### T

A is the interpretation: The aff must defend a right to strike

Merriam-Webster defines unconditional as “not conditional or limited”.

B is the violation: they extend the US’ existing right to strike but that has multiple conditions

Pope NO DATE [James Gray Pope is a professor of Law at Rutgers University. “The Right to Strike Under the United States Constitution: Theory, Practice, and Possible Implications for Canada.” NO DATE. UToronto Law. https://www.law.utoronto.ca/documents/conferences2/StrikeSymposium09\_Pope.pdf]

In practice, however (with the sole exception of the Wolff Packing case, discussed below), the Supreme Court has upheld restrictions on the right to strike without considering their effect on the ability of workers to influence their conditions of employment. As a result, U.S. law is extraordinarily unprotective of the right to strike. The Court has, for example, approved the privilege of employers to permanently replace economic strikers, upheld a flat prohibition on secondary strikes, and sustained flat bans on public employee rights.6 The ILO’s Committee on Freedom of Association has concluded that each of these outcomes violates international standards.7 Scholars have suggested that the permanent replacement rule, in particular, has contributed to a drastic decline in strike activity in the U.S.8 Once labor’s great equalizer, the threat of a strike has been appropriated by management both in negotiations, where employers are more likely to threaten permanent replacement than unions are to threaten a strike, and in organizing drives, where the threat of permanent replacement is “Exhibit Number One” against unionizing.9

C is STANDARDS:

1. Textuality – rejecting words in the res means that
2. Ground –allows the aff to defend to defend incredibly small shifts in the right to strike which guts core neg ground which is predicated on macro-level impacts to the economy like business confidence, means they kill generic ground which is necessary to combat aff flex
3. Key to phil ground because the limitations

#### At best NLRA is extra-T – it also includes the right to unionize – that’s rielly

NLRB no date [https://www.nlrb.gov/resources/faq/nlrb Accessed 11/6/2021]

The NLRA is a federal law that grants employees the right to form or join unions; engage in protected, concerted activities to address or improve working conditions; or refrain from engaging in these activities. For more information, see our Employee Rights page.

Their evidence concedes – it’s literally about the right to unionize

#### This only justifies a freedom to strike not a right to strike which creates obligations on the employer

Jean-Michel Servais 09 [Visiting Professor at the Universities of Liège (Belgium) and Gerona (Spain); former Director of the International Labour Organization; Honorary President, International Society for Labour Law and Social Security. "ILO Law and the Right to Strike." Canadian Lab. & Emp. LJ 15 (2009): 147. https://clcw.queenslaw.ca/sites/clcw/files/CLELJ-Articles/03-Servais\_clelj\_15(2).pdf]

Legal regulation of strikes comes in many forms, depending on the country and the times. Sometimes there is only a freedom to strike, in that no criminal sanctions in the form of fines or imprisonment are imposed, though the possibility of contractual liability remains. Today, however, there is more often than not a right to strike, with the result that except in certain circumstances, the employer cannot invoke a strike as a legal basis for breaking off an employment contract or for taking other reprisals. Strikes may be a means of action open only to trade unions (as in Sweden), or they may be recognized as a right of individual workers (as in France). Sometimes they are treated as an exceptional measure that workers can invoke when the employer does not fulfil its obligations. Sometimes strikes are allowed only in their classic form, and at other times the right to strike may extend to slow-downs, rotating stoppages, work-to-rule, boycotts and other kinds of direct action.

#### That kills education and fairness – reject the team

### setcol

#### Settler workers are still settlers – the 1ac grounds their politics in a defense of indigenous dispossession and necessitates settler expansion.

Englert 20 Sai Englert (lecturer @ Universiteit Leiden), 2020, “Settlers, Workers, and the Logic of Accumulation by Dispossession,” Antipode, Vol. 0, No. 0, doi:10.1111/anti.12659

The history of settler colonialism underscores the conspicuous absence of involvement by settler working classes (as opposed to individuals or limited networks) in mass, sustained challenges against the process of settlement and indigenous dispossession.3 In fact, more often than not, settler labour movements fought for the intensification of settler expansion and racial segregation (see “An Alternative Reading: Settler Colonies and the Exploitation of the Native” above), through colour bars, boycott campaigns and demands for expulsion. In the process, bitter confrontations emerged between settler labour and capital, when the latter attempted to increase its profit margins through the exploitation of indigenous labour—for example in the context of the white labour movements in Australia and South Africa.4 Yet these conflicts can be resolved, especially while the settler colony continues to expand, by intensifying the dispossession of indigenous populations in order to improve the material conditions of settler workers (see “Case Studies” below). Here, the question of accumulation by dispossession returns to the fore. If settler workers are exploited as workers within the settler colony, they remain settlers. As such they participate in the processes of accumulation by dispossession through the occupation of lands, the elimination or exploitation of indigenous peoples, and the extraction of expropriated resources. For example, at a very basic level, their houses, workplaces, and basic infrastructure such as roads, railways, etc., are all premised on the capture and control of indigenous land. Settler workers are both exploited by settler bosses and their co-conspirators in the dispossession of indigenous peoples. As such, class struggle within a settler society has a dual character: it is waged over the distribution of wealth extracted from their labour as well as over the colonial booty. In the case of Zionism in Palestine, the current associated with the publication Matzpen (“Compass”) developed a class analysis of Israeli society. They came to the conclusion that because the Israeli economy was heavily subsidised from the outside (first primarily by Britain, then by the US) and that this subsidy was not simply going into private hands but was used by the Labour Zionist bureaucracy to organise the development of the Israeli economy and infrastructure, class antagonisms were diverted within its society. Hangebi et al. (2012:83) wrote: The Jewish worker in Israel does not receive his share in cash, but he gets it in terms of new and relatively inexpensive housing, which could not have been constructed by raising capital locally; he gets it in industrial employment, which could not have been started or kept going without external subsidies; and he gets it in terms of a general standard of living, which does not correspond to the output of that society ... In this way the struggle between the Israeli working class and its employers, both bureaucrats and capitalists, is fought not only over the surplus value produced by the worker but also over the share each group receives from this external source of subsidies. If this analysis was essentially correct, it underplayed, however, the consequences of an important aspect of Israeli wealth creation (which Matzpen otherwise recognised): the Israeli state, its infrastructure, and its economy were made possible by colonial expansion, land confiscation, the expulsion of Palestinians and the expropriation of their wealth and property. Affordable housing, for example, an issue discussed further below, was not only possible because of the subsidies the Israeli state received from abroad. It was possible because the land on which new houses were built, as well as existing Palestinian houses, had been confiscated by the Israeli army, Palestinians had been expelled in their hundreds of thousands, and the spoils were re-distributed amongst settlers. It was—and remains—the collective dispossession of the indigenous population by the Israeli population as a whole, which ties the settler community together, despite internal class, ethnic, and political divisions. The settler class struggle is fought over the distribution of wealth extracted from settler labour power as well as over the share each group receives from the process of accumulation by dispossession. This dual class and colonial relationship helps explain the relative absence of settler workers’ resistance against settler colonial expansion or alliances with Indigenous peoples.5 This tendency can be understood as “settler quietism”: even if working-class settlers are exploited by their ruling classes, overthrowing the settler state would mean overthrowing a system in which they share, however unequally, in the distribution of the colonial loot. Participating in the process of dispossession and fighting for a greater share of the pie leads to more important and immediate material gains. It also follows, as many anti-colonial thinkers and activists, not least among them Fanon (2001) in the Wretched of the Earth, have argued that indigenous people face the settler population as a whole in their struggle for de-colonisation. This is not to say that individual settlers or specific settler organisations cannot or have not supported struggles for decolonisation. It is however to point out that this is not the case for the majority of the settler working class, while it continues to depend on the continued dispossession of the natives for the quality of its living standards. Whether the settler colony is organised on the basis of an eliminatory or an exploitative model, what remains constant is that the entirety of the settler polity will participate in the process of accumulation by dispossession, and that the different settler classes will struggle both against the natives to impose and maintain this dispossession, as well as amongst themselves in order to determine the nature of its internal distribution. More than that, the specific structural forms of settler rule over the indigenous population is best understood as the outcome of struggle, both between settler classes and between settlers and indigenous populations. This paper now turns to two brief case studies demonstrating this process in the context of Zionism in Palestine.

#### That cannot be delinked from settler institutions – the settler state is driven by the logic of elimination – the primal drive to expansion that materializes native land dispossession, displacement, and genocide.

Rifkin 14 – Associate Professor of English & WGS @ UNC-Greensboro [Mark, ‘Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance,’ pp. 7-10] mp

If nineteenth-century American literary studies tends to focus on the ways Indians enter the narrative frame and the kinds of meanings and associa- tions they bear, recent attempts to theorize settler colonialism have sought to shift attention from its effects on Indigenous subjects to its implications for nonnative political attachments, forms of inhabitance, and modes of being, illuminating and tracking the pervasive operation of settlement as a system. In Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology, Patrick Wolfe argues, “Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonizers come to stay—invasion is a structure not an event” (2).6 He suggests that a “logic of elimination” drives settler governance and sociality, describing “the settler-colonial will” as “a historical force that ultimately derives from the primal drive to expansion that is generally glossed as capitalism” (167), and in “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” he observes that “elimination is an organizing principle of settler-colonial society rather than a one-off (and superceded) occurrence” (388). Rather than being superseded after an initial moment/ period of conquest, colonization persists since “the logic of elimination marks a return whereby the native repressed continues to structure settler- colonial society” (390). In Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s work, whiteness functions as the central way of understanding the domination and displacement of Indigenous peoples by nonnatives.7 In “Writing Off Indigenous Sover- eignty,” she argues, “As a regime of power, patriarchal white sovereignty operates ideologically, materially and discursively to reproduce and main- tain its investment in the nation as a white possession” (88), and in “Writ- ing Off Treaties,” she suggests, “At an ontological level the structure of subjective possession occurs through the imposition of one’s will-to-be on the thing which is perceived to lack will, thus it is open to being possessed,” such that “possession . . .

forms part of the ontological structure of white subjectivity” (83–84). For Jodi Byrd, the deployment of Indianness as a mobile figure works as the principal mode of U.S. settler colonialism. She observes that “colonization and racialization . . . have often been conflated,” in ways that “tend to be sited along the axis of inclusion/exclusion” and that “misdirect and cloud attention from the underlying structures of settler colonialism” (xxiii, xvii). She argues that settlement works through the translation of indigeneity as Indianness, casting place-based political collectivities as (racialized) populations subject to U.S. jurisdiction and manage- ment: “the Indian is left nowhere and everywhere within the ontological premises through which U.S. empire orients, imagines, and critiques itself ”; “ideas of Indians and Indianness have served as the ontological ground through which U.S. settler colonialism enacts itself ” (xix).

#### The alternative is total refusal. That means rejecting fantasies of institutional benevolence and quick-fix solutions.

Grande 18 – Sandy Grande, Professor of Education and Director of the Center for the Critical Study of Race and Ethnicity at Connecticut University, 2018 (“Refusing the Settler Society of the Spectacle,” Handbook of Indigenous Education, Published by Springer, Edited by Elizabeth Ann McKinley and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ISBN 978-981-10-1839-8, pp. 1-17)

Indigenous Refusal and the Twenty-First-Century Ghost Dance

As articulated by Indigenous scholars, Julian Brave NoiseCat and Anne Spice, “At Standing Rock, the audacious vision for an indigenous future, handed down from Wounded Knee and global in force, is alive and well.” In order for this “audacious vision” to be fully realized, it is up to all of us to see and work past the glimmer of spectacle, to resist the cult of the immediate, and to do the more deliberative work of history, earnestly connecting past with present. This requires a collective refusal to participate in the theater of cruelty and choose instead to dismantle the settler consciousness that enables it. Such efforts entail working beyond and below the surface, keeping an eye toward the process by which relations of mutuality are either abandoned or eroded by relations of capital – to in effect, decolonize.

Within this struggle, Indigenous nations, peoples, and knowledge are crucial, not because they hold any magic or “ancient wisdom” but because they represent the most enduring and resilient entities that present a competing moral vision to the settler order. Despite myriad struggles, Native peoples have maintained their autonomy and political sovereignty for centuries, confounding the infamous Thatcherism, “There is No Alternative.” And insofar as current patterns of thinking and being have contributed to the existing political, economic, and environmental crises of our time, it is incumbent upon all of us to protect the complex ecologies that sustain Indigenous communities. That said, I want to be clear that by “protect” I do not mean appropriate, mimic, exploit, or put on display. I mean to create and sustain the conditions under which such communities continue to survive and thrive.

Settlers desiring to be accomplices in the decolonial project need to assume the stance of advocate (not spectator) for Indigenous rights and perhaps more importantly, for whitestream transformation. Within activist spaces this means demonstrating a willingness to stand on the front lines to help contain the metastasizing neoliberalism. As argued by Glen Coulthard (2014), “For Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die” (p. 173). This also necessarily demands a prior rejection of liberalism. Particularly now, as pundits and scholars begin to dissect the “success” of #NoDAPL, it is important to register the long-understood failures of liberal politics and belief in reform – of the liberal subject, of capital, of the state – through “peaceful” action and “rational” discourse. Any movement that does not first recognize the irrationality and violence of the settler state and its envoys is by definition anti-Indian.

It means recognizing that “the movement” is not (only) about the present but rather demands both history and a ground(ing) that is both literal and metaphoric. The guiding vision is not human centered or derived but rather comes from land and all that sustains it. The less quoted, second half of Coulthard’s (2014) assertion is, “for capitalism to die, we must actively participate in the construction of Indigenous alternatives to it” (p. 173). The Indigenous project is not defined by liberal or juridical notions of justice. Indeed, liberalism’s reliance on the fantasy of the benevolent state and its refusal to relinquish the idea of a “new social order, built in the shell of the old,” ultimately solidifies the settler state. The so-called progressive movements built on liberal ideas give rise to organizing strategies held captive to the “reign of the perpetual present.” Such politics were epitomized by the Occupy Wall movement – its never-ending process of agenda building, leaderless and lateral structure and non-prescriptive slogan, “What is Our One Demand?” – all suggest an allegiance to the liberal ideal of freedom as individual liberty.

In contrast, Indigenous struggle is built on history and ancestral knowledge. It is informed by original teachings and the responsibility to uphold relations of mutuality. Attention to these teachings requires resistance and refusal of the fast, quick, sleek, and spectacular in favor of the steady, tried, consistent, and intergenerational. It is the replacement of “to each his own” and “may the best man win” with “we are all related.” As Debord observes, the spectacle is “the reigning social organization of a paralyzed history, of a paralyzed memory, of an abandonment of any history founded in historical time” and, thus, “is a false consciousness of time” (158). We must refuse this false consciousness.

In the end, refracting liberal, social justice movements through an Indigenous lens compels us to be attentive to both the larger ontological and epistemic underpinnings of settler colonialism; to discern the relationship between our struggles and others; to disrupt complicity and ignite a refusal of the false promises of capitalism. This level of clarity removes the messy and participatory work of agenda setting that liberal movements insist upon, because, the agenda has already been set – a long time ago. It is about land and defense of land. Land is our collective past, our present, and our future. This is our one demand.

#### The role of the ballot is to vote for who best centers indigenous scholarship and resistance-- Any ethical commitment requires that the aff place themselves in the center of Native scholarship and demands.

Carlson 16 (Elizabeth Carlson, PhD, is an Aamitigoozhi, Wemistigosi, and Wasicu (settler Canadian and American), whose Swedish, Saami, German, Scots-Irish, and English ancestors have settled on lands of the Anishinaabe and Omaha Nations which were unethically obtained by the US government. Elizabeth lives on Treaty 1 territory, the traditional lands of the Anishinaabe, Nehiyawak, Dakota, Nakota, and Red River Metis peoples currently occupied by the city of Winnipeg, the province of Manitoba, (2016): Anti-colonial methodologies and practices for settler colonial studies, Settler Colonial Studies, DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2016.1241213) // recut SJ DL

Arlo Kempf says that ‘where anticolonialism is a tool used to invoke resistance for the colonized, it is a tool used to invoke accountability for the colonizer’.**42** Relational accountability should be a cornerstone of settler colonial studies.I believe settler colonial studies and scholars should ethically and overtly place themselves in relationship to the centuries of Indigenous oral, and later academic scholarship that conceptualizes and resists settler colonialism without necessarily using the term: SCT may be revelatory to many settler scholars, but Indigenous people have been speaking for a long time about colonial continuities based on their lived experiences. Some SCTs have sought to connect with these discussions and to foreground Indigenous resistance, survival and agency. Others, however, seem to use SCT as a pathway to explain the colonial encounter without engaging with Indigenous people and experiences – either on the grounds that this structural analysis already conceptually explains Indigenous experience, or because Indigenous resistance is rendered invisible.43 Ethical settler colonial theory (SCT) would recognize the foundational role Indigenous scholarship has in critiques of settler colonialism. It would acknowledge the limitations of settler scholars in articulating settler colonialism without dialogue with Indigenous peoplesand take as its norm making this dialogue evident. In my view, it is critical that we not view settler colonial studies as a new or unique field being established, which would enact a discovery narrative and contribute to Indigenous erasure, but rather take a longer and broade\_r view. Indigenous oral and academic scholars are indeed the originators of this work. This space is not empty. Of course, powerful forces of socialization and discipline impact scholars in the academy. There is much pressure to claim unique space, to establish a name for ourselves, and to make academic discoveries. I am suggesting that settler colonial studies and anti-colonial scholars resist these hegemonic pressures and maintain a higher anti-colonial ethic. As has been argued, ‘the theory itself places ethical demands on us as settlers, including the demand that we actively refuse its potential to re-empower our own academic voices and to marginalize Indigenous resistance’.44 As settler scholars, we can reposition our work relationally and contextually with humi- lity and accountability. We can centre Indigenous resistance, knowledges, and scholarship in our work, and contextualize our work in Indigenous sovereignty. We can view oral Indigenous scholarship as legitimate scholarly sources. We can acknowledge explicitly and often the Indigenous traditions of resistance and scholarship that have taught us and pro- vided the foundations for our work. If our work has no foundation of Indigenous scholarship and mentorship, I believe our contributions to settler colonial studies are even more deeply problematic.

#### The aff wont happen in the real world – reps should come first

### Advantage CP

#### Governments ought to

#### ---restore habitats,

#### ---create protected areas,

#### ---practice sustainable agriculture.

#### Solves the BioD impact – the net benefit is the turn on case

AC Torres 16 [Phil Biologist, conservationist, science advocate & educator. 2 years based in Amazon rainforest, now exploring science around the world. “[Biodiversity Loss: An Existential Risk Comparable to Climate Change](http://futureoflife.org/2016/05/20/biodiversity-loss/)” <http://futureoflife.org/2016/05/20/biodiversity-loss/>.]

According to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, the two greatest existential threats to human civilization stem from climate change and nuclear weapons. Both pose clear and present dangers to the perpetuation of our species, and the increasingly dire climate situation and nuclear arsenal modernizations in the United States and Russia were the most significant reasons why the Bulletin [decided](http://thebulletin.org/press-release/doomsday-clock-hands-remain-unchanged-despite-iran-deal-and-paris-talks9122) to keep the Doomsday Clock set at three minutes before midnight earlier this year.

But there is another existential threat that the Bulletin overlooked in its Doomsday Clock announcement: biodiversity loss. This phenomenon is often identified as one of the many consequences of climate change, and this is of course correct. But biodiversity loss is also a contributing factor behind climate change. For example, deforestation in the Amazon rainforest and elsewhere reduces the amount of carbon dioxide removed from the atmosphere by plants, a natural process that mitigates the effects of climate change. So the causal relation between climate change and biodiversity loss is bidirectional.

Furthermore, there are myriad phenomena that are driving biodiversity loss in addition to climate change. Other causes include ecosystem fragmentation, invasive species, pollution, oxygen depletion caused by fertilizers running off into ponds and streams, overfishing, human overpopulation, and overconsumption. All of these phenomena have a direct impact on the health of the biosphere, and all would conceivably persist even if the problem of climate change were somehow immediately solved.

Such considerations warrant decoupling biodiversity loss from climate change, because the former has been consistently subsumed by the latter as a mere effect. Biodiversity loss is a distinct environmental crisis with its own unique syndrome of causes, consequences, and solutions—such as restoring habitats, creating protected areas (“biodiversity parks”), and practicing sustainable agriculture.

Deforestation of the Amazon rainforest decreases natural mitigation of CO2 and destroys the habitats of many endangered species.

The sixth extinction.

The repercussions of biodiversity loss are potentially as severe as those anticipated from climate change, or even a nuclear conflict. For example, according to a 2015 [study](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26601195) published in Science Advances, the best available evidence reveals “an exceptionally rapid loss of biodiversity over the last few centuries, indicating that a sixth mass extinction is already under way.” This conclusion holds, even on the most optimistic assumptions about the background rate of species losses and the current rate of vertebrate extinctions. The group classified as “vertebrates” includes mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, and all other creatures with a backbone.

The article argues that, using its conservative figures, the average loss of vertebrate species was 100 times higher in the past century relative to the background rate of extinction. (Other scientists have suggested that the current extinction rate could be as much as 10,000 times higher than normal.) As the authors write, “The evidence is incontrovertible that recent extinction rates are unprecedented in human history and highly unusual in Earth’s history.” Perhaps the term “Big Six” should enter the popular lexicon—to add the current extinction to the previous “Big Five,” the last of which wiped out the dinosaurs 66 million years ago.

But the concept of biodiversity encompasses more than just the total number of species on the planet. It also refers to the size of different populations of species. With respect to this phenomenon, multiple studies have confirmed that wild populations around the world are dwindling and disappearing at an alarming rate. For example, the 2010 [Global Biodiversity Outlook](https://www.cbd.int/gbo3) report found that the population of wild vertebrates living in the tropics dropped by 59 percent between 1970 and 2006.

The report also found that the population of farmland birds in Europe has dropped by 50 percent since 1980; bird populations in the grasslands of North America declined by almost 40 percent between 1968 and 2003; and the population of birds in North American arid lands has fallen by almost 30 percent since the 1960s. Similarly, 42 percent of all amphibian species (a type of vertebrate that is sometimes called an “ecological indicator”) are undergoing population declines, and 23 percent of all plant species “are estimated to be threatened with extinction.” [Other studies](http://commondreams.org/views/2016/02/10/biodiversity-loss-and-doomsday-clock-invisible-disaster-almost-no-one-talking-about) have found that some 20 percent of all reptile species, 48 percent of the world’s primates, and 50 percent of freshwater turtles are threatened. Underwater, about 10 percent of all coral reefs are now dead, and another 60 percent are in danger of dying.

Consistent with these data, the 2014 [Living Planet Report](http://bit.ly/1ssxx5m) shows that the global population of wild vertebrates dropped by 52 percent in only four decades—from 1970 to 2010. While biologists often avoid projecting historical trends into the future because of the complexity of ecological systems, it’s tempting to extrapolate this figure to, say, the year 2050, which is four decades from 2010. As it happens, a 2006[study](http://science.sciencemag.org/content/314/5800/787) published in Science does precisely this: It projects past trends of marine biodiversity loss into the 21st century, concluding that, unless significant changes are made to patterns of human activity, there will be virtually no more wild-caught seafood by 2048.

48% of the world’s primates are threatened with extinction.

Catastrophic consequences for civilization.

The consequences of this rapid pruning of the evolutionary tree of life extend beyond the obvious. There could be surprising effects of biodiversity loss that scientists are unable to fully anticipate in advance. For example, prior research has shown that localized ecosystems can undergo abrupt and irreversible shifts when they reach a tipping point. According to a 2012 [paper](http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v486/n7401/full/nature11018.html) published in Nature, there are reasons for thinking that we may be approaching a tipping point of this sort in the global ecosystem, beyond which the consequences could be catastrophic for civilization.

As the authors write, a planetary-scale transition could precipitate “substantial losses of ecosystem services required to sustain the human population.” An ecosystem service is any ecological process that benefits humanity, such as food production and crop pollination. If the global ecosystem were to cross a tipping point and substantial ecosystem services were lost, the results could be “widespread social unrest, economic instability, and loss of human life.” According to Missouri Botanical Garden ecologist Adam Smith, one of the paper’s co-authors, this could occur in a matter of decades—far more quickly than most of the expected consequences of climate change, yet equally destructive.

Biodiversity loss is a “threat multiplier” that, by pushing societies to the brink of collapse, will exacerbate existing conflicts and introduce entirely new struggles between state and non-state actors. Indeed, it could even fuel the rise of terrorism. (After all, climate change has been [linked](http://thebulletin.org/climate-change-and-syrian-uprising) to the emergence of ISIS in Syria, and multiple high-ranking US officials, such as former US Defense Secretary [Chuck Hagel](http://www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/603441)and CIA director [John Brennan](http://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/cnsnewscom-staff/cia-director-cites-impact-climate-change-deeper-cause-global), have affirmed that climate change and terrorism are connected.)

The reality is that we are entering the sixth mass extinction in the 3.8-billion-year history of life on Earth, and the impact of this event could be felt by civilization “in as little as three human lifetimes,” as the aforementioned 2012 Nature paper notes. Furthermore, the widespread decline of biological populations could plausibly initiate a dramatic transformation of the global ecosystem on an even faster timescale: perhaps a single human lifetime.

The unavoidable conclusion is that biodiversity loss constitutes an existential threat in its own right. As such, it ought to be considered alongside climate change and nuclear weapons as one of the most significant contemporary risks to human prosperity and survival.

## Case

#### Vote neg on presumption – mere recognition solves nothing

Mathilde Dorcadie 18 [Mathilde Dorcadie is editor of the French version of Equal Times. For several years she worked as a correspondent for French-language media in Brazil and the Middle East. As a freelance journalist, she worked for Agence France Presse as well as various television channels, magazines and newspapers. “New Index Shows Rising Influence of Giant Firms in Repressive Labor Policies” Equal Times, JUNE 11, 2018 https://inequality.org/research/big-corporations-growing-role-in-regressive-labor-laws-around-the-world/]

“Workers’ right to strike is recognized in virtually every country in the world. The right is even enshrined in the national constitutions of some 90 countries,” notes ITUC deputy president Karl-Petter Thorwaldsson. And yet, according to the Global Rights Index, violations of the right to strike were recorded in 87 percent of the countries studied in 2017.

### NC – BioD

#### 60% of the world’s wildlife have been lost since 1970

AC Torres 16 [Phil Biologist, conservationist, science advocate & educator. 2 years based in Amazon rainforest, now exploring science around the world. “[Biodiversity Loss: An Existential Risk Comparable to Climate Change](http://futureoflife.org/2016/05/20/biodiversity-loss/)” <http://futureoflife.org/2016/05/20/biodiversity-loss/>.]

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Furthermore, there are myriad phenomena that are driving biodiversity loss in addition to climate change. Other causes include ecosystem fragmentation, invasive species, pollution, oxygen depletion caused by fertilizers running off into ponds and streams, overfishing, human overpopulation, and overconsumption. All of these phenomena have a direct impact on the health of the biosphere, and all would conceivably persist even if the problem of climate change were somehow immediately solved.

Such considerations warrant decoupling biodiversity loss from climate change, because the former has been consistently subsumed by the latter as a mere effect. Biodiversity loss is a distinct environmental crisis with its own unique syndrome of causes, consequences, and solutions—such as restoring habitats, creating protected areas (“biodiversity parks”), and practicing sustainable agriculture.

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The report also found that the population of farmland birds in Europe has dropped by 50 percent since 1980; bird populations in the grasslands of North America declined by almost 40 percent between 1968 and 2003; and the population of birds in North American arid lands has fallen by almost 30 percent since the 1960s. Similarly, 42 percent of all amphibian species (a type of vertebrate that is sometimes called an “ecological indicator”) are undergoing population declines, and 23 percent of all plant species “are estimated to be threatened with extinction.” [Other studies](http://commondreams.org/views/2016/02/10/biodiversity-loss-and-doomsday-clock-invisible-disaster-almost-no-one-talking-about) have found that some 20 percent of all reptile species, 48 percent of the world’s primates, and 50 percent of freshwater turtles are threatened. Underwater, about 10 percent of all coral reefs are now dead, and another 60 percent are in danger of dying.

Consistent with these data, the 2014 [Living Planet Report](http://bit.ly/1ssxx5m) shows that the global population of wild vertebrates dropped by 52 percent in only four decades—from 1970 to 2010. While biologists often avoid projecting historical trends into the future because of the complexity of ecological systems, it’s tempting to extrapolate this figure to, say, the year 2050, which is four decades from 2010. As it happens, a 2006[study](http://science.sciencemag.org/content/314/5800/787) published in Science does precisely this: It projects past trends of marine biodiversity loss into the 21st century, concluding that, unless significant changes are made to patterns of human activity, there will be virtually no more wild-caught seafood by 2048.

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Catastrophic consequences for civilization.

The consequences of this rapid pruning of the evolutionary tree of life extend beyond the obvious. There could be surprising effects of biodiversity loss that scientists are unable to fully anticipate in advance. For example, prior research has shown that localized ecosystems can undergo abrupt and irreversible shifts when they reach a tipping point. According to a 2012 [paper](http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/v486/n7401/full/nature11018.html) published in Nature, there are reasons for thinking that we may be approaching a tipping point of this sort in the global ecosystem, beyond which the consequences could be catastrophic for civilization.

As the authors write, a planetary-scale transition could precipitate “substantial losses of ecosystem services required to sustain the human population.” An ecosystem service is any ecological process that benefits humanity, such as food production and crop pollination. If the global ecosystem were to cross a tipping point and substantial ecosystem services were lost, the results could be “widespread social unrest, economic instability, and loss of human life.” According to Missouri Botanical Garden ecologist Adam Smith, one of the paper’s co-authors, this could occur in a matter of decades—far more quickly than most of the expected consequences of climate change, yet equally destructive.

Biodiversity loss is a “threat multiplier” that, by pushing societies to the brink of collapse, will exacerbate existing conflicts and introduce entirely new struggles between state and non-state actors. Indeed, it could even fuel the rise of terrorism. (After all, climate change has been [linked](http://thebulletin.org/climate-change-and-syrian-uprising) to the emergence of ISIS in Syria, and multiple high-ranking US officials, such as former US Defense Secretary [Chuck Hagel](http://www.defense.gov/News-Article-View/Article/603441)and CIA director [John Brennan](http://www.cnsnews.com/news/article/cnsnewscom-staff/cia-director-cites-impact-climate-change-deeper-cause-global), have affirmed that climate change and terrorism are connected.)

The reality is that we are entering the sixth mass extinction in the 3.8-billion-year history of life on Earth, and the impact of this event could be felt by civilization “in as little as three human lifetimes,” as the aforementioned 2012 Nature paper notes. Furthermore, the widespread decline of biological populations could plausibly initiate a dramatic transformation of the global ecosystem on an even faster timescale: perhaps a single human lifetime.

The unavoidable conclusion is that biodiversity loss constitutes an existential threat in its own right. As such, it ought to be considered alongside climate change and nuclear weapons as one of the most significant contemporary risks to human prosperity and survival.

#### So many alt causes – Other countries, CC, ag, coal and steel production, water contamination.

#### SUPER non-unique – BioD has been lost on a MUCH larger scope than the aff can solve

AC Torres 16 [Phil Biologist, conservationist, science advocate & educator. 2 years based in Amazon rainforest, now exploring science around the world. “[Biodiversity Loss: An Existential Risk Comparable to Climate Change](http://futureoflife.org/2016/05/20/biodiversity-loss/)” <http://futureoflife.org/2016/05/20/biodiversity-loss/>.]

According to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, the two greatest existential threats to human civilization stem from climate change and nuclear weapons. Both pose clear and present dangers to the perpetuation of our species, and the increasingly dire climate situation and nuclear arsenal modernizations in the United States and Russia were the most significant reasons why the Bulletin [decided](http://thebulletin.org/press-release/doomsday-clock-hands-remain-unchanged-despite-iran-deal-and-paris-talks9122) to keep the Doomsday Clock set at three minutes before midnight earlier this year.

But there is another existential threat that the Bulletin overlooked in its Doomsday Clock announcement: biodiversity loss. This phenomenon is often identified as one of the many consequences of climate change, and this is of course correct. But biodiversity loss is also a contributing factor behind climate change. For example, deforestation in the Amazon rainforest and elsewhere reduces the amount of carbon dioxide removed from the atmosphere by plants, a natural process that mitigates the effects of climate change. So the causal relation between climate change and biodiversity loss is bidirectional.

Furthermore, there are myriad phenomena that are driving biodiversity loss in addition to climate change. Other causes include ecosystem fragmentation, invasive species, pollution, oxygen depletion caused by fertilizers running off into ponds and streams, overfishing, human overpopulation, and overconsumption. All of these phenomena have a direct impact on the health of the biosphere, and all would conceivably persist even if the problem of climate change were somehow immediately solved.

Such considerations warrant decoupling biodiversity loss from climate change, because the former has been consistently subsumed by the latter as a mere effect. Biodiversity loss is a distinct environmental crisis with its own unique syndrome of causes, consequences, and solutions—such as restoring habitats, creating protected areas (“biodiversity parks”), and practicing sustainable agriculture.

Deforestation of the Amazon rainforest decreases natural mitigation of CO2 and destroys the habitats of many endangered species.

The sixth extinction.

The repercussions of biodiversity loss are potentially as severe as those anticipated from climate change, or even a nuclear conflict. For example, according to a 2015 [study](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/26601195) published in Science Advances, the best available evidence reveals “an exceptionally rapid loss of biodiversity over the last few centuries, indicating that a sixth mass extinction is already under way.” This conclusion holds, even on the most optimistic assumptions about the background rate of species losses and the current rate of vertebrate extinctions. The group classified as “vertebrates” includes mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, and all other creatures with a backbone.

The article argues that, using its conservative figures, the average loss of vertebrate species was 100 times higher in the past century relative to the background rate of extinction. (Other scientists have suggested that the current extinction rate could be as much as 10,000 times higher than normal.) As the authors write, “The evidence is incontrovertible that recent extinction rates are unprecedented in human history and highly unusual in Earth’s history.” Perhaps the term “Big Six” should enter the popular lexicon—to add the current extinction to the previous “Big Five,” the last of which wiped out the dinosaurs 66 million years ago.

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#### Everyone knows the BioD impact is a joke – here’s a card proving that

Hance 18 Jeremy Hance at the Guardian, interviewing José M. Montoya from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique at the University Paul Sabatier and internally citing Ian Donohue from the School of Natural Sciences at Trinity College Dublin and Stuart L. Pimm from the Nicholas School of the Environment at Duke University. [Could biodiversity destruction lead to a global tipping point? 1-16-2018, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/radical-conservation/2018/jan/16/biodiversity-extinction-tipping-point-planetary-boundary]

But what’s arguably most fascinating about this event – known as the Permian-Triassic extinction or more poetically, the Great Dying – is the fact that anything survived at all. Life, it seems, is so ridiculously adaptable that not only did thousands of species make it through whatever killed off nearly everything (no one knows for certain though theories abound) but, somehow, after millions of years life even recovered and went on to write new tales. Even as the Permian-Triassic extinction event shows the fragility of life, it also proves its resilience in the long-term. The lessons of such mass extinctions – five to date and arguably a sixth happening as I write – inform science today. Given that extinction levels are currently 1,000 (some even say 10,000) times the background rate, researchers have long worried about our current destruction of biodiversity – and what that may mean for our future Earth and ourselves. In 2009, a group of researchers identified nine global boundaries for the planet that if passed could theoretically push the Earth into an uninhabitable state for our species. These global boundaries include climate change, freshwater use, ocean acidification and, yes, biodiversity loss (among others). The group has since updated the terminology surrounding biodiversity, now calling it “biosphere integrity,” but that hasn’t spared it from critique. A paper last year in Trends in Ecology & Evolution scathingly attacked the idea of any global biodiversity boundary. “It makes no sense that there exists a tipping point of biodiversity loss beyond which the Earth will collapse,” said co-author and ecologist, José Montoya, with Paul Sabatier Univeristy in France. “There is no rationale for this.” Montoya wrote the paper along with Ian Donohue, an ecologist at Trinity College in Ireland and Stuart Pimm, one of the world’s leading experts on extinctions, with Duke University in the US. Montoya, Donohue and Pimm argue that there isn’t evidence of a point at which loss of species leads to ecosystem collapse, globally or even locally. If the planet didn’t collapse after the Permian-Triassic extinction event, it won’t collapse now – though our descendants may well curse us for the damage we’ve done. Instead, according to the researchers, every loss of species counts. But the damage is gradual and incremental, not a sudden plunge. Ecosystems, according to them, slowly degrade but never fail outright. “Of more than 600 experiments of biodiversity effects on various functions, none showed a collapse,” Montoya said. “In general, the loss of species has a detrimental effect on ecosystem functions...We progressively lose pollination services, water quality, plant biomass, and many other important functions as we lose species. But we never observe a critical level of biodiversity over which functions collapse.”

#### The internal link for “solving” bioD is that they use less land BUT that just means that they delay the inevitable taking over of those lands as the population grows

AC Tian et al 21-- Tian, Zhixi [principal investigator, Institute of Genetics and Developmental Biology and former research geneticist at Purdue], et al. "Designing future crops: challenges and strategies for sustainable agriculture." The Plant Journal 105.5 (2021): 1165-1178. (AG DebateDrills)

From the perspective of human evolution, each period of rapid population growth, such as during the Neolithic agricultural revolution, which began at about 8000 BC, the hydro agricultural or irrigation revolutions in the Near East, which began about 3000 BC, and the medieval and modern agricultural periods, which began about 1000 AD, benefited from an advance in agriculture (Taiz, 2013; Wallace et al., 2018). The recent rapid population growth during the past 300 years, in contrast, mainly resulted from the Industrial Revolution, which began in Britain about 1760. The Industrial Revolution greatly increased the range of human activities and accelerated farmland expansion. In 1700, it was reported that nearly 95% of Earth’s ice-free land consisted of wildlands and semi-natural anthromes; however, by 2000, ~55% of these regions were used as arable land (Figure 1a, data from https://ourworldindata.org/). The Industrial Revolution also gave birth to new technologies and production systems in agriculture, such as the application of larger irrigation systems, and more fertilizers and pesticides. In the 1960s, semi-dwarf wheat and rice varieties were introduced. These semi-dwarf crops exhibit beneficial characteristics, such as improved response to fertilizer input, lodging resistance and enhanced light utilization (Hedden, 2003; Wallace et al., 2018). Along with the fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation systems made possible by the Industrial Revolution, semi-dwarf crops were quickly adopted and resulted in a significant increase in total grain production globally. This big leap in agriculture was known as the ‘Green Revolution’ (Khush, 2001). Indeed, statistical data have revealed that the average daily food supply per person (in terms of calories) has doubled since the middle of the 19th century (Figure 1b, data from https://ourworld indata.org/). It is estimated that the world population will rise to more than 9 billion by 2050 (Alexandratos, 1999; Cassman, 1999), and at that time we will need at least 60% more food than is consumed by humans today. Moreover, our population will continuously increase, reaching over 11 billion by 2100 (Figure 1a, data from https://ourworldindata.org/). How to feed the increasing population is a challenge facing the whole world (Tilman et al., 2001; Godfray et al., 2010; Foley et al., 2011; Wallace et al., 2018). A simple solution to feed a population of 9 billion is to constantly turn wild habitats into farmland. However, this type of expansion is unrealistic as most of the world’s icefree and non-barren land area has been exhausted, and much of the rest is unlikely to sustain high yields (Cassman, 1999). More importantly, intact forests have been known to play essential roles in protecting the environment, such as storing fresh water, decreasing flooding and regenerating fertile soils. Clearing of forests will result in prohibitive ecological costs, such as loss of biodiversity and greenhouse gas emissions. It was reported that, due to agriculture expansion, ~30% of all plant species will become extinct (Taiz, 2013). The destruction of tropical forests releases about 1.1 9 1012 tons of carbon per year, which accounts for 12% of total anthropogenic CO2 emissions (Friedlingstein et al., 2010).

#### Shady card cutting is bad – literally says that it won’t happen right after they stopped highlighting lol

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### NC – Food defense

#### Mismatched internal links – their internal link card is about how it helps US ag, and their impact is about how the US should be wary of other countries with a lack of ag

#### Reject Castellaw – he literally owns a farm and this is a piece trying to convince people to give more money to farms

### NC – Food Turn

#### High food prices solve rural poverty in India – reject other studies, they don’t assume wage adjustment

Jacoby, Agriculture and Rural Development Unit, Development Research Group @ The World Bank, 13

(Hana, Food Prices, Wages, and Welfare in Rural India, The World Bank Development Research Group Agriculture and Rural Development Team)

Aside from direct income effects for consumers and producers, as in the textbook partial equilibrium analysis (e.g., Singh, Squire, Strauss, 1986, Deaton, 1989), higher agricultural prices, in principle, induce three types of indirect, or general equilibrium, effects concomitant with higher wages: (1) higher labor income; (2) lower capital (land) income due to higher labor costs; (3) higher prices for nontradables. To account for these channels in a manner that is both theoretically coherent and transparent, I integrate a standard three-sector, specific factors, general equilibrium model of wage determination (Jones, 1971,1975) into an otherwise conventional (first-order) household welfare change calculation.4 I use this generalization of Deaton (1989) to examine the distributional impacts of higher agricultural prices in rural India. Appealing to the widely noted geographical immobility of labor across rural India,5 I apply the specific factors model at the district level, treating each of these administrative units for theoretical purposes as a separate country with its own labor force but with open commodity trade across its borders.6 Thus, I allow that the elasticity of the rural wage with respect to an index of agricultural prices is not a single number for India as a whole, but varies with the structure of the particular (district) labor market. Moreover, under certain assumptions on the technology and preferences, I obtain a readily interpretable closed-form solution for this elasticity as a function of parameters that I can easily calculate from microdata. My empirical analysis shows that nominal wages for manual labor across rural India respond elastically to higher agricultural prices. In particular, wages rose faster in the districts growing relatively more of the crops that experienced comparatively large run-ups in price over the 2004-5 to 2009-10 period. Moreover, the magnitude of these wage responses is broadly consistent with a specific-factors model in which labor is perfectly mobile across production sectors. Indeed, I also explore a version of the theoretical model in which labor markets are segmented so that workers cannot shift from agriculture to the services or manufacturing sectors. This alternative labor market assumption turns out to have significantly different welfare implications in the Indian context than the unsegmented case. Fortunately, it has different empirical implications as well: Under labor market segmentation, nonagricultural wages (for manual labor) respond to changes in agricultural prices with a relatively low elasticity, as intersectoral spillovers are muted, if not nugatory. The evidence, however, is inconsistent with this strong form of segmentation. Existing studies of the relationship between agricultural commodity prices and rural wages are based on aggregate time series data from countries that were effectively autarkic in the main food staple (pre-1980s Bangladesh in Boyce and Ravallion, 1991, and Rashid, 2002; the Philippines in Lasco et al., 2008), thus raising serious endogeneity concerns. A closely related and much larger literature based on micro-data considers the labor market effects of trade liberalization (see Goldberg and Pavcnik, 2007, for a review).7 My estimation strategy follows the “differential exposure approach” employed in studies of the local wage impacts of tariff reform (most recently in Topalova, 2010, McCaig, 2011, and Kovak, 2011). Instead of considering the interaction between changes in industry protection rates and local industry composition (as in these papers), I exploit the huge variation across Indian districts in the crop composition of agricultural production coupled with differences in the magnitude of wholesale price changes across crops. Of course, price changes observed in local domestic markets cannot be treated as exogenous and must be instrumented for. In rural India, the elastic rural wage response to changes in agriculture’s terms of trade has striking distributional implications. Higher food prices, rather than reducing the welfare of the rural poor as indicated by the conventional approach, which ignores wage impacts, would actually benefit both rich and poor alike, even though the latter are typically not net sellers of food.8

#### Poverty in India drives the Naxal insurgency – causes nuclear war

Ehtisham, MSc in Defence and Strategic studies, 13

(Hasan, Is India’s nuclear arsenal safe?, http://blogs.tribune.com.pk/story/18875/is-indian-nuclear-arsenal-safe/)

There are huge nuclear security issues in India because it is prone to insurgent groups and separatist rebels. According to the Daily Mail’s reports, most of India’s top nuclear facilities are located in exceedingly Naxal terrorist struck districts of India or in the “Red Corridor”. Some of the sensitive nuclear installations situated in this “Red Corridor” are, Uranium Corporation Of India Limited, Talcher Heavy Water Plant, Institute of Physics, Ceramatic Fuel Fabrication Facility, Nuclear Fuel Complex, Seha Institute of Nuclear Physics, Atomic Minerals Directorate and many more. Around 90% of the Red Corridor areas are a ‘No Go Zones’ for the Indian troops and Air Force. The Naxal rebels are in full control and there is no writ of the Indian government in these areas. The shocking aspect of Daily Mail’s report is that some Indian nuclear scientists are reportedly assisting Naxal rebels to learn to utilise and transport uranium. On the other hand, many of India’s missile facilities are located in either the Red Corridor or in the areas controlled by Hindu radicals and militant organisations. There are reported cases of the abduction of nuclear scientists from these areas, which is a very disturbing situation with respect to the safety and security of nuclear weapons. Any nuclear accident in India could have a serious impact on its neighbouring countries and hence, the insufficient safety and security measures are of great concern to Pakistan. Just imagine if a nuclear weapon fell in the hands of Indian terrorists; this could lead to an accidental nuclear war between Pakistan and India. Likewise, an accident at a nuclear power plant could release radiation that may not respect any borders.

### NC – Food Turn

#### High food prices reduce opium production in Afghanistan – key to defeating the Taliban

Huschke, Mayme and Herb Frank Fund Research Fellow @ the Streit Council, 11

(Griffin, ISAF Loves High Grocery Bills: The Silver Lining in the Upcoming Food Riots, <http://blog.streitcouncil.org/2011/01/10/isaf-loves-high-grocery-bills-the-silver-lining-in-the-upcoming-food-riots/>)

Trying to put a positive spin on higher food prices takes us to the southern poppy fields of Afghanistan. As mentioned below, the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan cultivates more poppy than all other countries combined (they’re pretty good at growing pot, too), and has the highest relative rates of opium addiction in the world. Poppy cultivation, production, refinement, and trafficking all provide a major sources of funding for the Taliban and Afghan warlords, and the UN Office of Drugs and Crime has linked high areas of insecurity with the densest areas of opium cultivation. In some of the poorest places in the south, poppy has become a kind of currency of its own. The thing is, a lot of poppy farmers don’t actually want to grow poppy. Most devout farmers follow an interpretation of the Koran that prohibits opiates, and have seen the lives of their friends and family devastated by addiction. They also understand its illegal, and don’t want to run afoul of ISAF and Afghan forces. But for some, it’s the only living they can make–much like Wallace from The Wire . Others are simply terrorized into growing drugs for the Taliban. In other places, the soil is too poor and barren to support any other crop but the sand-loving poppy or that bushels of poppy are used for interest payments on loans. NATO officials have long been frustrated by a number of obstacles to successfully combating poppy growth. Poppy cultivation was initially dismissed by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld in the aftermath of the ISAF invasion (which kept the Secretary’s record of pithily dismissing really important things intact). When poppy cultivation and heroin production became too large to ignore, ISAF officials tried a number of tactics to halt the massive increase in growth,

including alternative livelihoods, interdiction, eradication, increased law enforcement, and better education. It didn’t really work. In fact, the major determent to poppy cultivation rates since the U.S.-led invasion in 2001, was the spike in food prices in 2007-2008. For the first time in a long time, desperately poor Afghan farmers could get more at market for growing grains than poppy, and planted their crops accordingly. Where the ISAF program failed, the invisible hand succeeded. The ghost of Adam Smith was also present in supply factors contributing to poppy reduction. The Taliban had grown so much poppy in the previous years that they had exceeded world demand for heroin. Yes, that’s right, the Taliban had made more heroin, the most addictive drug on the planet, than world demand. And while the Taliban doesn’t really get women’s rights or the innate human desire for music, they sure understand basic economics. The oversupply of heroin caused prices to fall, and it was cutting into the insurgents’ bottom line. So in 2007, instead of intimidating, terrorizing, and forcing farmers to grow poppy, which would drive prices even lower, the Taliban let people grow grains and pay off debts in other ways. Since then, opium production has declined, and several of the ISAF’s tactics, especially peer-pressure from local shuras (local governing religious councils), has played a role in keeping opium production down. There’s also simply more areas under government control, which makes it easier to enforce the domestic poppy ban. In the end though, the UN concludes that market factors play the largest part in discouraging farmers from poppy cultivation. And for hundreds of service men and women working to fight opium production in Afghanistan right now, higher food prices probably sound pretty good.

#### Great power war

**Wesley**, Executive Director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy, **10**

(2-25, Michael, Previously he was Professor of International Relations and Director of the Griffith Asia Institute at Griffith University, and a Visiting Fellow at the University of Hong Kong and Sun Yat-Sen University in Guangzhou, China. Prior to this, he was the Assistant Director-General for Transnational Issues at the Office of National Assessments, and a Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of New South Wales, “Stability in Afghanistan: Why it matters,” <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/02/25/A-stable-Afghanistan-Why-we-should-care.aspx>)

Great power competition in the twenty-first century will be different because of the depth and extent of the dependence of national economies on the global economy. National economies are now less self-sufficient and more vulnerable to the disruption of trading and investment relations than at any time in history. What stops great power confrontations getting out of hand these days is not so much the fear of nuclear annihilation as the fear of global economic ruin – and the resulting national ruin. This dynamic has changed the nature of strategic competition towards a competitive manipulation of interdependence. Moscow, in that very Russian way, has made this explicit by trying to perpetuate Europe's reliance on Russian gas. The flip side of Pax Americana is the threat of a crippling blockade against those with whom Washington is displeased. The countervailing impulse is to try to reduce one's rivals' ability to manipulate one's own interdependence. Witness Europe's witless attempts to construct an internal energy market, America's quest for energy independence, and China's decade-long diplomatic campaign to avoid possible containment. There are two regions that have become the focus of this strategic dynamic. Both are vital strategic thoroughfares and resource basins. Both are shatter-zones of smaller, internally fragile states wedged among the Asian giants. They are Central Asia and Southeast Asia. And given where they are located, the stability and independence of these sub-regions is a global public good. The danger is that in the heat of the competition, the great powers will lose sight of this fact. This is why instability and weakness in Afghanistan is so dangerous

– because in the fog of proxy war, intensely jealous great powers will assume their rivals have the upper hand and redouble their own efforts to exert influence and control. China and Russia realised this danger in relation to Central Asia's northern tier in the mid-1990s and eventually created the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. The SCO is founded on a shared fear – the emergence of either Western-leaning democracy or Muslim theocracy in the 'stans – and a shared hope – that Moscow and Beijing can mitigate their strategic competition and collectively reap the gains from Central Asia's resource holdings while directing their strategic attention away from their Central Asian frontiers. But Central Asia's southern tier has benefited from no such clear thinking. Beijing's support for Pakistan has kept India strategically bottled up under the Himalayas for decades, while Indo-Pakistani hostility has led Islamabad to seek strategic depth in Afghanistan. India's response has been to try to deny that strategic depth, and China has every reason to try to block the recent countermove by New Delhi into Afghanistan. This is a complex and dangerous dynamic made chronically unstable by its cyclical structure. To avoid the worst possible outcome, all three rivals must be engaged in the process of building a stable Afghanistan – and collectively guaranteeing it. The most realistic route is to actively involve the SCO in the future of Afghanistan while broadening that organisation to include India and Pakistan. This solution ties the stability of the northern and southern tiers of Central Asia to each other, thereby broadening the stakes of those involved. The one hope and one fear that bind China and Russia together are also remarkably relevant to the SCO's proposed new members. This leaves Southeast Asia. This region has nowhere near the dangerous dynamic or instability of Central Asia, but this does not mean we should take the prospect of great power rivalry to our near north lightly. This is why the engagement of North and South Asia's great powers – and I see the US as a great power in North Asia – in Southeast Asia's institutions of stability and mutual guarantee should be taken so seriously.