# 1

### NC

#### States ought to:

#### 1. Increase private appropriations of outer space

#### 2. Mandate unionization of all space labor

#### 3. Establish a $25 minimum wage for all space laborers

#### 4. Limit extra-terrestrial resource extraction to sustainable levels

#### 5. Ban all resource extraction and mining in environments with close proximity to human settlements

#### 6. Ban waste dumping in low-income communities of color

#### 7. Establish a program to equally distribute resources from space to all countries

#### 8. fully fund a program to cover 4.8% of the surface of the Earth’s oceans in a monolayer of 0.1 micrometer-diameter latex particles, either hollow, or of core-shell morphology, bearing a conventional stabilization system that is inactivated in salt water.

#### 9. raise the top-bracket tax rate to 50% and the capital gains and dividends tax rate to 30.4%.

#### The first 7 planks solve the social effects of capitalism as per their Dean, Leong, and Faber evidence

#### Plank 8 solves the environment

Morgan ‘11 (John Morgan, PhD in physical chemistry, runs R&D programmes at a Sydney startup company, research experience in chemical engineering in the US and at the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation, Australia's national science agency, 10/8/11, “Low intensity geoengineering – microbubbles and microspheres,” http://bravenewclimate.com/2011/10/08/low-intensity-geoengineering-microbubbles-and-microspheres/)

Is there another way to look at this? The Achilles heel of the hydrosol approach is the short bubble lifetime. But are there other ways to brighten water? Are there any other micron sized light scattering particles cheaply available in prodigious quantities, which float in water and don’t dissolve? It turns out the answer is yes. Synthetic latex is produced on a huge scale – 1010 kg in 2005. A latex is a dispersion of polymer microspheres in water (Figure 5). The particle size is typically around 0.1 – 0.5 μm. The polymer content is high – about 50% by weight. And its cheap – a bit over a dollar per kilo wet. It looks like a bright white opaque liquid, like wood glue, which is a polyvinylacetate latex. Its a bulk commodity used in adhesives, paper coatings, paint and many other applications. The common polymers are acrylates, polystyrene and its copolymers, PVA, and others. These polymers themselves are inert and non toxic. Whether they present any physical risk to the biota needs to be determined but given the small particle size and low concentration in a milieu already loaded with natural micro- and nanoparticles it seems low risk. The main safety concern in my opinion would be any residual monomers, which are toxic. But these can be eliminated, certainly to the point where these materials can be safely unleashed on the public as paints and glues. The chief virtues of latex particles over bubbles is **they don’t dissolve, they don’t coalesce, they are durable, and they can be made much smaller**. They have a density of just over 1 g cm-3 so they sink, but at 0.2 micron the sedimentation velocity is too slow to matter. This presents a different problem – the chief loss mechanism now is not dissolution but loss by convection to deeper waters. Is there some way to keep these particles afloat? I think there is. Most of these latex polymers, polystyrene, for example, are hydrophobic – they’re water repellent. To keep the particles in suspension requires added surfactants, or putting electrically charged groups on the surface. But when diluted with salt water, both these stabilization mechanisms fail. **Without stabilization a polystyrene sphere will attach to the water surface**. Breaking waves will drive them under, but rising bubbles will scavenge them back to the surface again. This mechanism is well known and extensively studied in the mineral separation process of flotation, where particles of mineral ores are recovered from slurries by attachment to rising bubbles. The natural bubble population from breaking waves could keep even submicron particles concentrated at and near the ocean surface (Figure 6). The use of latex technology opens other doors for engineering particle properties. For instance, rather than producing a particle composed of a single polymer, its possible to construct a particle with two different polymers in a core-shell morphology, or even hollow particles. Such particles can have much higher scattering power than simple spheres, and are also made in bulk at commodity prices. Indeed, they are used as opacifiers in paint. We could paint the oceans white. Lets run the numbers on this and ask, what would it take to reverse current warming? First we need to know how much light these particles scatter back to space. I used Mie theory to analyse scattering of 500 nm wavelength light (roughly the solar peak) from 0.1 μm diameter polystyrene spheres, as if the sun were overhead. The back scattering from these very small particles is intense – 42% of overhead light returns to space. And this is just direct scattering. Some of the light that scatters forward will scatter off a second particle, and a third. **Multiple scattering will see more than 42% of light returned to space.** Since these particles attach to the surface, lets consider, for the moment, a monolayer on the water surface. This requires 1014particles per square metre, with a volume of 5.2×10-8 m3 per m2(or 5 parts per billion of the top 10 m, for comparison with Seitz’ figures). Polystyrene has a density of 1050 kg m-3, so that’s a mass of 55 mg m-2. Over 3.16×1014 m2 of ocean that’s 1.7×1010 kg polymer. What would this do to the earth’s energy balance? Average insolation (accounting for cloud cover [Jin et al. 2002, cited by Seitz]) is 239 Wm-2. The monolayer cross sectional area fraction is pi/4. So the energy returned by direct overhead scattering is about 78 W. That’s huge compared to the current CO2 forcing of about 2.25 Wm-2. Modelling reported by Seitz indicates an increase of ocean albedo of 0.05 translates to an increase of planetary albedo by 0.031 [Seitz 2010; Figure 5]. So I’ll assume planetary albedo increase is 60% of the ocean albedo increase, which means we need ocean backscattering of 3.75 Wm-2. **We would only need 4.8% of a monolayer to offset current CO2 forcing** (ignoring the contribution from multiple scattering). 4.8% of a whole ocean monolayer is 8.3×108 kg of dry polymer, or about 1.7×109 kg wet latex. At say $1.20 per kg, this would cost $2.0 billion and account for 17% of 2005 global production capacity. This is, surprisingly, well within reach. $2.0b to reverse global warming is cheap. Restricting dispersal to the mid latitudes where the greatest effect is achieved, using core-shell latex technology, and properly accounting for multiple scattering would see this cost drop even further. Annual growth in latex production grew organically by 4.5% per annum between 2000-2005. Ramping production by 17% would be completely feasible. The ongoing cost depends on the residence time of the particles at the ocean surface. Equatorial currents run at about 1 ms-1, which would imply a traversal time of about 1 year for the Pacific ocean. Mid latitude the currents are much slower. The latex particles themselves will degrade in the environment, and there will be losses by association and entrainment in a complex marine environment. But let’s provisionally estimate a cost of $2b per year. This is significantly cheaper than, say, stratospheric sulfur aerosol injection which is estimated at $25-50b per year, let alone space sunshades. And it doesn’t require exotic engineering, enabling R&D, or orbital launches – it uses existing materials at a rate well inside existing production capacity. Conclusion So consider this final elaboration of Russell Seitz’ bright idea: 0.1 μm diameter latex particles, possibly hollow, or of core-shell morphology, bearing a conventional stabilization system that is inactivated in salt water ensuring that the particles are retained at and near the surface, are produced in bulk using about 17% of existing production capacity and using commercial recipes, and are sprayed onto the sea from tanks aboard ships or crop dusting aircraft, oil rigs, and other structures, in the mid latitudes. For a cost in the order of a mere $2b per year **we could offset current global warming**, subject to the many disclaimers and qualifications discussed above, and many others not mentioned. More limited, local applications, such as the direct cooling of coral reefs as envisaged by Seitz for the microbubble concept, are also possible.

#### Plank 9 solves poverty and inequality

Aaron 15 — (Henry J. Aaron, did not hit 755 home runs but is a Senior Fellow @ The Brookings Institution with a PhD in Econ from Harvard, “Can taxing the rich reduce inequality? You bet it can!” Economic Studies at Brookings, October 2015, available online at https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/taxing-the-rich-you-bet-aaron.pdf, accessed 10-5-2017)

My colleagues reported that an increase in the top-bracket∂ tax rate from 39.6 percent to 50 percent would lower one∂ measure of inequality, the “Gini coefficient,2∂ by a∂ seemingly negligible amount—from 0.5595 to 0.5558.∂ While that shift looks small—it is just 0.7 percent of the∂ original value—it increases by 10 percent the income∂ equalizing effect of the current tax system. And, if one∂ counts the impact on inequality of distributing the revenue,∂ $95 billion in the first year and $1.3 trillion over a decade3∂ to people in the bottom fifth of the income distribution, this∂ policy would lower inequality as measured by the Gini∂ coefficient by 20 percent of the reduction produced by the∂ current tax system.∂ Even using the measure that my colleagues employ, the∂ reduction in inequality is not negligible. But the Gini∂ coefficient, although the most commonly used measure of∂ overall inequality, is poorly suited to measure the impact of∂ a tax increase on the very rich. Specifically, ‘the Gini’ is∂ relatively insensitive to income changes at both the top and∂ the bottom of the income distribution. My colleagues∂ acknowledge this point, writing “We acknowledge that the∂ Gini coefficient is more sensitive to changes in the middle of∂ the income distribution than in the tails of that distribution.”∂ It would have been helpful, therefore, to have used another∂ indicator of income inequality that does not share this∂ shortcoming.∂ As it happens, my colleagues presented data on one such∂ measure, the 99/10 ratio. It shows the ratio of incomes of∂ taxpayers at the 99th percentile to those at the 10th∂ percentile of the income distribution. That measure shows∂ that raising the top personal income tax rate when coupled∂ with transfer of the revenue to the lowest-income fifth of∂ taxpayers has a large effect on inequality. That∂ combination lowers the 99/10 ratio by nearly as much as∂ does the current tax system.∂ No single measure of income inequality is superior to all∂ others for all purposes. Some show greater sensitivity to∂ changes in income at the top, some to changes in incomes∂ at the bottom, and some to changes in between. For∂ example, almost none of the tax effects of an increase in∂ the top-bracket tax rate show up in the 99/10 ratio for the∂ simple reason that the top bracket applies only to the top ½∂ of 1 percent of all filers.∂ When different measures give different results, the sensible∂ course is to take a step back, and use one’s judgment as to∂ decide which is most informative. In this case, using a∂ measure that focuses on income changes∂ at the top and bottom of the income distribution demonstrates∂ that an increase in the top bracket rate combined with∂ distribution to people at the bottom has a major effect on∂ measured inequality.∂ Sensible tax policy∂ It is important to use judgment not only in selecting a∂ measure of inequality, but also in choosing what tax policy∂ to evaluate. Simply raising the top tax bracket would∂ aggravate a well-recognized problem with the current tax∂ system. For that reason, an increase in the top-bracket∂ rate should, and almost certainly would, be combined with∂ other measures. Here is why.∂ Raising the tax on ordinary income but not that on gains∂ and dividends would exacerbate tax avoidance. The 39.6-∂ percent top tax rate on ordinary income, such as wages∂ and salaries, is much higher than the 20-percent top rate∂ on capital gains and dividends.4∂ Currently, the highest∂ income 1 percent of all filers derive slightly more income∂ from capital gains and dividends than they do from wages∂ and salaries.5∂ The gap between tax rates on various forms of income∂ encourages people to go to considerable effort and∂ expense to convert more-highly-taxed wages and salaries∂ into capital gains or dividends. Although such conversions∂ are often costly, they are worth it, provided one has enough∂ income to shelter. A multi-billion dollar tax planning∂ industry thrives on fees wealthy filers willingly pay for help∂ to do just that. Tax avoidance is quite legal, but if one is∂ interested in boosting taxes on the rich, one would be ill∂ advised to encourage them to shelter more of it.∂ An increase in the top rate on ordinary income should be∂ linked to an increase in the rate on capital gains and∂ dividends to avoid making a bad problem worse. Exactly∂ how much the rate on capital gains and dividends would∂ have to go up to achieve that result is hard to pin down.∂ For illustration, however, I assume that if the top rate on∂ ordinary income were increased to 50 percent, the tax rate∂ applied to capital gains and dividends would go up by the∂ same amount, from 20 percent to 30.4 percent.6∂ These∂ two changes would boost revenue by $144 billion a year or∂ $2.0 trillion over ten years. If that revenue were distributed∂ to the bottom 20 percent of the income distribution, the rate∂ increases combined with the transfers would lower the∂ 99/10 income ratio by 110 percent as much as it is by the∂ entire current tax system.∂ As noted, the 99/10 ratio misses nearly all of the tax effects∂ of raising the top bracket. If the top bracket rate∂ of 50 percent is extended to the highest-income 1∂ percent of tax filers, the impacts on inequality are∂ increased. Over the ten-year budget window, applying∂ the 50 percent rate to the top 1 percent of all filers and∂ boosting the rate on capital gains and dividends from 20∂ to 30.4 percent would raise $2.3 trillion. If this revenue∂ were distributed to the bottom 20 percent of the income∂ distribution, the gap between the incomes of people at∂ the 99th and 10th percentile would be cut by almost half∂ from its pre-tax level.

# 2

### NC

#### Congress is inching towards a funding deal—but, it’s a deliberate dance to keep them focused on funding while avoiding political complications

Romm 2/2 [Tony Romm is the congressional economic policy reporter at The Washington Post, tracking infrastructure reform, government spending and the financial impacts of federal decision-making nationwide, "Democrats, GOP inch ahead toward potential deal to fund government, avert shutdown", 2/2/22, https://www.washingtonpost.com/us-policy/2022/02/02/democrats-republicans-spending-shutdown-covid/]

Top Democrats and Republicans inched forward Wednesday in pursuit of a deal that could fund the federal government for the remainder of the fiscal year, hoping to stave off a shutdown while potentially pumping new spending into health care, education, science and defense.

The continued negotiations marked the second consecutive day of developments on Capitol Hill, as lawmakers who oversee the federal purse increasingly have come to express a measure of confidence that they can act before an upcoming Feb. 18 deadline — and overcome months of prior political disputes and delays.

Since President Biden took office, the U.S. government has operated under short-term measures that sustain key federal agencies and programs largely at their existing spending levels. The stopgaps have kept the government running, but they have also delayed Democrats from delivering on some of the White House’s top priorities, from expanding affordable housing to confronting climate change.

Republicans appeared content to continue in that vein, essentially dealing a political blow to Biden’s agenda in the process. But the two sides have come to see mutual benefit in striking a longer-term resolution, putting aside their differences at a moment when the United States continues to confront the pandemic at home and faces new diplomatic challenges abroad. The omicron variant of the coronavirus has sparked fresh discussions about the need for another round of federal aid, while the intensifying standoff between Russia and Ukraine has emboldened a Republican-led push to spend more on defense.

Both spending priorities could be appended to any new government funding measure, provided the two sides can reach a deal in the first place. In a sign of progress, Republicans on Wednesday presented a counter-offer for federal spending over the rest of the 2022 fiscal year, which Democrats are reviewing. The GOP move had the effect of temporarily delaying a planned afternoon meeting of the House and Senate’s top appropriators, but it still reflected a new seriousness among negotiators who until now hadn’t traded such proposals.

Yet new political fault lines also emerged Wednesday. Taking to the chamber floor earlier in the day, Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) foreshadowed what could be staunch GOP opposition to another round of pandemic relief, as he cited roughly $6 trillion in spending that has been approved since the start of the public health emergency in 2020.

“Let’s start the discussion by talking about repurposing the hundreds of billions already sitting in the pipeline,” McConnell said.

Lawmakers begin discussing government spending deal as Democrats eye virus aid, paid leave

The promises and platitudes nonetheless amounted to noteworthy progress on Capitol Hill, a place where partisan disagreements these days have come to transform all but the most basic debates into intractable conflicts.

Twice in recent months, the appropriations process has nearly brought federal agencies to a screeching halt, threatening to shut down the government and hamstring the country’s response to the pandemic. Republicans at the end of last year even held up a swift resolution to the funding fight to launch an ill-fated political campaign against Biden’s vaccination and testing mandates targeting businesses. The Supreme Court later struck down some of the administration’s policies.

This year, lawmakers from both parties have pledged to steer clear of the same brinkmanship that characterized negotiations in fights past. Instead they have aimed for a deal that covers spending through the fiscal year, which concludes at the end of September. But they already face a race against the clock to act by Feb. 18, the date by which lawmakers must adopt another short-term measure or broker the sort of compromise that has so far eluded them during Biden’s presidency.

With the clock ticking, Democrats huddled Tuesday morning to discuss their political strategy. Emerging from the gathering, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) and Senate Majority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) each offered their public, formal blessings for the nascent talks around a longer-term spending deal. Schumer added that the party’s negotiators are “on the same page,” though he and Pelosi noted they had not yet received an official counteroffer from their GOP counterparts.

The leaders of the House and Senate’s top panels overseeing appropriations then gathered on their own late Tuesday to try to put pen to paper. One of the participants in the bipartisan session, Sen. Richard C. Shelby (R-Ala.), later told reporters that lawmakers are still seeking an “agreement on our principles, then the [spending] top line will follow.”

Shelby acknowledged at the time that a slew of policy gaps still separate the parties, including the balance between “social spending versus national security.” But he joined his Democratic counterparts in maintaining that “we all want to try to get to yes,” adding: “We’re not there yet.”

Democrats seek significant boosts in federal domestic spending, now that the country for the first time in a decade is not bound to strict budget caps. Writing to her caucus last month, Pelosi endorsed the need for a “strong omnibus” that would “address critical priorities for our country, including for our national security and for communities at home.”

Yet some of the Democrats’ proposed spending increases and policy tweaks have troubled Shelby and his fellow Republicans. Beginning last year, they pointed to a series of “poison pills” — from Democratic plans to enhance the IRS to the party’s effort to loosen a long-standing ban on federal funding for abortion services — that could sink any talks on a deal. GOP lawmakers also have called for parity in defense and nondefense spending, a move that historically has troubled some Democrats, who have sought greater cuts to the Pentagon than even Biden has proposed.

“We’re looking for parity. We live in a troubled world and a lot of us think national security is important for this country,” Shelby, who leads the GOP on the Senate’s appropriations panel, stressed on Tuesday.

Democrats and Republicans otherwise appeared to downplay any potential disagreements following their flurry of meetings. Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), the chairman of the chamber’s appropriations panel, described himself as “always optimistic.” Rep. Rosa L. DeLauro (D-Conn.), his counterpart in the House, declined to specify any timelines or expectations for the follow-up session set for Wednesday afternoon.

“The goal is to get an agreement,” DeLauro said.

But such a deal, known in congressional parlance as an omnibus, is likely to carry additional significance this year. The compromise could pave the way for billions of dollars to flow toward projects that would improve the nation’s roads, bridges, pipes, ports and Internet connections. Lawmakers approved the money as part of a bipartisan infrastructure law finalized in 2021, but the package requires them to complete the act of writing the check, so to speak, before the real work can begin.

The must-pass spending measure also could serve as a legislative vehicle for lawmakers to advance a slew of other critical priorities. That includes new disaster aid in response to recent hurricanes and the tornadoes in and around Kentucky last year, for example, along with billions of dollars to augment the country’s efforts to combat the coronavirus.

With cases still rampant from the omicron variant, Democrats in recent weeks have renewed their calls for more federal spending to boost testing, therapeutics and vaccine access, especially abroad. Others have sought to provide additional benefits to workers, including the revival of a program that offers limited, pandemic-related paid family and medical leave. And still other Democrats have joined with a small but growing crop of Republicans who hope to give the green light to new assistance targeting restaurants, gyms, stages and other small businesses.

Lawmakers begin talks on another round of coronavirus relief for businesses

Publicly, the White House has maintained in recent months that significant money remains as part of the roughly $1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan that Biden signed into law last spring. White House officials, meanwhile, have quietly started preparing a supplemental request focused on outstanding public health needs.

But the Biden administration by Tuesday afternoon had not transmitted any official request to the Capitol, Democratic leaders said. “We’re waiting for the administration to send us something. They haven’t sent us anything yet,” Schumer told reporters.

Some party aides acknowledged it had become a deliberate, delicate dance, reflecting an attempt to keep Congress focused on solidifying government funding levels without adding any other political complications.

#### Space policy causes immense partisan backlash that wrecks the delicate balance

Dreier 16 [Casey Dreier, Chief Advocate & Senior Space Policy Adviser for The Planetary Society, April 13, 2016. “Does Presidential Intervention Undermine Consensus for NASA?” https://www.planetary.org/blogs/casey-dreier/2016/0413-does-a-strong-president-help-or-hurt-consensus-on-NASA.html]

To see how this happens, I recommend reading the book “[Beyond Ideology](http://smile.amazon.com/Beyond-Ideology-Politics-Principles-Partisanship/dp/0226470768/ref=smi_www_rco2_go_smi_g2243582042?_encoding=UTF8&*Version*=1&*entries*=0&ie=UTF8)” by Frances Lee. The author’s larger premise is that issues having no intrinsic relation to stated party ideology have become increasingly polarized in recent years. This is a function of the two party nature of our political system. If your party coalition wins, the other one loses. It’s [It is] zero-sum. Your party can win in one of two ways: you can make a better pitch to voters by demonstrating the superiority of your agenda; or you can undermine and stymie the agenda of the opposition party, making them unpopular with voters, and pick up the seats that they lose. Since you’re the only other political party, you gain in either scenario. I’m not sure if you’ve noticed, but the “undermine and stymie” approach has been popular for quite some time now in the U.S. Congress. Given this situation, the President and their policies naturally become the symbolic target of the opposition party. Anything promoted by the President effectively induces opposition by association. Lee demonstrates the magnitude of this induced polarization on various types of issues. For highly polarized issues like the role of government in the economy, or social issues, the impact is minimal—the opposition has already been clearly defined and generally falls into clearly defined ideologies of the Republican and Democratic parties. But for issues that do not fit readily into a predefined political ideology—like space—the induced polarization by the President can be significant. In fact, Lee showed that space, science, and technology issues incur the greatest increase in partisanship based on their inclusion in the Presidential agenda. One need only look to at the responses by political operatives of the opposing party to the strong human spaceflight proposals by [Barack Obama in 2010](http://www.shelby.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/mobile/newsreleases?ID=25F3AD2E-802A-23AD-4960-F512B9E205D2), [George W. Bush in 2004](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/3950099/ns/technology_and_science-space/t/bush-sets-new-course-moon-beyond/#.Vw3UMRMrKHo), and [George H.W. Bush in 1989](http://www.nytimes.com/1989/07/21/us/president-calls-for-mars-mission-and-a-moon-base.html) to see this reflected in recent history. This isn’t to say that Presidents can’t have a significant impact on the space program. Clearly they can. But the broad consensus needed for stability after their departure from office may be undermined by the very priority they gave it during their tenure. It what amounts to a mixed blessing for NASA, the U.S. space program does have an unusually strong bipartisan group of politicians who support the program due to NASA centers in a variety of states throughout the union. Berger notes this throughout his article, and it does, in a way, act as force that is resistant to change for good and bad. This mitigates somewhat the pure polarization seen on other science and technology issues. But for a Journey to Mars—a major effort that would, at best, require stability and significant funding over many Presidential administrations—that may not be enough. Perhaps the solution is for the next President to maintain a light touch on space. Maybe they should speak softly through the budget process, and avoid the Kennedyesque speeches and declarations to Congress that induce the types of partisanship we so dearly need to avoid.

#### Bipart’s key—otherwise, yearlong CR ruins defense industrial base and military modernization

Gould 1/22 [Joe Gould is senior Pentagon reporter for Defense News, “Defense industry frets as funding talks crawl”, 1/21/2022, https://www.defensenews.com/congress/budget/2022/01/21/defense-industry-frets-as-funding-talks-crawl/]

Despite repeated warnings from uniformed Pentagon leaders and lawmakers of both parties that a full-year continuing resolution will hurt national security, some defense industry advocates are still worried about an impasse.

On Thursday, both chambers of Congress left town on recess until the week of Jan. 31, after making scant progress on a deal for an omnibus federal spending package. Amid partisan divisions over funding levels and policy provisions, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, D-N.Y., warned that a full-year CR would create a national security crisis ― in an effort to pressure Republicans.

“It is a national security issue of the highest priority, with the threats that exist out there. To go to a continuing resolution instead of a decision-making omnibus bill is to weaken our security and our stability,” Pelosi told reporters Thursday. “The Republicans should know that, so we hope we will be able to bring that legislation to the floor before [the current CR] expires.”

With fiscal 2022 spending bills four months overdue, lawmakers and the Pentagon have warned against a yearlong CR that would freeze defense spending at the level of 2021 appropriations. CRs continue funding at the previous year’s level, preventing the Pentagon from starting new acquisition programs and ramping up production quantities.

And without a 2022 spending deal to set a new baseline, the president’s budget submission is in limbo and expected to come months late, which is sowing uncertainty for the military and its vendors.

President Joe Biden signed a defense policy bill that boosts his $753 billion national defense budget request for FY22 to $778 billion, a 3% increase. But Republicans have said they want more for defense, less than the 16% increase proposed by Democrats and an agreement on some politically charged policy riders.

By the reckoning of National Defense Industrial Association Chairman Arnold Punaro, lawmakers could meet somewhere in the middle with 8% increases for both defense and nondefense, but that’s far from a certainty. Democrats have raised fears some Republicans see budget gridlock as an advantage heading into midterm elections and don’t want a deal at all.

“We’re still in budget chaos,” Punaro told Defense News this week. “China’s on the march, Russia’s on the move and North Korea’s on the advance, and yet Congress is sitting on their duff, not passing a spending bill. It’s disgraceful.”

The lack of a 2022 deal as a baseline for defense amid escalating inflation presents a huge challenge for Pentagon planners crafting the FY23 budget request, Punaro said. He worried the administration could make a flat budget request, potentially costing the Pentagon billions of dollars in buying power.

Meanwhile, a full-year CR would yield $11 billion of lost growth, while 7% inflation would mean another $50 billion in lost buying power, according to defense consultant Jim McAleese, the founder of McAleese & Associates.

Though the current CR runs out on Feb. 18., recent negotiations in Congress have sparked some optimism.

Lead appropriators in the Senate met Jan. 13 with Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer and Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell to set the guidelines for negotiations. From there, lead House and Senate appropriators met to kick off talks, and Pelosi has said she’s been in discussions with House Appropriations Committee Chairwoman Rosa DeLauro, D-Conn.

Asked Thursday whether it’s realistic to get an agreement by Feb. 18, as Congress was about to leave town Senate Appropriations Committee Vice Chairman Richard Shelby, R-Ala., said: “That’s a good question. It’d be hard to get it by the 18th, but if we can make huge progress, we can probably get done soon.”

It’s unclear whether looming international crises with Russia and Ukraine, China and Taiwan, and North Korean missile tests would add pressure to pass defense spending. When asked about Pelosi’s comments, Shelby seemed to dig in.

“She’s right on that, but to underfund defense as some people would like to do, that would be a bigger challenge,” he said.

At a House Appropriations Committee hearing Jan. 12 about the effects of a potential full-year CR, the top officers of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps and Space Force warned such a move would sabotage the military’s efforts to compete with China by stalling new weapons like hypersonic missiles.

“CRs effectively prevent modernization at speed,” said Marine Corps Commandant Gen. David Berger. “We actually stand to be outpaced by China — not because of their speed but because of our failure to comply with our own budgetary processes.”

The president and CEO of the Aerospace Industries Association, Eric Fanning, has warned that budget unpredictability is inefficient for the defense industry, which has to idle while the Pentagon waits for its projects to be funded. Amid the Capitol Hill activity, Fanning said he is “hopeful that the momentum continues.”

“The hearing painted a concerning picture of additional and unnecessary costs, as well risks to capabilities and to the industrial base in the short and long-terms. There was bipartisan agreement on how devastating a year-long CR could be,” Fanning said in a statement Thursday. “Over the last few days, there are positive signs that the message is getting through and the top appropriators from both parties are coming to the table.”

Lead Pentagon officials have talked for years about the need to harness the innovation of small tech firms. But CRs stifle those efforts, an executive at one of those firms, Anduril Industries, wrote in an essay this week.

#### Impact’s cyber and deterrence crash

Manchester ’19, [Josh, Founder of Champion Hill and General Partner at Foundation Capital, Venture-backed Startups Will Build the Defense Technology the Free World Needs Right Now, https://medium.com/@joshmanchester/venture-backed-startups-will-build-the-defense-technology-the-free-world-needs-right-now-d2cefa2b2196]

With U.S. defense spending exceeding $700 billion per year, how could the United States be on the brink of a national security emergency? Simply put, America’s national security competitors are outflanking an Industrial-Age U.S. military machine that, like a lumbering dinosaur, is not adapting fast enough to its changing environment. The Pentagon desperately needs rapid innovation. Yet the current defense industry structure is not compatible with U.S. venture capital and high-growth technology industries for several reasons: · The U.S. military’s industrial base is centered on a few huge oligopoly suppliers known within the Beltway as “the Primes” — Lockheed Martin, Boeing, Raytheon, General Dynamics, and Northrop Grumman. These companies, ancient by tech startup standards, have optimized themselves to sustain a 20th century Industrial Age World War II-style force structure which supports the political decision-makers across the country who appropriate the funding that industrial base receives. The Primes are great at building very large platforms that cost billions of dollars and take 15–30 years to field. The Primes are also historically heavy on hardware talent and much lighter on software talent. · The Primes receive the vast majority of defense spending. Defense budgets have historically not unlocked for startups. While a defense private equity industry exists to aggregate small companies and flip them downstream to the Primes, venture capital investors, who have a much higher return threshold, know that it’s hard to have venture outcomes (in other words, to make money) when a company can’t win large market share or survive as a stand-alone business. · Venture-backed tech industries have matured as an asset class in peacetime and most mainstream U.S. venture firms in existence today do not have institutional cultures or histories that include defense innovation, apart from cybersecurity. · Major tech companies, like the FAANGs (Facebook, Apple, Amazon, Netflix, Google and Microsoft too), are generally unwilling to work on defense related projects, and sometimes must deal with employee protests when they do. · Many observers perceive this as an indicator that software engineers generally don’t want to work on defense-related innovation. · Finally, in a bizarre set of twists, some of the organizations that comprise the Limited Partners of venture capital firms (the blue chip endowments and foundations of the U.S. Eastern establishment, often founded on the fortunes of great American industrialists from decades ago, along with public pension funds throughout the country) are [sometimes accidentally funding Chinese defense technology](https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ryanmac/us-money-funding-facial-recognition-sensetime-megvii) while often restricting their U.S. venture managers from making defense investments. Foundations and endowments in particular often have negotiated Limited Partnership Agreements with the venture firms they finance precluding them from investing in anything that could have military usage. The irony is that these same tax-exempt pools of capital are frequently investors in Chinese venture funds which provide software to make smarter and more deadly Chinese weapons and to the advanced surveillance systems that have turned China’s Xinjiang province into a virtual Uighur prison camp and a human rights disaster. No single individual or entity has caused this state of events to transpire; it is simply the accumulation of various cultural aspects of the capital formation process of the venture industry and its portfolio companies. Fortunately, we believe that almost all these characteristics will rapidly change over the next few years. But first let’s discuss some additional background. Venture capital has come of age in a time of unprecedented peace The U.S. venture capital industry is about 100 years old. Bessemer Ventures was formed in 1911 and originally had just the family fortune of Henry Phipps Jr., a co-founder of Carnegie Steel, as its sole limited partner. Despite these deep roots, the U.S. venture industry has only institutionalized as an asset class since the mid-1990s. Until then it was extremely clubby and very small. Sequoia Capital, KPCB, Charles River Ventures, and NEA were all founded in the 1970s and Accel Partners in the 1980s. But it has really only been since the mid-1990s (Benchmark Capital was founded in 1995, as was my own former firm, Foundation Capital) that the industry has institutionalized and grown substantially, first in the desktop computing and internet boom, and second during the combination of platform shifts over the last ten years that have given us mobile computing, social media, e-commerce, cloud computing, software-as-a-service and all of their associated new business models. For a quarter of a century, the institutional, mainstream venture investing ecosystem, at the startup, venture firm and limited partner levels, developed business processes, mental models, networks, and expertise in certain technical areas and heuristics — in aggregate, an industry culture — that have created one of the most dynamic parts of the U.S. economy. The U.S. tech industry is also one of the most unique aspects of American life — and a powerful, difficult-to-replicate form of “soft power,” featuring an inclusivity for aspirational immigrant founders — a feature perhaps unequalled in human history. From a long-term U.S. historical viewpoint, it is striking that the venture industry’s maturation has occurred during a unique period in American history when the United States had no major great power competitor, either ideologically or technologically. The Cold War ended in 1991, the Soviet Union dissolved, and Russia was in disarray for the next 15 years. This period of peace was not without its own unique trials, but the security challenges associated with terrorism, counterinsurgency, and lower-intensity military activity have not required the sort of Herculean societal and political efforts that were drawn upon during the Cold War or World War II. We should all be grateful every day that this has been the reality of the last 25 years. A useful analogy might be made with gold. In 1933, President Roosevelt made it illegal for U.S. citizens to own gold. In 1934, Benjamin Graham published the first edition of Security Analysis. In January 1975 it became legal to own gold again. Graham died in 1976. It was therefore illegal to own gold during key years of the development of modern security analysis. From this gap came gold bugs — the weirdos who seemed to always talk about nothing else, and didn’t get invited to key social events. No analogies are perfect but this captures some of the similarities between venture and defense today. Cybersecurity investors understand the cybersecurity parts of U.S. defense. But most mainstream Silicon Valley venture firms do not spend time on other parts of defense due to the industry’s institutionalization during this recent period of relative peace and American dominance — which has also been a time when the lion’s share of defense spending has gone to the Primes, as discussed. Sadly, peace is ahistorical. Great power competitions are a feature of humanity, not a bug. Periods of time when a major power, or superpower, are not challenged in some profound fashion by one or more other powers, regardless of whether they are driven by fear, prestige, economic interest, or ideology — are, in short, rare when looking back on the sojourn of homo sapiens on planet earth. The period when the free world had a monopoly on power has now ended. The tech-defense status quo is inverting The only previously delineated area where we don’t expect much change is from the FAANGs. These massive companies are best viewed as small nation-states themselves with global stakeholders. For example, many of their employees are not U.S. citizens and may not want their employers engaged in U.S. defense work. We think everything else will invert. · We believe defense budgets will begin unlocking for young startups. Many key national security decision-makers in Washington are now seeking better, faster alternatives to the byzantine Pentagon acquisitions process. Thought leaders like Will Roper, in charge of the U.S. Air Force’s $40 billion annual research and acquisition budget, are [eagerly welcoming the contributions that smaller, nimble venture-capital funded entrepreneurs can make](https://federalnewsnetwork.com/dod-reporters-notebook-jared-serbu/2019/03/air-force-looks-to-build-big-idea-pipeline-to-expand-its-industrial-base/). Roper, and others in the Pentagon, are reforming their practices to make it easier for genuine innovators to compete against the legacy defense oligopoly. When recently asked at a conference what problem keeps him up at night, Roper replied, “The industrial base.” · Given the hardware roots of the Primes, they are ill-suited to provide solutions to many of the most pressing problems today. The Defense Department will increasingly allocate resources to startups solving software problems for which the Primes have no existing stock of machine learning engineers. · As this happens some venture firms will experience cultural shifts toward more defense investing. As venture capitalists see that startups are receiving large purchase orders from various Defense Department units, they will develop strategies to deploy capital toward defense innovation. A good example is [last week’s award by the Air Force of $121 million to Pivotal Software in San Francisco](https://dod.defense.gov/News/Contracts/Contract-View/Article/1861753/source/GovDelivery/). · Institutional limited partners as a group will likely slowly allocate away from any China-based manager who could be investing in Chinese military technologies. Some LPs with the freedom to do so may remove restrictions on defense investing from limited partnership agreements. · We believe it is a myth that software engineers do not want to work on defense. This is a classic case of preference falsification, the social phenomenon in which people do not speak their true minds about a given topic, though their actions often indicate otherwise. We believe that talented engineers are often very attracted to defense-related work because it often offers the hardest problems to solve. An enormous opportunity therefore exists for startups: to hire the engineers who don’t want to work for ancient and outdated Primes, and who aren’t very welcome at the FAANGS, but who wish to create the technologies that an increasingly eager democratic government needs to defend itself and its allies. Companies in our own portfolio, like [SpaceX](https://www.spacex.com/), [Rigetti Computing](https://www.rigetti.com/), [Anduril Industries](https://www.anduril.com/), and [Umbra Lab](https://umbralab.com/) are executing this strategy. The hardest technical problems today are defense-related How can data from satellites, drones, land-based radar, ships, and other sources be stitched together, in real time, to find long-range missiles on mobile transporters, hiding among the background in cities, forests, and mountains? How can friendly troops, who have separated into very small units in order to hide and survive, be connected to each other electronically, and be resupplied from historically long ranges? How and to what degree and in what conditions should an adversary’s sensor networks be spoofed? What type of false electronic picture can be painted? The aggregation of targeting data for an air wing takes 72 hours today and has a heavy human component. Can this complex optimization problem be solved autonomously, such that the targeting list for pilots is developed in 15 minutes? How does a deployed force of perhaps 50,000 personnel, with planes, ships, and land forces, continue to fight when satellite links have been knocked out, and “reachback” to the U.S., for data processing, is no longer possible? Can deep learning be used for crisis diplomacy? Put another way, since DeepMind’s AlphaZero can teach itself to move pieces forward on a board to win a game, can it learn to move them backwards, to de-escalate a crisis? These problems, and many others, are asking to be solved by entrepreneurs. Phase change There is a looming breakdown in deterrence. If the U.S. defense establishment is unable to adapt to the new great power competitive environment, then adversaries will be tempted to grab for a fait accompli, with war the result. This has been the pattern since Homer wrote The Iliad; there is no evidence to conclude human behavior is different in the 21st Century. We believe the prevention of this scenario involves rapid technical innovation. The defense environment is more favorable now for upstart firms than anytime in the past several decades. If you are a founder building technology to ensure the survival of government by consent, our firm would like to talk to you.

# Case

## Framing

### Framework

#### The standard is maximizing expected well-being.

#### Science proves non util ethics are impossible

Greene 10 – Joshua, Associate Professor of Social science in the Department of Psychology at Harvard University

(The Secret Joke of Kant’s Soul published in Moral Psychology: Historical and Contemporary Readings, accessed: www.fed.cuhk.edu.hk/~lchang/material/Evolutionary/Developmental/Greene-KantSoul.pdf)

**What turn-of-the-millennium science** **is telling us is that human moral judgment is not a pristine rational enterprise**, that our **moral judgments are driven by a hodgepodge of emotional dispositions, which themselves were shaped by a hodgepodge of evolutionary forces, both biological and cultural**. **Because of this, it is exceedingly unlikely that there is any rationally coherent normative moral theory that can accommodate our moral intuitions**. Moreover, **anyone who claims to have such a theory**, or even part of one, **almost certainly doesn't**. Instead, what that person probably has is a moral rationalization. It seems then, that we have somehow crossed the infamous "is"-"ought" divide. How did this happen? Didn't Hume (Hume, 1978) and Moore (Moore, 1966) warn us against trying to derive an "ought" from and "is?" How did we go from descriptive scientific theories concerning moral psychology to skepticism about a whole class of normative moral theories? The answer is that we did not, as Hume and Moore anticipated, attempt to derive an "ought" from and "is." That is, our method has been inductive rather than deductive. We have inferred on the basis of the available evidence that the phenomenon of rationalist deontological philosophy is best explained as a rationalization of evolved emotional intuition (Harman, 1977). Missing the Deontological Point I suspect that **rationalist deontologists will remain unmoved by the arguments presented here**. Instead, I suspect, **they** **will insist that I have simply misunderstood what** Kant and like-minded **deontologists are all about**. **Deontology, they will say, isn't about this intuition or that intuition**. It's not defined by its normative differences with consequentialism. **Rather, deontology is about taking humanity seriously**. Above all else, it's about respect for persons. It's about treating others as fellow rational creatures rather than as mere objects, about acting for reasons rational beings can share. And so on (Korsgaard, 1996a; Korsgaard, 1996b). **This is, no doubt, how many deontologists see deontology. But this insider's view**, as I've suggested, **may be misleading**. **The problem**, more specifically, **is that it defines deontology in terms of values that are not distinctively deontological**, though they may appear to be from the inside. **Consider the following analogy with religion. When one asks a religious person to explain the essence of his religion, one often gets an answer like this: "It's about love**, really. It's about looking out for other people, looking beyond oneself. It's about community, being part of something larger than oneself." **This sort of answer accurately captures the phenomenology of many people's religion, but it's nevertheless inadequate for distinguishing religion from other things**. This is because many, if not most, non-religious people aspire to love deeply, look out for other people, avoid self-absorption, have a sense of a community, and be connected to things larger than themselves. In other words, secular humanists and atheists can assent to most of what many religious people think religion is all about. From a secular humanist's point of view, in contrast, what's distinctive about religion is its commitment to the existence of supernatural entities as well as formal religious institutions and doctrines. And they're right. These things really do distinguish religious from non-religious practices, though they may appear to be secondary to many people operating from within a religious point of view. In the same way, I believe that most of **the standard deontological/Kantian self-characterizatons fail to distinguish deontology from other approaches to ethics**. (See also Kagan (Kagan, 1997, pp. 70-78.) on the difficulty of defining deontology.) It seems to me that **consequentialists**, as much as anyone else, **have respect for persons**, **are against treating people as mere objects,** **wish to act for reasons that rational creatures can share, etc**. **A consequentialist respects other persons, and refrains from treating them as mere objects, by counting every person's well-being in the decision-making process**. **Likewise, a consequentialist attempts to act according to reasons that rational creatures can share by acting according to principles that give equal weight to everyone's interests, i.e. that are impartial**. This is not to say that consequentialists and deontologists don't differ. They do. It's just that the real differences may not be what deontologists often take them to be. What, then, distinguishes deontology from other kinds of moral thought? A good strategy for answering this question is to start with concrete disagreements between deontologists and others (such as consequentialists) and then work backward in search of deeper principles. This is what I've attempted to do with the trolley and footbridge cases, and other instances in which deontologists and consequentialists disagree. **If you ask a deontologically-minded person why it's wrong to push someone in front of speeding trolley in order to save five others, you will get** characteristically deontological **answers**. Some **will be tautological**: **"Because it's murder!"** **Others will be more sophisticated: "The ends don't justify the means**." "You have to respect people's rights." **But**, as we know, **these answers don't really explain anything**, because **if you give the same people** (on different occasions) **the trolley case** or the loop case (See above), **they'll make the opposite judgment**, even though their initial explanation concerning the footbridge case applies equally well to one or both of these cases. **Talk about rights, respect for persons, and reasons we can share are natural attempts to explain, in "cognitive" terms, what we feel when we find ourselves having emotionally driven intuitions that are odds with the cold calculus of consequentialism**. Although these explanations are inevitably incomplete, **there seems to be "something deeply right" about them because they give voice to powerful moral emotions**. **But, as with many religious people's accounts of what's essential to religion, they don't really explain what's distinctive about the philosophy in question**.

#### Uncertainty and social contract require governments use util

Goodin, 1995 **(**Robert, philsopher at the Research School of the Social Sciences, Utilitarianism as Public Philosophy. P. 62-63)

Consider, first, the argument from necessity. Public officials are obliged to make their choices under uncertainty, and uncertainty of a very special sort at that. All choices—public and private alike—are made under some degree of uncertainty, of course. But in the nature of things, private individuals will usually have more complete information on the peculiarities of their own circumstances and on the ramifications that alternative possible choices might have on them. Public officials, in contrast, are relatively poorly informed as to the effects that their choices will have on individuals, one by one. What they typically do know are generalities: averages and aggregates. They know what will happen most often to most people as a result of their various possible choices. But that is all. That is enough to allow public policy-makers to use the utilitarian calculus—if they want to use it at all—to choose general rules of conduct. Knowing aggregates and averages, they can proceed to calculate the utility payoffs from adopting each alternative possible general rules.

#### Reducing existential risks is the top priority in any coherent moral theory

Pummer 15

(Theron, Philosophy @St. Andrews http://blog.practicalethics.ox.ac.uk/2015/05/moral-agreement-on-saving-the-world/)

There appears to be lot of disagreement in moral philosophy. Whether these many apparent disagreements are deep and irresolvable, I believe there is at least one thing it is reasonable to agree on right now, whatever general moral view we adopt: that it is very important to reduce the risk that all intelligent beings on this planet are eliminated by an enormous catastrophe, such as a nuclear war. How we might in fact try to reduce such existential risks is discussed elsewhere. My claim here is only that we – whether we’re consequentialists, deontologists, or virtue ethicists – should all agree that we should try to save the world. According to consequentialism, we should maximize the good, where this is taken to be the goodness, from an impartial perspective, of outcomes. Clearly one thing that makes an outcome good is that the people in it are doing well. There is little disagreement here. If the happiness or well-being of possible future people is just as important as that of people who already exist, and if they would have good lives, it is not hard to see how reducing existential risk is easily the most important thing in the whole world. This is for the familiar reason that there are so many people who could exist in the future – there are trillions upon trillions… upon trillions. There are so many possible future people that reducing existential risk is arguably the most important thing in the world, even if the well-being of these possible people were given only 0.001% as much weight as that of existing people. Even on a wholly person-affecting view – according to which there’s nothing (apart from effects on existing people) to be said in favor of creating happy people – the case for reducing existential risk is very strong. As noted in this seminal paper, this case is strengthened by the fact that there’s a good chance that many existing people will, with the aid of life-extension technology, live very long and very high quality lives. You might think what I have just argued applies to consequentialists only. There is a tendency to assume that, if an argument appeals to consequentialist considerations (the goodness of outcomes), it is irrelevant to non-consequentialists. But that is a huge mistake. Non-consequentialism is the view that there’s more that determines rightness than the goodness of consequences or outcomes; it is not the view that the latter don’t matter. Even John Rawls wrote, “All ethical doctrines worth our attention take consequences into account in judging rightness. One which did not would simply be irrational, crazy.” Minimally plausible versions of deontology and virtue ethics must be concerned in part with promoting the good, from an impartial point of view. They’d thus imply very strong reasons to reduce existential risk, at least when this doesn’t significantly involve doing harm to others or damaging one’s character. What’s even more surprising, perhaps, is that even if our own good (or that of those near and dear to us) has much greater weight than goodness from the impartial “point of view of the universe,” indeed even if the latter is entirely morally irrelevant, we may nonetheless have very strong reasons to reduce existential risk. Even egoism, the view that each agent should maximize her own good, might imply strong reasons to reduce existential risk. It will depend, among other things, on what one’s own good consists in. If well-being consisted in pleasure only, it is somewhat harder to argue that egoism would imply strong reasons to reduce existential risk – perhaps we could argue that one would maximize her expected hedonic well-being by funding life extension technology or by having herself cryogenically frozen at the time of her bodily death as well as giving money to reduce existential risk (so that there is a world for her to live in!). I am not sure, however, how strong the reasons to do this would be. But views which imply that, if I don’t care about other people, I have no or very little reason to help them are not even minimally plausible views (in addition to hedonistic egoism, I here have in mind views that imply that one has no reason to perform an act unless one actually desires to do that act). To be minimally plausible, egoism will need to be paired with a more sophisticated account of well-being. To see this, it is enough to consider, as Plato did, the possibility of a ring of invisibility – suppose that, while wearing it, Ayn could derive some pleasure by helping the poor, but instead could derive just a bit more by severely harming them. Hedonistic egoism would absurdly imply she should do the latter. To avoid this implication, egoists would need to build something like the meaningfulness of a life into well-being, in some robust way, where this would to a significant extent be a function of other-regarding concerns (see chapter 12 of this classic intro to ethics). But once these elements are included, we can (roughly, as above) argue that this sort of egoism will imply strong reasons to reduce existential risk. Add to all of this Samuel Scheffler’s recent intriguing arguments (quick podcast version available here) that most of what makes our lives go well would be undermined if there were no future generations of intelligent persons. On his view, my life would contain vastly less well-being if (say) a year after my death the world came to an end. So obviously if Scheffler were right I’d have very strong reason to reduce existential risk. We should also take into account moral uncertainty. What is it reasonable for one to do, when one is uncertain not (only) about the empirical facts, but also about the moral facts? I’ve just argued that there’s agreement among minimally plausible ethical views that we have strong reason to reduce existential risk – not only consequentialists, but also deontologists, virtue ethicists, and sophisticated egoists should agree. But even those (hedonistic egoists) who disagree should have a significant level of confidence that they are mistaken, and that one of the above views is correct. Even if they were 90% sure that their view is the correct one (and 10% sure that one of these other ones is correct), they would have pretty strong reason, from the standpoint of moral uncertainty, to reduce existential risk. Perhaps most disturbingly still, even if we are only 1% sure that the well-being of possible future people matters, it is at least arguable that, from the standpoint of moral uncertainty, reducing existential risk is the most important thing in the world. Again, this is largely for the reason that there are so many people who could exist in the future – there are trillions upon trillions… upon trillions. (For more on this and other related issues, see this excellent dissertation). Of course, it is uncertain whether these untold trillions would, in general, have good lives. It’s possible they’ll be miserable. It is enough for my claim that there is moral agreement in the relevant sense if, at least given certain empirical claims about what future lives would most likely be like, all minimally plausible moral views would converge on the conclusion that we should try to save the world. While there are some non-crazy views that place significantly greater moral weight on avoiding suffering than on promoting happiness, for reasons others have offered (and for independent reasons I won’t get into here unless requested to), they nonetheless seem to be fairly implausible views. And even if things did not go well for our ancestors, I am optimistic that they will overall go fantastically well for our descendants, if we allow them to. I suspect that most of us alive today – at least those of us not suffering from extreme illness or poverty – have lives that are well worth living, and that things will continue to improve. Derek Parfit, whose work has emphasized future generations as well as agreement in ethics, described our situation clearly and accurately: “We live during the hinge of history. Given the scientific and technological discoveries of the last two centuries, the world has never changed as fast. We shall soon have even greater powers to transform, not only our surroundings, but ourselves and our successors. If we act wisely in the next few centuries, humanity will survive its most dangerous and decisive period. Our descendants could, if necessary, go elsewhere, spreading through this galaxy…. Our descendants might, I believe, make the further future very good. But that good future may also depend in part on us. If our selfish recklessness ends human history, we would be acting very wrongly.” (From chapter 36 of On What Matters)

#### Predictions are possible and useful

**Mearsheimer, 01** (John, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, 2001 p. 8, googleprint)

As a result, all political forecasting is bound to include some error. Those who venture to predict, as I do here, should therefore proceed with humility, take care not to exhibit unwarranted confidence, and admit that hindsight is likely to reveal surprises and mistakes. Despite these hazards, social scientists should nevertheless use their theories to make predictions about the future. Making predictions helps inform policy discourse, because it helps make sense of events unfolding in the world around us. And by clarifying points of disagreement, making explicit forecasts helps those with contradictory views to frame their own ideas more clearly. Furthermore, trying to anticipate new events is a good way to test social science theories, because theorists do not have the benefit of hindsight and therefore cannot adjust their claims to fit the evidence (because it is not yet available). In short, the world can be used as a laboratory to decide which theories best explain international politics. In that spirit I employ offensive realism to peer into the future, mindful of both the benefits and the hazards of trying to predict events.

### On the lbl

#### [1] extinction has killed less people because it hasn’t happened yet – if and when it does it kills an infinite number of people – far greater than any other impact – they aren’t going to win that extinction has the lowest magnitude

#### [2] any violence would still be counted in util – no reason for why util specifically ignores it

#### [ext] their card concedes that ext is the largest impact – all it says is that we shouldn’t focus on low risk existential impacts – util addresses that problem because it is consequentialist and takes into account the risk of impact

#### [3] their card just doesn’t say what the tag does – and again structural violence is still going to be important in util and weighed

#### [4] that would be considered in the util calculus

#### [5]

#### [a] if that is a good thing then preventing catastrophe is good – that’s util

#### [b] The implication is that we should save lives which means if we save more lives the odds of us saving this are better because there are more people who can solve future catastrophes (no ext.)

#### [c] That all assumes normal cost benefit analysis and an equal valuation of all life – that still concludes in util.

#### Even if they win framing – climate change and war are still bad – would increase structural violence

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## Case

### cap

#### Capitalism is sustainable and humanity’s only hope against catastrophic climate change

Shi-Ling Hsu 21, D'Alemberte Professor of Law at the Florida State University College of Law, Sept 2021, Capitalism and the Environment, Cambridge University Press, p. 50-52

2.8 CHOOSING CAPITALISM TO SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT: LARGE-SCALE DEPLOYMENT Finally, a third reason that capitalism is suited to the job of environmental restoration and protection is its ability to undertake and complete projects at very large scales. In keeping with a major thesis of this book, construction at very large scales should give us a little pause, because of the propensity of capital to metastasize into a source of political resistance to change. But some global problems, especially climate change, may require very large-scale enterprises. For example, because greenhouse gas emissions may already have passed a threshold for catastrophic climate change, technology is almost certainly needed to chemically capture carbon dioxide from ambient air. But carbon dioxide is only about 0.15% of ambient air by molecular weight, and a tremendous amount of ambient air must be processed just to capture a small amount of carbon dioxide. This technology has often been referred to as "direct air capture," or "carbon removal." Given that inherent limitation, direct air capture technology must be deployed at vast scales in order to make any appreciable difference in greenhouse gas concentrations. There is certainly no guarantee that direct air capture will be a silver bullet. But if it is to be an effectual item on a menu of survival techniques, it will more assuredly be accomplished under the incentives of a capitalist economy. Capitalism might also help with the looming crisis of climate change by helping to ensure the supply of vital life staples such as food, water, and other basic needs in future shortages caused by climate-change. In a climate-changed future, there is the distinct possibility that supplies of vital life staples may run short, possibly for long periods of time. Droughts are projected to last longer, with water supplies and growing conditions increasingly precarious. Capitalist enterprise could, first of all, provide the impetus to finally reform a dizzying multitude of price distortions that plague water supply and agriculture worldwide. Second, capitalist enterprise can undertake scale production of some emergent technologies that might alleviate shortages. Desalination technology can convert salty seawater into drinkable freshwater.54 A number of environmental and economic issues need to be solved to deploy these technologies at large scales, but in a crisis, solutions will be more likely to present themselves. A technology that is already being adopted to produce food is the modernized version of old-fashioned greenhouses. The tiny country of the Netherlands, with its 17 million people crowded onto 13,000 square miles, is the second largest food exporter in the world,55 exporting fully three-quarters that of the United States in 2017.56 The secret to Dutch agriculture is its climate-controlled, low-energy green-houses that project solar panel-powered artificial sunlight around the clock. Dutch greenhouses produce lettuce at ten times the yield57 and tomatoes at fifteen times the yield outdoors in the United States58 while using less than one-thirteenth the amount of water,59 very little in the way of synthetic pesticides and, of course, very little fertilizer given its advanced composting techniques. Sustained shortages in a climate-changed future might require that a capitalist take hold of greenhouse growing and expand production to feed the masses that might otherwise revolt. 2.9 CHOOSE CAPITALISM Clearly, the job in front of humankind is enormous, complex, and many-faceted. The best hope is to be able to identify certain human impacts that are clearly harmful to the global environment, and to disincentivize them. Getting back to notions of institutions in capitalism, what is crucial is aligning the right incentives with profit-making activity. What capitalism does so well — beyond human comprehension — is coordinate activity and send broad signals about scarcity. Information about a wide variety of environmental phenomena is extremely difficult to collect and process. If a set of environmental taxes can help establish a network of environ-mental prices, then an unfathomably large and complex machinery will have been set in motion in the right direction. Also, because of the need for new scientific solutions to this daunting list of problems, new science and technology is desperately needed. Capitalism is tried and true in terms of producing innovation. Again drawing upon the study of institutions, it is not so much that individuals need a profit-motive in order to tinker, but the prospect of profit-making has to be present in order for institutions, including corporations, to devote resources, attention, and energy towards the development of solutions to environmental problems. Corporations can and should demonstrate social responsibility by attempting to mitigate their impacts on the global environment, but a much more conscious push for new knowledge, new techniques, and new solutions are needed. Finally, the scale of needed change is profound. Huge networks of infrastructure centered upon a fossil fuel-centered economy must somehow be replaced or adapted to new ways of generating, transmitting, consuming, and storing energy. A global system of feeding seven billion humans (and counting), unsustainable on its face, must be morphed into something else that can fill that huge role. About a billion and a half cars and trucks in the world must, over time, be swapped out for vehicles that must be dramatically different. This is a daunting to-do list, but look a bit more carefully among the gloomy news. Elon Musk, a freewheeling, pot-smoking entrepreneur shows signs of breaking into not one, but two industries dominated by behemoths with political power. Thanks to California emissions standards, automobile manufacturers have developed cars that emit a fraction of what they did less than a generation ago. Hybrid electric vehicles have thoroughly penetrated an American market that powerful American politicians had tried to cordon off for American manufacturers only. At least two companies have developed meat substitutes that are now widely judged to be indistinguishable from meat, and have established product outposts in the ancient power centers of fast food, McDonald's and Burger King. The tiny country of the Netherlands, about half the size of West Virginia, exports almost as much food as the United States, able to ship fresh produce all the way to Africa. At bottom, all of these accomplishments and thousands more are and were capitalist in nature. While they collectively repre-sent a trifle of what still needs to be accomplished, they were also undertaken without the correct incentives in place, and thus also represent the tremendous promise of capitalism.

#### Cap solves war---liberal order good and won’t collapse

Michael Mousseau 19, PhD, studies international politics with a particular focus on the link between economic conditions, institutions, and conflict, 7/29/19, “The End of War: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony Are Leading to Perpetual World Peace,” https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec\_a\_00352?mobileUi=0

If my argument is correct, the world is on the cusp of tremendous change: across the globe, contractualism is overtaking status-personalism and, in so doing, launching an era of peace and prosperity. This conclusion is reached without any monotonic or teleological assumptions: anything that collapses the contractualist economies for a generation or two would stop or reverse this trend.81 All else being equal, the contractualist hegemony has made the odds of unit-level change from a status to a contractualist economy more likely than the reverse. At the start of the twentieth century, only the United States had a contractualist economy; by the end, at least thirty-five states were contractualist.82 The Westphalian system has never been as conducive to transitions to contractualist economies as it has been under the contractualist hegemony, which prohibits states from starting wars for booty, debt collection, or territory. Nor has the world ever had such widespread access to capital, mobility, and equity in trade as it has had since the contractualist hegemony made it so with the signing of the Atlantic Charter and the implementation of the Bretton Woods agreements. The number of transitions also predictably increased after the Cold War, when the contractualist hegemony emerged as largely unchallenged. In this way, system change toward contractualist hegemony within the anarchic order, rooted in unit-level change, ultimately promotes more unit-level change toward a contractualist world.

Reports of the Demise of the Liberal Order Are Greatly Exaggerated

I have argued that the liberal global order is on the rise; yet, liberal values around the world seem to be in retreat. In recent years, two contractualist states with populist governments—Hungary and Poland—have begun to embrace anti-immigrant and anti-globalization positions. In the United States, President Donald Trump appears to favor status values such as power, rank, and loyalty over contractualist values such as equity and respect for the rule of law. In foreign policy, Trump does not seem to share contractualists' opposition to Russia's efforts to sow chaos, and he sees trade in terms of winners and losers.

Reports of the demise of the liberal order, however, are greatly exaggerated. First, Hungary and Poland are newly contractualist states. The sociological nature of economic norms theory means that contractualist values should be more firmly rooted in older contractualist societies than in newer ones. This is corroborated with the natural experiment of Germany: in 1962 West Germany embraced contractualism (see table 1), but it was only after 1991 that East Germany could have become contractualist, when massive investments from the Federal Republic caused incomes in the marketplace to become higher than incomes obtainable from status relationships. Today, Germany's populist movement is concentrated in the eastern part of the country and is largely nonexistent in the western part,83 which corroborates the expectation that some newly contractualist societies retain some of their status values even after a generation of robust opportunity in the marketplace. Deeper changes in values may not occur until generational cohorts initially socialized into status or axial economies have passed on.

Second, the electorates in most of the thirty-five contractualist states listed in table 1 in 2010 have not experienced substantial increases in populist sentiment. Italy's Five Star movement is often called populist but largely because of its anti-immigrant stance. Although an embrace of immigrants would seem consistent with contractualist values, opposition to large numbers of immigrants is arguably a rational response to what is essentially a huge external shock that has intensified in recent years. Britons voted to leave the European Union, but largely because they believed they were being treated unfairly in it. The rejection of unfair terms of trade, whether perceived correctly or not, is consistent with contractualist values.

Third, the strength of institutions far exceeds that of any one person, including the president of the United States. Liberal values and institutions are rooted in contractualist economic norms and will not disappear simply because some leaders choose not to abide by them. For instance, although Trump may want the United States to withdraw from the North Atlantic alliance, this is not a view shared by Congress and the American people. Even members of Trump's administration have often restrained him in ways consistent with contractualist values and institutions.84

In economic norms theory, the only way the United States' contractualist values could shift to status or axial values would be through radical economic change. As mentioned above, economics is ultimately at the mercy of politics, as an influential coalition of rent-seekers could potentially collapse a contractualist economy by failing to sustain the highly inclusive marketplace or uphold the state's credibility in enforcing of contracts. In recent years, the U.S. economy has begun tilting toward rent-seekers, given the growing role of private money in electoral campaigns and the increasing sophistication of rent-seekers in masking their activities though the manipulation of public opinion, including through their concentrated ownership of media outlets. Such rentierism could precipitate a change in U.S. values if it results in a retraction of the market substantial enough that newer generations began to obtain higher wages in newfound status networks than in the marketplace.

In this way, the Trump phenomenon may reflect a pathology in U.S. governing institutions; but at least so far, it arguably has not extended to the American people. Most of Trump's supporters seem to be drawn to him not for his expressions of status values, but for his pledges to fight a “rigged” system and create well-paying jobs. Whether or not Trump means what he says, many of his supporters saw a vote for him as an act of protest against the increasing corruption occurring in the United States, a clear contractualist expression.85 Although a collapse of the U.S. economy and transition to an axial or a status economy is always possible, the feedback loop of popular insistence on economic growth and a highly inclusive marketplace makes this unlikely. Aside from an external shock (such as nuclear war or climate devastation), such a transition could happen only if the rentiers somehow manage to remain in power long enough to institutionalize a permanently underemployed underclass.

Fourth, even if the U.S. economy were to collapse and the United States became an axial or a status power, the combined economic might of all the other contractualist countries in the world is nearly twice that of the United States. The soft power of the United States in world politics lies not in its power to persuade, but in it being the largest of the contractualist states, and in its willingness to provide the public good of global security since the collapse of the pound sterling in late 1946. If the United States withdrew from its leadership role, the remaining contractualist powers would fill the vacuum. None of them has an economy relatively large enough to enable it to act as a natural leader and principal provider of global security, but it is the temperament of these states that they can easily form an international organization to coordinate and act on their shared security interests, even if some may choose to free ride.

Fifth, current events need to be viewed within a larger context. Fernand Braudel pinpoints the rise of the modern world economy as starting around the year 1450 in northwestern Europe.86 The first contractualist economy emerged more than two centuries ago. Since then, contractualist states have confronted numerous shocks and threats to their systems, including the American Civil War, the Great Depression, two world wars, and the Cold War. The present populist mini-wave and pathologies in U.S. democracy are mere trifling episodes in a larger historical frame.

Conclusion

This article has introduced a new liberal theory of global politics and argues that global alignments are rooted in factors internal to states: status states want expansion and disorder wherever they lack control; contractualist states want universal stability and order based on the principle of self-determination for all states. As such, global patterns of war, peace, and cooperation can be explained without recourse to such external factors as trade interdependence, international institutions, interstate images, or intersubjective structure; economic norms theory can explain these patterns from states' internal conditions alone. If this argument is correct, then the relative power of states does determine the perception of threat, as realists have long maintained, but with an essential qualifi- cation: only among status states. In this way, internal conditions can explain why 2,400 years ago Sparta feared the rising power of Athens, and why today the distribution of power seems to be playing an ever reduced role in global politics.

My analyses of most states from 1946 to 2010 corroborate the prediction of a liberal global hierarchy managed by a natural alliance of states with contractualist economies. States with contractualist and export-oriented economies tend to agree on issues voted on in the United Nations General Assembly, regardless of their power status or capability, because they have common interests in a global order based on self-determination. Among states with status and insular economies, in contrast, major powers and those with greater capability are more likely to balance the contractualist hegemony, which they fear. Meanwhile, minor powers and those with less capability are more likely to bandwagon with it, which they fear less than they do the status major powers.

Additionally, the theory provides an explanation for a large number of observed facts in international politics. It can explain the decline of war. It can explain the United States' enduring soft power, and why its leadership continues utterly unchallenged by other market powers, despite its relative economic decline since the mid-twentieth century. It offers an account for why developing states with weak institutions tend to bandwagon with the Western powers;87 and why land powers tend to provoke counterbalancing coalitions, and sea powers, which tend to be trading powers, do not.88 It can account for the democratic peace; why democracies tend to win theirwars; and why the probability of war among market democracies is practically zero. It can explain how states become prosperous; how democracy consolidates; the tenacity of corruption in developing countries; why Western powers reproach their clients for their corruption;89 and why states fail. It can explain global terrorism and anti-Americanism.90

If the theory is right, war is becoming obsolete, and not for reasons supposed in most international relations theorizing. There is no security dilemma in international politics, as realists contend there is: relative power reliably matters only to leaders of status states, which always consider all other states enemies. Yet, the trajectory of peace is not at all caused by democracy, trade, or international institutions, as liberals maintain. As argued here, democracy, trade, and institutions are epiphenomenal. Contractualist economies are not the only explanation for these factors, but they are a cause of democratic consolidation, foreign policy preferences for equitable trade, and international organization. Leaders of contractualist states assess threats based not on their images of other states' regime types, economic types, or their capabilities, but on their behavior.

What economic norms theory cannot explain is the triggering environmental and political origins of economic change. Although the theory predicts systemic effects (contractualist hegemony) on unit-level change (national transitions toward contractualist economies), it cannot predict when and where leaders of status and axial states might seek to support the market; when and where contractualist economies will emerge; or when and where systemic effects will result in changes in the units. The theory treats economic change largely exogenously.91

Thus, the theory cannot predict what China will do in the future, because it is impossible to know whether it will become a contractualist power. The theory can predict, however, that conflict with China is not inevitable, and that it can be avoided if the contractualist powers do not confuse China's mercantilist pursuits with incipient revisionism, and if they grasp that China's leadership increasingly has interests in the global market order. If China transitions to a contractualist economy—and such a prospect is likely if current trends continue—the proportion of people in the contractualist mind-set worldwide will more than double, from 16 percent to 35 percent. This would greatly increase the speed of the trajectory toward peace, as long as the planet can ecologically sustain the contractualist economies' high levels of productivity.

Russia, in contrast, is the natural enemy of the contractualist hegemony: its status economy encourages the sowing of chaos anywhere Russia lacks control, putting it in direct opposition to the contractualists' interest in order. Russia has a substantial nuclear arsenal, but this does not diminish the overwhelming might of the contractualist hegemony, because nuclear weapons can be used rationally only to deter attacks. Contractualist states do not attack states to make them contractualist, so Russia's deterrent capability has no effect on the power of this hegemony and the trajectory of peace.

Since the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945, an alliance of contractualist states has sought to impose a global order based on the principle of self-determination—a principle that applies to all states, large and small. This global order is increasing the odds of states transitioning from status to contractualist economies and reducing the odds of reverse transitions. In this way, economic norms theory supports the proposition that the world may be nearing half a millennium of change that began with the rise of axial markets in northwestern Europe around 1450. If the theory is correct, the beginning of the end of this change may have been the emergence of the contractualist hegemony in the mid-twentieth century. This article has argued that no status power could ever overtake the combined might of this hegemony. Thus, barring some dark force that brings about a collapse of the global economy, the world is now in the endgame of a five-century-long trajectory toward permanent peace and prosperity.

#### Capitalism has made the world substantially better

Iacono 16 — Corey Iacono, 1-16-2016, "How Capitalism and Globalization have made the world a better place", Quillette, http://quillette.com/2016/01/16/how-capitalism-and-globalization-have-made-the-world-a-better-place/

Throughout this week, the hashtag #ResistCapitalism was trending on Twitter. Using this hashtag, activists have aired their grievances against an economic system which they deem to be destructive, unfair, and immoral. In their view, the growth of global capitalism experienced over the last few decades has been only detrimental to human well-being. Indeed, since the early 1990s, global capitalism has lapsed into “its most savage form,” according to progressive populist Naomi Klein.

In fact, the expansion of capitalism and freer international trade has coincided with an era of slow economic growth, high unemployment, increased child labor, skyrocketing inequality, and grinding poverty.

Just kidding, that’s not what happened at all. In fact, as the world has become more capitalist and more globalized, the quality of life for the average person, and especially for the average poor person, has increased substantially. In 1990, 37% of the global population lived on less than $1.90 per day. By 2012, that number had been reduced to 12.8%, and in 2015 it was under 10%. The source of this progress isn’t a massive wealth redistribution program; it’s massive wealth creation — that is, economic growth.

Economists David Dollar and Aart Kraay found that, in a global sample of over 100 countries, changes in the income growth of the bottom 40% of the world’s income earners are highly correlated with economic growth rates. On the other hand, changes in inequality contributed relatively little to changes in social welfare of the poor over the last few decades.

There is good reason to believe that the expansion of free trade, facilitated by international organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO) and its predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), have had a considerable impact in accelerating the economic development of developing countries.

In the 1990s GATT facilitated reforms which moved 125 countries towards freer trade by reducing the burden of government imposed trade barriers like tariffs. This was the first serious attempt at trade reform for most developing countries at the time, and arguably presents a unique natural experiment on the economic effects of trade reform.

In fact, a paper published by the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), specifically examined how trade reforms facilitated by GATT affected the economic development of the reforming countries. In the paper, the authors compared the trends in economic growth before and after trade reform in the reforming countries. Then they compared those results to trends in economic growth of a control group of countries which didn’t undergo trade reform.

What they found was very encouraging for proponents of free trade. Prior to reform, the economic development of reformers and non-reformers was practically identical, but after reform, the economic development of reforming countries accelerated while non-reforming countries saw their economies stagnate and decline. The results suggest that the reforms towards freer trade lead to an increase in income per capita of around 20% in the long-run, an effect so large that it almost certainly had a positive and non-trivial impact on poverty reduction.

Similarly, other research has shown that more free market trade policies result in lower rates of extreme poverty and child mortality in developing countries. There are other benefits as well. One study on trade reform in Indonesia found that reductions of import tariffs led to an increase in disposable income among poor households, which allowed them to pull their children out of the labor force, leading to “a strong decline” in the incidence of child labor.

Unfortunately, many activists have reflexively taken up the cause of opposing the expansion of global capitalism, for a number of reasons. Western anti-sweatshop activists, for example, will often argue in favor of government imposed barriers to trade with poor countries because their working conditions are terrible in comparison to those in developed Western nations. In their view, western consumers should not be promoting a cycle of capitalist exploitation by buying products made in Vietnamese sweat-shops.

But satisfactory working conditions aren’t the natural state of mankind; they are a consequence of decades of economic development. Erecting barriers to trade with poor countries is surely a large impediment to their development, in fact, research suggests that existing developed world tariffs depress economic growth rates in the developing world by 0.6 to 1.6 percent per person, a considerably large effect.

Moreover, the sweat-shops which produce clothing for Westerners are often much better than alternative forms of domestic employment. In poor countries like Bangladesh, China, and Vietnam, the apparel industry consistently pays more than most other domestic industries. According to research by economist Ben Powell, in poor countries “most sweatshop jobs provide an above average standard of living for their workers.”

Notably, a paper published in the Journal of Development Economics found that the expansion of the garments industry in Bangladesh lead to an increase in employment and income among young women, giving them the means to finance their own education. Remarkably the authors found that, “the demand for education generated through manufacturing growth appears to have a much larger effect on female educational attainment compared to a large-scale government conditional cash transfer program to encourage female schooling.”

Foreign investment is also more desirable than opponents of capitalism and globalization give it credit for. The conventional wisdom among activists in wealthy countries is that multinational corporations exploit poor workers in third world countries for cheap labor, profiting off people working in sweatshop conditions.

It should come as a surprise to the individuals who hold this view to learn that 85% of people in developing countries believe that foreign companies building factories in their countries is a good thing, according to Pew Research.

In fact, for all the talk of exploitative multinational corporations, research shows that, in general, these corporations provide higher wages and better working conditions than domestic employers in developing countries.

Additionally, when multinational corporations build factories in poor countries, it raises the demand for low-skilled workers, resulting in higher wages for local workers. Consistent with this fact, recent empirical evidence demonstrates that investment by foreign companies in developing countries reduces both poverty and income inequality by raising the incomes of low-skilled workers.

Foreign investment can also make people in relatively low-income countries better off by providing better or more inexpensive products. A recent analysis published by the NBER found that foreign retailers like Wal-Mart greatly reduce the cost of living for both the rich and poor in Mexico, making everyone along the income distribution better off.

Global capitalism is by no means a perfect phenomenon. Many businesses do have questionable labor practices that are worthy of contempt. And free market policies may in many instances lead to socially undesirable outcomes, sometimes on a large scale.

However, the one-dimensional, automatic denunciation of capitalism and the accompanying refusal to give it any credit for its successes — as social media activists have done — reflects an uncompromising, and quite frankly ignorant worldview. It is one in which capitalism is always bad, no matter what the evidence tells us.

### Space gap