# 1

#### Wanting more innovation through more free market competition is the definition of capitalism

#### WTO is a Trojan Horse for accumulation by dispossession and global imperialism---the regime of credibility surrounding it is ideologically manufactured

Screpanti 14 – Ernesto Screpanti, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Siena, Global Imperialism and the Great Crisis: The Uncertain Future of Capitalism, p. 110-113)

The Role of International Organizations

Of the international economic organizations, those that work most effectively to achieve the expansion of “freedom” are the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, the three main political institutions charged with preparing the world for capitalist penetration.

The WTO was founded with the primary aim of favoring the expansion of international trade, and was equipped with effective instruments for disciplining opportunist countries. It fulfills the function of issuing international trade rules and rendering them enforceable better than any national empire has ever managed to do. It achieves this through multilateral agreements carrying binding commitments for signatory states. With the Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU) these agreements are enforceable. The “judgments” handed down by the WTO’s Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) oblige noncompliant countries to conform to the rules, under the threat of economic sanctions ranging from compensating an injured country for damages to the implementation of retaliatory measures.

The rules, especially those known as “nondiscriminatory clauses,” are supposed to foster the expansion of free trade. In reality, they effectively force member states to accept penetration by multinational corporations. The National Treatment clause, for example, obliges governments to extend the best treatment afforded to national firms, including state-owned companies, to foreign ones. The Market Access clause, in turn, prohibits governments from hindering the entrance of multinational firms.60 Together these rules have contributed to creating a norm that encapsulates the essence of the whole set of regulations, a sort of “most favored firm” clause. If an advantage is granted to a firm, for example, a national company, it must be granted to all firms. This implies, among other things, that once a state-owned company has been privatized there is hardly any going back, even if it results in a market failure.

The TRIPs (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) serve to safeguard the ownership of the products of scientific and technological research, trademarks, and the like, and thus to guarantee the profitability of their use. Patents, which are mainly registered in the countries of the imperial Center, cannot be used by developing countries unless they pay the royalties established by the multinational companies to which the patents belong, often even if they apply to vital drugs.61 In the TRIPs, the World Trade Organization clearly reveals its nature as a political organization with the purpose of safeguarding the interests of multinationals. Not by chance, the big corporations played a key role in drawing up the TRIPs agreements.62 While all the other agreements formally have the aim of expanding competition and free trade, the TRIPs agreement takes the form of a protectionist regulation. It explicitly seeks to protect monopoly positions and the monopoly profits provided by scientific and technological research, an activity in which the big multinationals of the North excel.

Even more blatant are the agreements known as TRIMs (Trade- Related Investment Measures). Their content is essentially disciplinary, as they prohibit the adoption of the economic policy instruments63 that the governments of many countries use to protect their economies from certain negative consequences of foreign direct investments. The TRIMs serve to disarm states in their attempts to implement industrial and commercial policies for the benefit of local populations. They mete out discipline in the interests of the multinationals.

But possibly the most brazen of all these agreements is the GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services), which regulates a highly heterogeneous sector (with 160 sub-sectors) effectively covering the production of all nonmaterial goods, from finance to postal services, from water supply to electricity, from telecommunications to transport, from insurance to banks, from education to health. The sector is so vast that it accounts for two-thirds of global output.

The GATS was expressly proposed, prepared, and armed by certain Anglo-American financial multinational lobbies whose names are well known.64 According to economic science, a large part of the goods covered generate market failures65—because they are produced in conditions of natural monopoly (for example, water supply), because they generate significant externalities (for example, pollution), or because they are commons (for example, woods), public goods (for example, justice), or merit goods (for example, education). This is why their production was traditionally controlled or regulated by the state in the public interest. The GATS instead considers policies that pursue public aims in the production of services as discriminatory. Under the pretense of making markets competitive, it forces signatory states to dismantle public sectors that regulate services and sell off the firms that provide them. In contrast to the other agreements, the GATS is not confined to regulating existing markets but plays a fundamental role as a creator of markets. It seeks to commodify public goods, public utilities, and commons, and to privatize natural monopolies.

Joining the WTO implies acceptance of the rules of national treatment and market access, as well as the principle that public monopolies and public services are unacceptable. Then, when a serious economic crisis arises and leaves a country in need of financial help from the IMF and the WB, the government is forced to sell off state-owned companies and commons to the multinationals.

The WTO has become a partial substitute for gunboats in imperial governance. Through it, the big capital clears and paves the way for expansion and accumulation on a global scale. What is more, it does so with the consent of the exploited countries, which are induced to join the organization to gain access to flows of foreign direct investments from multinationals, assistance from advanced countries, and financial aid from the IMF and WB.

As for the IMF, following the Washington Consensus (of “free market” economics) this pawnbroker for desperate states took on the role of liberator. Previously, based on the Keynesian approach of the Bretton Woods system, the IMF imposed restrictions on the demand side, while granting credit to check the severity of those restrictions as much as possible. With the success of the monetarist ideology of Milton Friedman and the Chicago School in the late 1970s, the “structural” adjustments imposed were expected to affect the supply side, that is, mainly structures of production and ownership, rather than aggregate demand alone. Moreover, a “long-run perspective” was to be preferred, rather than focusing on the “short run.” Thus, from 1979 onward, the IMF began to impose structural reforms with the aim of “relaunching development.” According to neoliberal ideology, such reforms require the deregulation and liberalization of markets. This meant the cutting of tariffs and other forms of protectionism to boost competition, the liberalization of prices to cure inflation, the deregulation of labor markets to foster flexibility and reduce labor costs, the deregulation of financial markets to encourage capital mobility, and the privatization of public utilities to balance national budgets and expand competition. Thus the IMF acts as a bulldozer, preparing the ground for the arrival of multinational capital in desperate states. It does so to make this arrival as profitable as possible: it cuts wages and the cost of raw goods, makes labor flexible, and gets states to sell off public utilities and natural resources at fire-sale prices.

Lastly, the WB plays a more subtle, but no less effective, role in bringing about the expansion of “freedom.” It offers help to developing countries by funding investments in the infrastructure necessary for industrial takeoff, or, in other words, for penetration by multinational capital. Like the IMF, with which it often acts in cooperation, the WB gives nothing for free. In particular, among the conditions for access to its loans, it also demands the demolition of trade barriers, the privatization of services, and the selling off of the commons to private companies.

Could the big multinationals let control over the great international economic organizations slip from their hands? And how could they get those organizations to serve their own interests while maintaining the decision-making autonomy of their managers? A powerful ideological campaign was called for. No sooner said than done. Having unleashed the most imaginative economists and even enlisted the help of the international academic body that decides on the recipients of the Nobel prize for economics, the right doctrines were promptly produced, one more audacious than the other: the right doctrines to replace the dated nineteenth- to twentieth-century free trade theory.66 Then the markets for allegiance, the mass media, the most prestigious U.S. universities, research institutes, and culture academies, sprang into action to defend the new orthodoxy and put the right people in the right places. This is how the great international economic organizations came to be capable of acting autonomously in the interests of multinational capital.

#### Extinction

Marques; 2020

* Famine
* Climate change
* Deforestation
* Overfishing
* Biodiversity loss/species extinction
* Ocean acidification/ eutrophication
* Pollution
* War/nuke
* Facism
* Pandemic- covid

(Luiz; Ambiente & Sociedade; Vol. 23; “Pandemics, existential and non-existential risks to humanity”; https://www.scielo.br/pdf/asoc/v23/1809-4422-asoc-23-e0126.pdf)

These crises demand undelayable, globally orchestrated political reactions of our societies that are, at the same time, being divided into two evermore hardened and incommunicative groups. On one hand, the state-corporative establishment, determined to maintain the machinery of business as usual at all costs, is advancing its pawns on the international chessboard to guarantee that nothing changes in post-pandemic energy and food systems. On the other, the perception of scientists and growing sectors of society that we have reached a limit beyond which we can no longer advance, given that the harmful effects of globalized capitalism increasingly supersede their benefits. Observation of the concurrence of combined regressions in human security contribute to that perception: (1) after decades of progress in the struggle against food insecurity, the number of people battling acute hunger and suffering from malnutrition has been on the rise over the last four years (FAO, 2019, p. 6). According to the fourth annual Global Report on Food Crises (GRFC, 2020), around 183 million people in 47 countries were classified as being in Stressed (IPC/CH Phase 2) conditions, at risk of slipping into Crisis or worse (IPC/CH Phase 3 or above) if confronted by an additional shock or stressor. The current pandemic is precisely this additional shock; (2) the six most recent years (2014-2019) and the current one have been the hottest of the last twelve millennia; (3) the globalized food system drove the loss of 3.61 million km2 of tree cover between 2001 and 2018, according to Global Forest Watch; (4) the heavily subsidized industrial fishing system is now sacrificing the oceans’ future (PAULY, 2019); (5) the catastrophic decline in biodiversity is annihilating vertebrate populations (Living PIanet Index, 2018) and may lead to the extinction of one million species over the next few decades (IPBES, 2019); (6) acidification and eutrophication of the oceans and of various bodies of fresh water is creating marine dead zones and threatening ruptures of trophic chains in the aquatic environment; (7) industrial pollution poisons, sickens, and kills tens of millions of people worldwide each year (WHO Report on Cancer, 2020, for instance); (8) growing geopolitical tensions are seen, with the intensification of endemic conflicts focused on water and energy resources and the anguishing resumption of the nuclear arms race. The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) estimates that the nine nuclear armed countries spent US$ 72.9 billion (US$ 35.4 billion was spent by the U.S. alone) on their 13,000+ nuclear weapons in 2019, an increase of US$ 7.1 billion compared to 2018 (ICAN, 2019); (9) democracy and tolerance are increasingly threatened by waves of more or less orchestrated fake and hate news, by flareups of fascism, irrationality, and physical and psychic violence.

3. Existential and non-existential risks These crises are interlinked and act in synergy, that is, they reciprocally strengthen one another. And precisely because they are interdependent and reciprocally strengthening each other, it is senseless to deal with them separately. It makes no sense, for example, to understand the current pandemic as simply a health emergency, isolated from other ongoing crises. Most of all, we should not classify these crises in an hierarchical order according to the greater or lesser risk they represent for humanity, as proposed by the University of Cambridge’s Centre for the Study of Existential Risk, or by Toby Ord, from the University of Oxford’s Future of Humanity Institute, in his recent book, The Precipice. Existential Risk and the Future of Humanity (2020).

The considerations proposed by these centers and researchers are very momentous. But they start from the false premise of dividing the risks to which humanity and other species are increasingly exposed into existential and non-existential ones. That dividing line does not exist. An existential risk is, frequently, made from a conjunction of crises that, separately, do not existentially threaten humanity but that, together, have the potential to do so. Will Steffen and colleagues (2018), for example, explored the possibility that “a 2°C warming could activate important tipping elements, raising the temperature further to activate other tipping elements in a domino-like cascade that could take the Earth System to even higher temperatures”. That domino effect can lead us to what the authors called a Hothouse Earth, that is, a largely uninhabitable planet. And, once again, there is no clear dividing line between a planet that is largely uninhabitable and one that is completely uninhabitable for humans and innumerous other species. A chapter written for the English edition of my book, Capitalism and Environmental Collapse (2020), titled “Climate Feedbacks and Tipping Points”, shows how devoid of meaning we find the question, frequently debated in the scientific community and taken up again by Toby Ord, of the probabilities of a warming capable of generating what is called runaway climate change. Let us remember what is truly at stake here for the destiny of humanity. The runaway global warming conjecture, feared by a growing number of scientists (but still rejected by the IPCC3 ), would be able to lead the Earth toward conditions that prevail today on Venus. This conjecture may be interesting from a strictly scientific point of view, but it is totally useless from the point of view of the fate of animals and forests, because both would cease to exist under conditions that are much less extreme. Yangyang Xu and Veerabhadran Ramanathan (2017) have thus categorized the risks implicated at three levels of global warming: “>1.5°C as dangerous; >3°C as catastrophic; and >5°C as unknown, implying beyond catastrophic, including existential threats”. As established by a host of the next-generation climate models, a global warming of 5°C or even more above the pre-industrial period can be reached by 2100, because “even if coal use doesn’t rise in a catastrophic way, 5°C of warming could occur by other means, including thawing permafrost” (TOLLEFSON, 2020, p. 446).

Understanding this, one can ask if the current pandemic represents an existential or a non-existential risk for humanity. Having now, through the month of June, infected more than eight x million people and reaped more than 450 thousand officially confirmed fatalities (according to preliminary estimates, the real numbers are much higher), the current pandemic has not yet shown signs of cooling off. Nothing lets us state that the worst is over. In fact, it continues accelerating in the southern hemisphere, and can still affect a quarter billion people in Africa alone, according to a recent model (McVEIGH, 2020). Beyond this, new waves of contagion are taking place in the north where it had begun to weaken, and new outbreaks can continue occurring in 2021. That said, as bad as it may be, we know that, in and of itself, Covid-19 obviously does not represent an existential threat for humanity. But if the pandemic can turn society’s attention away from what is in play, society will be paralyzed to the point of keeping it from reacting to the above-mentioned socioenvironmental crises. Most importantly, if the post-pandemic economy gives way to even more desperate and destructive attempts at economic recovery, it may become a decisive link in the chain of factors that are already leading us to cross tipping points conducive to a world largely or completely uninhabitable by humans and numerous other species.

4. Overcoming the vicious cycle that imprisons globalized capitalism Even though at this moment it is the most apparent aspect, the pandemic is, in short, only one facet of the great existential threat represented by globalized capitalism. The mother of all threats is the vicious cycle of destructive intensification that imprisons globalized capitalism: the more that system struggles to reverse the decline in rates of growth, the more environmentally destructive it becomes, and the more destructive it becomes, the more the impacts of that destruction will impede its growth. Covid-19 is, in large part, one of the results of that trap, since global warming, deforestation, the destruction of wildlife habitats, the domestication and raising of poultry and mammals on an industrial scale destroy the evolutionary balance among species, facilitating the conditions for numerous viruses to jump from one species to another, including our own. The current pandemic offers the chance for a civilizational turn, probably the last chance before environmental imbalances spin beyond societies’ control. The project of globalized capitalism, the only possible one for it, is to continue advancing blindly in its logic of destruction. Pollution and greenhouse gas emissions are already nearly within normal ranges in China again and James Temple (2020, p. 56) analyzed how: the threat of rapidly accelerating climate change will remain. And we’ll be living in a much poorer world, with fewer job opportunities, less money to invest in cleaner systems, and deeper fears about our health, our financial futures, and other lurking dangers. These are ripe conditions to further inflame nationalist instincts, making our global challenges even harder to solve.

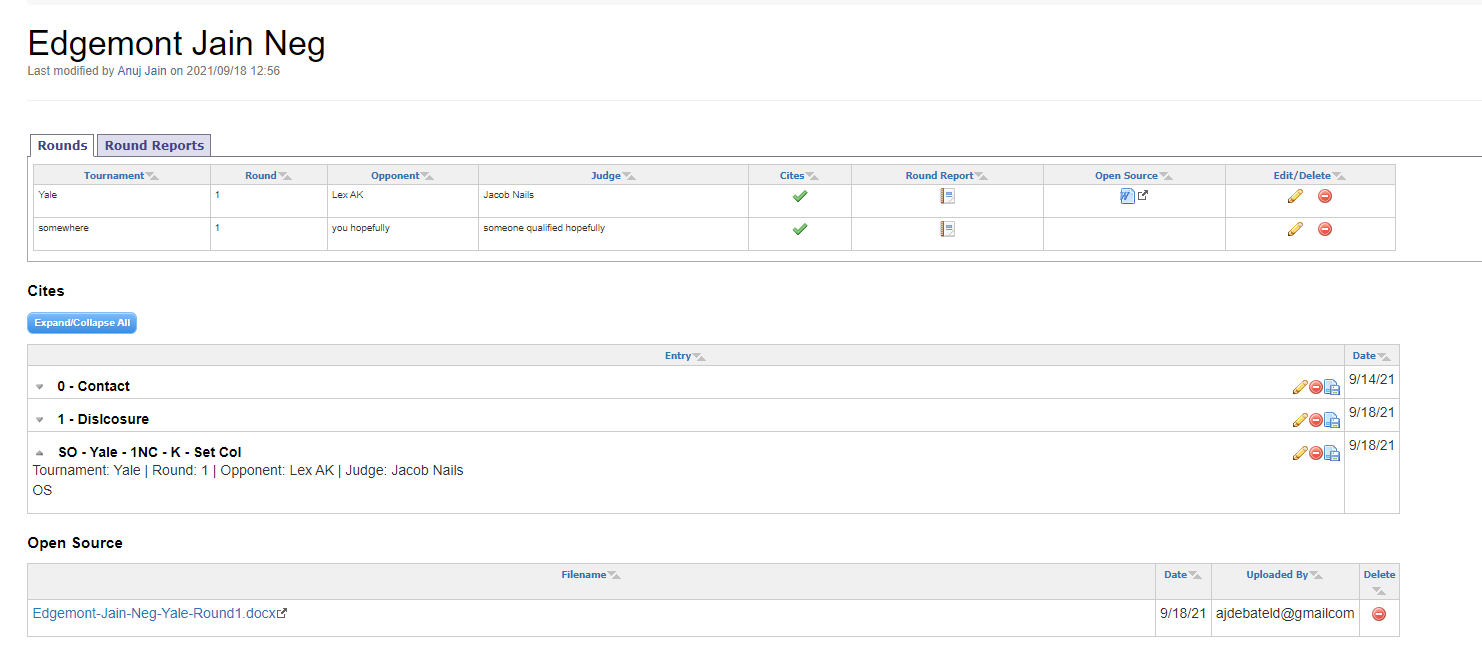
#### The alternative is to orient political and social efforts towards the communist horizon — that’s key to redefine futures that are psychoanalytically imaginable. Thus the ROB is to become a comrade.

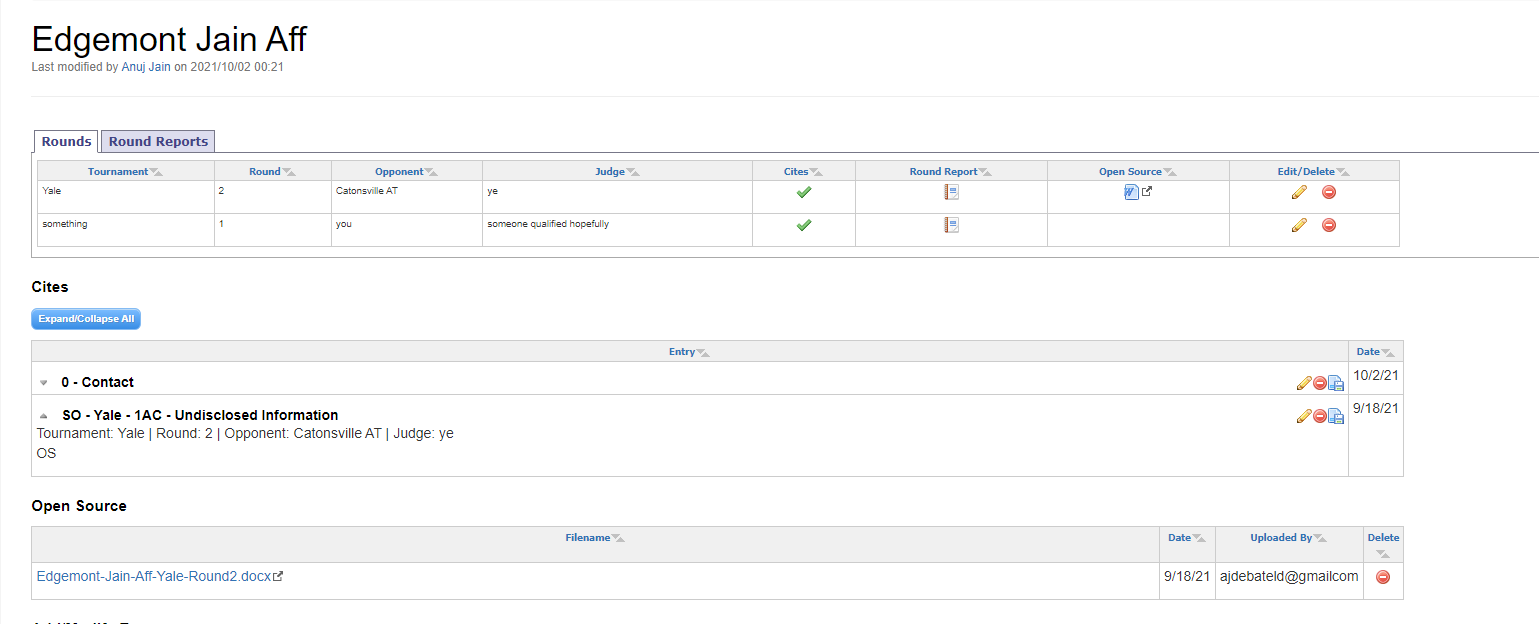
Dean 12 — Jodi Dean (Professor of Political Science at Hobart and William Smith Colleges), *The Communist Horizon*, Verso: Brooklyn, NY, 2012, p. 1-12]

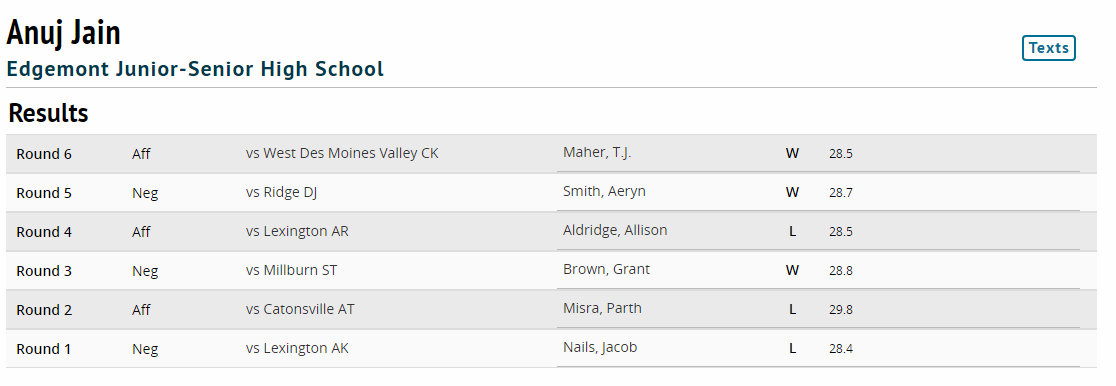
The term "horizon" marks a division. Understood spatially, the horizon is the line dividing the visible, separating earth from sky. Understood temporally, the horizon converges with loss in a metaphor for privation and depletion. The "lost horizon" suggests abandoned projects, prior hopes that have now passed away. Astrophysics offers a thrilling, even uncanny, horizon: the "event horizon" surrounding a black hole. The event horizon is the boundary beyond which events cannot escape. Although "event horizon" denotes the curvature in space/time effected by a singularity, it's not much different from the spatial horizon. Both evoke a fundamental division that we experience as impossible to reach, and that we can neither escape nor cross. I use "horizon" not to recall a forgotten future but to designate a dimension of experience that we can never lose, even if, lost in a fog or focused on our feet, we fail to see it. The horizon is Real in the sense of impossible-we can never reach it-and in the sense of actual (Jacques Lacan's notion of the Real includes both these senses). The horizon shapes our setting. We can lose our bearings, but the horizon is a necessary dimension of our actuality. Whether the effect of a singularity or the meeting of earth and sky, the horizon is the fundamental division establishing where we are. With respect to politics, the horizon that conditions our expe1ience is communism. I get the term "communist horizon" from Bruno Bosteels. In The Actuality of Communism, Bosteels engages with the work of Alvaro Garcia Linera. Garcia Linera ran as Evo Morales's vice presidential ru1ming mate in the Bolivian Movement for Socialism-Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples (MAS-IPSP). He is the author of multiple pieces on Marxism, politics, and sociology, at least one of which was written while he served time in prison for promoting an armed uprising (before becoming vice president of Bolivia, he fought in the Tupac Kataii Guerrilla Army). Bosteels quotes Garcia Linera's response to an interviewer's questions about his party's plans following their electoral victim)': "The general horizon of the era is communist."1 Garcia Linera doesn't explain the term. Rather, as Bosteels points out, Garcia Linera invokes the communist horizon "as if it were the most natural thing in the world," as if it were so obvious as to need neither explanation nor justification. He assumes the communist horizon as an ineducible feature of the political setting: "We enter the movement with our expecting and desiring eyes set upon the communist horizon." For Garcia Linera, communism conditions the actuality of politics. Some on the Left dismiss the communist horizon as a lost horizon. For example, in a postmodern pluralist approach that appeals to many on the Left, the economists writing as J. K . Gibson-Graham reject communism, offering "post-capitalism" in its stead. They argue that descriptions of capitalism as a global system miss the rich diversity of practices, relations, and desires constituting yet exceeding the economy and so advocate "reading the economy for difference rather than dominance" (as if dominance neither presupposes nor relies on difference).2 In their view, reading for difference opens up new possibilities for politics as it reveals previously unacknowledged loci of creative action within everyday economic activities. Gibson-Graham do not present Marxism as a failed ideology or communism as the fossilized remainder of an historical expe1iment gone horribly wrong. On the contrary, they draw inspiration from Marx’s appreciation of the social character of labor. They engage Jean-Luc Nancy's emphasis on communism as an idea that is the "index of a task of thought still and increasingly open." They embrace the reclamation of the commons. And they are concerned with neoliberalism's naturalization of the economy as a force exceeding the capacity of people to steer or transform it. Yet at the same time, Gibson-Graham push away from communism to launch their vision of postcapitalism. Communism is that against which they construct their alterative conception of the economy. It's a constitutive force, present as a shaping of the view they advocate. Even as Nancy's evocation of communism serves as a horizon for their thinking, they explicitly jettison the term "communism," which they position as the object of "widespread aversion" and which they associate with the "dangers of posing a positivity, a nonnative representation." Rejecting the positive notion of "communism," they opt for a te1m that suggests an empty relationally to the capitalist system they ostensibly deny, "post-capitalism." For Gibson-Graham, the term "capitalist" is not a term of critique or opprobrium; it's not part of a manifesto. The term is a cause of the political problems facing the contemporary Left. They argue that the discursive dominance of capitalism embeds the Left in paranoia, melancholia, and moralism. Gibson-Graham's view is a specific instance of a general assumption shared by leftists who embrace a generic post-capitalism but eschew a more militant anticapitalism. Instead of actively opposing capitalism, this tendency redirects anticapitalist energies into efforts to open up discussions and find ethical spaces for decision-and this in a world where one bond trader can bring down a bank in a matter of minutes. I take the opposite position. The dominance of capitalism, the capitalist system, is material. Rather than entrapping us in paranoid fantasy, an analysis that treats capitalism as a global system of appropriation, exploitation, and circulation that enriches the few as it dispossesses the many and that has to expend an enormous amount of energy in doing so can anger, incite, and galvanize. Historically, in theory and in practice, critical analysis of capitalist exploitation has been a powerful weapon in collective struggle. It persists as such today, in global acknowledgment of the excesses of neoliberal capitalism. As recently became clear in worldwide rioting, protest, and revolution, linking multiple sites of exploitation to narrow channels of privilege can replace melancholic fatalism with new assertions of will, desire, and collective strength. The problem of the Left hasn't been our adherence to a Marxist critique of capitalism. It's that we have lost sight of the communist horizon, a glimpse of which new political movements are starting to reveal. Sometimes capitalists, conservatives, and liberal democrats use a rhetoric that treats communism as a lost horizon. But usually they keep communism firmly within their sight. They see communism as a threat, twenty years after its ostensible demise. To them, communism is so threatening that they premise political discussion on the repression of the communist alternative. In response to left critiques of democracy for its failure to protect the interests of poor and workingclass people, conservatives and liberals alike scold that "everybody knows" and "history shows" that communism doesn't work. Communism might be a nice ideal, they concede, but it always leads to violent, authoritarian excesses of power. They shift the discussion to communism, trying to establish the limits of reasonable debate. Their critique of communism establishes the political space and condition of democracy. Before the conversation even gets going, liberals, democrats, capitalists, and conservatives unite to block communism from consideration. It's off the table. Those who suspect that the inclusion of liberals and democrats in a set with capitalists and conservatives is illegitimate are probably democrats themselves. To determine whether they belong in the set of those who fear communism, they should consider whether they think any evocation of communism should come with qualifications, apologies, and condemnations of past excesses. If the answer is "yes," then we have a clear indication that liberal democrats, and probably radical democrats as well, still consider communism a threat that must be suppressed-and so they belong in a set with capitalists and conservatives. All are anxious about the forces that communist desire risks unleashing. There are good reasons for liberals, democrats, capitalists, and conservatives to be anxious. Over the last decade a return to communism has re-energized the Left. Communism is again becoming a discourse and vocabulary for the expression of universal, egalitarian, and revolutionary ideals. In March 2009, the Birkbeck Institute for the Humanities hosted a conference entitled "On the Idea of Communism." Initially planned for about 200 people, the conference ultimately attracted over 1 ,200, requiring a spillover room to accommodate those who couldn't fit in the primary auditorium. Since then, multiple conferences-in Paris, Berlin, and New York-and publications have followed, with contributions from such leading scholars as Alain Badiou, Etienne Balibar, Bruno Bosteels, Susan Buck-Morss, Costas Douzinas, Peter Hallward, Michael Hardt, Antonio Neg1i, Jacques Ranciere, Alberto Toscano, and Slavoj Zizek. The conferences and publications consolidate discussions that have been going on for decades. For over thirty years, Antonio Negri has sought to build a new approach to communism out of a Marxism reworked via Spinoza and the Italian political experiments of the 1970s. The Empire trilogy that Negri coauthored with Michael Hardt offers an affirmative, non-dialectical reconceptualization of labor, power, and the State, a new theory of communism from below. Alain Badiou has been occupied with communism for over forty years, from his philosophical and political engagement with Maoism, to his emphasis on the "communist invariants"-egalitarian justice, disciplinary tenor, political volunteerism, and trust in the people-to his recent appeal to the communist Idea. Communism is not a new interest for Slavoj Zizek either. In early 2001 he put together a conference and subsequent volume rethinking Lenin. Where Negri and Badiou reject the Party and the State, Zizek retains a certain fidelity to Lenin. "The key 'Leninist' lesson today," he writes, is that "politics without the organizational form of the Party is politics without politics."4 In short, a vital area of radical philosophy considers communism a contemporary name for emancipation)', egalitarian politics and form part of the communist legacy. These ongoing theoretical discussions overlap with the changing political sequences marked by 1968 and 1989. They also overlap with the spread of neoliberal capitalist domination, a domination accompanied by extremes in economic inequality, ethnic hatred, and police violence, as well as by widespread militancy, insurgency, occupation, and revolution. The current emphasis on communism thus exceeds the coincidence of academic conferences calling specifically for communism's return with the new millennium's debt crises, austerity measures, increased unemployment, and overall sacrifice of the achievements of the modern welfare state to the private interests of financial institutions deemed too big to fail. Already in an interview in 2002, p1ior to his election to the Bolivian presidency, Evo Morales had announced that "the neoliberal system was a failure, and now it's the poor people's turn."·' Communism is reemerging as a magnet of political energy because it is and has been the alterative to capitalism. The communist horizon is not lost. It is Real. In this book, I explore some of the ways the communist horizon manifests itself to us today. As Bosteels argues, to invoke the communist horizon is to produce "a complete shift in perspective or a radical ideological turnabout, as a result of which capitalism no longer appears as the only game in town and we no longer have to be ashamed to set our expecting and desiring eyes here and now on a different organization of social relationships."6 With communism as our horizon, the field of possibilities for revolutionary theory and practice starts to change shape. Barriers to action fall away. New potentials and challenges come to the fore. Anything is possible. Instead of a politics thought primarily in terms of resistance, playful and momentary aesthetic disruptions, the immediate specificity of local projects, and struggles for hegemony within a capitalist parliamentary setting, the communist horizon impresses upon us the necessity to abolish capitalism and to create global practices and institutions of egalitarian cooperation. The shift in perspective the communist horizon produces turns us away from the democratic milieu that has been the form of the loss of communism as a name for left aspiration and toward the reconfiguration of the components of political struggle-in other words, away from general inclusion, momentary calls for broad awareness, and lifestyle changes, and toward militant opposition, tight organizational forms (party, council, working group, cell), and the sovereignty of the people over the economy through which we produce and reproduce ourselves.

# 2

#### Interpretation: At all TOC bid distributing tournaments, debaters must disclose round reports on the 2020-2021 NDCA LD wiki for every round they have debated this season Violation: They did not – screenshots prove – You didn’t disclose 4/6 round reports at Yale. Screenshots taken at 1:43 EST.

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**Clash -Round reports enable me to see what arguments people have been reading against you, means I can cut nuanced interactions for more in-depth clash. Clash outweighs because it’s the only thing intrinsic to the debate – You can have a practice debate without a judge but every debate must have clash.**

#### Paradigm Issues

#### 1] Fairness is a voter because debater is a game with a winner and a loser which mandates competitive equity

#### 2] Drop the debater to deter future abuse – drop the argument doesn’t make sense since it’s their entire 1AC