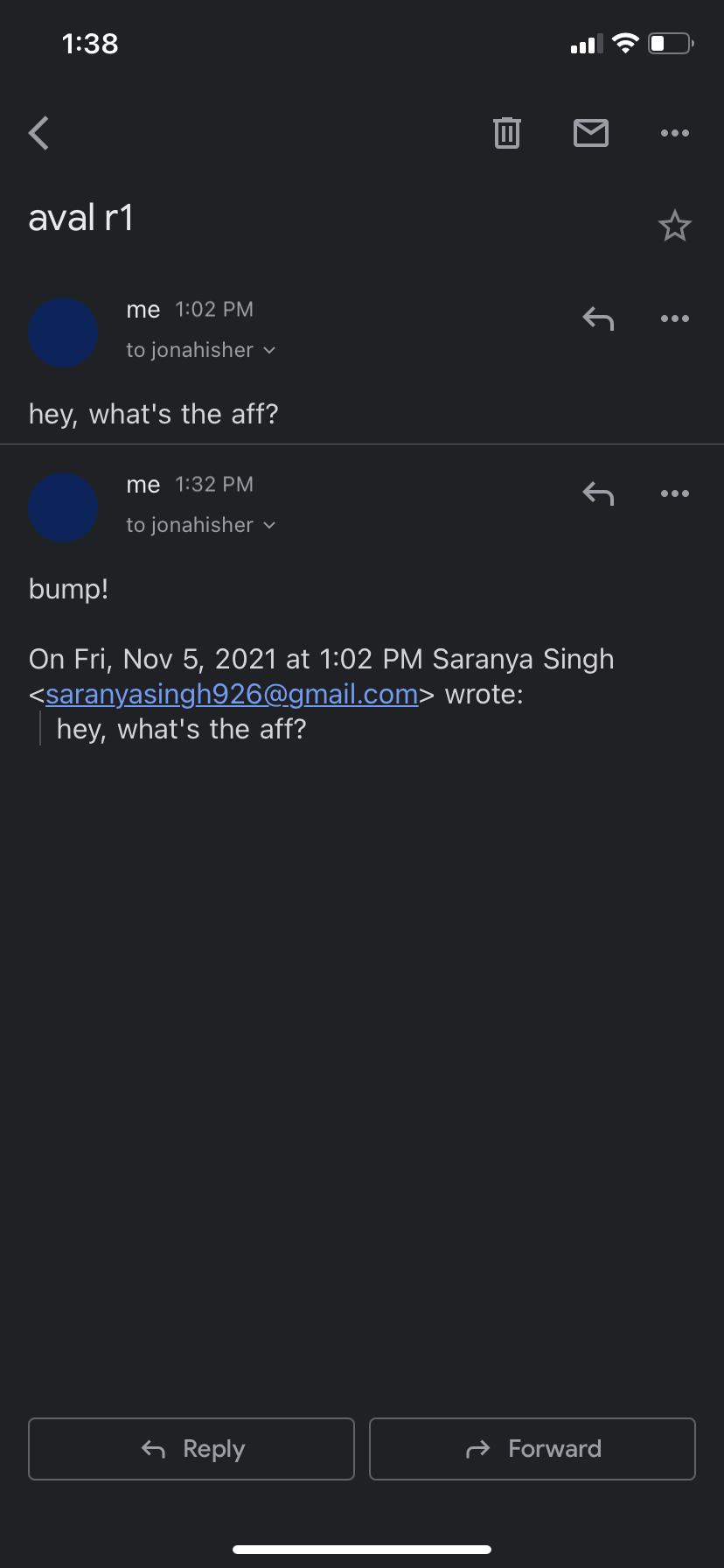
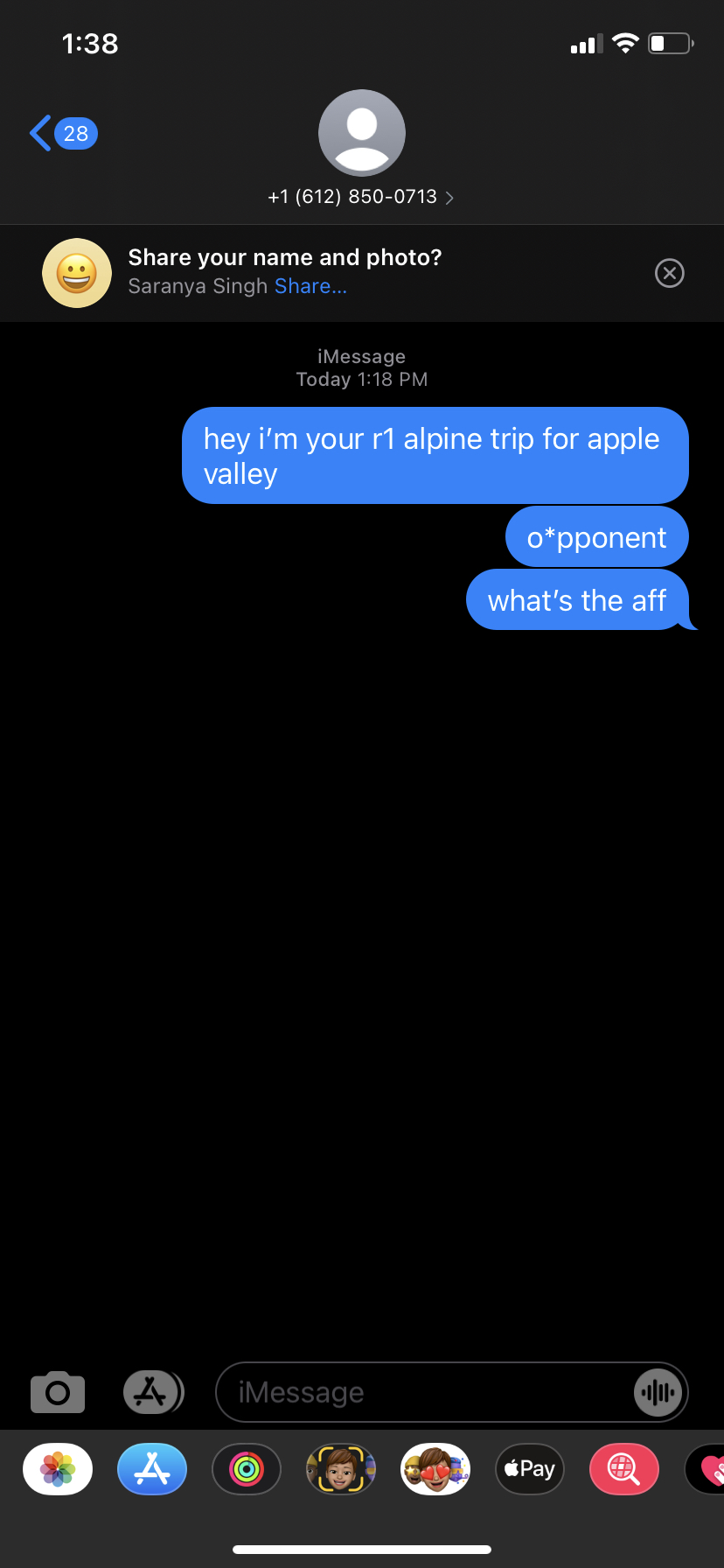
\*\*TW: semi-graphic depictions of anti-black violence

# 1

#### Interpretation: At all bid distributing tournaments, debaters must disclose the plan text and open source the framework/standard of new affs thirty minutes before round under their name and school on the NDCA 2019-2020 LD wiki.



#### Violation:

#### 1) Limits- the aff can run a random position that we don’t have time to prep for at all - kills fairness since it gives them a massive prep advantage. Also encourages blippy tricks which kills clash and outweighs on substance education

#### 2) Accessibility- They can also run a framework we haven’t heard of which creates a skew against small school and poor debaters who can’t afford a coach to teach them random philosophy. Outweighs since inclusion is a prerequisite to debate

#### Voters:

F, E, CI, DTD, no RVI

# 2

#### Counterplan: A just government ought to recognize the conditional right of workers to strike with the condition that strikers are not asking for employers to discriminate and don’t utilize violence/discrimination during the strikes.

\*\*TW: semi-graphic depictions of anti-black violence

Outweighs under their fw – solves the entire aff – if their framework doesn’t think that racism is bad it’s probably not a good framework

#### Enforcement in the card.

BPSC [Unfair Labor Practices by Union, <http://bpscllc.com/unfair-labor-practices-by-unions.html>, N.D., Business & People Strategy Consulting Group, California's trusted source for workplace human resources and employment law] [SS]

Causing or Attempting to Cause Discrimination: Section 8(b)(2) makes it **an unfair labor practice for a labor organization to cause** or attempt to cause **an employer to discriminate** against an employee in violation of Section 8(a)(3). The section is violated by agreements or arrangements with employers, other than lawful union-security agreements, that condition employment or job benefits on union membership, on the performance of union membership obligations or on arbitrary grounds. But union action that causes detriment to an individual employee does not violate Section 8(b)(2) if it is consistent with nondiscriminatory provisions of a bargaining contract negotiated for the benefit of the total bargaining unit, or if the action is based on some other legitimate purpose. **A union’s conduct, accompanied by statements advising** or suggesting **that action is expected of an employer,** may be enough to find a violation of this section **if the union’s action can be shown to be a causal factor in the employer’s discrimination.** Contracts or informal arrangements with a union under which an employer gives preferential treatment to union members also violate Section 8(b)(2). However, an employer and a union may agree that the employer will hire new employees exclusively through the union hiring hall if there is no discrimination against nonunion members on the basis of union membership obligations. In setting referral standards, a union may consider legitimate aims such as sharing available work and easing the impact of local unemployment. The union may also charge referral fees if the amount of the fee is reasonably related to the cost of operating the referral service. A union that attempts to force an employer to enter into an illegal union-security agreement, or that enters into and keeps in effect such an agreement, also violates Section 8(b)(2), as does a union that attempts to enforce such an illegal agreement by bringing about an employee’s discharge. Even when a union-security provision of a bargaining contract meets all statutory requirements, a union may not lawfully require the discharge of employees under the provision unless they were informed of the union-security agreement and their specific obligation under it. A union violates Section 8(b)(2) if it tries to use the union-security provisions of a contract to collect payments other than those lawfully required, such as assessments, fines and penalties. Other examples of Section 8(b)(2) violations include: Causing an employer to discharge employees because they circulated a petition urging a change in the union’s method of selecting shop stewards Causing an employer to discharge employees because they made speeches against a contract proposed by the union Making a contract that requires an employer to hire only members of the union or employees “satisfactory” to the union Causing an employer to reduce employees’ seniority because they engaged in anti-union acts **Refusing referral or giving preference on the basis of race** or union activities when making job referrals to units represented by the union Seeking the discharge of an employee under a union-security agreement for failure to pay a fine levied by the union

#### The East St. Louis riots lead to over 200 deaths and were one of the worst race related riots in history – it all started with a racist union striking in favor of discrimination and a lack of government intervention.

People’s World ‘17

[This week in history: East St. Louis rocked by race riot, 1917, <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/this-week-in-history-east-st-louis-rocked-by-race-riot-1917/>, June 26 2017, voice for progressive change and socialism in the United States. It provides news and analysis of, by, and for the labor and democratic movements to our readers across the country and around the world.] [SS]

\*\*Bracketed for racial language

**The East St. Louis riots (or massacres**) of May and July 1917 **were an outbreak of labor- and race-related violence** **that caused up to 200 deaths** and extensive property damage. East St. Louis, Ill., is an industrial city on the east bank of the Mississippi River across from St. Louis, Mo. **These incidents** of 100 years ago **have been described** as the worst case of labor-related violence and **among the worst race riots in 20th-century American history**. In 1917 the U.S. had an active economy boosted by World War I. With many workers now absent in the armed forces, industries were in need of labor. Seeking better work and living opportunities, as well as an escape from harsh conditions, the Great Migration of African Americans out of the South toward industrial centers across the North was well underway. Blacks were arriving in St. Louis during Spring 1917 at the rate of 2000 per week. Traditionally **white unions sought to strengthen their bargaining position by** hindering or **excluding black workers**, while industry owners utilized blacks as replacements or strikebreakers, adding to deep-seated societal divisions. At the same time **Louisiana farmers were worried about losing their labor force, and** had **requested** East St. Louis Mayor Fred W. Mollman’s assistance **to help discourage black migration**. Many blacks found work at the Aluminum Ore and the American Steel companies in East St. Louis. Some **whites feared job and wage security from** this **new competition**. That February, **470 African American workers were hired to replace white workers who had gone on strike** against Aluminum Ore. **Tensions** between the groups **escalated, including rumors of black men and white women fraternizing at a labor meeting** on May 28, following which some **3000 white men marched** into downtown East St. Louis **and began attacking African Americans**. The mobs stopped trolleys and streetcars, pulling black passengers out and beating them on the streets. With mobs destroying buildings and assaulting people, Ill. Gov. Frank O. Lowden called in the National Guard to prevent further rioting, and the mood eased somewhat for a few weeks. **The** East St. Louis Central **Labor Council** responded to the rioting **implying that** “southern [**black people]** Negroes **were misled** **by false advertisements and unscrupulous employment agents** to come to East St. Louis in such numbers under false pretenses of secure jobs and decent living quarters.” Little was done to prevent further problems. No precautions were taken to ensure white job security or to grant union recognition. **No reforms were made in the police force which did little to quell the violence**. This further increased the already-high level of hostilities towards African Americans. On July 2, a car occupied by white males drove through a black area of the city and several shots were fired into a standing group. An hour later, a car containing four people, including a journalist and two police officers passed through the same area. Black residents, possibly assuming they were the original suspects, opened fire, killing one officer instantly and mortally wounding another. Later that day, thousands of white spectators who assembled to view the detectives’ bloodstained automobile marched into the black section of town and started rioting. **After cutting the water hoses of the fire department, the rioters burned entire sections of the city, shot inhabitants as they escaped the flames, and lynched several [black people]** blacks. Guardsmen were called in, but according to contemporary accounts, they joined in the rioting rather than stop it. Young white women and girls brandishing clubs chased a black woman and called upon the men to kill her. After the riots, the St. Louis Argus said, “The entire country has been aroused to a sense of shame and pity by the magnitude of the national disgrace enacted by the blood-thirsty rioters in East St. Louis Monday, July 2.” According to the Post-Dispatch of St. Louis, “All the impartial witnesses agree that the police were either indifferent or encouraged the barbarities, and that **the major part of the National Guard was indifferent or inactive.** **No organized effort was made to protect the [black people]** Negroes or disperse the murdering groups…. Ten determined officers could have prevented most of the outrages. **One hundred men acting with authority** and vigor **might have prevented any outrage**.” After the riots, varying estimates of the death toll circulated. The police chief estimated that 100 blacks had been killed. The renowned journalist Ida B. Wells reported in The Chicago Defender that 40-150 black people were killed**. The NAACP estimated deaths at 100–200. Six thousand** blacks **were left homeless** after their neighborhood was burned. The coroner specified nine white deaths, but the deaths of black victims were less clearly recorded: Activists argued that the true number of deaths would never be known because many corpses were neither recovered nor had passed through the hands of undertakers. The ferocious brutality of the attacks and the failure of the authorities to protect innocent lives contributed to the radicalization of many blacks across the nation. Marcus Garvey, president of The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), declared, “This is no time for fine words, but a time to lift one’s voice against the savagery of a people who claim to be the dispensers of democracy.” On July 6 the Chamber of Commerce met with the mayor to demand the resignation of top police officials and radical reform. In addition to the lives lost, mobs had caused extensive property damage. The Southern Railway Company’s warehouse was burned, with over 100 carloads of merchandise. A white theatre valued at more than $100,000, 44 freight cars and 312 houses were destroyed. In response to the rioting, the NAACP sent W.E.B. DuBois and Martha Gruening to investigate the incident. They compiled a report entitled “Massacre at East St. Louis,” which was published in the NAACP’s magazine, The Crisis. In New York City on July 28, 10,000 black people carrying signs marched down Fifth Avenue in a Silent Parade, protesting the riots. The march was organized by the NAACP and Du Bois, and other groups in Harlem. Women and children were dressed in white; the men were dressed in black. Authorities were slow to respond to calls for an investigation. President Woodrow Wilson stated that his Department of Justice could not find enough evidence to justify federal action in the matter. A Special Committee formed by the U.S. House of Representatives launched an investigation into police actions during the East St. Louis Riot. It found that the National Guard and the East St. Louis police force had not acted adequately during the riots, revealing that the police often fled from the scenes of murder and arson. Some even fled from station houses and refused to answer calls for help. The investigation also resulted in the indictment of several members of the East St. Louis police force. Among those brought to trial was Dr. LeRoy Bundy, a dentist and prominent leader in the East St. Louis black community, who was formally charged with inciting a riot. The trial was held in the St. Clair county court. Bundy, along with 34 defendants, of whom ten were white, were given prison time in connection to the riot.

#### It’s competitive – unconditional right to strike doesn’t include reasonable limits.

ITUC ‘14

[THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND THE ILO: THE LEGAL FOUNDATIONS, INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION (ITUC), March 2014, https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/ituc\_final\_brief\_on\_the\_right\_to\_strike.pdf, The International Trade Union Confederation is the world's largest trade union federation.] [SS]

Between the extremes of an unconditional right to strike and an absolute prohibition on strikes “in accordance with national law,” the international community is converging on the general principle of the right to strike within reasonable limits. The authors of this document acknowledge the tension between countries’ varying degrees of limitations on the right to strike and the normal requirement of uniformity of state practice to find customary international law. It is believed that the tension can be resolved by distinguishing between divergence in detail and convergence in principle. Procedural requirements in national law are details; the right to strike within reasonable limits is the common principle.

# 3

#### Infrastructure Bill passes now but every ounce of Biden PC is key.

Caldego 10-19 Chris Cadelgo 10-19-2021 “Biden bets his agenda on the inside game” <https://www.politico.com/news/2021/10/19/biden-agenda-inside-game-516239> (White House Correspondent at POLITICO)//Elmer

Before Joe **Biden** can fully pitch the public on his solutions to a lingering pandemic and economic rockiness, he’s got to **finish the sale to his** own **party**’s lawmakers. As Democrats on Capitol Hill brace in anticipation of a brutal midterm, Biden is **spending** an **extraordinary** amount of **time and p**olitical **c**apital behind the scenes **to** convince them to **rally** **around** a common **framework for social and climate spending**. His congressional huddles have **accelerated**, from phone **calls** on the White House veranda **to** one-on-one and group **meetings** — including two high-stakes Tuesday sit downs with moderates and progressives. He’s dialing up old friends to take their temperature about how his presidency is really fairing far beyond the Beltway. White House aides, in their own recent conversations with nervous allies, have repeatedly cited the flurry of presidential calls as a **sign** itself **of** Biden's commitment to **getting** the **bills over the finish** **line**, at times bristling at claims that he hasn't been involved enough. But Biden’s hours and hours of meetings don’t just reflect the precarious moment in which his presidency finds itself. They **underscore** the heavy **reliance** his White House has placed **on** an **inside game**, rather than the bully pulpit, **to dislodge** recalcitrant **holdouts** and move their agenda. "The president is a longtime policy guy and relationship guy. So he brings both kinds of skills to his work" to corral his party behind a trillion-dollar-plus package of progressive priorities, said Biden's former primary rival Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.). Warren acknowledged, however, that Biden's level of influence over Sens. Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.) and Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz.) — both of whom met with Biden on Tuesday — remains to be seen: "We'll know the answer to that when we make it across the finish line and assess what we’ve got." Biden met Tuesday afternoon with Sens. Jon Tester (D-Mont.), Catherine Cortez Masto (D-Nev.) and Mark Warner (D-Va.), along with House progressives and moderates. "We just need to get to a number," Tester said after returning from the White House. "I think that he likes all the programs but I think everybody's negotiable at this point." Biden told progressives that tuition-free community college would likely be cut from the final package and the child tax credit may only be extended for a single year, according to a source familiar with the meeting. Rep. Pramila Jayapal, chair of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, said after the meeting that tuition-free college is "probably going to be out," and certain climate priorities were "challenging." "At this point we don't have a certainty on the final thing, but what we're hearing is good," Jayapal said. "We feel like the vast majority, if not all, of our priorities are in there, in some way, shape or form.” As Biden has worked on lawmakers in private — sometimes not putting a hard stop on his schedule so as not to stifle progress — he’s largely, though not entirely, resisted riskier public pressure campaigns that could backfire and are viewed as against his nature. Often, Biden has had just a single public event each day. Occasionally, there’s been no public interfacing at all. Eight times since Labor Day, the daily guidance issued by the White House has included only private meetings with Biden. A planned barnstorming of the country to sell the Build Back Better platform this summer was overshadowed by the chaotic U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan. And congressional uncertainty amid infighting among Democrats on opposite poles of the party has overshadowed continuing trips by Cabinet officials and commandeered the media narrative in Washington. While Biden has held public events around the agenda, he has not done a formal press interview on it since Labor Day. On Wednesday, he will take a trip to his hometown of Scranton, Pa., to discuss the benefits of the legislative proposals, and on Thursday he will participate in a town hall broadcast on CNN. “The President won the most votes in history running on his Build Back Better agenda, unveiled the formal proposal in his first address to a joint session of Congress, and has made his case across the country ever since – along with his cabinet – which is deeply resonating with the American middle class," White House spokesman Andrew Bates said. Over the weekend, Biden called Sen. Bob Casey (D-Pa.) to discuss the upcoming trip, according to the senator, who is working on expanding care for older people and people with disabilities. “He wanted to get some suggestions about issues we should focus on, while we’re there,” Casey said. Still, inside the White House, the lower-key strategy has been seen as a necessity: Democrats have such slim congressional majorities that Biden, Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer and Speaker Nancy Pelosi have essentially **no margin for error**. That has put far more of the president’s focus on convincing a relatively small number of lawmakers to agree to details of the package, rather than using his time to sell policies that the general public supports. Chief among that small number of lawmakers are Manchin and Sinema, who remain resistant to the range of $1.9 trillion to $2.2 trillion that Biden and progressive lawmakers have discussed as a compromise top line for the social spending bill. "I'm told that they've given signs on the parking spaces for these two senators at the White House, that they're there so often,” Senate Majority Whip Dick Durbin (D-Ill.) said of Manchin and Sinema. “This president has been engaged from the start, in working with all the leaders, and particularly with those two senators." As he does that, Biden has labored to project a sense of optimism about his progress. White House officials say they’re encouraged by what they described as the accelerated pace of the talks, even as the Oct. 31 timetable appears exceedingly ambitious. Another explanation for the approach was baked in long ago. Biden is a 36-year veteran of the Senate with a heightened sense of his own negotiating instincts and abilities to move major legislation through the chamber. A self-admitted schmoozer, he has avoided doing much to shame Manchin and Sinema, preventing many details from their conversations and about his own preferences from spilling into public view. “There’s a lot of complaining about what the message has been on this package, but when you’re trying to fight for every vote, the coverage inevitably becomes about the process and numbers,” said John Podesta, a top aide to former Presidents Barack Obama and Bill Clinton and a major climate activist. “When you are inside talking one-on-one to members trying to convince people to stay with you or come on board it’s very hard to create a press environment which is different from what they’ve got.” Biden has resumed his in-person meetings with Congress’ return to Washington, including Tuesday sit-downs that involved Vice President Kamala Harris and Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen. There's a deepening acknowledgment that he has to hurry. “They really are now in a circumstance where they will take on more and more water unless they can close the framework,” Podesta added. “I think they’ll do it. But it’s not like they have forever. We’re talking about this week or next week.” In his meetings, Biden has spent a considerable amount of time on the party’s collective sense of urgency, aides and allies said, telling members of his party that they simply have to deliver. The conversations have at times been crisp, with Biden telling some Democratic skeptics that in order to be part of the negotiating process, they need to articulate policies that they are for and not just what they oppose — a message similar to the one Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) has delivered to Manchin and Sinema. Biden’s goal has been to help establish broad areas of agreement before filling in the specifics. At the same time, Biden has repeatedly cautioned his senior aides and officials not to rely on generalizations, and to prepare recommendations based on data and input from the lawmakers about their states and districts. He has stolen bits of face time with lawmakers wherever he can, keeping members back after bill signings, for example, to sound them out, and gathering with them in their districts when he’s been on the road. Moving beyond sticking points has been a challenge, and Biden is known to implore lawmakers to step back and ignore a particular area and to temporarily focus on others where they might be able to make progress. “When you see him artfully and deftly manage these hard conversations with members and guide them into a productive place, it helps remind you there is **room for optimism** **and** there is a **pathway here**,” said Louisa Terrell, director of the White House Office of Legislative Affairs.

#### Right to Strike Policies cause mass Partisan Fights.

Kreighbaum et Al 21 Andrew Kreighbaum et Al 3-9-2021 "Landmark Labor Law Overhaul Passes House but Senate Fate Unclear" <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/daily-labor-report/landmark-labor-law-overhaul-passes-house-but-senate-fate-unclear> (Reporter at Bloomberg Law)//Elmer

The House of Representatives passed the most significant overhaul of federal labor law in decades on Tuesday. The **P**rotecting the **R**ight to **O**rganize **Act** (H.R. 842) is the **top** legislative **priority for** **organized labor groups** and has the backing of President Joe Biden, **but** the **business lobby** is **seeking to block** the bill. Supporters also face a steep challenge overcoming a filibuster in the Senate. The bill cleared the House on a 225-206 vote. The chamber previously passed the PRO Act last year **along** mostly **party lines**. Advocates say the bill is even more critical after the coronavirus pandemic exposed the challenges for many workers seeking safe conditions. It cleared the House as workers at an Amazon plant in Alabama vote on whether to form a union, a campaign that has attracted national attention and a shoutout from Biden. Boosting workers’ right to unionize would “help combat the acceleration of economic inequality that undermines the middle class, that has only grown worse over the past year,” House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) said on Tuesday ahead of the bill’s passage. Business **lobby groups** like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce have said the bill would kill jobs, and **promised to oppose** it in the Senate. Worker Protections **The PRO Act** would amend the National Labor Relations Act, a federal law that guarantees private-sector employees the right to unionize, engage in collective bargaining, and take collective action such as strikes. Among other changes, it **would** bar employers from retaliating against unionization efforts, **protect workers’ right to strike**, and override state “right to work” laws that allow employees to opt out of paying dues in unionized workplaces. Companies would be banned under the bill, for example, from holding “captive audience” meetings, in which workers are compelled to listen to anti-union messages from their employer. The legislation also would give the National Labor Relations Board power to levy fines against companies that engage in unfair labor practices, and require arbitration when unionized workers can’t reach agreement on a contract with employers. BGOV Bill Summary: H.R. 842, Private Sector Union Rights The bill would allow employees to hold union elections off of company premises and use mail or electronic ballots, a provision that supporters say is essential during the pandemic. Electronic ballots are currently banned. The PRO Act addresses the status of independent contractors—such as gig workers at ride-hailing and food delivery companies—by lowering the bar for contractors to prove they are employees under federal labor law. That would allow gig workers to organize unions and protest retaliation under the NLRA—rights currently guaranteed only to employees, not contractors. The legislation would adopt the same rigid test to determine workers’ employment status as a California law known as A.B. 5. Workers for app-based services were recently carved out of the state law by a ballot initiative, Proposition 22, bankrolled by gig companies. The California law also applies to employment rules governing overtime and minimum wage. The PRO Act, however, only addresses workers’ status under the National Labor Relations Act. Senate Opposition Rep. Virginia Foxx (R-N.C.), the ranking member on the Education and Labor Committee, said the legislation would hurt entrepreneurs and individual workers by “making unions bigger and the individual freedom smaller.” **Republicans** in the Senate, including Sen. Tim Scott (R-S.C.), have already **gone on record opposing** the PRO Act. Union leaders pledged to carry on the fight in the Senate. The legislation faces slim chances there without changes to filibuster rules, which require 60 votes to end debate on a bill and bring it to a vote. The vocal **support from** the **Biden** administration **is significant** for the future of the legislation, said Celine McNicholas, director of government affairs and labor counsel at the left-leaning Economic Policy Institute. “We just don’t know **what labor law reform** is **possible** **with** an **administration** **willing to expend critical p**olitical **c**apital,” McNicholas said.

#### Empirics proves Pro-Labor and Pro-Union policies sap PC.

Leon 21 Luis Feliz Leon 1-6-2021 "If we want it, we’re going to have to fight like hell for it" - Labor faces an uphill battle to pass the PRO Act" <https://www.thestrikewave.com/original-content/labor-faces-uphill-battle-to-pass-pro-act> (Organizer and journalist)//Elmer

In New York City, after years of organizing fast-food workers, 32BJ SEIU won two ‘just cause’ laws protecting 67,000 workers from being fired arbitrarily. In California, after a 17-year battle for a union, 45,000 childcare providers finally won the “largest single union election America has seen in seven years.” New Mexico just became the ninth state—including California, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts, Oregon, Washington, and Maine—to create a pathway for mandatory recognition using card check, which makes it easier for workers to gain union recognition by submitting a majority of signed cards of workers rather than through a drawn-out election campaign where the employer can interrogate workers, hold captive audience meetings, and fire union supporters. Despite these recent labor victories at the state level, the share of all workers belonging to a union continues to dwindle, at a nadir of 10.3 percent. With the share of private-sector workers in a union at 6.2 percent, the labor movement has effectively been beaten back to the dregs of the 1890s: the good-old days of the Gilded Age, when Andrew Carnegie and a coterie of plutocrats pillaged workers’ labor and amassed an obscene amount of wealth to make the headless Marie Antoinette’s nerve endings twitch in the grave. With “right-to-work” laws all but banning the union shop in 27 states and Guam, the National Labor Relations Board packed by Donald Trump with lawyers from union-busting firms, and states gutting the bargaining rights of state employees, how can organized labor build power to win back lost ground? The answer is to make it easier for workers to join unions. The Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act, H.R. 2474, is a compendium of labor’s wish-list items. It would make it easier for workers to form unions, imposing consequence on union-busting employers who violate labor law, and weakening “right-to-work” laws. It passed the House last year by a vote of 224-194, signifying both Democrats wanting to burnish their pro-labor bona fides before the campaign season and the growing leftist bloc within its ranks. The Senate version garnered 42 co-sponsors, but Majority Leader Mitch McConnell blocked it. If enacted, it would strengthen workers’ right to unionize by updating the 1935 National Labor Relations Act and reversing the damage of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, repealing its ban of secondary boycotts, and making it possible for unions to coordinate solidarity strikes as truck drivers represented by the Teamsters did last year when they refused to cross the picket during strikes at Stop & Shop organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers. The **inclusion of the right to strike** in solidarity with other unions in some Teamster contracts hearkens back to a legacy of labor militancy. It would also end the misclassification of workers as “independent contractors” using an ‘ABC’ test to determine whether they are genuinely independent businesspeople. The PRO Act would set deadlines for workers to secure agreement on a first contract, overcoming a stalling tactic employers use to undermine unionizing efforts, and set up mediation to resolve disputes with employers. To discourage union-busting, it would ban employers from coercing workers from signing away their right to pursue litigation and prohibit permanently replacing workers who have gone on strike with strikebreakers. It also bars employers from forcing workers to attend “captive audience” meetings to discourage unionization and imposes stiff penalties on employers who violate workers’ rights. These practices are common. Unions charge employers with violating federal law in 41.5 % of all union-election campaigns, according to a study by the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), a left-leaning think tank. “Given the data on employer conduct during union elections, it stands to reason that enabling workers to avoid a rigged process and win a union would make a difference in union density,” said EPI director of government affairs Celine McNicholas. “This is especially true when you consider how many private-sector workers say they would want a union if they could win one in their workplace.” Nearly 50 percent of all nonunion workers say they would vote for a union if given the chance, one recent poll found. The most recent Gallup poll shows that 65 percent of Americans have a favorable view of unions. “Labor law is broken, often making the NLRB election process a hellish gauntlet for workers who want to form a union," said Daisy Pitkin, UNITE HERE’s laundry organizing director in Arizona from 2002 to 2009. “In order for workers to make it through that gauntlet, they and the union they're building have to be really strong to withstand the company’s attacks.” “Industrial laundries are dangerous places to work," Pitkin continued. "Workers are routinely injured and burned by machinery, and in the factories that wash hospital linen, they are exposed to bodily fluids and waste, surgical tools, fluids bags and the like.” One Phoenix hospital laundry the union was trying to organize, Sodexho Commercial Linen Exchange, was charged by the NLRB with 22 separate violations, according to Pitkin. Sodexho – now known as Sodexo – is a major international services chain, with contracts ranging from serving cafeteria food in colleges to prisons. The union was able to provide enough evidence of unfair labor practice violations, including firing workers during organizing drives, surveillance and other intimidation tactics, that the NLRB issued a Gissel bargaining order, forcing the employer to recognize and bargain with the union. Pitkin led organizing campaigns at nine industrial laundries across Arizona alongside “mainly women workers in this deep-red, right-to-work, Arpaio country,” referring to Sheriff of Maricopa County Joe Arpaio, the neo-fascist blowhard nationally known for blustering displays of cruelty to immigrants and incarcerated people. UNITE HERE organized three by card check, another after workers went on a spontaneous strike due to safety concerns, and five through drawn-out elections. Ultimately, it was able to claim 65% percent union density in the state’s industrial-laundry sector. “Our theory was that if we could organize midrange companies, then clean up the market by going after the smaller, local and regional players, we could raise industry standards for wages and health and safety even before organizing the big national and international corporations,” said Pitkin. "This partially proved true: when we got to above 50% density, we were able to bring the floor up for wages across the state." The challenge has been less workers’ lack of interest in joining a union than the roadblocks making it difficult to do so. For the last decade, the labor movement has tried to remove these barriers, but largely failed. The PRO Act’s key **provisions** are a **throwback to** Sen. Bernie Sanders’ **W**orkplace **D**emocracy **A**ct, which would have repealed state "right-to-work" laws that drain union coffers by allowing non-union members to benefit from the benefits of union representation, or “free ride,” without paying dues. The Employee Free Choice Act (**EFCA**), which **died** **in the Senate** during President Barack Obama’s first term, **had** **similar potential to** **increase union membership**, as it would have enabled workers to get union representation if a majority signed union cards (“card check”) rather than through an election. It **died because** **Obama was unwilling to put p**olitical **c**apital **behind it to overcome opposition from Republicans and center-right Democrats.** “**EFCA was very close to becoming law**. At the end of the day, in my view, the **Obama** administration **did not put** the **necessary p**olitical **c**apital **into securing its passage**,” said EPI's McNicholas. “The Obama administration **decided to focus on** ‘**bipartisan’** and ‘reach across the aisle’ type **solutions** to the 2008 financial crisis, and thus **didn't care** about EFCA in the face of the anti-EFCA mobilization **by strong ‘antis’** like the Chamber of Commerce,” says Susan Kang, a professor of political science at John Jay College who studies political economy, labor, and human rights. “Basically, labor was swept aside by the Obama administration … at the exact moment when he had the strongest mandate and political capital.” Another issue, said Patrick Burke, an organizer with United Auto Workers Local 2322 in Massachusetts, was that EFCA's card-check provisions, when framed as a replacement for elections, “became very easy to demonize and difficult to explain to people not already familiar with labor law.” “The short story is that the EFCA was **doomed from** a few **moderate Dems not being willing to go through** with card check once actually in power to enact it. The long story is that the labor movement's disappearance from the ‘adult table’ of Democratic politics has cyclical downward effects. They're less able to convince Dems to go out on the limb for them and to prioritize their legislative requests,” said Brandon Magner, a labor lawyer in Indiana. Despite a history of betrayal and rejection, labor and immigrant rights organizations, coalesced around Biden, a self-professed “union guy,” after the primaries and helped deliver him to the White House in the hope that doing so would lead to executive action on immigration and labor law reform. “We call on Congress to pass and Biden to sign the Protecting the Right to Organize (PRO) Act early in 2021 to make sure every worker who wants to form or join a union is able to do so freely and fairly,” AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka said in a statement after the election. But union organizers, researchers, and labor lawyers see dim prospects for winning significant labor reform during the Biden administration.

#### Infrastructure reform solves Existential Climate Change – it results in spill-over.

USA Today 7-20 7-20-2021 "Climate change is at 'code red' status for the planet, and inaction is no longer an option" <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/todaysdebate/2021/07/20/climate-change-biden-infrastructure-bill-good-start/7877118002/> //Elmer

**Not long ago**, **climate change** for many Americans **was** like **a distant bell**. News of starving polar bears or melting glaciers was tragic and disturbing, but other worldly. Not any more. **Top climate scientists** from around the world **warned of a "code red for humanity**" in a report issued Monday that says severe, human-caused global warming is become unassailable. Proof of the findings by the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is a now a factor of daily life. Due to **intense heat waves and drought**, 107 wildfires – including the largest ever in California – are now raging across the West, consuming 2.3 million acres. Earlier this summer, hundreds of people died in unprecedented triple-digit heat in Oregon, Washington and western Canada, when a "heat dome" of enormous proportions settled over the region for days. Some victims brought by stretcher into crowded hospital wards had body temperatures so high, their nervous systems had shut down. People collapsed trying to make their way to cooling shelters. Heat-trapping greenhouse gases Scientists say the event was almost **certainly made worse and more intransigent by human-caused climate change**. They attribute it to a combination of warming Arctic temperatures and a growing accumulation of heat-trapping greenhouse gases caused by the burning of fossil fuels. The **consequences of** what mankind has done to the atmo**sphere are now inescapable**. Periods of **extreme heat** are projected to **double** in the lower 48 states by 2100. **Heat deaths** are far **outpacing every other form of weather killer** in a 30-year average. A **persistent megadrought** in America's West continues to create tinder-dry conditions that augur another devastating wildfire season. And scientists say **warming oceans** are **fueling** ever **more powerful storms**, evidenced by Elsa and the early arrival of hurricane season this year. Increasingly severe weather is causing an estimated $100 billion in damage to the United States every year. "It is honestly surreal to see your projections manifesting themselves in real time, with all the suffering that accompanies them. It is heartbreaking," said climate scientist Katharine Hayhoe. **Rising seas** from global warming Investigators are still trying to determine what led to the collapse of a Miami-area condominium that left more than 100 dead or missing. But one concerning factor is the corrosive effect on reinforced steel structures of encroaching saltwater, made worse in Florida by a foot of rising seas from global warming since the 1900s. The clock is ticking for planet Earth. While the U.N. report concludes some level of severe climate change is now unavoidable, there is still a window of time when far more catastrophic events can be mitigated. But mankind must act soon to curb the release of heat-trapping gases. Global **temperature** has **risen** nearly **2 degrees** Fahrenheit since the pre-industrial era of the late 19th century. Scientists warn that in a decade, it could surpass a **2.7**-degree increase. That's **enough** warming **to cause catastrophic climate changes**. After a brief decline in global greenhouse gas emissions during the pandemic, pollution is on the rise. Years that could have been devoted to addressing the crisis were wasted during a feckless period of inaction by the Trump administration. Congress must act Joe Biden won the presidency promising broad new policies to cut America's greenhouse gas emissions. But Congress needs to act on those ideas this year. Democrats cannot risk losing narrow control of one or both chambers of Congress in the 2022 elections to a Republican Party too long resistant to meaningful action on the climate. So what's at issue? A trillion dollar **infrastructure bill** negotiated between Biden and a group of centrist senators (including 10 Republicans) is a start. In addition to repairing bridges, roads and rails, it would **improve access** by the nation's power infrastructure **to renewable energy sources,** **cap millions of abandoned oil and gas wells spewing greenhouse gases**, **and harden structures against climate change**. It also **offers tax credits for** the **purchase of electric vehicles** and funds the construction of charging stations. (**The nation's largest source of climate pollution are gas-powered vehicles**.) Senate approval could come very soon. Much **more is needed** if the nation is going to reach Biden's necessary goal of cutting U.S. climate pollution in half from 2005 levels by 2030. His ideas worth considering include a federal clean electricity standard for utilities, federal investments and tax credits to promote renewable energy, and tens of billions of dollars in clean energy research and development, including into ways of extracting greenhouse gases from the skies. Another idea worth considering is a fully refundable carbon tax. **The vehicle** for these additional proposals **would be a second infrastructure bill**. And if Republicans balk at the cost of such vital investment, Biden is rightly proposing to pass this package through a process known as budget reconciliation, which allows bills to clear the Senate with a simple majority vote. These are drastic legislative steps. But drastic times call for them. And when Biden attends a U.N. climate conference in November, he can use American progress on climate change as a mean of persuading others to follow our lead. Further delay is not an option

# 4

#### Pleasure and pain are intrinsic value and disvalue – everything else regresses – robust neuroscience proves

Blum et al. 18 Kenneth Blum, 1Department of Psychiatry, Boonshoft School of Medicine, Dayton VA Medical Center, Wright State University, Dayton, OH, USA 2Department of Psychiatry, McKnight Brain Institute, University of Florida College of Medicine, Gainesville, FL, USA 3Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, Keck Medicine University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, USA 4Division of Applied Clinical Research & Education, Dominion Diagnostics, LLC, North Kingstown, RI, USA 5Department of Precision Medicine, Geneus Health LLC, San Antonio, TX, USA 6Department of Addiction Research & Therapy, Nupathways Inc., Innsbrook, MO, USA 7Department of Clinical Neurology, Path Foundation, New York, NY, USA 8Division of Neuroscience-Based Addiction Therapy, The Shores Treatment & Recovery Center, Port Saint Lucie, FL, USA 9Institute of Psychology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary 10Division of Addiction Research, Dominion Diagnostics, LLC. North Kingston, RI, USA 11Victory Nutrition International, Lederach, PA., USA 12National Human Genome Center at Howard University, Washington, DC., USA, Marjorie Gondré-Lewis, 12National Human Genome Center at Howard University, Washington, DC., USA 13Departments of Anatomy and Psychiatry, Howard University College of Medicine, Washington, DC US, Bruce Steinberg, 4Division of Applied Clinical Research & Education, Dominion Diagnostics, LLC, North Kingstown, RI, USA, Igor Elman, 15Department Psychiatry, Cooper University School of Medicine, Camden, NJ, USA, David Baron, 3Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, Keck Medicine University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, USA, Edward J Modestino, 14Department of Psychology, Curry College, Milton, MA, USA, Rajendra D Badgaiyan, 15Department Psychiatry, Cooper University School of Medicine, Camden, NJ, USA, Mark S Gold 16Department of Psychiatry, Washington University, St. Louis, MO, USA, “Our evolved unique pleasure circuit makes humans different from apes: Reconsideration of data derived from animal studies”, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, 28 February 2018, accessed: 19 August 2020, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6446569/>, R.S.

**Pleasure** is not only one of the three primary reward functions but it also **defines reward.** As homeostasis explains the functions of only a limited number of rewards, the principal reason why particular stimuli, objects, events, situations, and activities are rewarding may be due to pleasure. This applies first of all to sex and to the primary homeostatic rewards of food and liquid and extends to money, taste, beauty, social encounters and nonmaterial, internally set, and intrinsic rewards. Pleasure, as the primary effect of rewards, drives the prime reward functions of learning, approach behavior, and decision making and provides the **basis for hedonic theories** of reward function. We are attracted by most rewards and exert intense efforts to obtain them, just because they are enjoyable [10].

Pleasure is a passive reaction that derives from the experience or prediction of reward and may lead to a long-lasting state of happiness. The word happiness is difficult to define. In fact, just obtaining physical pleasure may not be enough. One key to happiness involves a network of good friends. However, it is not obvious how the higher forms of satisfaction and pleasure are related to an ice cream cone, or to your team winning a sporting event. Recent multidisciplinary research, using both humans and detailed invasive brain analysis of animals has discovered some critical ways that the brain processes pleasure [14].

Pleasure as a hallmark of reward is sufficient for defining a reward, but it may not be necessary. A reward may generate positive learning and approach behavior simply because it contains substances that are essential for body function. When we are hungry, we may eat bad and unpleasant meals. A monkey who receives hundreds of small drops of water every morning in the laboratory is unlikely to feel a rush of pleasure every time it gets the 0.1 ml. Nevertheless, with these precautions in mind, we may define any stimulus, object, event, activity, or situation that has the potential to produce pleasure as a reward. In the context of reward deficiency or for disorders of addiction, homeostasis pursues pharmacological treatments: drugs to treat drug addiction, obesity, and other compulsive behaviors. The theory of allostasis suggests broader approaches - such as re-expanding the range of possible pleasures and providing opportunities to expend effort in their pursuit. [15]. It is noteworthy, the first animal studies eliciting approach behavior by electrical brain stimulation interpreted their findings as a discovery of the brain’s pleasure centers [16] which were later partly associated with midbrain dopamine neurons [17–19] despite the notorious difficulties of identifying emotions in animals.

Evolutionary theories of pleasure: The love connection BO:D

Charles Darwin and other biological scientists that have examined the biological evolution and its basic principles found various mechanisms that steer behavior and biological development. Besides their theory on natural selection, it was particularly the sexual selection process that gained significance in the latter context over the last century, especially when it comes to the question of what makes us “what we are,” i.e., human. However, the capacity to sexually select and evolve is not at all a human accomplishment alone or a sign of our uniqueness; yet, we humans, as it seems, are ingenious in fooling ourselves and others–when we are in love or desperately search for it.

It is well established that modern biological theory conjectures that **organisms are** the **result of evolutionary competition.** In fact, Richard Dawkins stresses gene survival and propagation as the basic mechanism of life [20]. Only genes that lead to the fittest phenotype will make it. It is noteworthy that the phenotype is selected based on behavior that maximizes gene propagation. To do so, the phenotype must survive and generate offspring, and be better at it than its competitors. Thus, the ultimate, distal function of rewards is to increase evolutionary fitness by ensuring the survival of the organism and reproduction. It is agreed that learning, approach, economic decisions, and positive emotions are the proximal functions through which phenotypes obtain other necessary nutrients for survival, mating, and care for offspring.

Behavioral reward functions have evolved to help individuals to survive and propagate their genes. Apparently, people need to live well and long enough to reproduce. Most would agree that homo-sapiens do so by ingesting the substances that make their bodies function properly. For this reason, foods and drinks are rewards. Additional rewards, including those used for economic exchanges, ensure sufficient palatable food and drink supply. Mating and gene propagation is supported by powerful sexual attraction. Additional properties, like body form, augment the chance to mate and nourish and defend offspring and are therefore also rewards. Care for offspring until they can reproduce themselves helps gene propagation and is rewarding; otherwise, many believe mating is useless. According to David E Comings, as any small edge will ultimately result in evolutionary advantage [21], additional reward mechanisms like novelty seeking and exploration widen the spectrum of available rewards and thus enhance the chance for survival, reproduction, and ultimate gene propagation. These functions may help us to obtain the benefits of distant rewards that are determined by our own interests and not immediately available in the environment. Thus the distal reward function in gene propagation and evolutionary fitness defines the proximal reward functions that we see in everyday behavior. That is why foods, drinks, mates, and offspring are rewarding.

There have been theories linking pleasure as a required component of health benefits salutogenesis, (salugenesis). In essence, under these terms, pleasure is described as a state or feeling of happiness and satisfaction resulting from an experience that one enjoys. Regarding pleasure, it is a double-edged sword, on the one hand, it promotes positive feelings (like mindfulness) and even better cognition, possibly through the release of dopamine [22]. But on the other hand, pleasure simultaneously encourages addiction and other negative behaviors, i.e., motivational toxicity. It is a complex neurobiological phenomenon, relying on reward circuitry or limbic activity. It is important to realize that through the “Brain Reward Cascade” (BRC) endorphin and endogenous morphinergic mechanisms may play a role [23]. While natural rewards are essential for survival and appetitive motivation leading to beneficial biological behaviors like eating, sex, and reproduction, crucial social interactions seem to further facilitate the positive effects exerted by pleasurable experiences. Indeed, experimentation with addictive drugs is capable of directly acting on reward pathways and causing deterioration of these systems promoting hypodopaminergia [24]. Most would agree that pleasurable activities can stimulate personal growth and may help to induce healthy behavioral changes, including stress management [25]. The work of Esch and Stefano [26] concerning the link between compassion and love implicate the brain reward system, and pleasure induction suggests that social contact in general, i.e., love, attachment, and compassion, can be highly effective in stress reduction, survival, and overall health.

Understanding the role of neurotransmission and pleasurable states both positive and negative have been adequately studied over many decades [26–37], but comparative anatomical and neurobiological function between animals and homo sapiens appear to be required and seem to be in an infancy stage.

Finding happiness is different between apes and humans

As stated earlier in this expert opinion one key to happiness involves a network of good friends [38]. However, it is not entirely clear exactly how the higher forms of satisfaction and pleasure are related to a sugar rush, winning a sports event or even sky diving, all of which augment dopamine release at the reward brain site. Recent multidisciplinary research, using both humans and detailed invasive brain analysis of animals has discovered some critical ways that the brain processes pleasure.

Remarkably, there are pathways for ordinary liking and pleasure, which are limited in scope as described above in this commentary. However, there are **many brain regions**, often termed hot and cold spots, that significantly **modulate** (increase or decrease) our **pleasure or** even produce **the opposite** of pleasure— that is disgust and fear [39]. One specific region of the nucleus accumbens is organized like a computer keyboard, with particular stimulus triggers in rows— producing an increase and decrease of pleasure and disgust. Moreover, the cortex has unique roles in the cognitive evaluation of our feelings of pleasure [40]. Importantly, the interplay of these multiple triggers and the higher brain centers in the prefrontal cortex are very intricate and are just being uncovered.

Desire and reward centers

It is surprising that many different sources of pleasure activate the same circuits between the mesocorticolimbic regions (Figure 1). Reward and desire are two aspects pleasure induction and have a very widespread, large circuit. Some part of this circuit distinguishes between desire and dread. The so-called pleasure circuitry called “REWARD” involves a well-known dopamine pathway in the mesolimbic system that can influence both pleasure and motivation.

In simplest terms, the well-established mesolimbic system is a dopamine circuit for reward. It starts in the ventral tegmental area (VTA) of the midbrain and travels to the nucleus accumbens (Figure 2). It is the cornerstone target to all addictions. The VTA is encompassed with neurons using glutamate, GABA, and dopamine. The nucleus accumbens (NAc) is located within the ventral striatum and is divided into two sub-regions—the motor and limbic regions associated with its core and shell, respectively. The NAc has spiny neurons that receive dopamine from the VTA and glutamate (a dopamine driver) from the hippocampus, amygdala and medial prefrontal cortex. Subsequently, the NAc projects GABA signals to an area termed the ventral pallidum (VP). The region is a relay station in the limbic loop of the basal ganglia, critical for motivation, behavior, emotions and the “Feel Good” response. This defined system of the brain is involved in all addictions –substance, and non –substance related. In 1995, our laboratory coined the term “Reward Deficiency Syndrome” (RDS) to describe genetic and epigenetic induced hypodopaminergia in the “Brain Reward Cascade” that contribute to addiction and compulsive behaviors [3,6,41].

Furthermore, ordinary “liking” of something, or pure pleasure, is represented by small regions mainly in the limbic system (old reptilian part of the brain). These may be part of larger neural circuits. In Latin, hedus is the term for “sweet”; and in Greek, hodone is the term for “pleasure.” Thus, the word Hedonic is now referring to various subcomponents of pleasure: some associated with purely sensory and others with more complex emotions involving morals, aesthetics, and social interactions. The capacity to have pleasure is part of being healthy and may even extend life, especially if linked to optimism as a dopaminergic response [42].

Psychiatric illness often includes symptoms of an abnormal inability to experience pleasure, referred to as anhedonia. A negative feeling state is called dysphoria, which can consist of many emotions such as pain, depression, anxiety, fear, and disgust. Previously many scientists used animal research to uncover the complex mechanisms of pleasure, liking, motivation and even emotions like panic and fear, as discussed above [43]. However, as a significant amount of related research about the specific brain regions of pleasure/reward circuitry has been derived from invasive studies of animals, these cannot be directly compared with subjective states experienced by humans.

In an attempt to resolve the controversy regarding the causal contributions of mesolimbic dopamine systems to reward, we have previously evaluated the three-main competing explanatory categories: “liking,” “learning,” and “wanting” [3]. That is, dopamine may mediate (a) liking: the hedonic impact of reward, (b) learning: learned predictions about rewarding effects, or (c) wanting: the pursuit of rewards by attributing incentive salience to reward-related stimuli [44]. We have evaluated these hypotheses, especially as they relate to the RDS, and we find that the incentive salience or “wanting” hypothesis of dopaminergic functioning is supported by a majority of the scientific evidence. Various neuroimaging studies have shown that anticipated behaviors such as sex and gaming, delicious foods and drugs of abuse all affect brain regions associated with reward networks, and may not be unidirectional. Drugs of abuse enhance dopamine signaling which sensitizes mesolimbic brain mechanisms that apparently evolved explicitly to attribute incentive salience to various rewards [45].

Addictive substances are voluntarily self-administered, and they enhance (directly or indirectly) dopaminergic synaptic function in the NAc. This activation of the brain reward networks (producing the ecstatic “high” that users seek). Although these circuits were initially thought to encode a set point of hedonic tone, it is now being considered to be far more complicated in function, also encoding attention, reward expectancy, disconfirmation of reward expectancy, and incentive motivation [46]. The argument about addiction as a disease may be confused with a predisposition to substance and nonsubstance rewards relative to the extreme effect of drugs of abuse on brain neurochemistry. The former sets up an individual to be at high risk through both genetic polymorphisms in reward genes as well as harmful epigenetic insult. Some Psychologists, even with all the data, still infer that addiction is not a disease [47]. Elevated stress levels, together with polymorphisms (genetic variations) of various dopaminergic genes and the genes related to other neurotransmitters (and their genetic variants), and may have an additive effect on vulnerability to various addictions [48]. In this regard, Vanyukov, et al. [48] suggested based on review that whereas the gateway hypothesis does not specify mechanistic connections between “stages,” and does not extend to the risks for addictions the concept of common liability to addictions may be more parsimonious. The latter theory is grounded in genetic theory and supported by data identifying common sources of variation in the risk for specific addictions (e.g., RDS). This commonality has identifiable neurobiological substrate and plausible evolutionary explanations.

Over many years the controversy of dopamine involvement in especially “pleasure” has led to confusion concerning separating motivation from actual pleasure (wanting versus liking) [49]. We take the position that animal studies cannot provide real clinical information as described by self-reports in humans. As mentioned earlier and in the abstract, on November 23rd, 2017, evidence for our concerns was discovered [50]

In essence, although nonhuman primate brains are similar to our own, the disparity between other primates and those of human cognitive abilities tells us that surface similarity is not the whole story. Sousa et al. [50] small case found various differentially expressed genes, to associate with pleasure related systems. Furthermore, the dopaminergic interneurons located in the human neocortex were absent from the neocortex of nonhuman African apes. Such differences in neuronal transcriptional programs may underlie a variety of neurodevelopmental disorders.

In simpler terms, the system controls the production of dopamine, a chemical messenger that plays a significant role in pleasure and rewards. The senior author, Dr. Nenad Sestan from Yale, stated: “Humans have evolved a dopamine system that is different than the one in chimpanzees.” This may explain why the behavior of humans is so unique from that of non-human primates, even though our brains are so surprisingly similar, Sestan said: “It might also shed light on why people are vulnerable to mental disorders such as autism (possibly even addiction).” Remarkably, this research finding emerged from an extensive, multicenter collaboration to compare the brains across several species. These researchers examined 247 specimens of neural tissue from six humans, five chimpanzees, and five macaque monkeys. Moreover, these investigators analyzed which genes were turned on or off in 16 regions of the brain. While the differences among species were subtle, **there was** a **remarkable contrast in** the **neocortices**, specifically in an area of the brain that is much more developed in humans than in chimpanzees. In fact, these researchers found that a gene called tyrosine hydroxylase (TH) for the enzyme, responsible for the production of dopamine, was expressed in the neocortex of humans, but not chimpanzees. As discussed earlier, dopamine is best known for its essential role within the brain’s reward system; the very system that responds to everything from sex, to gambling, to food, and to addictive drugs. However, dopamine also assists in regulating emotional responses, memory, and movement. Notably, abnormal dopamine levels have been linked to disorders including Parkinson’s, schizophrenia and spectrum disorders such as autism and addiction or RDS.

Nora Volkow, the director of NIDA, pointed out that one alluring possibility is that the neurotransmitter dopamine plays a substantial role in humans’ ability to pursue various rewards that are perhaps months or even years away in the future. This same idea has been suggested by Dr. Robert Sapolsky, a professor of biology and neurology at Stanford University. Dr. Sapolsky cited evidence that dopamine levels rise dramatically in humans when we anticipate potential rewards that are uncertain and even far off in our futures, such as retirement or even the possible alterlife. This may explain what often motivates people to work for things that have no apparent short-term benefit [51]. In similar work, Volkow and Bale [52] proposed a model in which dopamine can favor NOW processes through phasic signaling in reward circuits or LATER processes through tonic signaling in control circuits. Specifically, they suggest that through its modulation of the orbitofrontal cortex, which processes salience attribution, dopamine also enables shilting from NOW to LATER, while its modulation of the insula, which processes interoceptive information, influences the probability of selecting NOW versus LATER actions based on an individual’s physiological state. This hypothesis further supports the concept that disruptions along these circuits contribute to diverse pathologies, including obesity and addiction or RDS.

#### **Thus, the standard is maximizing expected well being**

Prefer additionally:

#### **1]outweighs on actor specificity since governments make policies as a whole that benefit and help some people and side constraints freeze action – actor spec outweighs and turns since it’s better than no action, states don’t have wills and intentions since they are not indivuals actors, different agents have different obligations**

#### **2] extinction first**

Pummer 15 [Theron, Junior Research Fellow in Philosophy at St. Anne's College, University of Oxford. “Moral Agreement on Saving the World” Practical Ethics, University of Oxford. May 18, 2015] AT

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)

#### 3] accessibility – util is the easiest to access A] it doesn’t require access to private sites like jstor B] it’s the easiest to understand which is good for novices – inclusion comes first since we need to maximize accessibility in order to have a real conversation

#### 4] use epistemic modesty – multiply probability of the fwk times the magnitude of the impacts A) clash – encourages both substantive and phil debates so that we talk about all the offense B) leads to the net most morality and proves that only beating fwk is not enough to win the debate

# Case

### 1NC - T - Unions Bad

#### The politics of the strike naturalizes capital’s control and is parasitic on political organizing.

Eidlin 20 Barry Eidlin (assistant professor of sociology at McGill University and the author of Labor and the Class Idea in the United States and Canada), 1-6-2020, “Why Unions Are Good – But Not Good Enough,” Jacobin, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2020/01/marxism-trade-unions-socialism-revolutionary-organizing

Labor unions have long occupied a paradoxical position within Marxist theory. They are an essential expression of the working class taking shape as a collective actor and an essential vehicle for working-class action. When we speak of “the working class” or “working-class activity,” we are often analyzing the actions of workers either organized into unions or trying to organize themselves into unions. At the same time, unions are an imperfect and incomplete vehicle for the working class to achieve one of Marxist theory’s central goals: overthrowing capitalism. Unions by their very existence affirm and reinforce capitalist class society. As organizations which primarily negotiate wages, benefits, and working conditions with employers, unions only exist in relation to capitalists. This makes them almost by definition reformist institutions, designed to mitigate and manage the employment relationship, not transform it. Many unions have adapted to this conservative, managerial role. Others have played key roles in challenging capital’s power. Some have even played insurgent roles at one moment and managerial roles at others. When unions have organized workplace insurgencies, this has sometimes translated into political pressure that expanded democracy and led to large-scale policy reforms. In the few revolutionary historical moments that we can identify, worker organization, whether called unions or something else, has been essential. Thus, labor unions and movements have long been a central focus of Marxist debate. At its core, the debate centers around the role of unions in class formation, the creation of the revolutionary working-class agent. The debate focuses on four key questions. First, to what degree do unions simply reflect existing relations of production and class struggle, or actively shape those relations? Second, if unions actively shape class struggle, why and under what conditions do they enhance or inhibit it? Third, how do unions shape class identities, and how does this affect unions’ scope of action? Fourth, what is the relation between unions and politics? This question is comprised of two sub-questions: to what degree do unions help or hinder struggles in the workplace becoming broader political struggles? And how should unions relate to political parties, the more conventional vehicle for advancing political demands? The following is a chapter from [The Oxford Handbook of Karl Marx](https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190695545.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780190695545) (Oxford University Press, 2019). It assesses Marxist debates surrounding trade unions, oriented by the four questions mentioned previously. It proceeds historically, first examining how Marx and Engels conceived of the roles and limitations of trade unions, then tracing how others within Marxism have pursued these debates as class relations and politics have changed over time. While the chapter includes some history of labor unions and movements themselves, the central focus is on how Marxist theorists thought of and related to those movements. Marx and Engels wrote extensively about the unions of their time, although never systematically. The majority of their writings on unions responded to concrete labor struggles of their time. From their earliest works, they grasped unions’ necessity and limitations in creating a working-class agent capable of advancing class struggle against the bourgeoisie. This [departed](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/wusa.12021) from previous variants of socialism, often based in idealized views of rebuilding a rapidly eroding community of artisanal producers, which did not emphasize class organization or class struggle. Writing in The Condition of the Working Class in England about emerging forms of unionism, Engels observed that even though workers’ primary struggles were over material issues such as wages, they pointed to a deeper social and political conflict: What gives these Unions and the strikes arising from them their real importance is this, that they are the first attempt of the workers to abolish competition. They im­ ply the recognition of the fact that the supremacy of the bourgeoisie is based wholly upon the competition of the workers among themselves; i.e., upon their want of cohesion. And precisely because the Unions direct themselves against the vital nerve of the present social order, however one-sidedly, in however narrow a way, are they so dangerous to this social order. At the same time, Engels saw that, even as union struggles “[kept alive] the opposition of the workers to the … omnipotence of the bourgeoisie,” so too did they “[compel] the admission that something more is needed than Trades Unions and strikes to break the power of the ruling class.” Here Engels articulates the crux of the problem. First, unions are essential for working-class formation, creating a collective actor both opposed to the bourgeoisie and capable of challenging it for power. Second, they are an insufficient vehicle for creating and mobilizing that collective actor. Marx and Engels understood that unions are essential to working-class formation because, under capitalism, the system of “free labor,” where individual workers sell their labor power to an employer for a wage, fragments relations between workers and makes them compete with each other. As described in the Communist Manifesto, the bourgeoisie “has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous ‘cash payment,’” leaving workers “exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.” While workers organized based on other collective identities, such as race, ethnicity, or religion, only unions could unite them as workers against the source of their exploitation — the bourgeoisie. Unions serve “as organized agencies for superseding the very system of wage labor and capital rule.” But just as unions could allow the proletariat to take shape and challenge the bourgeoisie for power, Marx and Engels also saw that they were a partial, imperfect vehicle for doing so for two reasons. First, unions’ fundamentally defensive role, protecting workers against employers’ efforts to drive a competitive race to the bottom, meant that they [limited themselves](https://www.amazon.com/Wage-Labour-Capital-Value-Price-Profit/dp/0717804704) “to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it.” Thus, even militant trade unions found themselves struggling for “a fair day’s work for a fair day’s wage” without challenging the bourgeoisie’s fundamental power, particularly the wage labor system. And some layers of the trade union officialdom were content to fight for privileges for their small segment of the working class, leaving most workers behind. Second, unions’ focus on wages and workplace issues tended to reinforce a division between economic and political struggles. This division was explicit with the more conservative “old” unions in Britain, which “bar[red] all political action on principle and in their charters.” But even with more progressive formations, such as the early nineteenth century’s Chartists, or the late nineteenth century’s “new” unions, Marx and Engels saw that the transition from workplace struggles to politics was not automatic. For one, it varied across national contexts. Engels observed that French workers were much more likely to mobilize politically, while English workers “fight, not against the Government, but directly against the bourgeoisie.” But beyond national variation, they saw a recurring pattern of division, separating economic and political struggles by organization. Reflecting on the early to mid-nineteenth century English working-class movement, Engels noted a threefold divide between “socially-based” Chartists, “politically-based” Socialists, and conservative, craft-based trade unions. While the Chartists were “purely a working-men’s [sic] cause freed from all bourgeois elements,” they remained “theoretically the more backward, the less developed.” Socialists may have been more theoretically sophisticated, but their bourgeois origins made it difficult to “amalgamate completely with the working class.” Although young Engels thought an alliance of Chartism and socialism was underway, the alliance proved elusive. By the 1870s, Marx opined that politically, the English working class was “nothing more than the tail of the great Liberal Party, i.e., henchmen of the capitalists.” Likewise, Engels had soured on the English working class. Both saw promise in the militant worker protest in the United States at the time, seeing the seeds of a nascent labor party. But that too fell short. Thus, unions failed in Marx and Engels’s central task: the formation of “a political organization of the working class as a whole.”

### 1NC - T - Revolution

#### Recognizing a right to strike reduces revolutionary potential and fractures class organizing.

Crépon 19 Mark Crépon (French philosopher), translated by Micol Bez “The Right to Strike and Legal War in Walter Benjamin’s ‘Toward the Critique of Violence,’” Critical Times, 2:2, August 2019, DOI 10.1215/26410478-7708331

If we wish to understand how the question of the right to strike arises for Walter Benjamin in the seventh paragraph of his essay “Zur Kritik der Gewalt,” it is impor­ tant to first analyze the previous paragraph, which concerns the state’s monopoly on violence. It is here that Benjamin questions the argument that such a monopoly derives from the impossibility of a system of legal ends to preserve itself as long as the pursuit of natural ends through violent means remains. Benjamin responds to this dogmatic thesis with the following hypothesis, arguably one of his most impor­ tant reflections: “To counter it, one would perhaps have to consider the surprising possibility that law’s interest in monopolizing violence vis­à­vis the individual is explained by the intention not of preserving legal ends, but rather of preserving law itself. [This is the possibility] that violence, when it does not lie in the hands of law, poses a danger to law, not by virtue of the ends that it may pursue but by virtue of its mere existence outside of law.”1 In other words, nothing would endanger the law more than the possibility of its authority being contested by a violence over which it has no control. The function of the law would therefore be, first and foremost, to contain violence within its own boundaries. It is in this context that, to demonstrate this surprising hypothesis, Benjamin invokes two examples: the right to strike guaranteed by the state and the law of war. Let us return to the place that the right to strike occupies within class struggle. To begin with, the very idea of such a struggle implies certain forms of violence. The strike could then be understood as one of the recognizable forms that this violence can take. However, this analytical framework is undermined as soon as this form of violence becomes regulated by a “right to strike,” such as the one recognized by law in France in 1864. What this recognition engages is, in fact, the will of the state to control the possible “violence” of the strike. Thus, the “right” of the right to strike appears as

### Psycho

#### The plan’s guarantee secures the worker’s symbolic identification with state power, recreating a fantasy of democratic, grassroot politics emblematic of the will to mastery and naturalizing illusory desire.

Anker 12 Elisabeth Anker, 2012, “Heroic Identifications: Or ‘You Can Love Me Too – I am so Like the State,’” Theory & Event, Vol. 15 Issue 1, <https://americanstudies.columbian.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs1806/f/downloads/Heroic-T&E-Anker.pdf>

“Look, You Can Love Me Too – I am So Like The State” The psychic process of identification may seem an odd place to begin examining how individuals could legitimate powers that diminish their own capacities as political agents, but identification is, at least for Freud, the very point where the individual intersects with the political. Identification mediates the relationship between the self and others; it is the process by which the political and social world shapes individuals at the same that that it is a way for individuals to attempt control over that world. Identification turns individuals into subjects through their engagement with what is outside of themselves, and produces not one stable or permanent subject but a series of subjectivating identifications throughout one’s life that continually adapt to changes in the social world. It is no coincidence that Freud’s most extended writings on identification come in Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego, his examination of group formation and behavior. Identification would seem to be the very point from which to begin taking the measure of the work of political legitimation, the process by which individuals sustain, acquiesce to, and influence political power. On Diana Fuss’ reading, there can be no politics without identification; she argues, “identification is not only how we accede to power, but it is how we learn submission.”7 For Freud, the process of identification begins out of an experience of losing something or someone that one has loved. This lost object can be a person, an abstract concept such as an ideal, or one’s country. Identification is a way of managing this loss, and it requires relinquishing one’s earlier desire to have what was loved and is now gone. In identification, individuals abandon a prior aim to possess their love object and adjust to more limited aims: not to have the loved one, or to be the loved one, but to be like the loved one that is gone.8 Identification is triggered when the individual realizes that it cannot have its loved one but still feels attached to what it loves, so it modifies its desire: it becomes like the one it had loved, and thus the individual preserves its attachment internally. Identification is the “endeavor to mold a person’s own ego after the fashion of the one taken as a model.”9 In identification, one substitutes oneself, part of one’s ego, for the lost object. Freud explains, “If one has lost a love object, the most obvious reaction is to identify with it, to replace it from within, as it were, by identification.”10 Identification becomes a substitute for an original tie with something desired. In identification, an unattainable external love object becomes an internal ideal upon which to pattern the self. Part of the ego molds itself into the object of desire in order to satisfy other desiring parts of the self. Freud argues, “When the ego assumes the features of the object, it is forcing itself, so to speak, upon the id as a love-object and is trying to make good the id’s loss by saying ‘Look, you can love me too – I am so like the object.”11 Identification is the nexus of the self and the social, and marks a process whereby the individual internalizes something in the world (indeed it is shaped by its relations with the external world) at the very moment it turns away from the world in an attempt to satisfy its own needs. Identification can be seen as a coping mechanism that constitutes subjectivity by its attempt to manage loss, an attempt to satisfy one’s own desires when they are not satisfied by others.12 It thus involves a reckoning with loss, but also with difference. As one becomes aware of loss, one becomes aware of the difference between what one is and who one wants to be. It marks a process in which the subject individuates itself from something else. Identification is how the self grapples with its own identity through its relationship to others, and it works by idealizing and modeling part of itself as another. Freud’s theory of the mechanisms of identification contributes to my reading of the development of a post-9/11 subjectivity that authorized violent state power. As in all identifications, the identification with state power would arise out of an awareness of loss – a knowledge of the impossibility of having something loved – and function as a mechanism in order to be like that which one cannot have. For this type of post-9/11 subject, the impossible loved one is, I offer, an ideal of power as sovereign, an ideal of freedom as the absence of impediments for individual self-making. These ideals have been “lost” by power’s increasingly pervasive operations in late modern life. While I will argue that this loss might always exist for those shaped by expectations of heroic autonomy, it is also historically and materially configured, and it was brought to the forefront of national consciousness on 9/11. Understanding the reasons behind the identification with state power first entails stepping back from the immediacy of 9/11 to examine the historical moment and political discourses that embed it. The post-9/11 desire for mastery derives from the juxtaposition between a desire for freedom and generalized conditions of political powerlessness in contemporary life. It stems from the ways in which formally free individuals are not only materially constrained by multiple and interweaving modes of social power, but are shaped by contemporary global crises such as empire, occupation, and imperialism across broad international populations; from the broadening control of the state and economy over aspects of social life previously ascribed to the “private” realm, such as education, child-rearing, and welfare; from neoliberal capital, terrorism, ethnic wars, racism, sexism, entrenched and broadening levels of poverty, environmental destruction, security privatization, and resource scarcity. Under these conditions, citizens are excluded from national politics and made into consumers rather than active players in the operations of collective decision-making; multinational corporate powers promote vast levels of exploitation while evading accountability and visibility; jobs and families are uprooted, severed, and micromanaged as a politics of fear pervades work and home life; systems of support from state, family, and community structures are financially broken and systematically destroyed; the nexus of capitalism and state governance pushes the goals of efficiency, subjugation, and flexibility to organize the terms of collective governance and individual citizenship at the expense of notions of justice, freedom, or the good; mediated information exposes various horrors and subjugations from around the world, yet at the same time insists that nothing can be done to change them; no viable political collectivity offers significant societal-wide change, as significant change does not seem probable. Under these conditions, individuals seem unable to experience freedom or effect change in the world. They are conditioned by the impinging effects of global capital and global interdependence, as well as the inability to master or singularly control the powers that generate them. Affecting individuals to significantly varying degrees depending upon their locations within structures of power and privilege, these conditions also shape ordinary and lived experiences of powerlessness across populations. Experiences of powerlessness are not only frightening but also confusing, as their causes are often difficult to discern. The modes of power that produce them are often nonagentic and spatially unlocatable – global yet micropolitical, impinging yet intangible, faceless yet moving, and replicating with alacrity. They create a widespread and constant sense of precariousness and constraint that is not so much explicitly expressed as experienced as nagging, unarticulated affects of impotence, anxiety, constriction, and anger. Identification with the state aims to address these experiences by heroically overcoming them. Identification with state action is also, in part, an effect of a specific type of liberal individualism that valorizes expectations of mastery over and autonomy from the social world. American political subjects, often shaped by individualism’s expectations of individual sovereignty and self-determinism, struggle with the continual process of power’s regulatory capacity as well as lived experiences of dependence. Both demonstrate their failure to live up to individualism’s ideal image: to be, in Etienne Balibar’s words, the “subject without subjection,” to be self-reliant, to master power, to pull oneself up by one’s bootstraps, to actively and unilaterally determine the course of one’s existence.13 Awash in the tenets of liberal individualism, freedom here means autonomy from others and from power, and is experienced through a type of self-determinism that implies the capacity to control historical and political uncertainty. It is understood to be both the lived experience of mastery and the absence of power over the self. Interdependence of any sort is considered unfreedom, so that freedom is sustained through an aggressive stance toward other individuals, nations, and even nature.14 To subjects who want yet are unable to live up to this model of agency, bold and unilateral state actions can seem to be one place where a strong autonomy is still possible. State action seems to harbor the possibility of unrestrained power over the contingencies of the world, where the ability to control others and the world still gains credence. Analyzing the post-9/11 moment of intense state support and patriotic loyalty, Wendy Brown has similarly posited that citizens identified with the nation-state.15 Brown is concerned with how individuals both idealized the desired object of the nation-state and identified with each other based on the collectively shared experience of idealization. The patriotic fervor in post-9/11 politics was a product of citizens who were together in love with something none of them could singularly possess. She writes that in group idealization, “We are bound to one another through our collective experience of being in love with the same object,” which joins the nation together partly through the strength the nation expresses: “the attachment achieved through idealization is likely to glory in the power of the nation, a power expressed in state action.”16 After 9/11, idealization produced a patriotism that both stifled dissent and uncritically celebrated state power. The question that remains from this analysis is why the nation became idealized at the moment of a terrorist attack. What it is about 9/11 that creates the desire to love the nation-state? What is satisfied, exactly, when the nation-state becomes a desired object in the wake of the terrorist attack? What makes the nation-state an unattainable object? My answer to these questions does not reside in the sublimated pleasures satisfied by group bonds (which may seem the most obvious suggestion) but about the specific forms of power that idealization satisfied at the moment it arose: the individualized desire for omnipotence. The state is the weighted site of identification after 9/11 because it seems to possess the power that individuals desire to possess for themselves, especially after a shocking event in which contingency is highlighted and the possibility for mastery seems threatened or impossible. Identification with the state, I am arguing, was an individualized experience that aimed to cast off lived experiences of heteronomy by identifying with that which most prominently holds the promise of mastery: a subjugator, an enforcer, the sovereign Hero. Various modes of state action were read as the performance of a singular self-emancipating autonomy. Combined, they seem to congeal into a great act that could re-assert mastery, the ultimate expression of what William Connolly calls ontological narcissism: the belief that one has innate capacity to master contingency and domesticate the world, and is inherently sovereign, beholden to no power but one’s own.17 Identification with state expansion thus posits that the subject can be like what it now idealizes: “Look, you can love me too – I am so like the state.” Individual Identification with the State After 9/11 After 9/11, state identification happens once the terrorist events reveal, in a spectacular way, the fiction of state power as autonomous and sovereign. As Jodi Dean argues, it is a moment that entails “the specific horror of destruction of the social link, the symbolic pact promising security and holding society together.”18 The terrorist attacks punctured the fantasy of invulnerable state and individual boundaries that had, for much of the later 20th century, shaped both American foreign policy and the norms of liberal individualism. The events of 9/11 forced an acknowledgement of the nation’s vulnerability to others, of the impossibility of state invincibility or sovereignty, of the triteness of an End of History narrative that proclaimed the historic mastery of an American-led neoliberal state militarism over all other political norms, desires, and institutions.19 The ability of a violent yet tiny group of individuals to work outside, underneath, and through state forms, to be elusive and unaccountable, undermined the standard narrative of heroic American power. Identification with the state aimed to shore up the weakened belief in the American state as global master. Identification only occurs with an object that is lost or dead, that does not or cannot exist in practice. Identification aims to reanimate what has been lost within the self. Identification with state power, therefore, aims to revive not only the promise that individuals can heroically overcome heteronomy but also the promise that the state has the ability to do this too. This is why a rugged, self-reliant individualism can be so enamored of violent state action and support a militant patriotism. These seemingly contradictory ideas share an intertwined fantasy of mastery over external events. In the contemporary moment, when individuals’ ability to experience autonomy is constantly thwarted and inhibited, unilateral state power seems to be the one place where a robust autonomy might still be displayed, and identification links that display to one’s own experience. The body of a triumphant George W. Bush in 2003, situated beneath the banner “Mission Accomplished” after the supposed end of combat operations in Iraq, was an exemplar for the individual stand-in for American power. His intentional swagger on top of the air force carrier aimed to revive the fantasy that an individual can be as sovereign as a war-winning state. Bush personified in individualized, bodily form the self-determinism, even omnipotence, of American mastery.20 Clad in military uniform, Bush merged the individual and the state into the presidential body, which, as Michael Rogin would remind us, is often figured to be both ordinary and heroic, at once mortal and institutional.21 The broader identification with state action personified and unified the fragmented conditions of state power into a heroic savior, condensed the myriad possible responses to the events of 9/11 into an idealization of militaristic state action, and legitimated warfare as a morally requisite action for gaining freedom. This reading puts post-9/11 unilateralism in a new light: it is an attempt to prove that American sovereignty is still possible. The legitimation of unilateral action contains a plea to prevent the twilight of state sovereignty that has already occurred, and that was demonstrated by the 9/11 events. The exercise of state power thus functions doubly as the lost object of identification, in both literal and figurative forms. Literally, the identifying subject realizes it has “lost” what it desired: mastery of, or domination over, the exercise of a key form of political power that governs itself. Figuratively, the state stands in symbolically for a certain type of power that the subject has “lost”: a power that is self-determining and unbound, and that is embodied in visible and spectacular articulations of state sovereignty. Identification with sovereign state action aims to (re)claim lost power by overcoming the sense of powerlessness saturating contemporary political subjectivity, performing a spectacular experience of ontological narcissism. For the post-9/11 political subject, terrorism became the identifiable cause of thwarted sovereignty. Conquering it would restore the freedom of the subject. The deeper complications of contemporary power and agency were, I offer, displaced onto the 9/11 attacks as the singular source of constraint. Defeating terrorism could thus allow the subject to reverse its experiences of powerlessness through a triumphant act of self-emancipation. The war on terror became an attempt to gain control over powers that control the self, to break off one’s shackles of heteronomy. The vital importance of the “Shock and Awe” military campaign in Iraq, for instance, was that its shock and awe was aimed as much at American viewers as at the Iraqi military. The media coverage of the bombing of Baghdad was crucial to the production of legitimation through identification; the visual proof of overwhelming power cemented state identification. Live video of bombing campaigns and detailed descriptions of military firepower did not merely reflect a national obsession with military equipment but an intense desire to see the moment of power’s impact, to understand and verify the massive forcefulness of state action. I’ll address the misrepresentation that these military targets “caused” American powerlessness later in the essay. For now, I am arguing that by delimiting 9/11 as a singular and clear moment of thwarted freedom, identification held out the promise of a bound field to fight against unfreedom, to resist 9/11’s exposure of more extensive and longstanding forms of powerlessness. Identification with state action created an equivalence between the state and the individual, which worked in part because the state continues to be the primary source of accountable public power. Even in a deterritorialized era of globalization – as multinational regulatory bodies and neoliberal corporate power might seem to make state capacities increasingly irrelevant to the flow of people, goods, and power – the state remains the discursive locus of power, the conferrant of rights and political recognition in public life. Paul Passavant refers to this as the “strong neoliberal state” in order to highlight how contemporary neoliberal governmentality contributes to, rather than weakens, state expansion and regulatory power in the twenty-first century.22 Brown similarly argues that the state continues to be the primary power visible, and responsible, as political power. 23 This is certainly not to say that state functions are the only source of political power, but that they are the primary ones that are formally accountably and publicly verifiable. State functions are aggregated as a key nodal point for political identity, knowledge, power and influence. They seem to embody and employ instruments of protection and strength – military power, juridical authority, legal legitimacy – that wield power visibly and on a large scale. Within political life, the state is the most obvious symbol of autonomous power. Identification with state power is also enabled because the categories that define individual agency also often shape American interpretations of state agency. The state is figured as a singular, self-reliant individual, its actions an expression of a sovereign subject. Various governmental agencies and actions are discursively consolidated into a unilateral, personified force that conquers its external enemies and services the domestic population. Combined, they signify the type of power recognized and understood within the possessive individualism of mainstream liberal discourses: an autonomous power that is self-governing, and that is ontologically capable of self-emancipation in situations of duress or heteronomy.24 In the later 20th century, the discourse of individualism has increasingly described and personified American state power. As Sheldon Wolin and Michael Rogin have suggested, the post-isolationist, global superpower reconfiguration of America after WWII drew in part from individualism’s norms for mastery and power.25 Historians Steven Ambrose and Gary Wills argue that during the Cold War it seemed to many political officials, and eventually the public, that as long as America married a nationwide selfreliance to political and military might, it could control world events; for many policymakers and citizens, world problems would only exist if America couldn’t muster the will it needed to solve its problems effectively.26 The norms of American individualism thus seemed to shape the possibilities for various modes of state power. Individualism was nationalized in the political discourses that postulated that international politics could be controlled and molded to America’s needs.27 Failure to do so demonstrated only a lack of desire, not lack of capacity. Individualism narrated political crisis by categorizing America qua individual; it articulated a personified notion of state action and state capacity through the concept of the heroic, self-reliant individual. Identification with state action relies not only on the mimetic constitution of self and state but also on America’s democratic promise that individuals author the state, as electoral accountability and the people-as-the-origin-of-political-power claim enable the fantasy that state action can be one’s own. Identification with the state relies upon the formal structure of America’s representative democracy, which promises that state power originates in its citizens. It is as longstanding as America’s founding moments – what Alexander Hamilton referred to as the constitutional premise that the people are the “fountain” of all political power.28 State power is, uneasily, both an extension of the civic self and source of potential domination. The American state is seen to be created by laws formally authorized by all, electorally accountable to the people, steered toward their vision of the good life, and an expression of the might of the nation. It is also a likely tyrant that citizens are wary of, that threatens their freedom at every turn, yet one that they tame and steer through electoral accountability and civic participation. It produces what Murray Edelman once diagnosed as the continuous slippage in referents to the state as both “us” and “them.”29 Foreign policy provides the arena for demonstrating autonomous state power vis-à-vis other entities, and the democratic, state-as-civic-self model of governance yokes the individual to state power’s operations. In other words, liberal individualism has not been necessarily opposed to the state but has also mapped on to, and directed, the very notion of state agency. Individualism leads to the state, not only to a distrust of state power but also to its uncritical support. America’s historically recent iterations of national individualism are therefore not exclusively antistatist, as the trope of individualism generally is; in many ways, it is a heroic, self-making individualism realized most fully at the state level. It paves the way for how the national identifications arising out of 9/11 involved identifying not only with other fellow-Americans or with a larger sense of patriotic nationhood, but also with the very governing mechanisms of the federal state.

#### Their demand to “strike” against the government presumes that the government will actually listen. Attempts to place demands inevitably concede the authority of the structure they critique and cast the lack onto the other, only to realize that our understandings of the demands put on the state is distinct from the theirs

# 2N