s diagnosis of postmodern society is accurate, although it appears that many of Germany’s current writers agree with him or were influenced by postmodern theories of late 20th-century consumerist societies. I can, however, say in conclusion that it is not helpfulor productive on either an individual or social level in imagining ways of living in today’s world. As Steven Best points out: Baudrillard’s radical rejection of referentiality is premised upon a one-dimensional, No-Exit world of self-referring simulacra. But, however, reified and self-referential postmodern semiotics is, signs do not simply move in their own signifying orbit. They are historically produced and circulated and while they may not translucently refer to some originating world, they none the less can be socio-historically contextualized, interpreted, and critiqued.(57) In other words, human beings generate the simulacra in specific historical contexts that are subject to interpretation and challenge. Regardless of how pervasively the media spin our reality, real people suffer and—occasionally [End Page 259] prosper—because of political decisions made at the local, national, and international level. Media images may overpower us, but they shouldn’t make us lose sight of the real ramifications of political and economic development. Many critics have suggested that Baudrillard’s chief accomplishment was to serve as an agent provocateur. In an interview with Mike Gane, Baudrillard himself saw his method of reflection as “provocative, reversible, [ . . . ] a way of raising things to the ‘N’th power [ . . . ] It’s a bit like a theory-fiction” (Poster 331). One could argue that this is precisely the function of such novels and short stories as the ones examined here: to provoke us. But to what end? Naters, Regener, and Hermann all write very readable literature, and they challenge us to understand the world of the insipid, self-centered, and myopic characters that they have created. It would indeed be a disservice to the authors to imply that they do not view their own characters with critical distance. Thus, I am not suggesting that they believe their readers should emulate the characters they have created. They have not, however, successfully demonstrated either why we should care about them or—more importantly—what we can learn from them.

**2] any other ROTB is insufficient for anti-racist politics – instead, specific policy proposals and organizational action are key.**

**Rana 16** – (Winter 2016, Aziz, PhD in Government from Harvard, Professor of Law at Cornell, “Race and the American Creed: Recovering black radicalism,” https://nplusonemag.com/issue-24/politics/race-and-the-american-creed/)

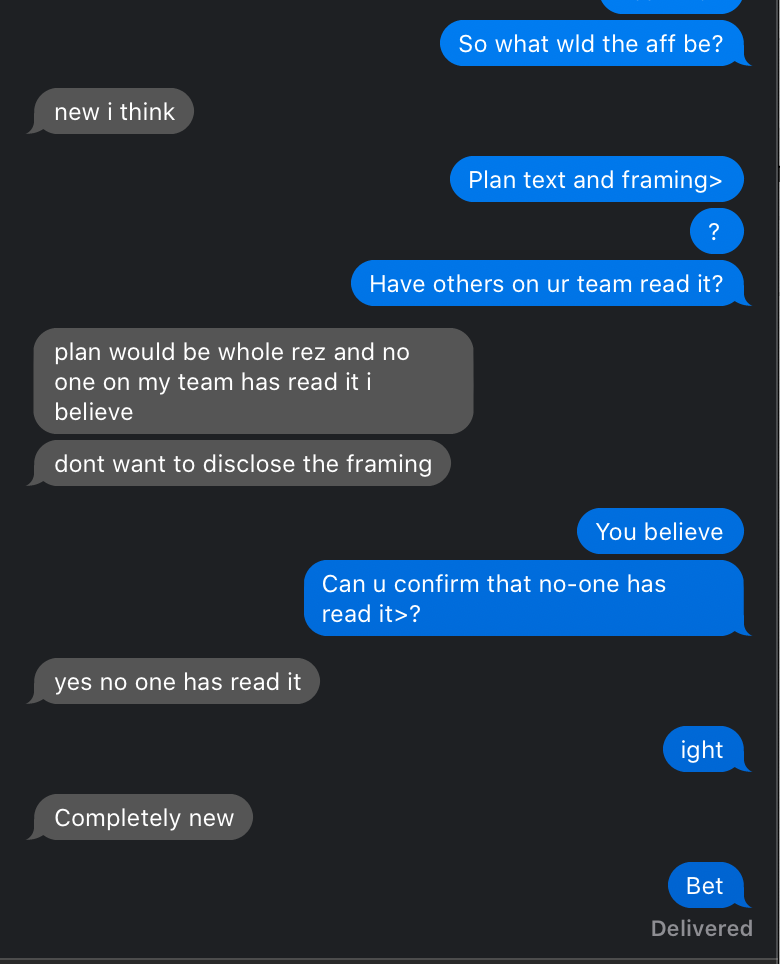
But **one problem with Coates’s version of black radicalism is that at times**—more in his book Between the World and Me than in his political interventions in the Atlantic—**he depicts disillusionment in individual terms**. That book in particular conveys little of the communities of solidarity African Americans belong to, or of how things like reparations ground a shared social vision of the future. Instead, **Coates combines radical rejection of polite society with a personal notion of resistance**, **in which “struggle” is presented as the individual’s ethical refusal to comply with the totalizing injustice of racism and its structures**. **What is missing is a collective sense of action**, **let alone of the possibility of transformation through such action**. **We are left in the world of either overwhelming and oppressive institutions or isolated individuals of conscience**. **The force** of Between the World and Me **can be too easily contained**. Precisely because Coates imagines isolated individuals in the face of totalizing oppression, **one can walk away** from the book **feeling that real change**—**rather than just window dressing**—**is out of reach**. And for **this** reason, the book’s **sensibility can have the odd effect of buttressing the very institutions it condemns**. This form of **creedal rejection can be neutered publicly through praise: treated** by those like David Brooks **as** “hard truths,” but **truths that by their very profundity may be too difficult to overcome**. **The consequence is a mainstream (especially liberal) culture that laps up the attack and even accepts the structural dimension of race** **at the same time that it abandons fundamental racial reform as ultimately hopeless**. What we are witnessing is one way that defenders of the creed are coming to grips with its internal crisis. Perhaps **the problem is** not with the creed at all, but with race itself—an issue so fraught and overwhelming as to be impossible to address adequately. Even the failures of the creed therefore speak to **the heroism of the American project**—**which takes as its goal a truly Sisyphean task**. In this way, **racial pessimism can be absorbed into the narrative**, and actually prop up a weakened creed. **If getting from here to there is more or less beyond collective effort, and all we have is a position of ethical resistance and noble struggle, then political elites can feel guilt and torment** at the continuing force of racial subordination. **But** **they do not need to believe that their own practices have much effect**, let alone make matters worse. **Since this “union may never be perfect,”** to use Obama’s phrase, **maybe all that can be expected is to muddle along** as best we can. **THE HOPE FOR BLACK RADICALISM today is that the present mood can develop into an account of state, economy, and society strong enough to counter the creedal narrative**. Recent initiatives, like Campaign Zero, have put forward valuable concrete ideas for police reform—but these **demands must be combined with a more expansive and prefigurative politics**. **Activists must do no less than imagine and present their policy prescriptions**, as did earlier generations, **as a competing ideal of liberation, solidarity, and renewal**. Without a comparable ideal, it is incredibly difficult to counter even a weakened creedal story, let alone the patchwork of reactive policy initiatives proposed by liberal centrists—such as body cameras, a handful of high-profile prosecutions, and sensitivity training for officers.

#### 3] key to education – the only way for us to have clash is if both debaters are able to compare impacts. Independently key to real world ed.

## 2

#### Interpretation: Debaters must disclose affirmative frameworks, advocacy texts, and advantage areas thirty minutes before round, even if its new

#### Violation: SS in doc.



#### Standards:

#### 1] Clash- Not disclosing incentivizes surprise tactics and poorly refined positions that rely on circumventing clash to win debates. Their interpretation discourages third- and fourth-line testing by limiting the amount of time we have to prepare and. Negatives are forced to rely on generics instead of smart contextual strategies---destroying nuanced argumentation.

#### 2] Shiftiness- Not knowing enough about the aff incentivizes 1ar shiftiness about what the aff is and what their framework/advocacy entails. Means even if we could read generics, they’d just recontextualize the aff.

#### 1] DTD: A] Deters future abuse B] Entire aff violates C] Even if we don’t win DTD, new affs justify condo pics since they allow us to test the aff from different perspectives---they should’ve been ready to answer stock opportunity costs---and only reading it since you forced my hand.

#### 2] Comes before 1AR theory -- A] Abuse was because it was impossible to engage B] Magnitude - their abuse affected more of the debate

#### 3] Use competing interps – A] Judge intervention B] Race to the bottom – interps solve since better ones win

#### 4] No RVIs – A] Forcing the 1NC to go all in on the shell kills substance education and neg strat B] discourages checking real abuse C] Encourages baiting – outweighs because if the shell is frivolous, they can beat it quickly. D] Logic – don’t win for being fair.

## 3

#### CP: The appropriation of outer space by private entities is unjust in all instances except Active Debris Removal.

#### Governments ought to permit the appropriation of outer space for designated safety zones and tech stationing for active debris removal by private entities.

#### Debris removal is necessary and only private entities have the incentive and capability to do it.

Giordano 21, (David Giordano is the Vice President of Mentorship for CBLA. Elsewhere at Columbia Law School, he serves on the Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, and is the Treasurer of Columbia OutLaws. During his 1L Summer, David was an intern at the Securities and Exchange Commission’s Division of Corporation Finance. Prior to law school, David worked as a Corporate Paralegal at the New York office of Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP. David attended The George Washington University where he obtained a B.A. in psychology. “Space Debris: Another Frontier in the Commercialization of Space”. October 31, 2021.)

As **satellites** and other projectiles blast into orbit, upon collision they **can disintegrate into** shards, sometimes just centimeters wide, that remain in orbit, risking further collision. Hollywood captured the potential perils of **fairly large pieces of space debris** in the opening minutes of the 2013 film [*Gravity*](https://www.warnerbros.com/movies/gravity), where space junk threatens the lives of astronauts on a mission. Outside the realms of fictional space-thrillers, **even the smallest pieces of space junk can present real danger**. In 2016, a tiny piece of **space junk**, believed to be a paint chip or a piece of metal no more than a few thousandths of a millimeter across, [cracked the window of the International Space Station](https://www.popsci.com/paint-chip-likely-caused-window-damage-on-space-station/). In May 2021, a piece of space **debris** [punctured](https://www.nbcnews.com/science/space/space-junk-damages-international-space-stations-robotic-arm-rcna1067) **the robotic arm of the I**nternational **S**pace **S**tation. This is seriously concerning, as, [according to the European Space Agency](https://www.esa.int/Safety_Security/Clean_Space/How_many_space_debris_objects_are_currently_in_orbit), there are 670,000 pieces of space debris larger than 1cm and 170,000,000 between 1mm and 1cm in width. Unfortunately, **public action and policy struggles to keep up with these risks**. International law affords little clarity on the problem, as its control is a novel, [emerging field](https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/08/23/1032386/space-traffic-maritime-law-ruth-stilwell/) with many technical [tracking](https://www.space.com/space-situational-awareness-house-hearing-february-2020.html) and [removal](https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/space-junk-removal-is-not-going-smoothly/#:~:text=There%20is%20no%20doubt%20that,antisatellite%20weapon%2C%E2%80%9D%20she%20says.) challenges. **None of the existing space treaties** [directly tackle the issue](https://oxfordre.com/planetaryscience/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190647926.001.0001/acrefore-9780190647926-e-70), rendering [responsibility for it](https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/jil/vol41/iss1/6/) ambiguous. Absent such responsibility, [legal incentives are non-existent](https://www.courthousenews.com/lack-of-space-law-complicates-growing-debris-problem/)**.** [Guidelines are occasionally issued](https://www.unoosa.org/pdf/limited/l/AC105_2014_CRP14E.pdf) by international governing bodies, but provide little legal significance and are [more targeted at the practicalities of tracking and removal](https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/jil/vol41/iss1/6/). The nation best positioned to notify space actors of collision risks is the United States, and the burden of that task currently falls on the [Department of Defense](https://www.govexec.com/media/d1-mission-space.pdf). However, the Trump administration issued a [directive in 2018](https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/18/national-space-council-trump-signs-space-debris-directive.html), shifting the responsibility from the DoD to the Department of Commerce, and the [transition has yet to materialize](https://www.govexec.com/media/d1-mission-space.pdf), leaving DoD struggling to keep pace [with increasing commercial activity](https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/aerospace-and-defense/our-insights/look-out-below-what-will-happen-to-the-space-debris-in-orbit). In the face of public paralysis, **addressing the problem through industry looks more and more attractive.** This has led some to call for a new legal order that still leaves room for government, but reframes who the rules exist to serve. Rather than our current, rudimentary treaty regime designed to [prevent international conflict](https://www.theverge.com/2017/1/27/14398492/outer-space-treaty-50-anniversary-exploration-guidelines), [commentators](https://space.nss.org/wp-content/uploads/NSS-Position-Paper-Space-Debris-Removal-2019.pdf) have called for an additional regime resembling [maritime law](https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/08/23/1032386/space-traffic-maritime-law-ruth-stilwell/) that preserves the interests of a more diverse set of stakeholders, including those in the future that can bring technology and interests to space that may not yet exist. These commentators shun the common conception that space regulation should resemble air-traffic control, which is suited to a narrower set of uses (transport). Under such a “maritime” regime, the light touch of central regulatory bodies, and perhaps their non-existence, is preferred, just as it has been on the seas. This way, individual nations have a degree of flexibility in instituting controls they see fit while leaving room for industry to address problems and introduce new uses for space. Furthermore, **governments seem ready and willing to construct the legal and incentive framework in concert with such private action.** [In a joint statement this summer](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/g7-nations-commit-to-the-safe-and-sustainable-use-of-space), **G7 members expressed openness to resolving** the technical aspects of the **debris** problem **with private institutions, and there is** some **promising progress**. Apple co-founder [Steve Wozniak](https://www.space.com/apple-cofounder-steve-wozniak-space-junk-company) signaled his plans to address the problem through a new company with a telling name: Privateer Space. **Astroscale**, a UK-based company, successfully **launched a pair of satellites** in the Spring of 2021 [that will remove certain space debris from orbit](https://astroscale.com/astroscale-celebrates-successful-launch-of-elsa-d/)**.** Astroscale also [stated their desire](https://astroscale.com/space-sustainability/) to work with governments and international governing bodies to craft policy with private efforts to control the problem top of mind. In light of public policy’s silence on space debris, the initiative of actors like Astroscale involving themselves in policy may be advised, as it could [promote further private investment](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1NCO5Vvjf-kgoZLNfgaOn4bDj_CAfyD1Qhz2oW3TrcHc/edit) in technology for space **debris removal**. A popular [policy recommendation](https://reason.org/policy-brief/u-s-space-traffic-management-and-orbital-debris-policy/) among experts is the establishment of public-private partnerships, and Astroscale has entered several such agreements including with [Japan](https://www.satellitetoday.com/in-space-services/2021/07/27/space-clean-up-company-astroscale-signs-partnerships-with-mhi-and-japanese-government/) and the [European Space Agency](https://spacenews.com/astroscale-clearspace-aim-to-make-a-bundle-removing-debris/). Other **actors include** [ClearSpace](https://www.space.com/esa-startup-clearspace-debris-removal-2025)**,** [OneWeb](https://www.hou.usra.edu/meetings/orbitaldebris2019/orbital2019paper/pdf/6077.pdf)**, and** [D-Orbit](https://www.satellitetoday.com/in-space-services/2021/09/10/esa-awards-d-orbit-uk-contract-for-debris-removal-demonstration/)**.** Some may want to push back against further private involvement. The congestion of space is, in part, industry’s fault, and if we conceptualize orbital space as a common resource, it might be right to fear the effects of the [Tragedy of the Commons](https://www.britannica.com/science/tragedy-of-the-commons). Critics may seek to bolster international treaties, give legal teeth to the guidelines occasionally issued by the UN, and preserve the public posture of the heavens. These may be welcome adjustments, but unlike a pond that industry overfishes or a well that industry dries up, here industry is working to add more fish and water. Moreover, governments stand to benefit from this private decluttering, as well, as [they are expected](https://astroscale.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Reg-V-Development-of-Global-Policy-for-Active-Debris-Removal-Services-v2.0.pdf) to be major customers of some of these private actors. As for the public posture, space has long been a commercial place. Telecommunications companies and government contractors historically depend on space. As the number of commercial satellites set to launch skyrockets, it seems natural to craft policies that are responsive to their interests and provide incentives to remedy issues created in the course of spacefaring, such as space debris. **In light of the** long silence of international law on such issues and the demonstrated **motivation by private actors**, **space debris represents the latest frontier in the abdication of space from the public concern to the private.**

#### Satellite takeout prompts nuclear response.

**Acton ’18** [(James; 2/5/8; Co-Director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; CEIP, “COMMAND AND CONTROL IN THE NUCLEAR POSTURE REVIEW: RIGHT PROBLEM, WRONG SOLUTION,” <https://warontherocks.com/2018/02/command-and-control-in-the-nuclear-posture-review-right-problem-wrong-solution/>)] Sachin

This threat marks a significant — and unwelcome — departure for U.S. declaratory policy. To the best of this author’s knowledge, the United States has never before explicitly threatened a nuclear response to nonnuclear attacks on command, control, and warning capabilities — and with good reason. Such a response would be utterly disproportionate. The Nuclear Posture Review’s threat to carry it out, therefore, lacks credibility and could prove both ineffective and damaging to U.S. interests. Instead, the United States should focus on building a much more redundant command, control, and warning architecture — something that current plans appear unlikely to achieve. Nonnuclear attacks against nuclear command and control are a relatively new danger. During the Cold War, the only way to target an adversary’s command, control, and warning capabilities was generally with nuclear weapons. Today, however, nonnuclear threats to these assets are all too real given recent advances in cyber, high-precision conventional, and anti-satellite weapons. To make matters worse, U.S. command, control, and warning capabilities are surprisingly fragile. Once legacy systems are phased out, the United States will rely on just six satellites for detecting an incoming nuclear attack and four satellites for communicating with nuclear forces. A handful of ground-based assets (and, in the case of communications, aircraft) provide backup. Nonnuclear threats to satellites are particularly concerning. Russia is developing ground-based lasers to target U.S. early-warning satellites. Chinese strategists go a step further and specifically advocate attacking such satellites in a conventional conflict. Even limited attacks could have severe consequences. In 2014, for example, Gen. William Shelton, then Commander of U.S. Space Command, publicly acknowledged that the loss of a single U.S. early-warning satellite could deprive the United States of the ability to continuously monitor all potential launches of adversaries’ nuclear-armed missiles. If U.S. command, control, and warning capabilities had no other functions, there would be some logic to responding to attacks on them with nuclear weapons. In that case, the only reason an adversary — most likely Russia or China — would have to attack these capabilities would be to prepare to use nuclear weapons on the United States. Specifically, Russian and Chinese strikes — probably conducted with nonnuclear weapons — could make a follow-up nuclear attack more effective and perhaps delay a U.S. nuclear response. In such a scenario, it might make sense for the United States to respond with nuclear weapons. In fact, however, many American command, control, and warning capabilities are dual-use; they serve both conventional and nuclear missions. U.S. early-warning satellites, for example, are tasked with detecting an incoming nuclear attack and with triggering defenses designed to intercept nonnuclear ballistic missiles. This duality could give Russia or China a reason to attack them in a conventional war. For instance, if U.S. missile defenses in Europe or Asia were proving effective in knocking the enemy’s nonnuclear ballistic missiles out of the sky, Moscow or Beijing might try to stave off defeat by attacking U.S. early-warning satellites with nonnuclear weapons. Then, according to the new U.S. nuclear doctrine, the United States could launch a nuclear response. Using nuclear weapons in this scenario would, however, violate any notion of proportionality. Russian or Chinese nonnuclear strikes on U.S. satellites would almost certainly cause no human casualties. Yet U.S. nuclear use — even if highly limited and carefully targeted — could spark a nuclear war that might plausibly kill tens or even hundreds of millions, including many in the United States. So, would the U.S. president really risk a devastating nuclear conflict in response to bloodless Russian or Chinese attacks on U.S. satellites? Only Donald Trump can know the answer to this question, but it is not difficult to see why Moscow and Beijing might assume it is “no” and, in the event of a conflict, attack U.S. command, control, and warning capabilities anyway. In this case, the president would be left with a profoundly awful choice: refrain and raise doubts about the credibility of other U.S. nuclear threats, or act on the threat to use nuclear weapons and risk mass slaughter? Fortunately, there are better ways to deal with the very real problem of the vulnerability of command and control to nonnuclear attack. The most obvious approach would be for the United States to separate nuclear command, control, and warning capabilities from nonnuclear ones. While superficially attractive, this idea would encounter severe difficulties in practice. The cost of building two separate command-and-control systems — one for nuclear and one for nonnuclear operations — would be a real barrier. More subtly, the advent of dual-capable missiles — those that can accommodate a nuclear or nonnuclear warhead — could make it impossible to determine how an incoming weapon is armed, effectively preventing so-called disaggregation. A better way would be for the United States to start building a much more resilient command, control, and warning architecture. Unfortunately, current modernization plans are unlikely to achieve that goal. Much to the chagrin of Gen. John Hyten, another former commander of U.S. Space Command and the current commander of U.S. Strategic Command, plans to modernize the U.S. space-based early-warning system essentially call for replicating the current architecture with newer satellites. These plans will likely do very little to reduce the vulnerability of early-warning satellites to nonnuclear attack.

#### It causes extinction

Rogoway 15 [Tyler; November 12; Defense Journalist and Editor of Time Inc’s The War Zone; Jalopnik, “These Are The Doomsday Satellites That Detected The Explosion Of Metrojet 9268,” <https://foxtrotalpha.jalopnik.com/these-are-the-doomsday-satellites-that-detected-the-exp-1737434876>] Sachin

For over 50 years the Pentagon has had early warning satellites in orbit aimed at spotting launches of ballistic missiles, especially the big intercontinental kind that can fly around the globe in less than 30 minutes and bring about nuclear Armageddon. Recently, these satellites have made news for their “secondary capabilities,” spotting the downing of Metrojet Flight 9268 and Malaysian Airlines Flight 17. These are the shadowy satellites that are capable of such amazing feats, and an idea of how they work. In 1960, at the height of the Cold War and at the dawn of the space age, the first Missile Defense Alarm System (MiDAS) satellite was launched into low earth orbit. Six years later there was a constellation of nine of these satellites roaming the heavens, each scanning the Soviet Union for large infrared plumes, the tell-tale sign of a ballistic missile or rocket launch. These fairly crude, low-earth orbit satellites, along with the radar-based Ballistic Missile Early Warning System, would be the basis for a Cold War ballistic missile surveillance system that would become ever more complex and capable as the years went by. If ballistic missile launches were detected and deemed a threat, the decision to retaliate would mean the National Command Authority making the call to do so within half an hour, an act that could bring an the end of humanity’s reign on Earth, permanently. The first really reliable and full coverage space-based ballistic missile early warning capability came with the launch of the first Defense Support Program (DSP) satellite in 1970. These new satellites were much more capable than their MiDAS predecessors. Early DSP satellite design was relatively straight forward, with the satellites’ spinning around their center axis while in geosynchronous orbit. This allows their telescopic infrared sensor to continuously sweep an area of the planet in a relatively brief amount of time, around six times in one minute. If something were detected, the information would immediately be data-linked to controllers on the ground at the 460th Space Wing located at Buckley AFB in in Colorado. A total of 23 of these satellites have been launched over the program’s life, with constant upgrades made along the way. A DSP satellite was launched by the Space Shuttle on STS-44 in 1991, and the last one was launched by a Delta IV Heavy in 2007. Most famously, the Defense Support Program constellation of satellites were used to detect launches of SCUD missiles during Operation Desert Storm.

## 4

#### The aff must only garner offense from within the bounds of the resolution. To clarify, affs cannot be extra-T.

#### Unjust refers to a negative action – it means contrary---the aff is positive and adds things.

Black Laws No Date "What is Unjust?" <https://thelawdictionary.org/unjust/>/DurhamSA recut from Elmer

Contrary to right and justice, or to the enjoyment of his rights by another, or to the standards of conduct furnished by the laws.

#### 4 Violations:

#### 1] They talk about the general structurs of capa and attempt to garner offene from that

#### 2] the advocacy talks abt explration---that’s not T

Gorove 69, [Stephen Gorove, Interpreting Article II of the Outer Space Treaty, 37 Fordham L. Rev. 349 (1969). https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1966&context=flr]

III. THE CONCEPT OF APPROPRIATION With respect to the concept of appropriation the basic question is what constitutes "appropriation," as used in the Treaty, especially in contradistinction to casual or temporary use. The term "appropriation" is used most frequently to denote the taking of property for one's own or exclusive use with a sense of permanence. Under such interpretation the establishment of a permanent settlement or the carrying out of commercial activities by nationals of a country on a celestial body may constitute national appropriation if the activities take place under the supreme authority (sovereignty) of the state. Short of this, if the state wields no exclusive authority or jurisdiction in relation to the area in question, the answer would seem to be in the negative, unless, the nationals also use their individual appropriations as cover-ups for their state's activities.5 In this connection, it should be emphasized that the word "appropriation" indicates a taking which involves something more than just a casual use. Thus a temporary occupation of a landing site or other area, just like the temporary or nonexclusive use of property, would not constitute appropriation. By the same token, any use involving consumption or taking with intention of keeping for one's own exclusive use would amount to appropriation.

The question may also be asked whether or not the purpose of appropriation, that is whether it takes place in the name of science, for enrichment, or for any other purpose would have a bearing on the question of its lawfulness. Normally, the purpose of appropriation should have little bearing on the prohibition except that to constitute appropriation, the acquisition must be carried out for the purpose of one's own or exclusive use. However, since the Treaty proclaims freedom of scientific investigation in outer space, 6 there seems to be some support for the argument that if the appropriation takes place in the name of science or in the course of a scientific investigation in outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, such use would not be prohibited under the Treaty. Nonetheless, if the proclaimed principle is taken literally, the same argument could not be used with equal force in a case where the scientific investigation was carried out on the earth. It is doubtful whether the Treaty intended such effect, but if it did not, it is unfortunate that it fails to make it clear.7

#### 3] “Appropriation” excludes mining ---OST Consensus

Hofmann and Bergamasco 19 [Mahulena Hofmann (SES Chair in Space, SatCom and Media Law at the University of Luxembourg) and Federico Bergamasco (PhD Researcher in aviation, telecommunication and space law University of Luxembourg). “Space resources activities from the perspective of sustainability: legal aspects”. Global Sustainability. 9 December 2019. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/DF153F4A77970AC9E12444EC2B001F8A/S2059479819000279a.pdf/div-class-title-space-resources-activities-from-the-perspective-of-sustainability-legal-aspects-div.pdf>]

However, the purpose of space mining activities is considered to be neither any ‘appropriation’ of parts of outer space nor of space resources in situ. Instead, the sole aim of any such activities is their extraction, use and commercialization, without any territorial demands or titles as to the celestial bodies (or parts thereof) concerned (Mizushima et al., 2017). The argument, which sees in the use or exploitation of a space mineral by one subject a limitation of the same right of another subject, is difficult to contest by other means than analogy with space exploration. As has been recognized by the drafters of the OST in its Articles IX and XII, a purely scientific project in one area of outer space could de facto prevent research at the same site by a subject from another State. To avoid such situations, the Treaty pre-envisages a system of international consultations aimed at avoiding any harmful interference with operations.

#### 4] “Outer space” excludes asteroids---

Team Leverage Edu, 5-21-2021, "Celestial Bodies: Planets, Comets, Asteroids and More," Leverage Edu, https://leverageedu.com/blog/celestial-bodies/

Asteroids are celestial bodies in space that are thin, irregularly formed rocks made of metal or minerals that revolve around the sun. These are mostly located between Mars and Jupiter in a region known as the asteroid belt.

#### Vote neg—

#### 1] Limits – Letting affs add anything to the aff explodes limits – truisms like "2+2=4” or "racism bad" suddenly become additional aff ground if you meet the floor of the rez – means even if we have ground, the aff will always win truth claims which outweigh on sheer probability. AND lets the affirmative contradict – adding “not” or replacing “unjust” with “just” suddenly becomes topical when we do away with the words in the rez.

#### 2] Ground – wrecks all neg arguments – smart affs under their interp will just add planks outside of the topic to solve DAs or wreck CP competition – planks about R&D funding solves innovation, random reforms could solve econ or warming – makes advantage CPs T. Meeting the floor of the rez is not sufficient if there is no ceiling to topical affirmatives

#### T is Drop the Debater – the entire aff violates

#### CI – 1] Topicality is a yes/no question, you can’t be reasonably topical and 2] Reasonability invites arbitrary judge intervention 3] Reasonability is a race to the bottom, CIs solve – better interps win

#### No RVIs - 1] Illogical – shouldn’t win for meeting a stock issue 2] Makes checking abuse a high risk issue – discourages checking abuse , 3] Baiting since the 1AC will purposely be abusive, and

#### T first –

#### A] Magnitude – Affects the largest portion of the debate.

#### B] Norming – Only a few months to set topic norms – 1ar theory on other topics solves neg abuse

# Case

## Overview

#### 1] Only evaluate the net amount cap solved by the aff Filter the debate through scope of solvency—there’s no impact to root cause if they don’t solve it. Aff cannot overcome the sum total of capitalism– structural barriers that are outside the scope of resolution will always exist

#### 2] Extinction outweighs it precludes the possibility for future generations and denies any possible value to life – any other metric is paternalistic resulting in involuntary death turns their offense. Framing issue alt solvency is dependent upon generating social life, which is impossible in a state of biological death. Any 1AR argument should be rejected cuz it’s paternalistic for them to justify the INVOLUNTARY death of individuals.

#### 3] The aff gives the state MORE power – 1AC specifically stops private companies from space but not public companies which leaves only the public sector for space exploration, all 1AC evidence proves how much people want to go space, however after the 1AC its done only through the state which is net worse according to the aff

#### 4] Voting aff in this round cannot solve cap – but it can rectify procedural fairness skews or an endorsement of a policy, evaluate the round by virtue of how much the ballot can solve, even if fairness isn’t the HIGHEST impact, it IS the highest impact you as a judge can impact

## Framing

#### We answered that above, you need to look at who allows for args. Our fw lets them get offense but they don’t let us.

## Turns

### Environment

#### Cap Good

#### Growth forces structural changes that solve environmental damage.

Faik BILGILI ET AT. 16. \*\*PhD in Economics, The City University of New York and Istanbul University; professor of Economics, Erciyes University, Turkey. \*\* Emrah Kocak, Researcher, Evran University. \*\*Ümit Bulut, PhD in Economics, Gazi University and Professor of Economics, Ahi Evran University. “The dynamic impact of renewable energy consumption on CO2 emissions: A revisited Environmental Kuznets Curve approach.” *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 54(Feb): 838-9. Emory Libraries.

Some seminal papers reveal that, within the process of economic growth, environmental pollution level first scales up and later scales down. This is an inverted U-shaped relationship between GDP per capita and pollution level (Grossman and Krueger [3,4], Panayotou [5], Shafik [6], Selden and Song [7]). Since this relationship resembles the relationship between GDP per capita and income inequality produced by Kuznets [8], Panayotou [5] calls it Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC).

According to the EKC hypothesis, the level of environmental pollution initially intensifies because of economic growth, later tampers after GDP per capita reaches a threshold value (Panayotou [5], Suri and Chapman [9]; Stern [10]). Therefore, this hypothesis implies a dynamic process in which structural change occurs together with economic growth (Dinda [2]). Grossman and Krueger [3] first clarify how the EKC arises. They explore that economic growth affects environmental quality through three channels: (i) scale effect, (ii) structural effect, and (iii) technological effect. Fig. 1 presents the EKC within the periods of (i), (ii) and (iii).

According to the scale effect, given the level of technology, more resources and inputs are employed to produce more commodities at the beginning of economic growth path. Hence, more energy resources and production will induce more waste and pollutant emissions, and the level of environmental quality will get worse (Torras and Boyce [11], Dinda [2], Prieur [12]). The structural effect states that the economy will have a structural transformation, and economic growth will affect environment positively along with continuation of growth. In other words, as national production grows the structure of economy changes, and the share of less polluting economic activities increases gradually. Besides, an economy experiences a transition from capital-intensive industrial sectors to service sector and reaches technology-intensive knowledge economy (the final stage of the structural change). Due to the fact that technology-intensive sectors utilize fewer natural sources, the impact of these sectors on environmental pollution will be less. The last channel of the growth process is the technological effect channel. Since a high-income economy can allocate more resources for research and development expenditures, the new technological processes will emerge. Thus, the country will replace old and dirty technologies with new and clean technologies, and environmental quality will deepen (Borghesi [13], Copelan and Taylor [14]). Consequently, environmental pollution initially increases and later decreases as a result of scale, structural and technological effect emerging along with growth path.

Some studies of EKC hypothesis consider income elasticity of clean environment demand (Beckerman [15], Selden and Song [16], McConnel [17], Panayotou [18], Carson et al. [19], Brock and Taylor [20]). Accordingly, the share of low-income people’s expenditures for food and basic necessities is higher than that of high-income societies’ expenditures for the same type of commodities (Engel’s Law). As income level and life standards rise in conjunction with economic growth, the societies’ demand for clean environment advances. Besides, societies make often pressure on policy makers to protect the environment through new regulations. One might argue that, because of these reasons, clean environment is a luxury commodity and the demand elasticity of clean environment is higher than unity (Dinda [2]).

#### It's try or die for cap---new tech is key.

John Asafu-Adjaye 15. Associate professor of economics at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. Et al. “An Ecomodernist Manifesto”. April 2015. <https://www.ecomodernism.org/manifesto-english>

High-efficiency solar cells produced from earth-abundant materials are an exception and have the potential to provide many tens of terawatts on a few percent of the Earth’s surface. Present-day solar technologies will require substantial innovation to meet this standard and the development of cheap energy storage technologies that are capable of dealing with highly variable energy generation at large scales.

Nuclear fission today represents the only present-day zero-carbon technology with the demonstrated ability to meet most, if not all, of the energy demands of a modern economy. However, a variety of social, economic, and institutional challenges make deployment of present-day nuclear technologies at scales necessary to achieve significant climate mitigation unlikely. A new generation of nuclear technologies that are safer and cheaper will likely be necessary for nuclear energy to meet its full potential as a critical climate mitigation technology.

In the long run, next-generation solar, advanced nuclear fission, and nuclear fusion represent the most plausible pathways toward the joint goals of climate stabilization and radical decoupling of humans from nature. If the history of energy transitions is any guide, however, that transition will take time. During that transition, other energy technologies can provide important social and environmental benefits. Hydroelectric dams, for example, may be a cheap source of low-carbon power for poor nations even though their land and water footprint is relatively large. Fossil fuels with carbon capture and storage can likewise provide substantial environmental benefits over current fossil or biomass energies.

#### The alt can’t solve warming.

John Asafu-Adjaye 15. Associate professor of economics at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia. Et al. “An Ecomodernist Manifesto”. April 2015. <https://www.ecomodernism.org/manifesto-english>

Meaningful climate mitigation is fundamentally a technological challenge. By this we mean that even dramatic limits to per capita global consumption would be insufficient to achieve significant climate mitigation. Absent profound technological change there is no credible path to meaningful climate mitigation. While advocates differ in the particular mix of technologies they favor, we are aware of no quantified climate mitigation scenario in which technological change is not responsible for the vast majority of emissions cuts.

### War

#### Decline fuels nationalism---great power war

Lawrence H. **Summers** **17**. Secretary of the Treasury (1999-2001) and Director of the US National Economic Council (2009-2010), former president of Harvard University, where he is currently University Professor. “Will the Center Hold?” *Project Syndicate*. 12/21/2017. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/recession-or-financial-crisis-political-fallout-by-lawrence-h--summers-2017-12?a_la=english&a_d=5a37edac78b6c709b8d260dd&a_m=&a_a=click&a_s=&a_p=%2Fsection%2Feconomics&a_li=recession-or-financial-crisis-political-fallout-by-lawrence-h--summers-2017-12&a_pa=section-commentaries&a_ps>=

There is also the question of financial institutions’ health. While major firms appear far better capitalized and far more liquid than they were prior to the crisis, market indicators of risk suggest we may not be quite as far out of the woods as many suppose. Despite apparently large increases in capital and consequent declines in leverage, it does not appear that bank stocks have become far less volatile, as financial theory would predict if capital had become abundant. Financial markets are widely cited, including by US President Donald Trump, as providing comfort in the current moment. But a relapse into **financial crisis** would likely have **catastrophic** political **consequences**, sweeping into power even more **toxic populist nationalists**. In such a scenario, the center **will not hold**. Beyond the kind of near-term risks that markets price, there is the question of an economic downturn. The good news is that sentiment is positive in most of the world. Inflation seems unlikely to accelerate out of control and force a lurch toward contractionary fiscal and monetary policies. Most forecasters regard the near-term risk of recession as low. But recessions are never predicted successfully, even six months in advance. The current expansion in the US has gone on for a long time, and the risk of policy mistakes there is very real, owing to highly problematic economic leadership in the Trump administration. I would put the annual probability of recession in the coming years at 20-25%. So the odds are better than even that the US economy will fall into recession in the next three years. The risk from a purely economic point of view is that the traditional strategy for battling recession – a reduction of 500 basis points in the federal funds rate – will be unavailable this year, given the zero lower bound on interest rates. Nor is it clear that the will or the room for fiscal expansion will exist. This means that the next recession, like the last, may well be **protracted and deep**, with **severe** global consequences. And the political capacity for a global response, like that on display at the London G-20 Summit in 2009, appears to be **absent** as well. Just compare the global visions of US President Barack Obama and UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown back then with those of Trump and Prime Minister Theresa May today. I shudder to think what a serious recession will mean for politics and policy. It is hard to imagine avoiding a resurgence of **protectionism, populism, and scapegoating**. In such a scenario, as with another financial crisis, the center will not hold. But the greatest risk in the next few years, I believe, is neither a market meltdown nor a recession. It is instead a **political doom loop** in which voters’ conclusion that government does not work effectively for them becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. Candidates elected on platforms of resentment delegitimize the governments they lead, fueling further resentment and even more problematic new leaders. Cynicism pervades. How else can one explain how the candidacy of Roy Moore for a US Senate seat? Moore, who was twice dismissed for cause from his post on the Alabama Supreme Court, and who is credibly charged with sexually assaulting teenage girls when he was in his 30s, could enter the US Senate as many of his colleagues look the other way. If a country’s citizens lose confidence in their government’s ability to improve their lives, the government has an incentive to **rally popular support** by focusing attention on threats that only it can address. That is why in societies pervaded by anger and uncertainty about the future, the temptation to stigmatize minority groups increases. And it is why there is a tendency for officials to **magnify foreign threats**. We are seeing this phenomenon all over the world. Russian President Vladimir Putin, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and Chinese President Xi Jinping have all made nationalism a central part of their governing strategy. So, too, has Trump, who has explicitly rejected the international community in favor of the idea that there is only a ceaseless struggle among nation-states for competitive advantage. When the world’s preeminent power, having upheld the idea of international community for nearly 75 years, rejects it in favor of ad hoc deal making, others have no choice but to follow suit. Countries that can no longer rely on the US feel pressure to provide for their own security. America’s adversaries inevitably will seek to **fill the voids** left behind as the US **retrenches**.

#### Cap solves war --- development, similar interests, and globalization

Erik Gartzke 07. Erik Gartzke is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Peace and Security Studies (cPASS) at the University of California, San Diego, where he has been a member of the research faculty since 2007. “The Capitalist Peace.” American Journal of Political Science , Jan., 2007, Vol. 51, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 166-191. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4122913

Capitalism as Pacifism

The security dilemma implies that insecurity is a durable facet of international affairs. War can result as each country fears for its own security, even when neither state in- tends aggression (Glaser 1997; Jervis 1978). Yet, insecurity is predicated on the expectation that at least some countries are revisionist powers. Even "pessimistic" conceptions of world affairs appear more sanguine as we relax the assumption that insecurity is ubiquitous and immutable. The task before peace theorists, then, is to identify when and how nations are liberated from the security dilemma. The argument here is that capitalism resolves insecurity by creating "powerful pacifists" (Lake 1992), countries possessing military strength ensuring that they are largely free from foreign influence or domination, but equally that they lack incentives to act aggressively abroad, at least under certain circumstances.26

Warfare results from two stages of interaction. First, states must possess the willingness and ability to compete. Second, states must be unable, or unwilling, to re-solve differences through diplomatic means.27 Capabilities constrain weak, distant states (Belize and Burundi do not fight each other), but weakness alone is often insufficient, given the relativity of power. Indeed, weakness is an attractive attribute in a target. For similar reasons, an unwillingness to fight must also be mutual. For the purposes of exposition, imagine that the motives for war are divided between zero-sum (private goods) and nonzero- sum (goods with public properties). Private goods competition involves things like attempts to conquer or control material resources (land, labor, minerals).28 Competition can also occur over efforts to influence or compel policies (norms, alignments, leaders).29 The allocation of resources is inherently conflictual; two states that claim the same territory must compromise, fight, or delay a decision. The allocation of policies may or may not generate significant friction, depending on whether, or to what ex- tent, state objectives are compatible. While it would be odd to speak of countries as having substantially compatible interests when drawing a common geographic boundary (cf. Collins and Lapierre 1997; Holbrooke 1998), it would be strange not to consider the existence (or absence) of common cause in assessing such topics as ideology, norm enforcement, terrorism, or the organization of the global or regional economy.

At least three mechanisms associated with capital- ism are capable of addressing the security dilemma and mitigating the causes of war. States with similar policy goals have no need to fight to establish policy since little can be gained from victory, or lost in defeat. States al- ways have dissimilar interests when it comes to resource or territorial issues, but changes in modern economies often make these differences trivial, as resources can be had more easily through commerce. There can be no basis for agreement between two passersby about who should collect a quarter lying on the sidewalk, but fighting over 25 cents makes little sense. If, however, a sack of $100 bills falls from the sky, landing on the quarter, then it is entirely possible that a fight will ensue over who can collect their bag of riches. Yet, even the sack of money need not lead to violence if the passersby can agree on how to di- vide up the wind fall. States willing and able to fight can still avoid a contest if competitors are able to foresee the likely consequences of fighting and identify appropriate bargains.

Economic Development

Conflict is inherent in the allocation of resources among two or more parties, but need not result in violence if the stakes are literally "not worth fighting over" or when bargains preempt fighting. Imagine two countries attempting to divide up a bundle of goods (resources, territory). Comparison of available allocations is zero-sum; any shift from one allocation to another benefits one country only at the expense of the other country. In this framework, a mutual preference for peace requires that the value of winning be small relative to the cost of fighting (Morrow 1989; Powell 1999).

Peace advocates have long championed factors thought to make war prohibitively expensive. Cobden, for example, claimed optimistically that "Should war break out between two great nations I have no doubt that the immense consumption of material and the rapid destruction of property would have the effect of very soon bringing the combatants to reason or exhausting their resources" ([1867] 1903, 355). Yet, if war is a process where competitors inflict costs on one another, making war more expensive will affect who wins, or how long fighting lasts, but not whether a contest occurs (Levy and Morgan 1984)

War costs are also endogenous; if fighting is prohibitive, countries will make themselves a "nice little war."'3 In- creasing the cost of fighting, or alternately increasing the benefits of peace-even when possible-shape what each actor will accept in lieu of fighting, but do not tell us which bargains are forged before warfare, and which after. Even the prospect of nuclear annihilation did not deter disputes during the cold war (Schelling 1960).

If, on the other hand, the value of resources in dispute is small or varies with ownership, then states can be disinclined to fight. Nations have historically used force to acquire land and resources, and subdue foreign populations. War or treaties that shifted control of territory changed the balance of resources, and power. Sovereigns, and to a lesser extent citizens, prospered as the state ex- tended its domain. Development can alter these incentives if modern production processes de-emphasize land, minerals, and rooted labor in favor of intellectual and financial capital (Brooks 1999, 2005; Rosecrance 1996). If the rents from conquest decline, even as occupation costs increase, then states can prefer to buy goods rather than steal them.31 As the U.S. invasion of Iraq illustrates, occupying a reluctant foreign power is extremely labor intensive. If soldiers are expensive, then nations can be better off "outsourcing occupation" to local leaders and obtaining needed goods through trade.32

At the same time that development leads states to prefer trade to theft, developed countries also retain populations with common identities, cultural affinities, and political, social, and economic ties. These states may be reluctant to conquer their neighbors, but they are equally opposed to arbitrary contractions of their borders. Residents of Gibraltar, for example, prefer British rule, even while Spain, which has fought over this lump of rock for centuries, is today unwilling to provoke a war.33 The com- bination of a lack of motive for territorial expansion and continued interest in serving and protecting a given population ensures a decline in conflict among states with developed economies, especially where developed countries are geographically clustered (Gleditsch 2003). Since most territorial disputes are between contiguous states (Vasquez 1993), I hypothesize that developed, contiguous dyads are more powerful than either developing or noncontiguous dyads.34

HI: Development leads contiguous dyads to be less likely to experience conflict**.**

While development decreases incentives for territorial aggrandizement, it greatly enhances the technological ability of states to project power. Nations with ships and aircraft can engage in distant disputes inconceivable for poor countries. Development may also lead to increased willingness to pursue policy conflicts. If development is clustered and neighbors no longer covet territory, capabilities can be devoted to pursuing the nation's secondary or tertiary interests. Distributed production networks and greater economic, social, or political integration naturally also create incentives to seek to influence the foreign policies of other countries, sometimes through force. In contrast to the blanket assertion of classical political economists, I expect that development actually leads countries to be more likely to engage in conflicts far from home.35 Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, intent on securing its "nineteenth province" and wresting Kuwaiti oil wealth from local leaders. The United States and its Coalition allies also invaded Kuwait, not to conquer and keep, but to return the Emirate to its previous leaders. While Coalition objectives were couched in moralistic rhetoric, the United States was clearly concerned about who governed Kuwait, while preferring not to govern the country itself. Similarly, European colonial powers have repeatedly intervened in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere to prop up or dethrone regimes, impose settlements, or otherwise meddle in the affairs of developing countries

Similar Interests

There is a second salient difference between the two sets of motives for invading Kuwait. Suppose that Iraq had the conquest of Kuwait would have had to be divided formed an alliance, like the U.S. Coalition. Spoils from up in some manner. Each new member of an Iraqi-led alliance would dilute the spoils, diminishing each member's "slice." By going it alone, Iraq kept all of the wealth of Kuwait to itself, at least for a little while. In contrast, U.S. objectives were not much diluted by the size of its coalition. Since there was no resource "pie" to distribute, the size of the Coalition was not a hindrance in allocating benefits, though reasons for reconstituting Kuwait differed markedly among the members, another source of tension that could have led to conflict (Baker 1995).

Students of war often treat state interests as largely uniform, and largely incompatible. International com- petition forces nations-large and small--to be security seekers (Waltz 1959, 1979), or to lust after power (Mearsheimer 2001). A different conception of interests comes from utilitarianism (Bentham [1781] 2000; Mill [1861] 1998) and rational theory (Black 1948; Downs 1957; Riker 1963), one in which interests are variable and are often logical primitives. Many countries may share to a greater or lesser extent compatible worldviews or objectives (cf. Keohane and Nye 1989). Conversely, strong policy differences can lead to conflict, and possibly to war (Bueno de Mesquita 1981, 1985, 1989; Morrow 1985). For example, World War II and the cold war were "ideological contests" which pitted coalitions of countries with in- compatible visions of an appropriate world order against each other. Since policy interests vary, while interests over resource allocations are more nearly constant (in their fundamental incompatibility), policy conflict should also vary. The range of policy issues over which state preferences might vary is literally innumerable. This article adopts an axiomatic approach, making the broadest theoretical claim, and then using a policy interest index to operationalize interest affinity in testing.

Globalization of Capital

While policy differences or resource competition can generate conflict, they need not produce contests if states can resolve differences diplomatically. Liberal theory emphasizes the pacifying effect of cross-border economic linkages. Markets are arguably most relevant as mechanisms for revealing information, however, rather than for adding to the risks or costs of fighting (Gartzke and Li 2003; Gartzke, Li, and Boehmer 2001). Competition creates incentives to bluff, to exaggerate capabilities or resolve. Anarchy makes it difficult for states to compel honest answers from one another except through the threat or imposition of harm. Contests inform by being costly, forcing actors to choose between bearing the burden of competition and backing down. Of course, one can signal by "burning money," expending valuable resources autonomously, but such acts create a relative as well as absolute loss. Tactics that impart costs only as a byproduct of imposing costs on an opponent can produce relative gains, while tactics such as burning money only harm the initiator. States with economies integrated into global markets face autonomous investors with incentives to reallocate capital away from risk. A leader's threats against another state become costly when threats spark market repercussions. Participants learn from watching the reactions of leaders to the differential incentives of economic cost and political reward. Two economically integrated states can more often avoid military violence, since market integration combines mechanisms for revelation and coercion. An economically integrated target can be coerced by the threat of losing valuable exchange, but a nonintegrated initiator cannot make its threats credible or informative. Conversely, a globalized initiator can signal but has little incentive to hamper its own markets when a nonintegrated target does not suffer (Gartzke 2006b).

#### Lack of deterrence means extinction via nuclear war– Ice Age, famines, and war won’t stay limited

Edwards 17 [Paul N. Edwards, CISAC’s William J. Perry Fellow in International Security at Stanford’s Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. Being interviewed by EarthSky. How nuclear war would affect Earth’s climate. September 8, 2017. earthsky.org/human-world/how-nuclear-war-would-affect-earths-climate/

In the nuclear conversation, what are we not talking about that we should be?

We are not talking enough about the climatic effects of nuclear war. The “nuclear winter” theory of the mid-1980s played a significant role in the arms reductions of that period. But with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reduction of U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals, this aspect of nuclear war has faded from view. That’s not good. In the mid-2000s, climate scientists such as Alan Robock (Rutgers) took another look at nuclear winter theory. This time around, they used much-improved and much more detailed climate models than those available 20 years earlier. They also tested the potential effects of smaller nuclear exchanges. The result: an exchange involving just 50 nuclear weapons — the kind of thing we might see in an India-Pakistan war, for example — could loft 5 billion kilograms of smoke, soot and dust high into the stratosphere. That’s enough to cool the entire planet by about 2 degrees Fahrenheit (1.25 degrees Celsius) — about where we were during the Little Ice Age of the 17th century. Growing seasons could be shortened enough to create really significant food shortages. So the climatic effects of even a relatively small nuclear war would be planet-wide. What about a larger-scale conflict? A U.S.-Russia war currently seems unlikely, but if it were to occur, hundreds or even thousands of nuclear weapons might be launched. The climatic consequences would be catastrophic: global average temperatures would drop as much as 12 degrees Fahrenheit (7 degrees Celsius) for up to several years — temperatures last seen during the great ice ages. Meanwhile, smoke and dust circulating in the stratosphere would darken the atmosphere enough to inhibit photosynthesis, causing disastrous crop failures, widespread famine and massive ecological disruption. The effect would be similar to that of the giant meteor believed to be responsible for the extinction of the dinosaurs. This time, we would be the dinosaurs. Many people are concerned about North Korea’s advancing missile capabilities. Is nuclear war likely in your opinion? At this writing, I think we are closer to a nuclear war than we have been since the early 1960s. In the North Korea case, both Kim Jong-un and President Trump are bullies inclined to escalate confrontations. President Trump lacks impulse control, and there are precious few checks on his ability to initiate a nuclear strike. We have to hope that our generals, both inside and outside the White House, can rein him in. North Korea would most certainly “lose” a nuclear war with the United States. But many millions would die, including hundreds of thousands of Americans currently living in South Korea and Japan (probable North Korean targets). Such vast damage would be wrought in Korea, Japan and Pacific island territories (such as Guam) that any “victory” wouldn’t deserve the name. Not only would that region be left with horrible suffering amongst the survivors; it would also immediately face famine and rampant disease. Radioactive fallout from such a war would spread around the world, including to the U.S. It has been more than 70 years since the last time a nuclear bomb was used in warfare. What would be the effects on the environment and on human health today? To my knowledge, most of the changes in nuclear weapons technology since the 1950s have focused on making them smaller and lighter, and making delivery systems more accurate, rather than on changing their effects on the environment or on human health. So-called “battlefield” weapons with lower explosive yields are part of some arsenals now — but it’s quite unlikely that any exchange between two nuclear powers would stay limited to these smaller, less destructive bombs.

### Sustainable

#### Growth is sustainable---It’s historically supported---but even if it isn’t, rejection is the worst option.

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Discourse on food ethics often advocates the anti-capitalist idea that we need less capitalism, less growth, and less globalization if we want to make the world a better and more equitable place, with arguments focused on applications to food, globalization, and a just society. For example, arguments for this anti-capitalist view are at the core of some chapters in nearly every handbook and edited volume in the rapidly expanding subdiscipline of food ethics. None of these volumes (or any article published in this subdiscipline broadly construed) focuses on a defense of globalized capitalism.1

More generally, discourse on global ethics, environment, and political theory in much of academia—and in society—increasingly features this anti-capitalist idea as well.2 The idea is especially prominent in discourse surrounding the environment, climate, and global poverty, where we face a nexus of problems of which capitalism is a key driver, including climate change, air and water pollution, the challenge of feeding the world, ensuring sustainable development for the world's poorest, and other interrelated challenges.

It is therefore important to ask whether this anti-capitalist idea is justified by reason and evidence that is as strong as the degree of confidence placed in it by activists and many commentators on food ethics, global ethics, and political theory, more generally.

In fact, many experts argue that this anti-capitalist idea is not supported by reason and argument and is actually wrong. The main contribution of this essay is to explain the structure of the leading arguments against the anti-capitalist idea, and in favor of the opposite conclusion. I begin by focusing on the general argument in favor of well-regulated globalized capitalism as the key to a just, flourishing, and environmentally healthy world. This is the most important of all of the arguments in terms of its consequences for health, wellbeing, and justice, and it is endorsed by experts in the empirically minded disciplines best placed to analyze the issue, including experts in long-run global development, human health, wellbeing, economics, law, public policy, and other related disciplines. On the basis of the arguments outlined below, well-regulated capitalism has been endorsed by recent Democratic presidents of the United States such as Barack Obama, and by progressive Nobel laureates who have devoted their lives to human development and more equitable societies, as well as by a wide range of experts in government and leading nongovernmental organizations.

The goal of this essay is to make the structure and importance of these arguments clear, and thereby highlight that discourse on global ethics and political theory should engage carefully with them. The goal is not to endorse them as necessarily sound and correct. The essay will begin by examining general arguments for and against capitalism, and then turn to implications for food, the environment, climate change, and beyond.

Arguments for and against Forms of Capitalism

The Argument against Capitalism

Capitalism is often argued to be a key driver of many of society's ills: inequalities, pollution, land use changes, and incentives that cause people to live differently than in their ideal dreams. Capitalism can sometimes deepen injustices. These negative consequences are easy to see—resting, as they do, at the center of many of society's greatest challenges.3

And at the same time, it is often difficult to see the positive consequences of capitalism.4 What are the positive consequences of allowing private interests to clear-cut forests and plant crops, especially if those private interests are rich multinational corporations and the forests are in poor, developing countries whose citizens do not receive the profits from deforestation? Why give private companies the right to exploit resources at all, since exploitation almost always has some negative consequences such as those listed above? These are the right questions to ask, and they highlight genuine challenges to capitalism. And in light of these challenges, it is reasonable to consider the possibility that perhaps a different economic system altogether would be more equitable and beneficial to the global population.

The Argument for Well-Regulated Capitalism

However, things are more complicated than the arguments above would suggest, and the benefits of capitalism, especially for the world's poorest and most vulnerable people, are in fact myriad and significant. In addition, as we will see in this section, many experts argue that capitalism is not the fundamental cause of the previously described problems but rather an essential component of the best solutions to them and of the best methods for promoting our goals of health, well-being, and justice.

To see where the defenders of capitalism are coming from, consider an analogy involving a response to a pandemic: if a country administered a rushed and untested vaccine to its population that ended up killing people, we would not say that vaccines were the problem. Instead, the problem would be the flawed and sloppy policies of vaccine implementation. Vaccines might easily remain absolutely essential to the correct response to such a pandemic and could also be essential to promoting health and flourishing, more generally.

The argument is similar with capitalism according to the leading mainstream arguments in favor of it: Capitalism is an essential part of the best society we could have, just like vaccines are an essential part of the best response to a pandemic such as COVID-19. But of course both capitalism and vaccines can be implemented poorly, and can even do harm, especially when combined with other incorrect policy decisions. But that does not mean that we should turn against them—quite the opposite. Instead, we should embrace them as essential to the best and most just outcomes for society, and educate ourselves and others on their importance and on how they must be properly designed and implemented with other policies in order to best help us all. In fact, the argument in favor of capitalism is even more dramatic because it claims that much more is at stake than even what is at stake in response to a global pandemic—what is at stake with capitalism is nothing less than whether the world's poorest and most vulnerable billion people will remain in conditions of poverty and oppression, or if they will instead finally gain access to what is minimally necessary for basic health and wellbeing and become increasingly affluent and empowered. The argument in favor of capitalism proceeds as follows:

Premise 1. Development and the past. Over the course of recorded human history, the majority of historical increases in health, wellbeing, and justice have occurred in the last two centuries, largely as a result of societies adopting or moving toward capitalism. Capitalism is a relevant cause of these improvements, in the sense that they could not have happened to such a degree if it were not for capitalism and would not have happened to the same degree under any alternative noncapitalist approach to structuring society. The argument in support of this premise relies on observed relationships across societies and centuries between indicators of degree of capitalism, wealth, investments in public goods, and outcomes for health, wellbeing, and justice, together with econometric analysis in support of the conclusion that the best explanation of these correlations and the underlying mechanism is that large increases in health, wellbeing, and justice are largely driven by increasing investments in public goods. The scale of increased wealth necessary to maximize these investments requires capitalism. Thus, as capitalist societies have become dramatically wealthier over the past hundred years (and wealthier than societies with alternative systems), this has allowed larger investments in public goods, which simply has not been possible in a sustained way in societies without the greater wealth that capitalism makes possible. Important investments in public goods include investments in basic medical knowledge, in health and nutrition programs, and in the institutional capacity and know-how to regulate society and capitalism itself. As a result, capitalism is a primary driver of positive outcomes in health and wellbeing (such as increased life expectancy, lowered child and maternal mortality, adequate calories per day, minimized infectious disease rates, a lower percentage and number of people in poverty, and more reported happiness);5 and in justice (such as reduced deaths from war and homicide; higher rankings in human rights indices; the reduced prevalence of racist, sexist, homophobic opinions in surveys; and higher literacy rates).6 These quantifiable positive consequences of global capitalism dramatically outweigh the negative consequences (such as deaths from pollution in the course of development), with the result that the net benefits from capitalism in terms of health, wellbeing, and justice have been greater than they would have been under any known noncapitalist approach to structuring society.7

Premise 2. Economics, ethics, and policy. Although capitalism has often been ill-regulated and therefore failed to maximize net benefits for health, wellbeing, and justice, it can become well-regulated so that it maximizes these societal goals, by including mechanisms identified by economists and other policy experts that do the following:

* optimally8 regulate negative effects such as pollution and monopoly power, and invest in public goods such as education, basic healthcare, and fundamental research including biomedical knowledge (more generally, policies that correct the failures of free markets that economists have long recognized will arise from “externalities” in the absence of regulation);9
* ensure equity and distributive justice (for example, via wealth redistribution);10
* ensure basic rights, justice, and the rule of law independent of the market (for example, by an independent judiciary, bill of rights, property rights, and redistribution and other legislation to correct historical injustices due to colonialism, racism, and correct current and historical distortions that have prevented markets from being fair);11 and
* ensure that there is no alternative way of structuring society that is more efficient or better promotes the equity, justice, and fairness goals outlined above (by allowing free exchange given the regulations mentioned).12

To summarize the implication of the first two premises, well-regulated capitalism is essential to best achieving our ethical goals—which is true even though capitalism has certainly not always been well regulated historically. Society can still do much better and remove the large deficits in terms of health, wellbeing, and justice that exist under the current inferior and imperfect versions of capitalism.

Premise 3. Development and the future. If the global spread of capitalism is allowed to continue, desperate poverty can be essentially eliminated in our lifetimes. Furthermore, this can be accomplished faster and in a more just way via well-regulated global capitalism than by any alternatives. If we instead opt for less capitalism, less growth, and less globalization, then desperate poverty will continue to exist for a significant portion of the world's population into the further future, and the world will be a worse and less equitable place than it would have been with more capitalism. For example, in a world with less capitalism, there would be more overpopulation, food insecurity, air pollution, ill health, injustice, and other problems. In part, this is because of the factors identified by premise 1, which connect a turn away from capitalism with a turn away from continuing improvements in health, wellbeing, and justice, especially for the developing world. In addition, fertility declines are also a consequence of increased wealth, and the size of the population is a primary determinant of food demand and other environmental stressors.13 Finally, as discussed at length in the next section of the essay, capitalism can be naturally combined with optimal environmental regulations.14 Even bracketing anything like optimal regulation, it remains true that sufficiently wealthy nations reduce environmental degradation as they become wealthier, whereas developing nations that are nearing peak degradation will remain stuck at the worst levels of degradation if we stall growth, rather than allowing them to transition to less and less degradation in the future via capitalism and economic growth.15 In contrast, well-regulated capitalism is a key part of the best way of coping with these problems, as well as a key part of dealing with climate change, global food production, and other specific challenges, as argued at length in the next section. Here it is important to stress that we should favor well-regulated capitalism that includes correct investments in public goods over other capitalist systems such as the neoliberalism of the recent past that promoted inadequately regulated capitalism with inadequate concern for externalities, equity, and background distortions and injustices.16

Conclusion. Therefore, we should be in favor of capitalism over noncapitalism, and we should especially favor well-regulated capitalism, which is the ethically optimal economic system and is essential to any just basic structure for society.

This argument is impressive because, as stated earlier in the essay, it is based on evidence that is so striking that it leads a bipartisan range of open-minded thinkers and activists to endorse well-regulated capitalism, including many of those who were not initially attracted to the view because of a reasonable concern for the societal ills with which we began. To better understand why such a range of thinkers could agree that well-regulated capitalism is best, it may help to clarify some things that are not assumed or implied by the argument for it, which could be invoked by other bad arguments for capitalism.

One thing the argument above does not assume is that health, wellbeing, or justice are the same thing as wealth, because, in fact, they are not. Instead, the argument above relies on well-accepted, measurable indicators of health and wellbeing, such as increased lifespan; decreased early childhood mortality; adequate nutrition; and other empirically measurable leading indicators of health, wellbeing, and justice.17 Similarly, the argument that capitalism promotes justice, peace, freedom, human rights, and tolerance relies on empirical metrics for each of these.18

Furthermore, the argument does not assume that because these indicators of health, wellbeing, and justice are highly correlated with high degrees of capitalism, that therefore capitalism is the direct cause of these good outcomes. Rather, the analyses suggest instead that something other than capitalism is the direct cause of societal improvements (such as improvements in knowledge and technology, public infrastructure, and good governance), and that capitalism is simply a necessary condition for these improvements to happen.19 In other words, the richer a society is, the more it is able to invest in all of these and other things that are the direct causes of health, wellbeing, and justice. But, to maximize investment in these things societies need well-regulated capitalism.

As part of these analyses, it is often stressed that current forms of capitalism around the world are highly defective and must be reformed in the direction of well-regulated capitalism because they lack investments in public goods, such as basic knowledge, healthcare, nutrition, other safety nets, and good governance.20 In this way, an argument for a particular kind of progressive reformism is an essential part of the analyses that lead many to endorse the more general argument for well-regulated capitalism.

Although these analyses are nuanced, and appropriately so, it remains the case that the things that directly lead to health, wellbeing, and justice require resources, and the best path toward generating those resources is well-regulated capitalism. And on the flip side, according to the analyses behind premise 1 described above, an anti-capitalist system would not produce the resources that are needed, and would thus be a disaster, especially for the poorest billion people who are most desperately in need of the resources that capitalism can create and direct, to escape from extreme poverty.21

### Transition

#### Elites block transition---causes mass death---only capitalism enables a peaceful solution to poverty.

Rainer Zitelmann 21. German historian and author of “The Rich in Public Opinion.” "Violence Is History’s Great Economic Leveler." National Interest. 6-30-2021. https://nationalinterest.org/feature/violence-history%E2%80%99s-great-economic-leveler-188974

Another question that is all too rarely asked is: What would be the price of eliminating inequality? In 2017, the renowned Stanford historian and scholar of ancient history Walter Scheidel presented an impressive historical analysis of this question: The Great Leveler: Violence and the History of Inequality from the Stone Age to the Twenty-First Century. He concludes that societies that have been spared mass violence and catastrophes have never experienced substantial reductions in inequality.

Substantial reductions in inequality have only ever been achieved as the result of violent shocks, primarily consisting of war, revolution, state failure and systems collapse, and plague.

According to Scheidel, the greatest levelers of the twentieth century did not include peaceful social reforms, they were the two world wars and the communist revolutions. More than 100 million people died in each of the two world wars and in the communist social experiments.

Total War as a Great Leveler

World War II serves as Scheidel’s strongest example of “total war” leveling. Take Japan: In 1938, the wealthiest 1 percent of the population received 19.9 percent of all reported income before taxes and transfers. Within the next seven years, their share dropped by two-thirds, all the way down to 6.4 percent. More than half of this loss was incurred by the richest tenth of that top bracket: their income share collapsed from 9.2 percent to 1.9 percent in the same period, a decline by almost four-fifths. The declared real value of the income of the largest 1 percent of estates in Japan’s population fell by 90 percent between 1936 and 1945 and by almost 97 percent between 1936 to 1949. The top 0.1 percent of all estates lost even more during this period, 93 and 98 percent, respectively. During this period, the Japanese economic system was transformed as state intervention gradually created a planned economy that preserved only a facade of free-market capitalism. Executive bonuses were capped, rental income was fixed by the authorities, and between 1935 and 1943 the top income tax rate in Japan doubled.

Significant leveling also took place in other countries during wartime. According to Scheidel’s analysis, the two world wars were among the greatest levelers in history. The average percentage drop of top income shares in countries that actively fought in World War II as frontline states was 31 percent of the prewar level. This is a robust finding because the sample consists of a dozen countries. The only two countries in which inequality increased during this period were also those farthest from the major theaters of war (Argentina and South Africa).

Low savings rates and depressed asset prices, physical destruction and the loss of foreign assets, inflation and progressive taxation, rent and price controls, and nationalization all contributed in varying degrees to equalization. The wealth of the rich was dramatically reduced in the two world wars, whether countries lost or won, suffered occupation during or after the war, were democracies or run by autocratic regimes.

The economic consequences of the two world wars were, therefore, devastating for the rich—a fact that stands in direct opposition to the thesis that it was capitalists that instigated the wars in pursuit of their own economic interests. Contrary to the popular perception that the lower classes suffered most in the wars, in economic terms it was the capitalists who were the biggest losers.

Incidentally, the left-wing economist Thomas Piketty comes to a similar conclusion. In his book Capital in the Twenty-First Century, he argues that progressive taxation in the twentieth century was primarily a product of the two world wars and not of democracy.

Poverty is Eliminated Peacefully

The price of reducing inequality has thus usually involved violent shocks and catastrophes, whose victims have been not only the rich but millions and millions of people. Neither nonviolent land reforms nor economic crises nor democratization has had as great a leveling effect throughout recorded history as these violent upheavals. If the goal is to distribute income and wealth more equally, says historian Scheidel, then we simply cannot close our eyes to the violent ruptures that have so often proved necessary to achieve that goal. We must ask ourselves whether humanity has ever succeeded in equalizing the distribution of wealth without considerable violence. Analyzing thousands of years of human history, Scheidel’s answer is no. This may be a depressing finding for many adherents of egalitarian ideas.

However, if we shift perspective, and ask not “How do we reduce inequality?” but “How do we reduce poverty?” then we can provide an optimistic answer: Not violent ruptures of the kind that led to reductions of inequality, but very peaceful mechanisms, namely innovations and growth, brought about by the forces of capitalism, have led to the greatest declines in poverty. Or, to put it another way: The greatest “levelers” in history have been violent events such as wars, revolutions, state and systems collapses, and pandemics, but the greatest poverty reducer in history has been capitalism. Before capitalism came into being, most of the world’s population was living in extreme poverty—in 1820, the rate stood at 90 percent. Today, it’s down to less than 10 percent. And the most remarkable aspect of all this progress is that, in the recent decades since the end of communism in China and other countries, the decline in poverty has accelerated to a pace unmatched in any previous period of human history. In 1981, the rate was still 42.7 percent; by 2000, it had fallen to 27.8 percent, and in 2021 it was only 9.3 percent.