#### Text: A just government ought to recognize a conditional right of workers to strike whereby all workers besides for healthcare workers may strike.

Health Care Worker Strikes Fail and Result in Brain Drain.

**Chima 13** Chima, S.C. Global medicine: Is it ethical or morally justifiable for doctors and other healthcare workers to go on strike?. *BMC Med Ethics* **14,** S5 (2013). https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5

It would appear that strikes may have a disproportionatedeleterious impact on doctors and other HCWs when compared to patients. Striking HCWs frequently face a loss of income, job insecurity, and emotional distress, plus long hours of work for those who choose not to participate in the strike action. Further, there could be derangement of working relationships as well as loss of established leadership [[11](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR11), [41](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR41)]. Whether or not their demands are eventually met, doctors who have been involved in strikes usually end up disillusioned and demotivated and many end-up emigrating overseas or relocating within the country thereby leading to either internal or external brain drain. For example, striking doctors in Timaru, New Zealand reported an "overwhelming feeling of complete lack of confidence and trust in the hospital management team" [[11](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR11), [16](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR16), [25](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR25), [55](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR55), [66](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR66)]. The impact of such movements could be as severe as occurred in Malta, where the Maltese medical school lost its GMC accreditation due to a prolonged doctor's strike [[9](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR9)]. It could also lead to a situation where close to 25% of a national doctors threatened to quit their jobs and leave the country unless they received wage increases, as reported recently from the Czech Republic [[16](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR16)]. The brain drain which occurred in Malta, New Zealand and Israel following doctors strikes led to major disruptions in healthcare service delivery in the centers and regions affected [[9](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR9), [14](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/1472-6939-14-S1-S5#ref-CR14)].

#### That kills the philipino economy

Tiglao 1/30 (Getsy, reporter for and op-ed contributor to Manila Bulletin, “Time for an overhaul of labor migration policy,” Manila Bulletin, 1/30/18, <https://news.mb.com.ph/2018/01/30/time-for-an-overhaul-of-labor-migration-policy/>)

President Rodrigo Duterte’s decision to suspend the deployment of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) to Kuwait following reports of abuses on our fellow citizens could not be more apt and timely. The pause should give the government a bit of time to reconsider the “exportation” of its people, a five-decade old policy that is due for a change especially now that the government has been undertaking major economic and political reforms. The thinking should start now for this is the kind of change that will take years to study and implement so as to avoid disruptions to the economy. Certainly, the Philippine economy benefits from the foreign remittances that are being sent in by the 10 million Filipinos abroad. But all the past governments had become too dependent on it, with the development of local industries and businesses neglected and local job creation kept static. The other negative effects of labor migration have not been properly addressed as well. We’re talking about the disintegration of families, the culture of materialism, and the weakening of nationalism that have cropped up as a result of this policy. These are destroying the social fabric of our nation. For decades, everyone has lamented the “brain drain” that we see all around the Philippines. We lack doctors, nurses, medical workers, scientists, engineers, architects, construction workers, domestic helpers, chefs, and hotel and restaurant workers, and other important workers – we’ve been losing them to better-paying jobs abroad. Building a nation needs having all these skilled workers pitching in to help their particular sector of society. Instead of having a role in the development of the country, these workers are using their skills to help other countries, already rich and developed, to become even more prosperous. There is only one sector where we have an oversupply of workers, and these are the career politicians, especially in the Senate and Congress. Unfortunately, these are the people who will never leave for here they get paid very, very well to grandstand and criticize anything who will get them media coverage so they can get reelected again. The Philippine economy has not been able to generate enough jobs for the country’s 40-million labor force. The problem has been exacerbated by the high population growth rate with about 1 million young people entering the work force every year.

#### Prevents sustainable Philippines middle power

Andrew F Cooper & Daniel Flemes 13, Andrew F Cooper is in the Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo, Canada; Daniel Flemes is at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, “Foreign Policy Strategies of Emerging Powers in a Multipolar World: An Introductory Review,” Third World Quarterly, vol. 34, no. 6, 07/2013, pp. 943–962

Significantly, however, this image of marginalisation is contradicted by a revival of interest in the middle power model predicated on alternative sources of capacity and agency in international politics. With a focus on such attributes as GDP and other dimensions of economic and demographic weight, a number of reports has pointed to the appearance of an ‘emerging middle’ in the global economy. Goldman Sachs has conceptualised a Next 11, featuring a lengthy list of countries (Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey and Vietnam59) it deems to possess the economic trajectories to belong in this category. Other analysts from the investment industry have tweaked this concept of a new middle, either as CIVETS (Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa) or MIKT (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea and Turkey).

These attempts to ascribe middle states’ standing on the basis of a quantitative assessment will be refined—and their number narrowed down from a highly diverse assembly of aspirational states to a core group of (potentially) influential alternative actors—by a reassessment of behavioural attributes such as their network-building activities. The need for academic research to conduct a sustained catch-up exercise is invigorated by signs of debate among policy makers about ‘identity dilemmas’ and the need for relocation as middle powers in that smaller pivotal group. This debate is most visible (and contested) in two traditional middle powers, Canada and Australia. The Harper government has embraced the middle power model, albeit with a variant approach that puts the emphasis on instrumental delivery as opposed to declaratory statements. The Gilliard/Rudd government has revitalised the notion of Australia as a ‘creative’ middle state. There is also evidence of a conceptually sophisticated and policy relevant engagement with the middle power model among a wider cluster of states, most concertedly in South Korea and to some extent in Indonesia, Turkey, South Africa, Mexico, Spain and The Netherlands, all of which are jockeying for status and policy space in the new form of selective multilateralism.

What gives middle power some potential added leverage is their shared participation in G20 summitry. Indeed, Cooper’s and Flemes’ articles examine the G20 as the hub site of transition in global governance, with a special focus on mapping how middle powers in the G20 use that forum either to react to or to find space for innovative leadership on an issue-specific basis through advocacy networks of varying memberships. Although the G20 has been cast as a ‘concert of powers’ it is not in any way similar to manifestations of this constellation from previous eras. The simple fact that the G20 is made up of 19 countries—along with the EU—distinguishes it from the 19th or 20th century stereotype of a ‘Big 4’ or 5. By way of contrast the members of the G20 are numerous and diverse. There is neither the image of allies or victors in war, nor the sense of ideological uniformity or anti-revolutionary ethos. In the G20, as the hub of the new order, there are countries from every quadrant of the globe, plus some implicit regional representation.

Cohesiveness within the G20 has not congealed to the point where members of diplomatic groupings address issues such as currency valuations, global imbalances, bank taxes, or austerity versus stimulus in a firm and consistent manner. Schirm’s analysis, for instance, highlights the presence of loose coalitions within the G20, where views on specific issues vary among and between different developed and developing countries, and where like-minded groupings such as the established G8 and BRICS co-mingle on a variety of issue areas.60

While sharing some similar characteristics on the need for rules and order in multilateral institutions, middle powers and/or non-G7/BRICS countries in the G20 differ significantly on their regional roles. This divergence is highlighted in the work done by Bessma Momani and Crystal Ennis in their article on the foreign policy strategies of two influential regional actors, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, since the onset of the 2011 Arab uprisings. Both states have, to various degrees over the years, held a leadership role in the region. While holding divergent preferences on the region’s direction and revolutionary outcomes, the current regional climate provides a renewed impetus for each to exert influence. Neither state expects to use hard power to achieve its foreign policy objectives. Instead, both Saudi Arabia and Turkey use a mixture of public diplomacy, media activity, economic incentives, convening power, and the mobilisation of Islam. Although both countries share similar foreign policy instruments, they vary greatly in how they utilise these instruments and justify their involvement in the region. Saudi Arabia has long considered its custodian role of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina as its de facto guarantee of regional significance, while promulgating its prominent role in the G20, the Organization of Islamic States and the Arab League as examples of regional leadership. In contrast, Turkey has prided itself as being viewed as a modern role model. Its rapidly growing economy, built on modern industrialisation, along with its successful Islamist government, are offered as examples to be emulated. Where Saudi Arabia has been predominately counterrevolutionary, motivated by geopolitical security fears and driven by sectarianism, Turkey has been able to walk a clearer line in support of democratic, albeit Islamist, transitions.

Concluding thoughts

The role of and change of influence by an array of emerging states is much commented upon but far from fully understood. The broad contours of what is innovative about this phenomenon are becoming more apparent: change is taking place under stressful conditions but not from an external war; there is a cluster of candidates that can be considered to be ascending powers; this process of change has dramatic bursts but is of longer duration than might have been expected; a core site of change is taking place under conditions of embedded institutionalisation; and the issue-areas of cooperation and tension are quite wide.

Certainly national interests are more important than values in the changing world order and summits might transform into locations of highly complex cross-issue bargaining. That will increase the need for the coordination of foreign policies at the state level, too. The old value-driven communities are dissolving. The Western camp suffers from the renationalisation of Europe as well as from the political polarisation of the USA and, as demonstrated in this Special Issue, BRICS or the rising South are not less divided. Therefore different conceptions of world order will continuously compete and interact with each other. It is likely that the management of global interdependence will work through convening different groupings for different purposes on an ad hoc basis—an approach for which networked powers have already delivered the blueprint.

That said, what the details of this emerging process will be are far from clear. Having embraced the embedded institutional option, there are signs that the emerging states (or at least some of them) are becoming more wary of involvement in the new concert diplomacy because of the obligations placed on them. It is questionable which rising powers will become responsible and legitimate stakeholders of the new order and how global responsibility and legitimacy will be defined.

The camps of debate over particular issue areas, over values such as legitimacy, responsibility or national sovereignty and the future order as a whole will not always be delineated along the lines of liberal democracies versus autocracies or the West versus the rest. Charles Kupchan’s pragmatic plea for a more pluralist and inclusive approach to legitimacy might be instructive: ‘it is a very safe bet that the world will be multi-polar long before it is democratic’, and therefore ‘responsible governance, rather than liberal democracy, should be adopted as the standard for determining which states are legitimate and in good standing—and thus stakeholders of the next order’. 61 The rise of new players has resulted in a fundamentally contested order of world politics and the meaning of essential concepts must be renegotiated. We have to wait and see what new approaches BRICS will bring to the table in the course of this normative struggle under the conditions of the new institutional heterogeneity.

Thus, the trend is not following a precise, linear transition from a US-centred equilibrium to a multipolar one underwritten by a set of alternative actors. While the global system will be shaped by what this more diverse cluster of core countries wants and does on the basis of their varying political cultures and competing ideas of domestic and global order, so too will it be modified by how others respond to these emerging states and who they decide to interact with in order to attain their own goals and objectives in specific policy domains.

#### That’s an impact filter for a laundry list of existential impacts

Roland Paris 19, professor of international affairs at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa, and associate fellow of the US and the Americas Programme at Chatham House, “Can Middle Powers Save the Liberal World Order?,” June 2019, Chatham House, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2019-06-18-MiddlePowers.pdf>

The rationale for asking middle powers to perform this role is obvious: challenges to the international order have been mounting in recent times – and not just from a rising China and a resurgent Russia. President Trump has embraced an ‘America First’ approach that repudiates his country’s long-standing role as the leading defender and underwriter of the post-1945 multilateral system. Among other actions, he called the EU a ‘foe’,7 blocked the appointment of judges to the dispute settlement panels of the World Trade Organization (WTO), withdrew from negotiations that ultimately yielded the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement, pulled out of the so-called Iranian nuclear accord (the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action – JCPOA), threatened sanctions against the International Criminal Court, and is reported to have discussed withdrawing from NATO.8 At the same time, China and Russia have been increasingly brazen in their defiance of international rules and norms. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and annexation of Crimea has become a fait accompli. Hackers and social media accounts connected to the Russian government have reportedly engaged in efforts to disrupt recent democratic elections in the US and Europe. China has dismissed the ruling of an international arbitration court that rejected its sovereignty claim over most of the South China Sea, and has continued building and militarizing islands in contested locations.9 Meanwhile, respect for international humanitarian law is weakening, arms-control regimes are eroding, the multilateral trade system is under threat, and democracy and human rights are receding in many parts of the world.

In the face of such challenges, what can middle powers realistically do? The notion that they can ‘save the liberal world order’ (to quote Daalder and Lindsay) seems fanciful. No system of international institutions and rules can survive for very long without the backing of its most powerful members.10 The challenge, moreover, is not simply to preserve key elements of the existing order, but also to reform institutions that are failing, devise new rules for emerging policy areas, and adapt the multilateral system so that it better reflects the shifting realities of global power, rather than the post-1945 world in which its central institutions took shape. On the other hand, the collective influence of the middle powers should not be underestimated. Taken together, for example, Japan, Germany, the UK, France, Canada, South Korea and Australia account for more than one-fifth of the global economy.11 If these and other countries worked together in a concerted campaign, they might succeed in slowing the erosion of the current order, and perhaps even strengthen and modernize parts of it. It certainly seems worth trying. After all, if the world’s middle powers do not take on this task, who will?

There are compelling reasons for them to do so. International institutions and rules offer mid-sized countries a measure of protection from the whims of more powerful states. Democratic middle powers should be especially concerned about their prospects in a world where ‘might makes right’ holds sway and where they will be more exposed to threats and coercion from autocratic states. Most importantly, functioning institutions help to buffer the international system from shocks that might otherwise escalate into larger conflicts, creating a more brittle and dangerous world.

## 2

#### Our thesis is that the collapse of capitalism is inevitable, it is a question of now or later: you should frame your decision through an anti-capitalist lens by centering the valorization of productivity that aff’s logic is founded upon.

Kuang 20 [Da Kuang and Changyi Huang are professors at the Huazhong University of Science and Technology, College of Marxism in Wuhan 430074, China. A Study of Marx’s Thought on the Speed of Capital Accumulation, Presented at the 2020 International Conference on Social Science, Economics and Education Research (SSEER 2020), Atlantic Press: Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research Volume 455, 8-22-21, amrita]

III. CONTEMPORARY ENLIGHTENMENT: **CAPITALISM IS BOUND TO DIE OUT IN THE LONG-TERM STAGNATION OF CAPITAL ACCUMULATION** As we all know, Marx and Engels reached a most important scientific conclusion in the Manifesto of the Communist Party: **the death of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.** This is the famous “Two Necessities” principle of Marxism. If we study **Marx’s thought of the speed of capital accumulation, we will come to the conclusion that capitalism is bound to die out in the long-term stagnation of capital accumulation.** Wallerstein believes that **although the production for the purpose of pursuing profits has a history of thousands of years, this mode of production has never occupied a dominant position in these historical systems. Only capitalism regards the endless accumulation of profits as the fundamental feature of its own system**. Wallerstein pointed out that the capitalist system has been maintained for more than 500 years, and the fundamental policy of endless capital accumulation has been quite successful. However, **the historical stage based on this has come to an end, and the late capitalism is coming to an end.** Andrew Kleiman made **an empirical study on the change trend of American profit margin from 1929 to 2009. He believed that after the boom period of World War II, the capital profit margin of the whole economic system was indeed declining irreversibly.** Robert Brenner calculated the declining trend of manufacturing profit margin in the United States and Japan since the 1950s. Among them, **the average profit margin of manufacturing industry in the United States has more than doubled, and the average profit margin of manufacturing industry in Japan has more than tripled**. These empirical studies **confirm Marx’s idea that the rate of capital profit keeps falling and the rate of capital accumulation tends to stagnate.** The global financial crisis that broke out in 2007-2008 is the most serious crisis of capitalism since the great depression in the 1930s. **Although the crisis is presented in the form of finance, the underlying law is still “relative overproduction”, that is, trying to expand credit consumption to alleviate the contradiction between the expansion of production and the relative reduction of consumption capacity, accelerating the real estate and finance** The development of bubbles. But **this contradiction is only temporarily covered by bubbles, and after a long period of accumulation and fermentation, the crisis finally broke out**. After 10 years of evolution**, the capitalist world has not recovered from crisis and stagnation, but has expanded into a structural crisis of capitalism along the path of financial crisis → economic crisis → financial crisis → debt crisis.** At the same time, **contemporary capitalism also faces the absolute limit of capital accumulation caused by the crisis of population aging and ecological crisis**. According to statistics, in 2014, the total population of 28 countries in the EU was 508 million, of which 18.5% were aged over 65, 19.9% were aged between 50 and 64, and 38.4% were aged between 50 and 64. **The trend of population aging will inevitably lead to the extreme shortage of labor force, increase labor cost, and further reduce the profit margin of capital; and the ecological crisis will gradually become the same or even more serious problem as the economic crisis.** As the existing capital accumulation models all go bankrupt, **the speed of capital accumulation will inevitably further decline. The economic cycle theory of western mainstream economics interprets the capitalist economic crisis as a kind of normal economic fluctuation, and holds that capital can always overcome the crisis and stagnation, and then accelerate the accumulation again. This kind of circular movement, which only attributes capital accumulation to quantitative change, conceals a historical fact: the final result of the crisis and stagnation of capital accumulation is the qualitative change of capitalist ownership, which is an irreversible linear process**. Over the past 200 years, **the world economic crisis has occurred more than 20 times, some of which directly triggered the proletarian revolution**, some of which first broke out in war and then triggered the proletarian revolution. **For example,** the result of **the capitalist economic crisis in 1847 was the final explosion of the French Revolution in June;** The capitalist economic crisis of 1867-1868 first triggered the Franco Prussian War, and finally triggered the Paris Commune Revolution; the capitalist economic crisis of 1907-1908 first triggered the first World War, and finally triggered the October Revolution of Russia which opened a new era of human history in 1917; the capitalist economic crisis of 1929-1933 gave birth to the second World War, and finally the war As a result, Eastern European countries including East Germany, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and other countries, as well as China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Albania and other countries have embarked on the socialist road. **In addition to the proletarian socialist revolution caused by the economic crisis, the capitalist internal system of ownership has also made major adjustments in response to the economic crisis.** From individual private capital to stock system, this is the first adjustment of capitalist ownership; from stock system to monopoly, this is the second adjustment of capitalist ownership; from private stock monopoly to capitalist state monopoly, this is the third adjustment of capitalist ownership; from capitalist state monopoly to international monopoly, this is the fourth adjustment of capitalist ownership. As a result, the capitalist ownership of means of production is becoming more and more like public ownership rather than private ownership. It is getting further and further away from the original private ownership and closer to public ownership. It can be predicted **that capitalism will inevitably die out in the long-term stagnation of capital accumulation. The ultimate fate of capitalism is to be replaced** by socialism.

#### The aff’s insidious attempts to replace welfare with wage labor reinforces the idealization and social control of “work ethic”. Myths of work allow governments to blame systemic poverty on the behavior of the poor. Valorization of work and notions that you can resist via unionization deflates proletariat unity by turning workers against non-workers.

Frayne 15 Frayne, David. The Refusal of Work: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Work . Zed Books, London (2015); 98-105; CE recut amrita

In The Problem With Work, Kathi Weeks explores the legacy of the work ethic in some detail, highlighting the ethic’s tremendous capacity for endurance and adaptation over the course of modern history (Weeks, 2011: Chapter 1). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was religion that demanded a life devoted to work, but the religious element had largely withered away by the nineteenth century, where it was being replaced by the promise of social mobility: the promise that through the sweat of one’s brow, it might be possible to elevate the social status of oneself and one’s family. By the middle of the twentieth century, a different element had been foregrounded, as work came to be idealised as a route to self actualisation and personal development. As an ascetic ideal, the work ethic has displayed a remarkable staying presence, but no matter what its form, the behaviours which the ethic prescribes have remained consistent. In all its forms, the work ethic has promoted ‘the identification with and systematic devotion to waged work, the elevation of work to the centre of life, and the affirmation of work as an end in itself ’ (Weeks, 2011: 46). In today’s affluent societies, holding down a job is still commonly heralded as a signal of independence, maturity and good character, and hard work continues to represent a proper way of living, and proof of a commitment to the prosperity of one’s nation. If there are other ways to contribute and achieve, outside the realm of paid employment, then these are not nearly as well represented or widely recognised. For evidence of this, we need only observe the aggressive return of the work ethic in the context of neoliberalism. The British prime minister, David Cameron, came to power in 2010 relentlessly stressing the government’s commitment to ‘hardworking people’. In 2013 Cameron said: ‘We are building a country for those who work and want to get on. And we are saying to each and every hard-working person in our country: we are on your side … This is a government for hard-working people, and that’s the way it will stay’ (Huffington Post, 2013). Prior to this, Cameron had routinely depicted benefit claimants as wasters, ‘sitting on their sofas waiting for their benefits to arrive’ (Cameron, 2010). These references to ‘hardworking people’ were echoed in a speech delivered by the Chancellor George Osborne at the 2012 Conservative Party conference: ‘Where is the fairness, we ask, for the shift-worker, leaving home in the dark hours of the morning, who looks up at the closed blinds of their nextdoor neighbour sleeping off a life on benefits?’ (Jowitt, 2013). These repeated references to diligent work (defined always in terms of paid employment) function to construct a rigid dichotomy in the public imagination. On one side of this dichotomy are those upstanding, hardworking citizens who help secure the country’s future, whilst on the other are those morally dubious unemployed people who do nothing. Which are you? The sleeper or the employee, the shirker or the worker? Do you do something, or nothing? This technique of splitting the population into binary opposites has long been used as a method of social discipline, whether we are talking about the mad versus the sane, the normal versus the abnormal, or the dangerous versus the harmless. The New Economics Foundation has referred to this latest dichotomy as the binary of ‘strivers versus skivers’: a cultural myth which perpetuates the idea that those who exist outside the moral clique of ‘the hardworking’ are undeserving, morally suspect and likely to be criminals (Coote and Lyall, 2013). Imogen Tyler refers to these attempts to discredit non-workers in terms of a ‘culturalisation of poverty’ (Tyler, 2013: 162). In spite of the structural facts of mass unemployment and deepening social inequalities, issues such as poverty and worklessness continue to be framed by governments as cultural or behavioural issues. As the discussion on social class wanes, an appreciation of the structural causes of unemployment fades away and poverty becomes regarded as a deserved result of poor self-management. Even in regions where the number of unemployed people significantly outweighs the number of available jobs, it is still maintained that were a person to present themselves a little better, put a little more effort in, or just believe in themselves, he or she could find work and climb out of poverty. Society’s poorest are regarded as those who have failed to make the right choices in life, or who have shown an unwillingness to grasp the opportunities that society has presented to them. Financial poverty is blamed on a poverty of aspiration, and this continued foregrounding of cultural attitudes has allowed governments to ignore the structural causes of poverty and unemployment. In this new framing, society’s main enemies are no longer the structural pathologies of inequality, job scarcity and the dearth of attractive jobs, but the personal pathologies inherent in a so-called culture of laziness, entitlement and dependency. Aside from the personal misery and stigmatisation they cause, perhaps the biggest crime of these cultural explanations is that they keep society’s more structural or systemic issues off the table. Mass unemployment should give us occasion to question the efficacy of work as a basis for social inclusion and solidarity, but the discussion that is actually taking place is much more blinkered. Not everybody will be convinced by the rhetoric of ‘strivers versus skivers’ of course, but its sheer ubiquity is cause enough for concern. The stigmatisation of unemployed people is infectious. Tabloid reports concerned with the wastage of public money seem almost uniformly obsessed with the comparatively minor cost of suspected benefit fraud. A benefits mythbuster published by Turn2Us (Turn2Us, 2012) suggested that the ‘welfare burden’ caused by UK unemployment has been grossly exaggerated. The report suggests that, contrary to popular opinion, public spending on welfare has stabilised since the economic crash of the year 2008/9, and was far lower in 2012 than it was in 1995, following the previous recession.1 There is notably less anger about the public funds spent on working tax credits (which compensate for miserly employers), the high rents that force many people to depend on housing benefit, or the criminally underpublicised problem of corporate tax evasion. The media pumps out a torrent of disgust towards unemployed people, who are typically portrayed as leading empty, morally rudderless lives. The case of Cait Reilly, unfolding in the UK over the course of 2012–13, offers a perfect example here, as a media event which brought the ‘striver versus skiver’ discourse to the fore. In 2012, the UK Coalition government attempted to tackle worklessness by forcing many benefit claimants to undertake periods of unpaid work. Under the rules of the new policy, Reilly, an unemployed geology graduate, was forced to leave a work experience placement in a museum, to instead work unwaged in a Poundland store. Reilly’s name hit the headlines after a lawyer heard about her story and volunteered to help establish a legal case against the government. The tabloid media exploded. Responding to the suggestion that Reilly’s forced labour was a violation of human rights, Jan Moir of the Daily Mail wrote: ‘It is hardly ten years’ imprisonment without charge in Guantanamo Bay. It is hardly like being incarcerated in a Nazi prisoner of war camp for five long years, never knowing each day if you would live or die’ (Moir, 2012). The Secretary of State for Work and Pensions, Iain Duncan Smith, joined the debate, labelling Reilly a ‘job snob’ and levelling a broader attack on those who defended her actions – a so-called ‘commenting elite’ who are unaware of their own intellectual conceit and sense of superiority (Holehouse, 2012). These bitter comments came just months after UK public sector workers conducted a mass strike in response to government proposals to modify pension schemes. Rather than reporting on the motivations for strike action, Tim Shipman, also reporting for the Daily Mail, belittled the cause by citing statistics which claimed that, on average, state workers get paid 7.5% more than private sector employees in the UK. He wrote that ‘[t]he findings are a blow to the credibility of union leaders who claim that public sector staff are hard done by’ (Shipman, 2011). These examples show us that the moral fence around the work ethic is not only high but also tremendously well-fortified. Any worker who steps out of line is quickly targeted as a dangerous outsider and denied a political voice. The political significance of the rebellious act is muted by portraying the rebel as pathological, diverting public attention away from the political cause and on to the supposedly deviant psychology of the rebel: Resistance in this context is not explained as something related to the inequality of the capitalist labour process, but rather a matter of personal problems within the worker – a negative attitude, an inability to be a team player or shirking one’s duties. In other words, the contemporary pathologies of work are pushed onto employees themselves and are internalised as personal demeanours and characteristics that must be ‘worked through’ in team meetings, development assessment seminars and ‘self-help’ consumption in the private sphere. (Fleming and Spicer, 2003: 174) In Cait Reilly’s case, commentators variously implied that Reilly was neurotic, weird, or suffered from an unhealthy sense of entitlement. Catch-all terms such as ‘job snob’ work in the same vein as older terms such as ‘hippy’, ‘wacko’ or ‘conspiracy theorist’, being deployed in order to discredit immediately any threat to orthodox ways of thinking. Another common media response to labour disputes is the deployment of the Could Be Worse argument. If Reilly thought she was hard done by, then it was said that she should be grateful not to be a captive prisoner of war. If the UK public sector workers who went on strike in 2012 believed that they were victims of injustice, then it was said that they should have considered those who were earning less, working in poorer conditions, or struggling to find work. By providing suggestive examples of situations that are worse than the insurgent’s, journalists once again peddle the message that it is individuals and their sense of entitlement that are at fault. Whilst the moralisation of work certainly gains purchase through its ubiquity in the media, perhaps its real power derives from its installation in a suite of workfare policies designed to encourage benefit claimants out of the welfare system and into paid employment. If the moralisation of work is powerful as a cultural device, it takes on an uglier, more coercive guise when enshrined in a modern policy agenda. In the UK, the New Labour government arrived in office in 1997, resolving to ‘rebuild the welfare state around work’ (Department for Social Security, 1998), and previously protected welfare claimants such as lone parents and people with disabilities were increasingly expected to seek employment. The legacy of workfare continued in the UK Coalition government’s ‘big bold plan to Get Britain Working’, which has since phased in a tightening set of conditions around who is entitled to claim benefits, along with an increasingly stringent set of audits and penalties for non-workers who fail to comply.2 These tightening conditions represent less a helping hand for the citizen in need than a stranglehold. In order to avoid sanctions, the claimants to Jobseeker’s Allowance have been required to display a fully accountable commitment to job hunting, to accept offers of employment judged reasonable by Jobcentre Plus bureaucrats, and to attend job-seeker’s training programmes deemed likely to increase the chances of finding work. The critic Ivor Southwood argues that, given the known shortage of jobs in many areas, these activities often have a performative quality, forcing claimants to project a phoney display of positivity and enthusiasm for low-status work roles: ‘To refuse to go along with this performance and its mutual suspension of disbelief risks bringing the full weight of the institution down on the “customer”’ (Southwood, 2011: 46). Among the most troubling developments of the big bold plan was the controversial policy to force benefit claimants to complete compulsory periods of unpaid work. Also, the Work Capability Assessment – a test undertaken by claimants with disabilities, to verify their eligibility for benefits – was handed over to the private company ATOS in 2011. Following the handover, a controversy unfolded based on credible allegations from public investigators, whistle-blowers and failed applicants, who claimed that the flawed methodology of the Work Capability test, coupled with a punitive auditing process, was strongly biased towards a rejection of benefit applications (Franklin, 2013). It is estimated that thousands of people have been declared erroneously ‘fit for work’ by a system which, instead of providing support, has aimed to cap the number of welfare recipients.3 Whilst workfare policies have undergone a complex series of changes, their underpinning morality remains consistent: paid employment is unambiguously promoted as the normal and superior state to which everybody should aspire. What all of this ultimately means is that although we have reached a point in history where a reduction and re-evaluation of work are urgently needed, powerful moral forces remain mobilised against the development of a genuinely open discussion. A range of personal, social and environmental crises give us strong occasion to question work’s function and importance in modern society, but the relentless moralisation of work is confining us to the usual circuits of thought. It is like a constant source of noise pollution – the equivalent to someone repeatedly flicking your earlobes when you are trying to think. I will show the effects of this in Chapter 7, where we will see that many of the non-workers I interviewed found it difficult to maintain conviction in their critical views inside this work-focused moral climate. Like Cait Reilly and the public sector workers mentioned here, they often found themselves stigmatised for their alternative views and actions. In a context where those who resist work are so readily disparaged, reviled and feared, it becomes increasingly difficult to foster an open-minded and intelligent debate on the future of work.

#### Rights based frameworks that posit unionization as the end all to all problems are part of the problem—consumption and work fuel each other cyclically. The proletariat must refuse the demand of work to refuse the demand of consumption.

Lafargue 83 [Lafargue, Paul. *The Right To Be Lazy*. Charles Kerr and Co., Illinois (1883); Retrieved on March 23, 2010 from [www.marxists.org](http://www.marxists.org/archive/lafargue/1883/lazy/index.htm); <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy> amrita]

That the competition of man and the machine might have free course, the proletarians have abolished wise laws which limited the labor of the artisans of the ancient guilds; they have suppressed the holidays. [[9]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn9) Because the producers of that time worked but five days out of seven, are we to believe the stories told by lying economists that they lived on nothing but air and fresh water? Not so, they had leisure to taste the joys of earth, to make love and to frolic, to banquet joyously in honor of the jovial god of idleness. Gloomy England, immersed in protestantism, was then called “Merrie England.” Rabelais, Quevedo, Cervantes, and the unknown authors of the romances make our mouths water with their pictures of those monumental feasts [[10]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn10) with which the men of that time regaled themselves between two battles and two devastations, in which everything “went by the barrel” Jordaens and the Flemish School have told the story of these feasts in their delightful pictures. Where, O, where, are the sublime gargantuan stomachs of those days; where are the sublime brains encircling all human thought? We have indeed grown puny and degenerate. Embalmed beef, potatoes, doctored wine and Prussian schnaps, judiciously combined with compulsory labor have weakened our bodies and narrowed our minds. And the times when man cramps his stomach and the machine enlarges its out-put are the very times when the economists preach to us the Malthusian theory, the religion of abstinence and the dogma of work. Really it would be better to pluck out such tongues and throw them to the dogs. Because the working class, with its simple good faith, has allowed itself to be thus indoctrinated, because with its native impetuosity it has blindly hurled itself into work and abstinence, the capitalist class has found itself condemned to laziness and forced enjoyment, to unproductiveness and over consumption. But if the over-work of the laborer bruises his flesh and tortures his nerves, it is also fertile in griefs for the capitalist. The abstinence to which the productive class condemns itself obliges the capitalists to devote themselves to the over-consumption of the products turned out so riotously by the laborers. At the beginning of capitalist production a century or two ago, the capitalist was a steady man of reasonable and peaceable habits. He contented himself with one wife or thereabouts. He drank only when he was thirsty and ate only when he was hungry. He left to the lords and ladies of the court the noble virtues of debauchery. Today every son of the newly rich makes it incumbent upon himself to cultivate the disease for which quicksilver is a specific in order to justify the labors imposed upon the workmen in quicksilver mines; every capitalist crams himself with capons stuffed with truffles and with the choicest brands of wine in order to encourage the breeders of blooded poultry and the growers of Bordelais. In this occupation the organism rapidly becomes shattered, the hair falls out, the gums shrink away from the teeth, the body becomes deformed, the stomach obtrudes abnormally, respiration becomes difficult, the motions become labored, the joints become stiff, the fingers knotted. Others, too feeble in body to endure the fatigues of debauchery, but endowed with the bump of philanthropic discrimination, dry up their brains over political economy, or juridical philosophy in elaborating thick soporific books to employ the leisure hours of compositors and pressmen. The women of fashion live a life of martyrdom, in trying on and showing off the fairy-like toilets which the seamstresses die in making. They shift like shuttles from morning until night from one gown into another. For hours together they give up their hollow heads to the artists in hair, who at any cost insist on assuaging their passion for the construction of false chignons. Bound in their corsets, pinched in their boots, decollette to make a coal-miner blush, they whirl around the whole night through at their charity balls in order to pick up a few cents for poor people, — sanctified souls! To fulfill his double social function of non-producer and over-consumer, the capitalist was not only obliged to violate his modest taste, to lose his laborious habits of two centuries ago and to give himself up to unbounded luxury, spicy indigestibles and syphilitic debauches, but also to withdraw from productive labor an enormous mass of men in order to enlist them as his assistants. Here are a few figures to prove how colossal is this waste of productive forces. According to the census of 1861, the population of England and Wales comprised 20,066,244 persons, 9,776,259 male and 10,289,965 female. If we deduct those too old of too young to work, the unproductive women, boys and girls, then the “ideological professions”, such as governors, policemen, clergy, magistrates, soldiers, prostitutes, artists, scientists, etc., next the people exclusively occupied with eating the labor of others under the form of land-rent, interest, dividends, etc. ... there remains a total of eight million individuals of both sexes and of every age, including the capitalists who function in production, commerce, finance, etc. Out of these eight millions the figures run: “If we add together the textile workers and the miners, we obtain the figures of 2,208,442; if to the former we add the metal workers, we have a total of 1,039,605 persons; that is to say, in each case a number below that of the modern domestic slaves. Behold the magnificent result of the capitalist exploitation of machines.” [[11]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn11) To this class of domestics, the size of which indicates the stage attained by capitalist civilization, must still be added the enormous class of unfortunates devoted exclusively to satisfying the vain and expensive tastes of the rich dasses: diamond cutters, lace-makers, embroiderers, binders of luxurious books, seamstresses employed on expensive gowns decorators of villas, etc. [[12]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn12) Once settled down into absolute laziness and demoralized by enforced enjoyment, the capitalist class in spite of the injury involved in its new kind of life, adapted itself to it. Soon it began to look upon any change with horror. The sight of the miserable conditions of life resignedly accepted by the working class and the sight of the organic degradation engendered by the depraved passion for work increased its aversion for all compulsory labor and all restrictions of its pleasures. It is precisely at that time that, without taking into account the demoralization which the capitalist class had imposed upon itself as a social duty, the proletarians took it into their heads to inflict work on the capitalists Artless as they were, they took seriously the theories of work proclaimed by the economists and moralists, and girded up their loins to inflict the practice of these theories upon the capitalists. The proletariat hoisted the banner, “He who will not work Neither shall he Eat”. Lyons in 1831 rose up for bullets or work. The federated laborers of March 1871 called their uprising “The Revolution of Work”. To these outbreaks of barbarous fury destructive of all capitalist joy and laziness, the capitalists had no other answer than ferocious repression, but they know that if they have been able to repress these revolutionary explosions, they have not drowned in the blood of these gigantic massacres the absurd idea of the proletariat wishing to inflict work upon the idle and reputable classes, and it is to avert this misfortune that they surround themselves with guards, policemen, magistrates and jailors, supported in laborious unprodutiveness. There is no more room for illusion as to the function of modern, armies. They are permanently maintained only to suppress the “enemy within”. Thus the forts of Paris and Lyons have not been built to defend the city against the foreigner, but to crush it in case of revolt. And if an unanswerable example be called for, we mention the army of Belgium, that paradise of capitalism. Its neutrality is guaranteed by the European powers, and nevertheless its army is one of the strongest in proportion to its population. The glorious battlefields of the brave Belgian army are the plains of the Borinage and of Charleroi. It is in the blood of the unarmed miners and laborers that the Belgian officers temper their swords and win their epaulets. The nations of Europe have not national armies but mercenary armies. They protect the capitalists against the popular fury which would condemn them to ten hours of mining or spinning. Again, while compressing its own stomach the working class has developed abnormally the stomach of the capitalist class, condemned to over-consumption. For alleviation of its painful labor the capitalist class has withdrawn from the working class a mass of men far superior to those still devoted to useful production and has condemned them in their turn to unproductiveness and over-consumption. But this troop of useless mouths in spite of its insatiable voracity, does not suffice to consume all the goods which the laborers, brutalized by the dogma of work, produce like madmen, without wishing to consume them and without even thinking whether people will be found to consume them. Confronted with this double madness of the laborers killing themselves with over-production and vegetating in abstinence, the great problem of capitalist production is no longer to find producers and to multiply their powers but to discover consumers, to excite their appetites and create in them fictitious needs. Since the European laborers, shivering with cold and hunger, refuse to near the stuffs they weave, to drink the wines from the vineyards they tend, the poor manufacturers in their goodness of heart must run to the ends of the earth to find people to wear the clothes and drink the wines: Europe exports every year goods amounting to billions of dollars to the four corners of the earth, to nations that have no need of them. [[13]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn13) But the explored continents are no longer vast enough. Virgin countries are needed. European manufacturers dream night and day of Africa, of a lake in the Saharan desert, of a railroad to the Soudan. They anxiously follow the progress of Livingston, Stanley, Du Chaillu; they listen open-mouthed to the marvelous tales of these brave travelers. What unknown wonders are contained in the “dark continent”! Fields are sown with elephants’ teeth, rivers of cocoanut oil are dotted with gold, millions of backsides, as bare as the faces of Dufaure and Girardin, are awaiting cotton goods to teach them decency, and bottles of schnaps and bibles from which they may learn the virtues of civilization. But all to no purpose: the over-fed capitalist, the servant class greater in numbers than the productive class, the foreign and barbarous nations, gorged with European goods; nothing, nothing can melt away the mountains of products heaped up higher and more enormous than the pyramids of Egypt. The productiveness of European laborers defies all consumption, all waste. The manufacturers have lost their bearings and know not which way to turn. They can no longer find the raw material to satisfy the lawless depraved passion of their laborers for work. In our woolen districts dirty and half rotten rags are raveled out to use in making certain cloths sold under the name of renaissance, which have about the same durability as the promises made to voters. At Lyons, instead of leaving the silk fiber in its natural simplicity and suppleness, it is loaded down with mineral salts, which while increasing its weight, make it friable and far from durable. All our products are adulterated to aid in their sale and shorten their life. Our epoch will be called the “Age of adulteration” just as the first epochs of humanity received the names of “The Age of Stone”, “The Age of Bronze”, from the character of their production. Certain ignorant people accuse our pious manufacturers of fraud, while in reality the thought which animates them is to furnish work to their laborers, who cannot resign themselves to living with their arms folded. These adulterations, whose sole motive is a humanitarian sentiment, but which bring splendid profits to the manufacturers who practice them, if they are disastrous for the quality of the goods, if they are an inexhaustible source of waste in human labor, nevertheless prove the ingenuous philanthropy of the capitalists, and the horrible perversion of the laborers, who to gratify their vice for work oblige the manufacturers to stifle the cries of their conscience and to violate even the laws of commercial honesty. And nevertheless, in spite of the over-production of goods, in spite of the adulterations in manufacturing, the laborers encumber the market in countless numbers imploring: Work! Work! Their super abundance ought to compel them to bridle their passion; on the contrary it carries it to the point of paroxysm. Let a chance for work present itself, thither they rush; then they demand twelve, fourteen hours to glut their appetite for work, and the next day they are again thrown out on the pavement with no more food for their vice. Every year in all industries lockouts occur with the regularity of the seasons. Over-work, destructive of the organism, is succeeded by absolute rest during two or four months, and when work ceases the pittance ceases. Since the vice of work is diabolically attached to the heart of the laborers, since its requirements stifle all the other instincts of nature, since the quantity of work required by society is necessarily limited by consumption and by the supply of raw materials, why devour in six months the work of a whole year; why not distribute it uniformly over the twelve months and force every workingman to content himself with six or five hours a day throughout the year instead of getting indigestion from twelve hours during six months. Once assured of their daily portion of work, the laborers will no longer be jealous of each other, no longer fight to snatch away work from each other’s hands and bread from each other’s mouths, and then, not exhausted in body and mind, they will begin to practice the virtues of laziness. Brutalized by their vice, the laborers have been unable to rise to the conception of this fact, that to have work for all it is necessary to apportion it like water on a ship in distress. Meanwhile certain manufacturers in the name of capitalist exploitation have for a long time demanded a legal limitation of the work day. Before the commission of 1860 on professional education, one of the greatest manufacturers of Alsace, M. Bourcart of Guebwiller, declared: “The day of twelve hours is excessive and ought to be reduced to eleven, while work ought to be stopped at two o’clock on Saturday. I advise the adoption of this measure, although it may appear onerous at first sight. We have tried it in our industrial establishments for four years and find ourselves the better for it, while the average production, far from having diminished, has increased.” In his study of machines M.F. Passy quotes the following letter from a great Belgian manufacturer M. Ottevaere: “Our machines, although the same as those of the English spinning mills, do not produce what they ought to produce or what those same machines would produce in England, although the spinners there work two hours a day less. We all work two good hours too much. I am convinced that if we worked only eleven hours instead of thirteen we should have the same product and we should consequently produce more economically.” Again, M. Leroy Beaulieu affirms that it is a remark of a great Belgian manufacturer that the weeks in which a holiday falls result in a product not less than ordinary weeks. [[14]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn14) An aristocratic government has dared to do what a people, duped in their simplicity by the moralists, never dared. Despising the lofty and moral industrial considerations of the economists, who like the birds of ill omen, croaked that to reduce by one hour the work in factories was to decree the ruin of English industry, the government of England has forbidden by a law strictly enforced to work more than ten hours a day, and as before England remains the first industrial nation of the world. The experiment tried on so great a scale is on record; the experience of certain intelligent capitalists is on record. They prove beyond a doubt that to strengthen human production it is necessary to reduce the hours of labor and multiply the pay days and feast days, yet the French nation is not convinced. But if the miserable reduction of two hours has increased English production by almost one-third in ten years, what breathless speed would be given to French production by a legal limitation of the working day to three hours. Cannot the laborers understand that by over-working themselves they exhaust their own strength and that of their progeny, that they are used up and long before their time come to be incapable of any work at ail, that absorbed and brutalized by this single vice they are no longer men but pieces of men, that they kill within themselves all beautiful faculties, to leave nothing alive and flourishing except the furious madness for work. Like Arcadian parrots, they repeat the lesson of the economist: “Let us work, let us work to increase the national wealth.” O, idiots, it is because you work too much that the industrial equipment develops slowly. Stop braying and listen to an economist, no other than M.L.Reybaud, whom we were fortunate enough to lose a few months ago. “It is in general by the conditions of hand-work that the revolution in methods of labor is regulated. As long as handwork furnishes its services at a low price, it is lavished, while efforts are made to economize it when its services become more costly.” [[15]](https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-lafargue-the-right-to-be-lazy#fn15) To force the capitalists to improve their machines of wood and iron it is necessary to raise wages and diminish the working hours of the machines of flesh and blood. Do you ask for proofs? They can be furnished by the hundreds. In spinning, the self-acting mule was invented and applied at Manchester because the spinners refused to work such long hours as before. In America the machine is invading all branches of farm production, from the making of butter to the weeding of wheat. Why, because the American, free and lazy, would prefer a thousand deaths to the bovine life of the French peasant. Plowing, so painful and so crippling to the laborer in our glorious France, is in the American West an agreeable open-air pastime, which he practices in a sitting posture, smoking his pipe nonchalantly.

#### But capitalism can’t be saved. The short-term rejuvenation simply pushes back the long-term inevitable collapse which dooms us to death by climate change before the revolution can happen—this card is amazing and also preempts all their “cap solves climate change” answers.

Foster 18 [John Bellamy Foster, John Bellamy Foster is a professor of sociology at the University of Oregon and also editor of Monthly Review. He writes about political economy of capitalism and economic crisis, ecology and ecological crisis, and Marxist theory. “Making War on the Planet.” Monthly Review. September 1, 2018. <https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/> recut 8-22-2021 amrita]

A short fuse is burning. At the present rate of global emissions, the world is projected to reach the trillionth metric ton of cumulative carbon emissions, breaking the global carbon budget, in less than two decades.[1](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en1) This would usher in a period of dangerous climate change that could well prove irreversible, affecting the climate for centuries if not millennia. Even if the entire world economy were to cease emitting carbon dioxide at the present moment, the extra carbon already accumulated in the atmosphere virtually guarantees that climate change will continue with damaging effects to the human species and life in general. However, reaching the 2°C increase in global average temperature guardrail, associated with a level of carbon concentration in the environment of 450 ppm, would lead to a qualitatively different condition. At that point, climate feedbacks would increasingly come into play threatening to catapult global average temperatures to 3°C or 4°C above preindustrial levels within this century, in the lifetime of many individuals alive today. The situation is only made more serious by the emission of other greenhouse gases, including methane and nitrous oxide. The enormous dangers that rapid climate change present to humanity as a whole, and the inability of the existing capitalist political-economic structure to address them, symbolized by the presence of Donald Trump in the White House, have engendered a desperate search for technofixes in the form of schemes for geoengineering, defined as massive, deliberate human interventions to manipulate the entire climate or the planet as a whole. Not only is geoengineering now being enthusiastically pushed by today’s billionaire class, as represented by figures like Bill Gates and Richard Branson; by environmental organizations such as the Environmental Defense Fund and the Natural Resources Defense Council; by think tanks like the Breakthrough Institute and Climate Code Red; and by fossil-fuel corporations like Exxon Mobil and Shell—it is also being actively pursued by the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and Russia. The UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has incorporated negative emissions strategies based on geoengineering (in the form of Bio-energy with Carbon Capture and Storage, or BECCS) into nearly all of its climate models. Even some figures on the political left (where “accelerationist” ideas have recently taken hold in some quarters) have grabbed uncritically onto geoengineering as a deus ex machina—a way of defending an ecomodernist economic and technological strategy—as witnessed by a number of contributions to Jacobin magazine’s Summer 2017 Earth, Wind, and Fire issue.[2](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en2) If the Earth System is to avoid 450 ppm of carbon concentration in the atmosphere and is to return to the Holocene average of 350 ppm, some negative emissions by technological means, and hence geoengineering on at least a limited scale, will be required, according to leading climatologist James Hansen.[3](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en3) Hansen’s strategy, however, like most others, remains based on the current system, that is, it excludes the possibility of a full-scale ecological revolution, involving the self-mobilization of the population around production and consumption. What remains certain is that any attempt to implement geoengineering (even in the form of technological schemes for carbon removal) as the dominant strategy for addressing global warming, subordinated to the ends of capital accumulation, would prove fatal to humanity. The costs of such action, the burden it would put on future generations, and the dangers to living species, including our own, are so great that the only rational course is a long ecological revolution aimed at the most rapid possible reduction in carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions, coupled with an emphasis on agroecology and restoration of global ecosystems, including forests, to absorb carbon dioxide.[4](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en4) This would need to be accompanied by a far-reaching reconstitution of society at large, aimed at the reinstitution on a higher level of collective and egalitarian practices that were undermined by the rise of capitalism. Geoengineering the Planet Under the Regime of Fossil Capital Geoengineering as an idea dates back to the period of the first discoveries of rapid anthropogenic climate change. Beginning in the early 1960s, the Soviet Union’s (and at that time the world’s) leading climatologist, Mikhail Budyko, was the first to issue a number of warnings on the inevitably of accelerated global climate change in the case of industrial systems based on the burning of fossil fuels.[5](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en5) Although anthropogenic climate change had long been recognized, what was new was the discovery of major climate feedbacks such as the melting of Arctic ice and the disruption of the albedo effect as reflective white ice was replaced with blue seawater, increasing the amount of solar radiation absorbed by the planet and ratcheting up global average temperature. In 1974, Budyko offered, as a possible solution to climate change, the use of high-flying planes to release sulfur particles (forming sulfate aerosols) into the stratosphere. This was meant to mimic the role played by volcanic action in propelling sulfur into the atmosphere, thus creating a partial barrier, limiting incoming solar radiation. **The rationale he offered was that capitalist economies, in particular, would not be able to curtail capital-accumulation-based growth, energy use, and emissions, despite the danger to the climate**.[6](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en6) Consequently, technological alternatives to stabilize the climate would have to be explored. But it was not until 1977 when the Italian physicist Cesare Marchetti proposed a scheme for capturing carbon dioxide emissions from electrical power plants and using pipes to sequester them in the ocean depths that the word “geoengineering” itself was to appear.[7](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en7) Budyko’s pioneering proposal to use sulfur particles to block a part of the sun’s rays, now known as “stratospheric aerosol injection,” and Marchetti’s early notion of capturing and sequestering carbon in the ocean, stand for the two main general approaches to geoengineering—respectively, solar radiation management (SRM) and carbon dioxide removal (CDR). SRM is designed to limit the solar radiation reaching the earth. CDR seeks to capture and remove carbon to decrease the amount entering the atmosphere. Besides stratospheric aerosol injection, first proposed by Budyko, another approach to SRM that has gained influential adherents in recent years is marine cloud brightening. This would involve cooling the earth by modifying low-lying, stratocumulus clouds covering around a third of the ocean, making them more reflective. In the standard scenario, a special fleet of 1,500 unmanned, satellite-controlled ships would roam the ocean spraying submicron drops of seawater in the air, which would evaporate leaving salty residues. These bright salt particles would reflect incoming solar radiation. They would also act as cloud condensation nuclei, increasing the surface area of the clouds, with the result that more solar radiation would be reflected. Both stratospheric aerosol injection and marine cloud brightening are widely criticized as posing enormous hazards on top of climate change itself, while simply addressing the symptoms not the cause of climate change. Stratospheric aerosol injection—to be delivered to the stratosphere by means of hoses, cannons, balloons, or planes—would alter the global hydrological cycle with enormous unpredictable effects, likely leading to massive droughts in major regions of the planet. It is feared that it could shut down the Indian monsoon system disrupting agriculture for as many as 2 billion people.[8](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en8) There are also worries that it might affect photosynthesis and crop production over much of the globe.[9](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en9) The injection of sulfur particles into the atmosphere could contribute to depletion of the ozone layer.[10](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en10) Much of the extra sulfur would end up dropping to the earth, leading to acid rain.[11](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en11) **Most worrisome of all, stratospheric aerosol injection would have to be repeated year after year. At termination the rise in temperature associated with additional carbon buildup would come almost at once with world temperature conceivably rising by 2–3°C in a decade—a phenomenon referred to as the “termination problem.”**[12](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en12) As with stratospheric aerosol injection, **marine cloud brightening would drastically affect the hydrological cycle in unpredictable ways**. For example, it could generate a severe drought in the Amazon, drying up the world’s most vital terrestrial ecosystem with incalculable and catastrophic effects for Earth System stability.[13](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en13) Many of the dangers of cloud brightening are similar to those of stratospheric aerosol depletion. Like other forms of SRM, it would do nothing to stop ocean acidification caused by rising carbon dioxide levels. The first form of CDR to attract significant attention from economic interests and investors was the idea of fertilizing the ocean with iron, thereby boosting the growth of phytoplankton so as to promote greater ocean uptake of carbon. There have been a dozen experiments in this area and the difficulties attending this scheme have proven to be legion. The effects on the ecological cycles of phytoplankton, zooplankton, and a host of other marine species all the way up to whales at the top of the food chain are indeterminate. Although some parts of the ocean would become greener due to the additional iron, other parts would become bluer, more devoid of life, because they would be deprived of the nutrients—nitrate, phosphorus, and silica—needed for growth.[14](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en14) Evidence suggests that the vast portion of the carbon taken in by the ocean would stay on the surface or the intermediate levels of the ocean, with only a tiny part entering the ocean depths, where it would be naturally sequestered.[15](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en15) Among the various CDR schemas, it is BECCS, because of its promise of negative emissions, which today is attracting the most support. This is because it seems to allow nations to overshoot climate targets on the basis that the carbon can be removed from the atmosphere decades later. Although BECCS exists at present largely as an untested computer model, it is now incorporated into almost all climate models utilized by the IPCC.[16](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en16) As modeled, **BECCS would burn cultivated crops in order to generate electricity, with the capture and underground storage of the resulting carbon dioxide. In theory, since plant crops can be seen as carbon neutral—taking carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and then eventually releasing it again—BECCS, by burning biomass and then capturing and sequestering the resulting carbon emissions, would be a means of generating electricity while at the same time resulting in a net reduction of atmospheric carbon. BECCS, however, comes into question the moment one moves from the abstract to the concrete.** The IPCC’s median-level models are projected to remove 630 gigatons of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere, around two thirds of the total emitted between the Industrial Revolution and 2011.[17](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en17) This would occur on vast crop plantations to be run by agribusiness. **To remove a trillion tons of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere as envisioned in the more ambitious scenarios would take up a land twice the size of India (or equal to Australia), about half as much land as currently farmed globally, requiring a supply of freshwater equal to current total global agricultural usage.**[18](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en18) The costs of implementing BECCS on the imagined scales have been estimated by climatologist James Hansen—who critically notes that negative emissions have “spread like a cancer” in the IPCC climate models—to be on the order of hundreds of trillions of dollars, with “minimal estimated costs” ranging as high as $570 trillion this century.[19](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en19) The effects of BECCS—used as a primary mechanism and designed to avoid confrontation with the present system of production—would therefore be a massive displacement of small farmers and global food production. Moreover, the notion that the forms of large-scale, commercial agricultural production presumed in BECCS models would be carbon neutral and would thus result in negative emissions with sequestration has been shown to be exaggerated or false when the larger effects on global land use are taken into account. BECCS crop cultivation is expected to take place on vast monoculture plantations, displacing other forms of land use. Yet, biologically diverse ecosystems have substantially higher rates of carbon sequestration in soil and biomass than does monocrop agriculture.[20](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en20) An alternative to BECCS in promoting carbon sequestration would be to promote massive, planetary ecological restoration, including reforestation, together with the promotion of agroecology modeled on traditional forms of agriculture organized around nutrient recycling and improved soil management methods.[21](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en21)This would avoid the metabolic rift associated with agribusiness monocultures, which are less efficient both in terms of food production per hectare and carbon sequestration. Another commonly advocated technofix, carbon capture and sequestration (CCS), is not strictly a form of geoengineering since it is directed at capturing and sequestering carbon emissions of particular electrical plants, such as coal-fired power plants. However, **the promotion of a CCS infrastructure on a planetary scale as a means of addressing climate change—thereby skirting the necessity of an ecological revolution in production and consumption—is best seen as a form of planetary geoengineering due to its immense projected economic and ecological scale**. Although CCS would theoretically allow the burning of fossil fuels from electrical power plants with no carbon emissions into the atmosphere, **the scale and the costs of CCS operations are prohibitive.** As Clive Hamilton writes in Earthmasters: The Dawn of the Age of Climate Engineering, CCS for a single “standard-sized 1,000 megawatt coal-fired plant….would need 30 kilometers of air-sucking machinery and six chemical plants, with a footprint of 6 square kilometers.”[22](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en22) Energy expert Vaclav Smil has calculated that, “in order to sequester just a fifth of current [2010] CO2 emissions we would have to create an entirely new worldwide absorption-gathering-compression-transportation-storage industry whose annual throughput would have to be about 70 percent larger than the annual volume now handled by the global crude oil industry, whose immense infrastructure of wells, pipelines, compressor stations and storage took generations to build.”[23](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en23) **Capturing and sequestering current U.S. carbon dioxide emissions would require 130 billion tons of water per year, equal to about half the annual flow of the Columbia River. This new gigantic infrastructure would be placed on top of the current fossil fuel infrastructure—all in order to allow for the continued burning of fossil fuels**.[24](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en24) A Planetary Precautionary Principle for the Anthropocene If today’s planetary ecological emergency is a product of centuries of war on the planet as a mechanism of capital accumulation, fossil-capital generated geoengineering schemes can be seen as gargantuan projects for keeping the system going by carrying this war to its ultimate level. Geoengineering under the present regime of accumulation has the sole objective of keeping the status quo intact—neither disturbing the dominant relations of capitalist production nor even seeking so much as to overturn the fossil-fuel industry with which capital is deeply intertwined. Profits, production, and overcoming energy poverty in the poorer parts of the world thus become justifications for keeping the present fossil-capital system going, maintaining at all cost the existing capitalist environmental regime. The Promethean mentality behind this is well captured by a question that Rex Tillerson then CEO of Exxon Mobil Corporation asked—without a trace of irony—at an annual shareholders meeting in 2013: “What good is it to save the planet if humanity suffers?”[25](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en25) The whole history of ecological crisis leading up the present planetary emergency, punctuated by numerous disasters—from the near total destruction of the ozone layer, to nutrient loading and the spread of dead zones in the ocean, to climate change itself—serves to highlight the march of folly associated with any attempt to engineer the entire planet. The complexity of the Earth System guarantees that enormous unforeseen consequences would emerge. As Frederick Engels warned in the nineteenth century, “Let us not…flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first.”[26](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en26) In the face of uncertainty, coupled with an extremely high likelihood of inflicting incalculable harm on the Earth System, it is essential to invoke what is known as the Precautionary Principle whenever the question of planetary geoengineering is raised. As ecological economist Paul Burkett has explained, the strong version of the Precautionary Principle, necessarily encompasses the following: (1) The Precautionary Principle Proper, which says that if an action may cause serious harm, there is a case for counteracting measures to ensure that the action does not take place. (2) The Principle of Reverse Onus, under which it is the responsibility of those supporting an action to show that it is not seriously harmful, thereby shifting the burden of proof off those potentially harmed by the action (e.g. the general population and other species occupying the environment). In short, it is safety, rather than potential harm, that needs to be demonstrated. (3) The Principle of Alternative Assessment, stipulating that no potentially harmful action will be undertaken if there are alternative actions available that safely achieve the same goals as the action proposed. (4) All societal deliberations bearing on the application of features 1 through 3 must be open, informed, and democratic, and must include all affected parties.[27](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en27) It is clear that geoengineering promoted in a context of a capitalist regime of maximum accumulation would be ruled out completely by a strong Precautionary Principle based on each of the criteria listed above. There is a near certainty of extreme damage to the human species as a whole arising from all of the major geoengineering proposals. If the onus were placed on status quo proponents of capitalist geoengineering to demonstrate that great harm to the planet as a place of human habitation would not be inflicted, such proposals would fail the test. Since the alternative of not burning fossil fuels and promoting alternative forms of energy is entirely feasible, while planetary geoengineering carries with it immense added dangers for the Earth System as a whole, such a technofix as a primary means of checking global warming would be excluded by that criterion, too. Finally, geoengineering under the present economic and social system invariably involves some entity from the power structure—a single multi-billionaire, a corporation, a government, or an international organization—implementing such action ostensibly on behalf of humanity as a whole, while leaving most affected parties worldwide out of the decision-making process, with hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of people paying the environmental costs, often with their lives. In short, geoengineering, particularly if subordinated to the capital accumulation process, violates the most sacred version of the Precautionary Principle, dating back to antiquity: First Do No Harm. Eco-Revolution as the Only Alternative As an extension of the current war on the planet, a regime of climate geoengineering designed to keep the present mode of production going is sharply opposed to the view enunciated by Barry Commoner in 1992 in Making Peace with the Planet, where he wrote: “If the environment is polluted and the economy is sick, the virus that causes both will be found in the system of production.”[28](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en28) There can be no doubt today that it is the present mode of production, particularly the system of fossil capital, that needs to change on a global scale. In order to stop climate change, the world economy must quickly shift to zero net carbon dioxide emissions. This is well within reach with a concerted effort by human society as a whole utilizing already existing sustainable technological means—particularly when coupled with necessary changes in social organization to reduce the colossal waste of resources and lives that is built into the current alienated system of production. Such changes could not simply be implemented from the top by elites, but rather would require the self-mobilization of the population, inspired by the revolutionary actions of youth aimed at egalitarian, ecological, collective, and socialized solutions—recognizing that it is the world that they will inherit that is most at stake. Today’s necessary ecological revolution would include for starters: (1) an emergency moratorium on economic growth in the rich countries coupled with downward redistribution of income and wealth; (2) radical reductions in greenhouse gas emissions; (3) rapid phase-out of the entire fossil fuel energy structure; (4) substitution of an alternative energy infrastructure based on sustainable alternatives such as solar and wind power and rooted in local control; (5) massive cuts in military spending with the freed-up economic surplus to be used for ecological conversion; (6) promotion of circular economies and zero-waste systems to decrease the throughput of energy and resources; (7) building effective public transportation, together with measures to decrease dependence on the private automobile; (8) restoration of global ecosystems in line with local, including indigenous, communities; (9) transformation of destructive, energy-and chemical-intensive agribusiness-monocultural production into agroecology, based on sustainable small farms and peasant cultivation with their greater productivity of food per acre; (10) institution of strong controls on the emission of toxic chemicals; (11) prohibition of the privatization of freshwater resources; (12) imposition of strong, human-community-based management of the ocean commons geared to sustainability; (13) institution of dramatic new measures to protect endangered species; (14) strict limits imposed on excessive and destructive consumer marketing by corporations; (15) reorganization of production to break down current commodity chains geared to rapacious accumulation and the philosophy of après moi le déluge; and (16) the development of more rational, equitable, less wasteful, and more collective forms of production.[29](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/09/01/making-war-on-the-planet/#en29) Priority in such an eco-revolution would need to be given to the fastest imaginable elimination of fossil fuel emissions, but this would in turn require fundamental changes in the human relationship to the earth and in the relationship of human beings to each other. A new emphasis would have to be placed on sustainable human development and the creation of an organic system of social metabolic reproduction. Centuries of exploitation and expropriation, including divisions on the basis of class, gender, race, and ethnicity, would have to be transcended. The historical logic posed by current conditions thus points to the necessity of a long ecological revolution, putting into place a new system of sustainable human development aimed at addressing the totality of needs of human beings as both natural and social beings: what is now called ecosocialism.

#### Endorse a dictatorship of the proletariat. Global capitalism’s inequities can only be fully purged once its intrinsic contradictions expose themselves and allow for the collapse of the bourgeoisie state. A dictatorship is required to solidify our transition to communism and is why you should reject any perm that attempts to preserve the state apparatus.

Revolution 73 Proletarian Dictatorship Vs. Bourgeois “Democracy”; Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line; Revolution; May 1973; Edited by Paul Saba; <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1/pd-v-bd.htm>; CE recut amrita

This situation can only be reversed by socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist rule. The first task of this revolution is to smash the power of the bourgeois state through the armed might of the workers and their allies. The bourgeoisie and its armed forces are disarmed. The political structure and the courts and bureaucracies of the bourgeois state–and all its rules and regulations aimed at enslaving the people–are abolished. Once in power the working class moves to socialize the ownership of the means of production-making them the common property of society–to resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism, to break down the obstacles capitalism puts in the way of progress, and makes possible the rapid development of society. Socialism is a higher form of society than capitalism, and is bound to replace it all over the world, just as capitalism replaced the feudal system of landlords and serfs. In the process of socialist revolution the working class and its allies builds up their own state machine, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers are armed and organized into people’s militias and armed forces. The capitalists and their enforcers are punished for their crimes against the people. This dictatorship imposed by the working class on the former exploiters and over new capitalist elements who arise under socialism is absolutely necessary in order to crush their resistance and prevent them from wrecking socialism and restoring their rule. Although this country’s capitalists like to point to the Soviet Union today and say, “This is what communism means,” the dictatorship of the proletariat is not what exists in the Soviet Union today. The working class was once in power in the Soviet Union and was building a powerful socialist society which was the bright hope of workers around the world. But the capitalist class was able to stage a comeback, when a new bourgeoisie seized power in the mid-’50s and turned the Soviet Union back from a socialist country to a capitalist country. Today the Soviet Union, as well as Cuba and most Eastern European countries under its thumb, are examples of bourgeois dictatorships. They disguise themselves as socialist countries where the working class rules, but in reality a new capitalist class rules and enforces its strict dictatorship over the working class. The dramatic events in China since the death of Mao Tsetung and the arrest of those most closely associated with him are signs of the fact that a new bourgeoisie has seized the reins in China and is attempting to steer this country, too, down the capitalist road. The dictatorship of the proletariat is qualitatively different from the bourgeois state that exists in the U.S. and the Soviet Union and other capitalist countries. Its purpose is not to enforce exploitation and the rule of a tiny minority. The proletarian state for the first time in history means the rule of the majority, the working class, allied with all of the oppressed. At the same time that there is a dictatorship over the former capitalist exploiters there is the unparalleled extension of real democracy for those oppressed by capitalism–the working people. The proletarian state is a million times more democratic than even the most democratic capitalist state. No longer do a handful of parasites run society for their own private profit and the working class sets out to transform all of society. To accomplish this the government is set up and run by workers, and the press, television stations, schools, etc., which the capitalists use to mold public opinion and shore up their rule, are stripped from them and become the common property of the working class and the masses of people. Since the working class and the socialist society built under its leadership represent the interests of the great majority of society, the workers openly proclaim their rule and openly dictate to their former exploiters and tormentors. The rule of the working class cannot be exercised by deceiving the masses of people, but only by their active involvement in every part of the political life of society and raising their political consciousness. But socialism is not a Utopia. It replaces capitalism, but cannot do away in one stroke with the inequalities, the old selfish ideas and the remnants of capitalism. Socialism itself is only the lower stage and transition to a still higher form of society, communism, where there will no longer be any classes, and, therefore, there will no longer be any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. During this entire transition period, the working class must maintain and strengthen its rule over the former exploiters and the new bourgeois elements that arise under socialism, prevent them from subverting the new society and restoring the old, and overcome the remaining influences of their dog-eat-dog, “look out for number one” philosophy. When everyone in society can share equally in mental and manual work, in producing goods and services and managing the affairs of society; when the outlook of the working class, putting the common good above narrow, individual interests, has become “second nature” to members of society; when goods and services can be produced so abundantly that money is no longer needed to exchange them and they can be distributed to people solely according to their needs; then society will have reached the stage of communism. Classes will have been completely eliminated, and the state as such will be replaced by the common administration of society by all its members. As this happens, throughout the world, mankind will have scaled a great mountain and will look out on a whole new horizon. The experience of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin and the People’s Republic of China during the lifetime of Mao Tsetung, has shown that the working class can overthrow the exploiters and run society in the interests of the masses of people. The fact that the rule of the working class was overthrown in the Soviet Union and now temporarily in China also shows how stubborn the class struggle is under socialism and the need for the proletarian dictatorship to be maintained. Communism will show that the people can do away completely and forever with the institutions and influences of capitalism and all other forms of class society. Karl Marx, founder of communist philosophy and of the revolutionary workers movement, wrote, “The existence of classes is only bound up with particular phases in the development of production . . . the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . [and] this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of classes and to a classless society. ”

### Generic Case Turns/Circumvention

#### The right to strike does nothing to companies who actually exploit workers—they just hire consultants and employ shady tactics

Lafer and Loustaunau 20-- Gordon Lafer [political economist and is a Professor at the University of Oregon] and Lola Loustaunau [assistant research fellow at the Labor Education and Research Center, University of Oregon]; Fear at work: An inside account of how employers threaten, intimidate, and harass workers to stop them from exercising their right to collective bargaining; July 23, 2020; Economic Policy Institute; <https://www.epi.org/publication/fear-at-work-how-employers-scare-workers-out-of-unionizing/>. (AG DebateDrills)

Even when employers obey the law, they rely on a set of tactics that are legal under the NLRA but illegal in elections for Congress, city council, or any other public office. A $340 million industry of “union avoidance” consultants helps employers exploit the weaknesses of federal labor law to deny workers the right to collective bargaining.17 Over the past five years, employers using union avoidance consultants have included FedEx, Bed Bath & Beyond, and LabCorp, among others. Table 1, reproduced from an EPI report published in late 2019, lists just a few of these employers, along with the reported financial investments they made to thwart union organizing during the specified years.18 These firms’ tactics lie at the core of explaining why so few American workers who want a union actually get one, and their success in blocking unionization efforts represents a significant contribution to the country’s ongoing crisis of economic inequality. The lack of a right of free speech enables coercion NLRB elections are fundamentally framed by one-sided control over communication, with no free-speech rights for workers. Under current law, employers may require workers to attend mass anti-union meetings as often as once a day (mandatory meetings at which the employer delivers anti-union messaging are dubbed “captive audience meetings” in labor law). Not only is the union not granted equal time, but pro-union employees may be required to attend on condition that they not ask questions; those who speak up despite this condition can be legally fired on the spot.19 The most recent data show that nearly 90% of employers force employees to attend such anti-union campaign rallies, with the average employer holding 10 such mandatory meetings during the course of an election campaign.20 In addition to group meetings, employers typically have supervisors talk one-on-one with each of their direct subordinates.21 In these conversations, the same person who controls one’s schedule, assigns job duties, approves vacation requests, grants raises, and has the power to terminate employees “at will” conveys how important it is that their underlings oppose unionization. As one longtime consultant explained, a supervisor’s message is especially powerful because “the warnings…come from…the people counted on for that good review and that weekly paycheck.”22 Within this lopsided campaign environment, the employer’s message typically focuses on a few key themes: unions will drive employers out of business, unions only care about extorting dues payments from workers, and unionization is futile because employees can’t make management do something it doesn’t want to do.23 Many of these arguments are highly deceptive or even mutually contradictory. For instance, the dues message stands in direct contradiction to management’s warnings that unions inevitably lead to strikes and unemployment. If a union were primarily interested in extracting dues money from workers, it would never risk a strike or bankruptcy, because no one pays dues when they are on strike or out of work. But in an atmosphere in which pro-union employees have [with] little effective right of reply, these messages may prove extremely powerful.

#### Turn: Today’s strikes rely on public support—legal strikes always incite social tensions among groups of different statuses—only illegal strikes have the potential to be successful and change minds

Reddy 21-- Diana S. Reddy [Diana Reddy is a Doctoral Fellow at the Law, Economics, and Politics Center at UC Berkeley Law]; “There Is No Such Thing as an Illegal Strike”: Reconceptualizing the Strike in Law and Political Economy; Jan 6 2021; Yale Law Journal; <https://www.yalelawjournal.org/forum/there-is-no-such-thing-as-an-illegal-strike-reconceptualizing-the-strike-in-law-and-political-economy>. (AG DebateDrills)

In recent years, consistent with this vision, there has been a shift in the kinds of strikes [are] workers and their organizations engage in—increasingly public-facing, engaged with the community, and capacious in their concerns.178 They have transcended the ostensible apoliticism of their forebearers in two ways, less voluntaristic and less economistic. They are less voluntaristic in that they seek to engage and mobilize the broader community in support of labor’s goals, and those goals often include community, if not state, action. They are less economistic in that they draw through lines between workplace-based economic issues and other forms of exploitation and subjugation that have been constructed as “political.” These strikes do not necessarily look like what strikes looked like fifty years ago, and they often skirt—or at times, flatly defy—legal rules. Yet, they have often been successful. Since 2012, tens of thousands of workers in the Fight for $15 movement have engaged in discourse-changing, public law-building strikes. They do not shut down production, and their primary targets are not direct employers. For these reasons, they push the boundaries of exiting labor law.179 Still, the risks appear to have been worth it. A 2018 report by the National Employment Law Center found that these strikes had helped twenty-two million low-wage workers win $68 billion in raises, a redistribution of wealth fourteen times greater than the value of the last federal minimum wage increase in 2007.180 They have demonstrated the power of strikes to do more than challenge employer behavior. As Kate Andrias has argued: [T]he Fight for $15 . . . reject[s] the notion that unions’ primary role is to negotiate traditional private collective bargaining agreements, with the state playing a neutral mediating and enforcing role. Instead, the movements are seeking to bargain in the public arena: they are engaging in social bargaining with the state on behalf of all workers.”181 In the so-called “red state” teacher strikes of 2018, more than a hundred thousand educators in West Virginia, Oklahoma, Arizona, and other states struck to challenge post-Great Recession austerity measures, which they argued hurt teachers and students, alike.182 These strikes were illegal; yet, no penalties were imposed.183 Rather, the strikes grew workers’ unions, won meaningful concessions from state governments, and built public support. As noted above, public-sector work stoppages are easier to conceive of as political, even under existing jurisprudential categories.184 But these strikes were political in the broader sense as well. Educators worked with parents and students to cultivate support, and they explained how their struggles were connected to the needs of those communities.185 Their power was not only in depriving schools of their labor power, but in making normative claims about the value of that labor to the community. Most recently, 2020 saw a flurry of work stoppages in support of the Black Lives Matter movement.186 These ranged from Minneapolis bus drivers’ refusal to transport protesters to jail, to Service Employees International Union’s Strike for Black Lives, to the NBA players’ wildcat strike.187 Some of these protests violated legal restrictions. The NBA players’ strike for instance, was inconsistent with a “no-strike” clause in their collective-bargaining agreement with the NBA.188 And it remains an open question in each case whether workers sought goals that were sufficiently job-related as to constitute protected activity.189 Whatever the conclusion under current law, however, striking workers demonstrated in fact the relationship between their workplaces and broader political concerns. The NBA players’ strike was resolved in part through an agreement that NBA arenas would be used as polling places and sites of civic engagement.190 Workers withheld their labor in order to insist that private capital be used for public, democratic purposes. And in refusing to transport arrested protestors to jail, Minneapolis bus drivers made claims about their vision for public transport. Collectively, all of these strikes have prompted debates within the labor movement about what a strike is, and what its role should be. These strikes are so outside the bounds of institutionalized categories that public data sources do not always reflect them.191 And there is, reportedly, a concern by some union leaders that these strikes do not look like the strikes of the mid-twentieth century. There has been a tendency to dismiss them.192 In response, Bill Fletcher Jr., the AFL-CIO’s first Black Education Director, has argued, “People, who wouldn’t call them strikes, aren’t looking at history.”193 Fletcher, Jr. analogizes these strikes to the tactics of the civil-rights movement. As Catherine Fisk and I recently argued, law has played an undertheorized role in constructing the labor movement and civil-rights movement as separate and apart from each other, by affording First Amendment protections to civil rights groups, who engage in “political” activity, that are denied to labor unions, engaging in “economic” activity.194 Labor unions who have strayed from the lawful parameters of protest have paid for it dearly.195 As such, it is no surprise that some unions are reluctant to embrace a broader vision of what the strike can be. Under current law, worker protest that defies acceptable legal parameters can destroy a union. Recasting the strike—and the work of unions more broadly—as political is risky. Samuel Gompers defended the AFL’s voluntarism and economism not as a matter of ideology but of pragmatism; he insisted that American workers were too divided to unite around any vision other than “more.”196 He did not want labor’s fortunes tied to the vicissitudes of party politics or to a state that he had experienced as protective of existing power structures. Now, perhaps more than ever, it is easy to understand the dangers of the “political” in a divided United States. Through seeking to be apolitical, labor took its work out of the realm of the debatable for decades; for this time, the idea that (some) workers should have (some form of) collective representation in the workplace verged on hegemonic. And yet, labor’s reluctance to engage in the “contest of ideas” has inhibited more than its cultivation of broader allies; it has inhibited its own organizing. If working people have no exposure to alternative visions of political economy or what workplace democracy entails, it is that much harder to convince them to join unions. Similarly, labor’s desire to organize around a decontextualized “economics” has always diminished its power (and moral authority), given that the economy is structured by race, gender, and other status inequalities—and always has been. During the Steel Strike of 1919, the steel companies relied on more than state repression to break the strike. They also exploited unions’ refusal to organize across the color line. Steel companies replaced striking white workers with Black workers.197 Black workers also sought “more.” But given their violent exclusion from many labor unions at the time, many believed they would not achieve it through white-led unions.198

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

Runciman 19-- Runciman, Carin [Associate Professor of Sociology at University of Johannesburg]. "The" Double-edged Sword" of Institutional Power: COSATU, Neo-liberalisation and the Right to Strike." Global Labour Journal 10.2 (2019). (AG DebateDrills)

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